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A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
From the REIGN
OF
CHARLEMAGNE

By the AUTHOR

Voltaire OF

THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

Regum, Pontificum, Populorum continet ætus.

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*,
M D C C L V.

ANNALS

OF THE

EMPIRE

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CHARLES IV.

THIRTY THIRD EMPEROR.

1348.

CHARLES of *Luxemburg* king of *Bohemia* goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himself acknowledged emperor.

Lewis-margrave of *Brandenburg* disputes the crown with him.

The old archbishop of *Mentz* excommunicates him. The count *Palatine Rupert* and the duke of *Saxony* join; not inclining to acknowledge either pretender. They annul the election of *Charles of Bohemia*, and name *Edward III.* king of *England*, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdensom title, since the ambitious *Edward* refused it; not chusing to interrupt his conquests in *France* to run after a shadow.

On the refusal of *Edward* the electors addressed themselves to the marquis of *Misnia*, a relation of the deceased emperor. He also declined it. *Mutius* says, he preferred ten thousand marks of Silver received from the hands of *Charles IV.* to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price; but it is very doubtful that *Charles IV.* had ten thousand marks to bestow; he who was, at the same time, arrested at *Worms* by his butcher; a debt which he could no otherwise pay, than by borrowing money of the bishop.

The electors refused on every side, at last offer the empire, with which no persons seem willing to meddle, to *Gunther* of *Schwartzburgh* a noble *Thuringian*.

This man who was a warrior, and had little to lose, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his sword.

1349.

The electors chuse Gunther of Schwartzburg near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a singular custom at Frankfort. The first of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited six weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there was no news of his competitor. Gunther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival caused him to be poisoned. The German poison of those times, was feasting to excess. Gunther becomes apoplectic and incapable of the throne; and sells it for a sum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was said to be twenty two thousand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Lewis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being sufficiently strong to sell them to Charles IV. who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and causes himself to be crowned a second time at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologn, to put his title out of dispute.

The marquis of Juliers disputes the right of bearing the sword, at the coronation ceremony with the marquis of Brandenburg. Ancestors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But, this prince did not rank then with the electors, consequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

1350.

A plague more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now severely felt all over Europe; and swept away almost

almost every where above one fifth of the inhabitants ; the Germans as headstrong as ignorant accuse the Jews of having poisoned their fountains, and every where burn and destroy them.

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected the Jews that paid him, against the bishop and citizens of Strasburg; the abbot prince of Mourbac and other lords ; he was ready to make war with them in favor of the Jews.

The sect of floggers revive in Suabia ; they are large companies of men who traverse all Germany, whipping themselves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The antient Romans in like circumstances instituted comedies ; the milder remedy of the two.

An impostor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himself the antient Waldemar returned from the holy land ; who pretends to retake possession of his estate unjustly given, during his absence, by Lewis of Bavaria to his son Lewis.

The duke of Mecklinburg supports the impostor ; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A slight war ensues ; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipsed.

1351.

Charles IV. is willing to go into *Italy*, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Visconti rule in the mean time at Milan. John Visconti archbishop of that town becomes a conqueror. He seizes Bologna ; makes war against the Florentines and Pisans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It was he who composed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals beginning : *Your mother Pride greets you, together with your sisters Avarice and Immodesty.*

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement between John Visconti and pope Clement, who sold

him the investiture of Milan for twelve years at twelve thousand golden florins a year.

1352.

The house of Austria has always demands on great part of Swisserland: the duke Albert intends the conquest of Zurich, which allies itself with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor assists the house of Austria in this war; like a man who wished it not to succeed. He sends troops not to fight; or rather who don't fight. The union and liberty of the Swifs are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to establish popular government in imitation of Strasburgh: Nuremberg drives out its nobles, but Charles IV. restores them. He joins *Lusatia* to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has since been divided from it.

1353.

The emperor Charles IV, while he was the young prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even against the pope's interest in Italy. Since he has come to the imperial throne, he searches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himself in making laws, but his chief care is the firm establishment of his house.

He comes to an accommodation with the children of Lewis of Bavaria; and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert duke of Bavaria saw himself excommunicated because his father had been so. Wherefore, to prevent the piety of such princes, as might think themselves intitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to strip him of his dominions, he humbly asked pardon of the new pope Innocent VI. for the injuries done to the emperor his father, by the preceding popes; he signed an act beginning thus: *I Albert duke of Bavaria, son of Lewis of Bavaria, formerly styling himself emperor, and censured by the holy roman church, &c.*

It don't appear that he was forced to this servile submission; so that he must, at that time, either have had little honor or much superstition.

1354.

It is remarkable that Charles IV. passing thro' Metz, in the way to his estates in Luxemburg, was not received as emperor, because he had not yet been consecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Wenceslaus lord of Luxemburgh the title of duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margraviate. Hence it has been evidently seen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-a-Mousson is also made a marquisate. All this country is at length called the empire.

1355.

Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

The holy see was at this time situated at Avignon; pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome; the emperor still less. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the great; or else he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV. and Innocent VI. fond of ceremonies. Innocent VI. sent to Avignon a detail of all that was necessary to be observed at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the sword before him, which is only an honor, and no mark of jurisdiction. The pope ought to be on his throne surrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor ought to begin by kissing his feet, after which he presents him gold, salutes him &c. during the mass the emperor performs some duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the first epistle. After mass, without

either crown or cloke, he holds the bridle of the pope's horse.

None of these ceremonies have been practised since the popes resided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of these customs. But the pope then at Avignon, finding it impossible either to have his feet kissed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince should never kiss his feet, nor guide the mule of the cardinal who represents his holiness.

Charles IV. went to this shew, with a large retinue but unarmed; nor did he dare to sleep in Rome according to the promise he had made to his holiness. Ann his wife, daughter to the count Palatine, was also crowned, and indeed this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV. having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to serve as deacon to a cardinal's mass, was insulted in every town in Italy thro' which he passed.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor reproaching him with his weakness. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

1356.

Charles IV. acts in every thing, contrary to his predecessors; they had favored the Ghibelines, who were in effect the faction of the empire; he marches some forces against them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increases the troubles of Italy.

At his return into Germany he applied himself, as much as possible, to establish order and regulate rank. The number of electorates had been fixed, since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws; but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria above all pretending a right to vote, as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their house. And the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves electors as well as the elder.

In the diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count Palatine the only elector of that house.

The golden Bull.

The twenty three first articles of the golden bull are published at Nuremberg with great solemnity. This constitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a bull, takes its name from a little gold box in which the seal is contained, and is esteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be established among men by the laws of convention. Those which long custom has sanctified are called fundamental. Several things in this golden bull have been altered according to the times.

It was composed by the famous civilian *Bartolus*. The genius of the times appears in some latin verses to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, spes unica mundi*: as well as in the apostrophe to the seven mortal sins; and in the necessity of having seven electors, because of the seven gifts of the holy Ghost, and the candlestick with seven branches.

The emperor, at first, spoke like an absolute master without consulting any person.

We declare and ordain by this present edict, which shall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, absolute power, and imperial authority.

He does not therein establish the seven electors, he supposes them established: There is no mention in the two first chapters about the form and security of the journey of the seven electors; who ought not to go out of Frankfort, without declaring to the world and to christians a temporal sovereign, that is to say, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards suppose N^o 8. article the 2^d that this custom has been always inviolably observed, and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably

observed. Charles IV. and *Bartolus* forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV. himself. One of the most important points is the indivisibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right passes, in the male line, always to the eldest son.

It ought then to have been ordained that the secular electorates be no more divided, but descend wholly to the eldest son. This is what was omitted in the 23 famous articles published at Nuremberg, so very ostentatiously, the emperor attending the publication, with a scepter in one hand, and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method observed; nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the least treated of.

A most important thing is expressed in the 7th article of N^o 7. that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire (undoubtedly the secular principalities are understood) the emperor has the disposal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. These confused words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attainted. The particular favor shewn to Bohemia, is also remarkable in this bull; the emperor being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the imperial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has since been granted to divers princes and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may consult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finishing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where during the Christmas seven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omission of making the electoral successions indivisible. That which is most clear and evident in these articles, is the respect

respect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be seen that Charles IV. delights himself with making the electors officiate as menials in full court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empress; and her's three feet above those of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horseback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine all this ostentation was far from resembling the majestic simplicity of Rome's first Cæsars.

A modern author says, that they have not derogated from the last article of the golden bull, since all the electors speak french: yet it is in this precisely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the last article that the electors shall learn Latin and Slavonian as well as Italian. Now few of the electors value themselves upon speaking the Slavonian.

The whole bull was at length publish'd at Metz, when there was a very full court, and the electors attended the emperor and empress at table, each man in his function. It was not for such solemnities as these, that princes did these high offices; originally they were officers of the household, who had, in time, become great princes.

1357.

That Charles the IVth was no friend to either the houses of Bavaria or Austria is plain, from the exclusion of their respective dukes in the golden bull. The first consequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Austria raise troops. They besiege one of the emperor's commissaries in Danustausen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can dissolve the league between Austria and Bavaria no other way, but by giving up Danustausen to the elector of Bavaria instead of the right to a vote which he demanded.

There is a great contest in the Empire on account of phalburghers or false burghers. A contest in

which it is very likely the authors have been mistaken. The golden bull ordains that no burghers belonging to any particular prince shall be receiv'd in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their sovereign, unless they become residents in these towns. Nothing is more just; nothing more easily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will over-rule the disobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretense of his being admitted a citizen of Basil or Constance.

Why then such dissensions about these false burghers at Strasburgh? why were they in arms? can Strasburgh by any example support a subject of Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? undoubtedly no. This is certainly one of the most important and most sacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their subjects of the first great right all men have to chuse their dwelling-place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This then is the emperor's reason for commanding the people of Strasburgh to receive no strangers on the footing of citizens; this is the reason that the people of Strasburgh endeavour to preserve themselves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358.

Charles the IV. with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at present a law giver, and master of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheless scarcely any credit in the Empire. Because no body wish'd he should.

When the emperor endeavour'd to incorporate Lusatia and Bohemia, Albert of Austria who has some demands on Lusatia, suddenly makes war on him, while no one person assists him. And he has no way of getting quit of this affair, but by a stratagem, and that a very base one. It is pretended that he deceiv'd the duke of Austria by spies; and that he afterwards paid these spies in false money. This story

story wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He sells privileges to all the towns; to the count of Savoy he sells the title of vicar of the Empire at Geneva; he for a certain sum confirms the liberty of the town of Florence; and he extorted considerably from Venice for the sovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viscomtis pay him most dearly for having the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor; thus it is pretended that he retail'd the empire, which he had bought in the gross.

1359.

The princes of the Empire excited by the universities of Germany represent to Charles IV. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things dishonorable both to him and the Germanic body; that amongst others, it is express'd, that the emperors are the pope's vassals, and an oath of fidelity is presented to them. Charles, who had liv'd long enough to know these slight forms need only be attended to, when supported by force of arms, complains to the pope lest he should irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate stile for fear of irritating the pope. Innocent the IV. gives for answer that this proposition is become a fundamental law of the church, taught in all the schools of divinity. And to back this answer he sends a bishop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany to demand one tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the pope's maintenance.

The bishop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon after having receiv'd strong complaints instead of money. The German clergy exclaim against the pope; and this was one of the first sparks of that revolution in the church which we now see.

A rescript of Charles the IV. in favor of the clergy protecting them against such princes as would prevent them from handling wealth, and bargaining with the laity.

1360.

Charles IV. while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy. The Viscomti still continue masters of Milan; Barnaby is willing to preserve Bologna which his uncle a warlike and politic archbishop had bought for twelve years.

A Spanish legate call'd d'Albornos enters the town in the name of the pope who continues still at Avignon; and gives Bologna to the pope.

Barnaby Viscomti besieges Bologna. How can one credit at this day, that the holy father promis'd by agreement to pay one hundred thousand livres in gold annually for five years, to be master of Bologna? the historians who repeat such exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of 500,000 livres in gold.

1361.

The siege of Bologna is rais'd without being any expence to the pope. A marquis of Malatesta who had thrown himself with some troops into the town, makes a sally, beats Barnaby, and causes him to retreat homewards. The emperor meddles no other way in this affair, than by an ineffectual rescript in favor of the pope.

A war having broke out between the crown of Denmark on the one hand, and the hanse-towns on the other, is terminated as usual by treaty.

1362.

Several of the hanse-towns treat with Denmark at Lubeck in the terms of a crown'd head, a glorious monument of a liberty founded on respectable industry. Lubeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Wiesmar, Bremen and several others form a perpetual peace with the *king of Denmark, of the Goths, and Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom*: these are the words of the treaty; which
prove

prove that Denmark was free, and the hanse-towns still more so.

The empress Ann having been brought to bed, of Wenceslaus, the emperor sends the weight of the child in gold to our lady at Aix; a custom which began then to be establish'd; and has been push'd to an extravagant excess for our lady of Loretto.

The bishop of Strasburgh purchases, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of lower Alsatia; he is oppos'd by the landgraves of Alsatia of the house of Oettinguen, and purchases his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great division between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, caus'd by a woman: Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the old, duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Lewis, foe to the house into which she married, gives all the rights upon Tirol and its dependencies to Rodolphus duke of Austria.

Stephen duke of Bavaria makes alliance with several princes. The Austrian has no person of his party but the archbishop of Saltzburgh. They conclude a three years treaty, but their secret enmity is more lasting.

1363.

Charles the Fourth as sedentary now as he had been active in his youth remains always at Prague. Italy is entirely abandon'd; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the Empire.

Barnaby Visconti still bears a grudge to Bologna, and is master of many towns in Romagna.

The pope, at that time, Urban V. obtains very easily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the Empire. It is related that Barnaby at length sells his possessions in Romagna for 1500, 000 florins of gold to the pope; but was it easy for Urban at Avignon to find such a sum?

1364.

1364.

It is also related, that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible still than the pope's 500, 000 florins. The water must be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to Moldau in Bohemia, and besides it depends on the house of Bavaria, which commands the course of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1365.

A plague that broke out in France, amidst the terrible wars of Edward the third and Philip de Valois, spreads itself into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deserted from these armies which were ill paid, and as badly disciplined, joining with other rogues, make excursions into Lorrain and Alsatia, where they find all the Passes open, they are called *Malandrins*, never welcome, &c. The emperor is forced to march against them upon the Rhine with the troops of the empire; they are driven thence, they ravage France and Holland, like locusts laying waste all before them without any distinction.

Charles IV. visits pope Urban V. at Avignon: he endeavors a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppressing christianity, than to recover Jerusalem.

A king of Cyprus who beholds the danger more nearly, solicits this holy war also at Avignon. Several Crusades had been pursued from time to time, when the Musulmans were scarcely formidable in Syria, but now that christianity is shaken, they are laid aside.

The pope after having proposed the Crusades with proper decorum, makes a serious treaty with the emperor for the surrender of his usurped patrimony to the holy see. He grants to the emperor the

tenths.

tenth's upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can serve himself by going to Italy, to recover the proper dominions of the emperor, and not to serve the pope.

1366.

The Malandrins return again upon the Rhine, and commit devastations even to the gates of Avignon. This is one of the reasons that oblige Urban the Vth to take shelter in Rome; after the popes had been for sixty two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viscomtis more dangerous than the Malandrins possess all the openings of the Alps; they had invaded Piemont, and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for assistance, embarks on board a galley belonging to the blameable and unfortunate Joan Queen of Naples.

1367.

The emperor excuses himself from assisting the pope, to be a spectator of the war made in the Tyrolse between the houses of Austria and Bavaria. And pope Urban the Vth after having made some useless alliances with Austria and Hungary, gives at length a sight of a pope to the Romans on the 16th of October. He is received only as the first bishop of christianity, and not as a sovereign.

1368.

The town of Friburg in Brisgau, which had endeavored to gain its freedom, falls again into the power of the house of Austria, by the cession of a count Egon, who had taken it under his protection; and withdraws it for twelve thousand florins.

The reestablishment of the popes at Rome does not prevent the Viscomtis ruling in Lombardy; where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extensive than that of the ancient Lombards.

The

The emperor goes at last into Italy to the assistance of the pope, or rather indeed to that of the empire he had a formidable army, in which there was some artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be established; it was as yet unknown among the Turks, against whom had it been employed, they had been easily driven out of Europe, but christians as yet use it only against christians.

To support the faith in Italy, the pope on one side wins the duke of Austria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puissant army; it was this sort of conduct that lost the liberty of Italy, nay of the pope himself. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have still called in strangers to their aid, who would, if possible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona, the duke of Austria Vincenza; the Viscomtis immediately sue for peace, to wait better times; the war ends in a sum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be consecrated according to the usual ceremonies.

1369.

A diet at Frankfort. A severe edict forbidding the towns and princes from making war of themselves. The Edict is no sooner published, than the bishop of Hildesheim, and Magnus, duke of Brunswick, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It could scarcely happen otherwise, in a country where the very few good laws are without force. And this continual anarchy serves as an excuse for the emperor's inactivity. He ought to hazard every thing; or remain altogether quiet; and he chuses the latter.

Urban the Vth having brought the Austrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home loaden with spoil; now calls in the Hungarians against the Viscomtis; there wanted only Turks.

The

The emperor to ward off his fatal blow, reconciles the Viscomtis with the holy see.

1370.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the earl of Holstein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He asks assistance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to pope Gregory the XI who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication. Writing to him as to his vassal; it is pretended Waldemar answered him thus.

My life I hold of God; my crown of my subjects; my estates of my ancestors; my faith only of your predecessors, which, if you have a mind to make use of it, I send you back by this present. This letter is surely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions, without any assistance, by the dis-union of his enemies.

1371.

Germany, tho' as yet in a rustic state, nevertheless polishes Poland. Casimir to whom had been given the surname of great, begins to build some towns after the German fashion, and introduces some laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor and the dukes of Juliers and of Gueldres; in which all the lords of the low countries take part.

Nothing more strongly characterises the fatal anarchy of these times of rapine. The subject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen protected by the duke of Juliers; and unhappily such an example was not uncommon in those days.

Wenceslaus, vicar of the empire, willing to punish the duke of Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

The conqueror fearing the emperor's resentment, hastens to Prague accompanied by many princes, and

above all by his prisoner: *I return you*, said he to the emperor, *your brother; forgive me both.*

One sees many events of these times thus intermixed with robbery and heroism.

1372.

The edicts against these wars having proved ineffectual: a new diet at Nuremberg, ordains that no prince or town should for the future make war before the expiration of sixty days from receipt of the offence. This was called the sixtieth law of the empire; and was always duly observed, when more than sixty days were requisite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1373.

For a long time past the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connexion with those of the empire. The isle of Sicily was at present occupied by the house of Arragon; and Naples by queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs. The house of Arragon had submitted by treaty, ever since the Sicilian vespers to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy see.

The view of the house of Arragon, in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had succeeded therein when the pope was at Avignon.

Gregory the eleventh ordains that the king of Sicily shall henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the same time. He revives the ancient law or rather protest, preventing the king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor, and adds, that these kingdoms shall be incompatible with those of Tuscany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himself in Germany, and establishing his house. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg, from Otho of Bavaria who possessed it,

it, to appropriate it to himself and his family. This case was not set down in the golden bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldest son Wenceslaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigismund.

1374.

The holy see had been long at Avignon. Urban the Fifth dies, when at Rome but a very little time, Gregory the eleventh determines to re-establish the popedom in his native country.

Such princes and towns, as stood possessed of the countess Matilda's estates, enter into an alliance against the pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The most part of the towns at length set up their standards, and over their gates the great word, *Libertas*, as it is yet to be seen at Lucca.

1375.

The Florentines began to act in the same manner in Italy, as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before, revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines during the disturbances they created in Tuscany, had stirred up genius and courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the most respectable and least superstitious of any in Italy, and the least inclined to obey either the popes or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicated them. It was a little strange, that these excommunications, to which they had been so often accustomed, should still make some impression.

1376.

Charles procures his son Wenceslaus to be proclaimed king of the Romans at Ments up the Rhine, the same place where he himself had been chosen.

All the electors are there in person. His second son Sigismund assists, as elector of Brandenburg, tho' but a child. The father having lately transferred that title

title from Wenceslaus to Sigismund. He had for his own part his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is said, and many historians assure us of it, that he promised to each one hundred thousand florins of gold. It is not at all likely, that each received the same sum; neither is it likely, that the five princes were mean enough to receive it: indiscreet enough to talk of it, or that the emperor should boast of his having corrupted the votes.

So far was he from giving money to the elector Palatine, that he sold to him at the same time Ghottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains. He also sold, indeed at a very indifferent price, some of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologne, and of Mentz. Thus did he gain money, and spoiled the empire in securing it to his son.

1377.

Charles the IVth, aged 64, undertakes a journey to Paris; and it is added, that it was to have the consolation of seeing the king of France, Charles the Vth, who loved him tenderly; and the reason of this tenderness for a monarch that he had never seen, was his having espoused formerly one of his aunts. Another reason alledged for this journey, is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promised *Mr. St. Maurus*, a saint in the neighbourhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horseback, for his cure. The true reason was disgust, uneasiness, and a custom in those days established for princes to visit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his son Wenceslaus king of the Romans. He scarcely sees a finer country than his own, from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deserves not his curiosity. The old palace of St. Lewis which still subsists; and the castle of the Louvre which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuscany only they

they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was any thing serious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the ancient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the Dauphin. It was a long time a question among the civilians, whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while since, been one among sovereigns. It is true, that the last Dauphin Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the second son of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the same right with which he possessed it. It is moreover true, that they pretend Charles the IVth himself had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the less insisted upon by his successors. Maximilian the first always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny. But this right must have been very little minded, since Charles V. in obliging Francis the first, his prisoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the least mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the sequel of this history shews how time changes rights.

1378.

A french gentleman named Enguerant de Couci makes use of the emperor's journey to France to prefer a very strange request, that of making war upon the house of Austria; he was great grand-son of the emperor Albert of Austria by his mother the daughter of Leopold. He demanded the estates of Leopold, as not being masculine fiefs. The emperor grants him entire permission. He never considered, how it was possible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Couci nevertheless has one pretty considerable, furnished by his relations and friends; by the reigning spirit of heroism; by some of his patrimony which he sold, and by the hope of plunder; which

which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings.

He marched towards such parts of Alsatia and Swif-ferland, as belong to the house of Austria. But not having wherewithall to pay his troops; and some contributions gathered about Strasburg, not being sufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army soon dispersed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raise forces too hastily.

The Beginning of the great Schism of the West.

Gregory the Eleventh at length after having seen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical see from Avignon, where it had been settled 72 years, dies on the 27th of March, anno Domini 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and chuse an Italian pope: it was Prignano a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous; he takes the name of Urban. Prignano Urban in his first consistory declared he would do justice on Charles the Fifth, king of France, and Edward the Third, king of England, who disturbed the peace of Europe. Cardinal de la Grange threatening with his hand, answered him that *he lied*. Two words that plunge christianity in a war of more than thirty years continuance.

Most of the cardinals irritated at the pope's violent and intolerable temper retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void; and chuse Robert son of Amadeus the Third count of Geneva, who assumes the name of Clement; and establishes an anti-roman see at Avignon. Europe is divided. The emperor and Flanders join the latter; Hungary which belongs to the emperor acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland and Savoy are for Clement one may easily judge, by the side taken by each power, that

that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of rallery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement; because she had been formerly protected by France, and because this unfortunate queen had called Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles the fifth to her assistance.

Wenceslaus duke of Luxemburg dying without issue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Wenceslaus king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles the fourth dies soon after; leaving Bohemia with the empire to Wenceslaus; Brandenburg to his second son Sigismund; Lusatia and the two duchies of Silesia to John his third son.

It happens, notwithstanding the golden bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.

WENCESLAUS.

THIRTY FOURTH EMPEROR.

1379, 1380, 1381, 1382.

THE reign of Charles the Fourth which had been much complained of, and still is blamed; is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceslaus his son.

He begins by wasting his father's treasures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix la Chapelle; without giving himself any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, desolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt against him; he sees himself, all of a sudden beset, without daring to hope for any assistance from the empire; and obliged to march against his Bohemian subjects; the rest of those banditti called *Malandrines*, who

who ranged Europe, seeking the service of such princes, as would employ them. They ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the mean time, is torn to pieces by the schism between the two popes. Which melancholy dispute, at last, cost the unfortunate Joan queen of Naples her life.

Now that there were no hopes it was made a point of religion as well as policy to side with one of them. He was certainly wisest who acknowledged neither: Joan queen of Naples had unfortunately declared for Clement, at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accused of having assassinated her first husband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunswick her present spouse.

Urban, possessed as yet of some power in Italy, stirs up against her *Charles de Durazzo*, under pretence of revenging the fate of her first husband:

Charles de Durazzo comes into Hungary to assist the anger of the pope, who had promised him the crown. What is most terrible in this affair is, that he had been adopted by queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred stripping her who had been to him as a mother of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunswick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made prisoner along with her. *Charles de Durazzo* causes her to be strangled. Naples had, since the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts against their crowned heads.

1383. 1384. 1385. 1386.

The imperial throne becomes at present a scene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to be seen but seditions against Wenceslaus. All the members of the house of Bavaria reunite to declare war against him. This is a crime by the laws. But there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of assuaging this storm, than in restoring to the count Palatine of Bavaria the towns of the higher palatinate, which Charles the IVth had seized when that prince had been distressed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mulbergh and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia and Franconia league against him. The princes bordering on France receive pensions. To Wenceslaus remains the bare title of emperor.

1387.

While an emperor thus debases himself, a woman immortalises her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, becomes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution respects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitlessly opposed by the princes of Mecklenburgh, the earls of Holstein, the towns of Hamburg and of Lubeck.

The alliance of the Swiss Cantons strengthens them for the present, and they grow always stronger by war. It was now some years since the Canton of Bern had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming these people. He attacks them, and loses the battle with his life.

1388.

The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, might form a people free, as the natives of Switzerland, especially under a reign so confused as this of Wenceslaus: were there not too many chiefs; too great a variety of particular interests; besides the nature of their situation, open on every side, did not permit them, to separate themselves from the empire, like the Swiss.

1389.

Sigismund the brother of Wenceslaus gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the

queen, whom the Hungarians had called *king Mary*; a title they have revived, not long since, in favor of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles the VIth. Mary was young, and the states had no mind her husband should govern: they had rather commit the regency to Elisabeth of Bosnia, mother of their *king Mary*: so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of *king*.

The states of Hungary are discontented with the regency; and do not entirely chuse to serve Sigismund. They offer the crown to Charles de Durazzo, a man used to strangle queens, who arrives and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter disguise their sentiments, watch their opportunity, and cause him to be assassinated before them. The palatin of Croatia sets himself up to be judge of the two queens; he causes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be imprisoned. It is now that Sigismund shews himself worthy of reigning; he levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg, and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatin of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promise, he should be continued in his government. Sigismund crowned king of Hungary; does not believe himself obliged to observe his wife's word; and causes the Palatin of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the five churches.

1390.

During these horrors the great schism in the church increases: It might have been extinguished after the death of Urban by acknowledging Clement; but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowledged Clement. He requires the annates, or first years

years profit of the benefices; which Germany pays and murmurs.

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almost all the inland trade was conducted by them, in spite of the Hans-towns. They imagined them so rich in Bohemia, that they murdered and destroyed them every where. The same was done in many towns, and above all at Spire.

Wenceslaus who was sparing of his edicts, issued one annulling all debts due to the Jews: Imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

From 1391 to 1397.

The town of Strasburg is so powerful, as to support a war against the elector Palatin, and his bishop on account of some fiefs. It incurs the imperial ban, and is quit for 30,000 florins paid to the emperor's profit.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is thenceforth bound neither to sell or give up his tenure to any but his nearest relation; and not to dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of every member of the house: here is a law, which might be inserted in the golden bull, much to the advantage of the first families in Germany.

Each sovereign and each town take the best care possible of mutual affairs.

Wenceslaus shut up in Prague commits many actions of barbarity and madnels; there were, particularly, times in which he was quite beside himself. This is an effect of excess in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the mean time, attacked with a disorder of nearly the same nature; losing often the use of reason. The antipopes divide

the church and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed ?

Wenceslaus in one of his fits threw the monk John Nepomucene into the Moldau, where he was drowned, because he had refused to tell him what the queen his wife had confessed to him. It is said he sometimes walked the streets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the spot such people as he disliked. The magistrates of Prague cause him to be seized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and senses.

He escapes with one servant-maid, whom he makes his mistress. He shuts himself up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigismund his brother king of Hungary to have himself acknowledged king of Bohemia : Nor does he let it slip ; but he could only get himself declared regent. He shuts up his brother in the castle of Prague ; from whence he sends him to duke Albert of Austria at Vienna ; and returns to Hungary to oppose the Turks, who began to extend their conquests on that side.

Wenceslaus makes another escape from his new prison, and once more reaches Prague. And what is wonderful finds there some partisans.

What is still more astonishing, is that Germany does not interfere, in the least, in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague nor Vienna ; nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

1398.

Is it credible that Wenceslaus, in the midst of the infamy and turns of such a life, should propose a meeting at Reims in Champagne with Charles IV. king of France, to put an end to the scandals of schism ?

And

And at Reims the two monarchs meet, it is remarked that at a feast given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was present took the first place at table. It is also remarked that one morning Wenceslaus was found drunk by those who went to confer with him on the business of the church.

The universities begin now to gain some credit, because they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the first which proposed a dismissal of the pretenders to the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France should obtain the dismissal of his pope Clement; and that Wenceslaus also should engage for his pope doing the same.

Neither of the pretenders chose to resign. They were the successors of Clement and Urban. The first was Tomafelli, who being elected on the death of Urban, assumed the name of Boniface; the second was Pedro de Luna a native of Arragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his residence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor, proposes to Benedict his abdication, which he refusing, is kept prisoner five whole years in his castle at Avignon.

Thus the court of France in not acknowledging a pope during five years, shewed that the church could subsist without a pope.

It was said that Wenceslaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

1399.

He finds at length a spouse, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithstanding his having hastened the death of his first with ill treatment. He is not known to relapse into any of his fits of Frenzy after this match: and minds nothing but, like his father Charles IV, heaping up money. He sells every thing: and at last

disposes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazzo Viscomti, declaring it, according to some authors, intirely independent of the empire for one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from these alienations. Had there subsisted any, Viscomti would never have hazarded so considerably.

The ministers of Wenceslaus who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions upon the province of Misnia. About which complaints are made to the electors. And straightway, these princes, who had taken no steps against Wenceslaus when he was made, assemble to depose him.

After many assemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns a solemn diet is held at Lanstein near Mentz. The three ecclesiastical electors together with the palatine, formally depose the emperor in the presence of many princes who only assist as witnesses. The electors having the sole right of chusing, draw from it the necessary conclusion of their having the sole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchased from the emperor. But this makes not Viscomti less absolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of deposing Wenceslaus bears date the 20th of August in the morning. The electors a few days after chuse for emperor Frederick duke of Brunswick, who is assassinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

* * *

R O B E R T,

Count Palatine of the Rhine.

T H I R T Y S I X T H E M P E R O R.

1400.

R O B E R T count Palatine of the Rhine is elected at Rens by the same four electors. His election could not possibly have been on the twenty second of August, as hath been asserted; because Wenceslaus was deposed on the 20th, and there must certainly have been more than two days consumed in chusing the duke of Brunswick, preparing for his coronation, and assassinating him.

Robert according to custom presents himself armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of six weeks and three days; this is the last example we have of this custom.

1401.

Some princes and towns still hold out for Wenceslaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The magistrates of the free town of Aix-la-chapelle shut their gates against Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbishop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the Milanese for the empire, from which Wenceslaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Swisserland and Suabia, as if he was only a prince of the empire, and raises troops against Visconti. The circumstance of things was favorable. Venice and Florence were already arming against the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tirol he sent a challenge to Galeazo, beginning, *To you John Galeazo count of Verona &c. to*

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which

which was answered, *To you Robert of Bavaria, we duke of Milan by the grace of God and of Wenceslaus, &c.* after which he promises to beat him, and keeps his word in the defiles of the mountains.

Several princes who had accompanied the emperor retire with their few remaining soldiers; and Robert at length wanders away alone.

1402, 1403.

John Galeazo remains master of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighbouring towns in spite of them.

He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter married to the duke of Orleans, the source of so many unhappy wars.

Upon his death one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly settled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a successful use of the hatred, which the conquests of John Galeazo had inspired, and possesses himself, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Perugia, Ferrara, and of many towns of the antient inheritance of the countess Matilda, which the holy see had always claimed.

Wenceslaus awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at last to defend the imperial crown against Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceslaus and Robert, at Cologne, where both should be present, and submit themselves to him.

Very likely the electors asked the king of France's judgment, because they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of his malady hindered him from governing his own dominions. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The deposed Wenceslaus has now some hopes from his brother Sigismund king of Hungary; who by a whimsical chance is himself dethroned, and imprisoned in his own kingdom.

The

The Hungarians chuse Ladislaus king of Naples for their king : who scarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary, before Naples revolts ; and he returns to extinguish the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One sees her divided by two popes ; Germany rent by two emperors ; the disagreement in Italy after Visconti's death ; the Venetians possessing themselves of one part of Lombardy ; the Genoese of another ; Pisa subject to Florence ; horrible troubles in France during the madness of the king ; civil wars in England ; the best provinces in Spain over-run by the Moors ; the Turks advancing towards Greece. And the empire of Constantinople drawing towards a conclusion.

1404.

Robert nevertheless purchases some little territories surrounding his palatinate ; the bishop of Strasburg sells him Offenbourg, Celle, and other seignories. This is almost all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans brother to Charles VI. buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joshua Marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceslaus had sold it. Sigismund had disposed also of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new possessors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405.

The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorrain go to war without the empire's siding with either : had things continued thus a few years longer, there had remained neither empire nor germanic body.

1406.

The marquis of Baden and the count of Wirtenburg make with impunity a league with Strasburg and the towns of Suabia against the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was, *that in case the emperor presumed to meddle with the rights, of any one of them, they should unitedly make war upon him.*

The swiss strengthen themselves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the house of Austria in Sondgau and in Alsace.

1407, 1408.

While the Imperial authority daily declines, the schism of the church continues. No sooner one anti-pope dies; but his party set up another. These scandals had made all people shake off the yoke of Rome, had they been more reasonable and spirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party; that they might have something of the arms of religion therewith to oppose their enemies. This is the real reason of the many leagues that have been known between the see of Rome and many kings; of so many contradictions, excommunications demanded privately by some and despis'd by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts; they had travell'd, from the court of Robert king of Naples to Florence, where they had erected their Empire. The growing emulation of the university began to clear up some knotty points; one half of Italy was at enmity with popes. Neverthelhs the Italians more prudent than other nations, never establish'd any sect against the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenes and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wickliff rose up in England. John Hus a doctor of the new university of Prague, and confessor to the queen of Bohemia wife of Wenceslaus, having read Wickliffs manuscripts, preach'd up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the first rays of erudition coming from a country, which she had so long stil'd barbarous. The doctrine of John Hus consisted chiefly of giving to the
to

church certain rights, which the holy see pretended to reserve to herself.

The times are favorable. There has been, ever since the birth of schism, a succession of anti-popes on each side; and it was extremely difficult to know on which side was the holy Ghost.

The ecclesiastical throne being thus split in two, each half is confus'd and bloody. The same fate attends thirty episcopal sees. A bishop, confirm'd by one pope, disputes his cathedral, sword in hand, with one approv'd of by another.

At Liege, for example, there are two bishops who stir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria chosen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part, and as the oppos'd popes had only bulls to bestow, John of Bavaria calls into his succour John duke of Burgundy with an army. In fine, to settle which shall have the cathedral of Liege, the town is sack'd, and almost reduc'd to ashes.

So many evils, which in general it is impossible to remedy until they come to extremes, at last produce the council of Pisa, whither several cardinals retiring summon the rest of the church. This council is afterwards transfer'd to Constance.

1409.

If there was a possibility, of extinguishing the schism, which had so long rag'd over christian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two anti-popes the successors of two anti-popes lend their names to this civil and sacred war. One is the fierce Peter de la Lune; the other Corrario a Venetian.

The council of Pisa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty four cardinals with the consent of the council chuse Philargi a native of Candia, on the 17 of June, 1409. Philargi the lawful

pope dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now at Rome unanimously elect Balthazar Cossa, who assumes the name of John the XXIII^d. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had distinguish'd himself in his progress on the coast of Naples in favour of Urban. He had, sometime since, purchas'd at a very dear rate a cardinal's hat, and a mistress nam'd Catharine whom he carried off from her husband. At the head of a small army he recover'd Bologna from the Viscomti. He was a soldier without manners; but nevertheless he was a pope canonically elected.

The schism seems now to be ended by the laws of the church; but the politics of certain princes give it still a being; if we can call by the name of politics that spirit of jealousy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation which sets the world in a flame.

A diet was assembled at Frankfort in 1409, at which the emperor presides, and is attended by ambassadors from the kings of France, England, and Poland. And what ensues? the emperors support one faction of anti-popes, and France another. The emperor and Empire believing the right of assembling councils to be theirs. The diet of Frankfort treats the council of Pisa as an unlawful assembly; and demands a regular council. Thus it happen'd that the council of Pisa, when they imagin'd every thing settled, had instead thereof left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John the twenty-third chosen solemnly at Rome. The two others were Corraris, and Peter de la Lune. Corraris wander'd about from town to town; Peter de la Lune was by order of the court of France shut up in Avignon; where without acknowledging him they kept this phantom to produce upon occasion in opposition to others in the same business.

1410.

While Europe is thus disturb'd by popes ; a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights - masters of Prussia about some boats laden with Corn. These knights instituted at first to serve the Germans in their hospitals, were at length become a militia something like the Mammelukes.

The knights are defeated. They lose Thorn, Elbing and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies the 10th of May at Openheim. Wenceslaus still calls himself emperor, without fullfilling any of the imperial functions.

J O S H U A.

THIRTY SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410.

WENCESLAUS was no more emperor except at Prague among his domestics. Sigismund his brother claims the Empire. Joshua Margrave of Brandenburgh and of Moravia his cousin also demands it.

Joshua not only disputes the Empire with his cousin, but Brandenburgh also.

The elector Palatine Lewis, eldest son to the last emperor Robert, the archbishop of Triers, and the ambassadors of Sigismund, name Sigismund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambassador, and a deputy from Brandenburgh in favour of Joshua, elect Joshua in the same town.

Wenceslaus at Prague protests against these two elections ; Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.

SIGIS-

S I G I S M U N D,

KING of Bohemia, and of Hungary; Margrave
of Brandenburg.

THIRTY EIGHTH EMPERORS.

1411.

BY the death of Joshua three months after his election, Germany is deliver'd from a civil war, which he would not have been able, by himself, to support, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigismund is emperor both nominally and effectually.

This election is confirm'd by all the electors the 21th of July.

The towns, at that time, had no bishops but by the decision of battle. For in the canvassing elections, John the XXIII^d, approving one bishop; and Corratio another, produced a civil war; which happen'd at Cologne as well as at Liege. The archbishop Theodoric of the house of Mœurs does not take possession of his see, till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the house of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms against Poland. They are so formidable that Sigismund leagues privately with Poland against them. Poland at length cedes Prussia to the knights; and the grand master becomes insensibly a considerable sovereign.

1412.

The great schism of the West is in some measure an embarrassment to Sigismund; he sees himself king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor;

peror; titles he would willingly confirm to his posterity. The Venetians, having aggrandis'd themselves much, had in the time of a croisad conquer'd part of Dalmatia; he defeats them at frial, and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand Ladislaus or Lancelot that king of Hungary, whom he had expell'd, makes himself master of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John the XXIII^d had at first, like his predecessors, call'd him in to his defence; and by that means given himself a dangerous master, fearing he should have found one in Sigismund. This forc'd step of John soon cost him the pontifical chair.

1413.

John the XXIII^d, to extirpate schism and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the council of Pifa to Rome, where he ought to have had more strength. The emperor convokes a council at Constance to destroy the pope. One sees few Italians popes that are easily duped. This one was entirely duped, both by Sigismund, and the king of Naples Ladislaus or Lancelot. This prince now master of Rome became his enemy; and the emperor still more so. The emperor writes to the anti-popes to Peter de la Lune now at Arragon, and to Corrario who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both these fugitive popes protest against the council of Constance.

Lancelot dies. The pope, deliver'd from one of his masters, ought not to put himself into the hands of another. He goes to Constance hoping the protection of Frederic duke of Austria, inheritor of the Austrian hatred to the house of Luxemburgh. This prince, in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus*, the title of general of the troops of the Church, and with it a pension of six thousand golden florins, as vain as his commission. The pope unites himself also to the marquis of Baden, and
some

some other princes. At last he enters Constance the 28th of October attended by nine cardinals in great state.

In the mean time Sigismund is crown'd at Aix-la-chapelle, and all the electors assist at the imperial feast, in their proper stations.

1414.

Sigismund arrives at Constance on christmas-day ; the duke of Saxony carrying the sword of the Empire naked before him ; the burgrave of Nuremberg whom he had made governor of Brandenburg bearing the scepter. The golden globe was born by his step-father the count de Cillei ; this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor assists at mass in quality of deacon. He reads the gospel ; but no feet are kiss'd ; no stirrup is held ; nor is there a horse led by the bridle ; the pope presents him a sword, there were three thrones erected, one for the emperor, one for the pope, and one for the empress ; the emperor being in the middle.

1415.

John the XXIII^d. promises to resign the papal chair, in case the anti-popes should also quit theirs, and provided, *that his resignation every way appear'd to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church.* This last clause ruin'd him. He was either forc'd to this declaration ; or the business of a pirate had spoil'd him for a pope. Sigismund kiss'd John's feet, as soon as John had read him the particular form. And this lost him the papacy.

Sigismund is easily master of the council by surrounding it with soldiers. Here he appear'd in all his glory ; there were present the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector Palatine, the governor of Brandenburg, the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia, 108 counts, 200 barons, who at this time were something, and 27 ambassadors, who there represented

sented their sovereigns. They vied in luxury and magnificence, as may be easily inferred by the number of jewellers, being 500, who came at this time to Constance. There were also reckon'd 500 musicians, and what the customs of these times make very credible, there were 718 courtezans protected by the magistrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly in the disguise of a postilion to the territories of John of Austria count of Tirol. This prince is forced to deliver up the pope, and to ask the emperor's pardon upon his knees.

Whilst the pope is prisoner in a castle, belonging to his protector the duke of Austria, they prepare his process. He is accused of every crime, deposed on the 29th of May, and the council, by the sentence, reserves to itself the right of punishing him.

The 6th of July of the same year 1415. John Hus, confessor to the queen of Bohemia and doctor of divinity, is burnt alive by sentence of the fathers of the council, notwithstanding a very formal protection that Sigismund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector Palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praise God till his voice was stifled by the flame.

These are the principal propositions for which he was condemn'd to this horrible punishment. "That there is but one catholic church, which contains in her bosom all the chosen." That temporal lords ought to oblige priests to observe the law; "and that a bad pope is not the vicar of Jesus Christ.

"Do you believe the universal *à parte rei*? says a cardinal to him, *I believe the universal à parte mentis*, answered John Hus: *you don't believe in the real presence then!* cried the cardinal. It is manifest that they intended to burn John, and they did it".

1416.

Sigismund after the condemnation of the pope and of John Hus, taken up with the glory of extirpating schism, prevails upon the kings of Castile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, at Narbonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de la Lune.

He goes thence to Chamberi in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the investiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, sits in the king's place, in the parliament, and there makes a knight. It is said that this was too much, and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why so? if the king had given him his place he ought also to approve of his conferring an honor which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is receiv'd at his landing by the nobility, who advance in the water sword in hand to meet him, to do him honour, and at the same time to admonish him, that he was not to act as master. This is an acknowledgement of the right which he has in the opinion of some people to the great name of Cæsar.

He said, that he came to London, to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in those most unhappy times of the French monarchy, that the English king, Henry V. insisted upon France by conquest and inheritance.

The emperor, instead of making peace, joins England against unhappy France. He has some advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the Empire of the Caliphs, and threaten'd Constantinople, overran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waste Hungary and Austria; but as yet these were but the incursions of a band of robbers. Troops are sent against them, and they retreat.

Whilst Sigismund is on his voyage, the council, after having burnt John Hus, search out another victim.

victim, in the person of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a disciple of John Hus, was greatly his superior in wit and eloquence. He had at first subscribed to the condemnation of his master, but was afterwards ashamed of it. He looked upon his recantation as his only crime, and submitted to death with the same intrepidity on the first of June, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to John the XXIII. and one of the restorers of letters, who was present at the trial and punishment of Jerome, says, that he spoke with the eloquence of a Socrates, and braved the flames, as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates indeed and these two Bohemians were condemned because they were hated by the sophists of their respective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and those of the Christians of the 15th century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful punishment of fire into which priests are cast by priests!

The popes having pretended to judge of princes, and to depose them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the same rights. Frederic of Austria, having taken some towns, near Tirol, which the bishop of Trent, whom he kept prisoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the bishop and the towns under penalty of being deprived, not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederic of Austria, sovereign of Tirol, flies from Constance; his brother Ernest seizes on Tirol, and the emperor puts Frederic under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year, Frederic is re-instated in Tirol, and his brother Ernest keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiss, who had seized some towns belonging to the duke of Austria, refused to give them up, and strengthen'd their league.

1417.

The emperor returns to Constance, where, with great pomp, he gives the investiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an investiture which must be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vassal.

He sells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederic de Hohenzollern burgrave of Nuremberg for four hundred thousand golden florins, which the burgrave had amassed, and which in those times was a very considerable sum. Some authors say, it was only one hundred thousand, and are the more credible.

Sigismund, by contract, reserves to himself the right of re-purchasing Brandenburg for the same sum, in case he should have children.

In the sentence pronounced by the council in presence of the emperor against pope Peter de la Lune, he is declared *perjured, a disturber of the public peace, an heretic, forsaken of God, and obstinate*. The title of obstinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor proposes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim against him as an heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and 33 prelates of the council, deputies of nations, assemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, besides cardinals having a right to vote since the sacred college had reserved to itself the election of popes; for Gregory III. was chosen by the voice of the people.

On the 11th of November Otho de Collonna is chosen, who changes that great name to Martin. The consecration of this pope was above all others august. The reins of his horse, as he went to church, were held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes,

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the ambassadors of all the kings, and by the intire council.

1418.

In the midst of this great provision of the council, and such apparent pains to restore peace to the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigismund principally employed? In amassing money.

Not content with having sold his electorate of Brandenburg, he hastened, during the holding of the council, to sell, for his own use, some towns that had been confiscated, to Frederic of Austria. The agreement made, restitution ought to have ensued; the delay of which and his continual want of money tarnished his glory.

The new pope Martin V. declares Sigismund king of the Romans, by supplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The pope having promised to labour for the reformation of the church, publishes some constitutions respecting the revenues of the apostolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the ecclesiastical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him for the expences of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeased this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for history to remark is, that Sigismund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been seen, held for a little while of the bishop of Liege.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than a pretension to land cultivated by another, but not the possession of a land which we cultivate ourselves, it has been the subject of a thousand undetermined disputes.

1419.

1419.

Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia. The ashes of John Hus and of Jerome of Prague excite commotions.

The partizans of these two unfortunate men endeavoured to maintain their doctrine and revenge their death. The celebrated John Ziska puts himself at the head of the Hussites, and endeavours to make use of the opportunity given him, by the weakness of Wenceslaus, the fanaticism of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and establish himself a government.

Wenceslaus dies in Bohemia almost forgotten. Sigismund has the empire now intirely to himself. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Silesia, had he not disposed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the most powerful house in Germany.

1420.

It is against this puissant emperor, that John Ziska rises, who makes war upon him in his hereditary dominions. The monks were osteneft victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Constance.

John Ziska inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark on account of the duchy of Sleswick. King Erich seizes upon this duchy; but the wars of the Hussites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigismund besieges Prague, John Ziska puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raise the siege. A priest marches with him at the head of the Hussites, who bears a chalice in his hand as a mark of his acting in a double capacity.

A month

A month after, John Ziska beats the emperor again. This war continued 16 years, had not the emperor violated his own protection so many misfortunes never could have happened.

1421.

There had been now for many years no crusades but against christians. Martin V. caused the Hussites to be preached against in Germany, instead of granting them communion with Wine.

A bishop of Triers marches at the head of an army of holy men against John Ziska, who having with him little more than 200 men cuts them in pieces.

The emperor marches again towards Prague and is again beaten.

1422.

Coribut prince of Lithuania joins Ziska in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziska, who really merited to be so, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziska signifies Blind in the Sclavonian tongue, and thus they called this warrior, as Horatius had been formerly named Cocles. He really merited the title of Blind, having lost both his eyes, and this John the Blind was quite a different sort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigismund. He believed there was a possibility of his reigning, notwithstanding that he had lost his eyes, while he could conquer and be head of a party.

1423.

The emperor driven out of Bohemia, by the avengers of John Hus, had recourse to his old stratagem of selling provinces. He sold Moravia to Albert, duke of Austria; this was disposing of what the Hussites possessed. Procopius, the Shaver, because he was a priest, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziska, defends Moravia against the Austrians.

1424.

1424.

Ziska, the Blind, supports himself not only against the emperor, but against Coribut, who from his defender was become his rival. He routs Coribert after having defeated the emperor.

Sigismund might nevertheless have profited by this civil war amongst his enemies, but he is engaged at the same time at a wedding. He assists at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Presburg with great state, while Ziska drives out his rival Coribut and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziska dies in his army of a contagious disorder. Nothing is better known than the disposal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. *Let me be left, says he, in the open field, I had rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my skin; the very sound of it will put our enemies to flight.*

His party does not die with him. It had been formed by Fanaticism and not by Ziska. Procopius, the Shaver, succeeds to his government and reputation.

1425, 1426.

Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite against the emperor, who cannot repair the ruins of his country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the same time with the usurper and with Sigismund.

In fine the empire furnishes an army of an hundred thousand men to the emperor, and this army is intirely defeated. They say that the solidiers of Procopius, who are called Taborites, used two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

1427.

While the emperor Sigismund is driven out of Bohemia, and that the embers of John Hus set this country,

try, Moravia and Austria in a flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holstein continue. Lubec, Hamburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, declare against him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigismund? He sides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He seems to have lost his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but also as emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himself king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

1428.

It is plain that Sigismund was very badly succoured by the empire, and that he could not raise men in Hungary. He was burdened with titles and with misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Presburg to make peace with his subjects. The party named the *Orphans*, who were the most powerful at Prague, will listen to no accommodation but answer, *that a free people have no business with a king.*

1429. 1430.

Procopius, the Shaver, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the *Orphans*, the *taborites*, and the priests, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialists. Misnia, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Brandenburg, are laid waste. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes use of his baggage by way of intrenchment against the german cavalry with success. These entrenchments were called *Tabors*; he goes on with these *Tabors*, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire involved in wars amongst themselves, could not oppose these irruptions.

tions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning a couple of priests.

During these troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavours to engage to his assistance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king; But he cannot come to the spot; the Polanders prevent him.

1431.

He again sues to the Hussites for peace; which he cannot obtain; and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian the pope's legate are a second time defeated at Kiffenberg, and that in so complete a manner that Procopius appears to be master of the intimidated empire.

At length the Hungarians whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march against the conqueror, and save Germany which had otherwise been laid waste.

The Hussites repulsed at one place are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council and proposes admitting the Hussite priests.

The council opens at Basil the 23^d of May.

1432.

The fathers give passports for two hundred people, to the Hussites.

This council of Basil held under Eugene IV. was no other than a prolongation of several others summoned at different times by Martin V. to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to dissolve their assembly or to transfer it, and that he ought to submit to them on pain of punishment. The councils regarded themselves as general states of Europe, judges of popes and of kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Constance, and they intend the same compliment for Eugenius IV. at Basil.

Eugenius,

Eugenius, who believed himself above the council, dissolves it; but in vain. He finds himself cited to appear there, rather than to preside; and Sigismund takes that opportunity to get himself crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, tho' to no purpose, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Phillip Visconti reigns over the Milanese, and over Genoa the unfortunate rival of Venice, which had lost her liberty, and now only sought for masters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians dispute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines side with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigismund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council against the pope, as he had done before at Constance. The fathers proclaim his holiness a contemner of the court, and give him sixty days for his appearance, after which they depose him.

The fathers of Basil would act imitative of those of Constance. But their examples deceive them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the same.

1433.

The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John of Hus and Jerome of Prague were burned at Constance; their followers are respected at Basil, where their voices are admitted. The Hussite priests who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the *Shaver* who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: *This is the conqueror of the church and of the empire.* The council allow them to drink at their communion, and they dispute about the rest. The emperor arrives at Basil, where he with great calmness sees his conqueror, and is taken up with the process against the pope.

While they argue at Basil, the Hussites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itself engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Hussites make war among themselves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated to go against the opposite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of prisoners to the stake. These heretics so long armed, to revenge their deceased apostle, now cast each other into the flames.

1434.

If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himself; they never neglected the public good. Lewis of Bavaria, duke of Ingolstadt, having tyrannised over his vassals, being detested by his neighbours, and not sufficiently powerful to defend himself, is put under the ban of the empire; and is favored by giving some money to Sigismund.

The emperor was, at that time, so poor, that he gave up things of the greatest consequence for the most trifling sums.

The last electoral branch of Saxony of the antient house of Ascania dies without leaving any children. Many relations lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it costs the marquis of Misnia, *Frederick the warlike*, an hundred thousand florins.

1435.

The emperor retires to Hungary to negotiate with his subjects of Bohemia. The states prescribe the conditions according to which they chuse to be reconciled, and stipulate among other things that he shall not alter their coin any more. This is a clause to his shame; but a shame common to the princes of

those

those times. The people submit to their sovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At last the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians submit themselves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

1436, 1437.

Sigismund reenters Prague, and receives homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having appeased other troubles, he causes duke Albert of Austria his kinsman to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir to the kingdom. This is the last event of his life which happened in December 1437.

ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA.

THIRTY EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438.

IT then began to appear that the house of Austria would in time become the most powerful in Europe. Albert II, kinsman to Sigismund, sees himself king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, sovereign of several other territories and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election, but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is easy for their descendants to set themselves up an hereditary right.

The party of the Hussites who were called *Calixtins* chuse for king Casimir brother to the king of Poland, and he must fight. The emperor commanded by Albert *the Achilles*, then Burgrave of Nuremberg and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, secures the Bohemian crown to Albert II. duke of Austria, by repeated victories.

In the great diet of Nuremberg the ancient tribunal of the *Austrégués* is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been seen, to prevent the effusion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators who ought to be approved of by the states of the empire, and give judgment within a year.

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia and Westphalia. The electoral territories are not comprised within these four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governing his territories without subjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money for the public security.

In this diet they abolished an old law which still subsisted in several parts of Westphalia, and being contradictory to all law was unworthy the name of one. It was called the *secret judgment*, and condemned a man to death, without his knowing any thing of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than assassinating, has been used in many states, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any pressing danger, or the interest of the state, which is superior to all law, can give countenance to such barbarity. An ill-founded tradition would fain persuade us, that Charlemagne I. established this bloody tribunal to keep the conquered and headstrong Saxons within bounds. Some judges of Westphalia still made use of this cruel custom: All the successors of Charlemagne ought to blush to have left the honour of suppressing it to Albert of Austria.

1439.

The council of Basil continued still on the one hand to trouble the West; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who dispute the East, carry their devastations to the frontiers of Hungary.

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The Greek emperor, John Paleologus, who had scarce any more dominions left than Constantinople, vainly imagines it in his power to obtain succour of the Christians; he humbles himself so far as to come to Rome to submit the Greek church to the papal jurisdiction.

John Paleologus and his patriarch were received in the council of Ferrara, a council set up by Eugenius IV. in opposition to that of Basil. The Greek emperor and his clergy in their submission, really maintain, to all appearance, the majesty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of these fugitives kissed the pope's feet; they detested this ceremony, received by the emperors of the West, who call themselves the sovereigns of the pope. Nevertheless, they had in the first ages kissed the feet of the Greek bishops.

Paleologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is solemnly decided and agreed upon by the representatives of the Latin and Greek churches, *that the holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration; the Father communicates every thing to the Son except his paternity and that the Son from all eternity has had the productive virtue whereby the holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as from the Father.*

The submission of this primacy was a great, interesting, and glorious point for the see of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was solemnly acknowledged for head of the universal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was soon after disavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of pope Eugenius was not for this the less glorious. While he renders this service to the Latins, and finishes to the best of his power the schisms of the East and West, the council of Basil depose him from the papal chair, declaring him *rebellious, simoniac, schismatical, heretical and perjured.*

If we consider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious spirits: if we regard the rules of discipline which they laid down, then will they appear to us as very wise men, and this is because in their deposition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by passions which had no share in their regulations. The most august body when carried away by passions always commits more faults than a single man.

It ought not here to be forgotten that Paleologus at his return to Constantinople, was become so odious to his own church for having submitted to that of Rome, that his own son refused him burial.

Nevertheless the Turks advanced even to Sannaria in Hungary. In the midst of these alarms, Albert of Austria, from whom much was expected, dies on the 27th of October, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

F R E D E R I C of A U S T R I A.

Third of that name

THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1440.

TH E R E is a meeting at Frankfort as usual for the electing a king of the Romans. The states of Bohemia, who were without a sovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Lewis landgrave of Hesse refuses the imperial crown. History furnishes many examples of the same nature. The empire had now for a long time been
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looked upon as a dowerless spouse who had need of a very rich husband.

Frederic of Austria, duke of Stiria, son of Ernest, who was much less powerful than the landgrave of Hesse, is not so difficult.

In the same year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuses the crown of Bohemia which was offered to him; but this new refusal has its foundation upon a motive which princes ought to set themselves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, was after his death brought to bed of a son named Ladislaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that some respect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Interest does not always sway sovéreigns. There is also some honour amongst them; and they ought to consider, that when this honour is secure, it is superior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the empéror Frederic III. also refuses the crown of Bohemia. Thus does the precedent of virtue influence. Frederic III. scorns to be less generous than the duke of Bavaria. He charges himself with the guardianship of the child Ladislaus, who by birth-right ought to possess the higher Austria wherein is Vienna; and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him respected the blood whence he sprung.

The council of Frisingen is held, in which those who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confessed within the year, are deprived of burial. These strange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

1441.

A great diet at Mentz. The anti-pope, Amadeus of Savoy, (Felix) created by the council of Basil, sends to that diet a *legate à latere*, where he was

obliged to quit the cross and purple which Amadeus had bestowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimsical sort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit quitted his retreat at *Ripaille* in order to be pope. The fathers of the council of Basil, had elected him tho' he was a secular. They have in this violated all custom, and these fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a seditious faction. The diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The knights of the Teutonic order govern so despotically in Prussia that the people give themselves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladislaus the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midst of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes assist at the coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In those days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and ostentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the Northern people. Eric king of Denmark and of Sueden, designs his nephew to succeed him in his throne. The states oppose him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depose their old king Eric, who aspired at being too absolute, and called to the crown, or rather to the first magistracy, Christopher of Bavaria.

1443, 1444.

Politics, laws and customs were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was seen united with the house of Austria against

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the Swiss. The dauphin, afterwards Charles XI. marches against the Swiss, whose liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors speak of a great victory gained by the dauphin near Basil; if he had gained such a great battle, how happened it that he could not without some difficulty obtain leave to enter Basil with his domestics? This is certain that the Swiss never lost that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional strength in spite of their dissensions.

It was not against the Swiss he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone against the Turks. Amurath II. after having abdicated the empire, resumed it at the intreaty of the Janisaries. This Turk, who might be ranked amongst philosophers, was numbered with heroes. He pushed his conquests in Hungary. The king of Poland, Uladislaus, the second of the Jagellons, caused himself to be elected by the Hungarians to the prejudice of young Ladislaus of Austria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the most solemn peace that ever Christians made with Mussulmans.

Amurath and Uladislaus solemnly swear to it. The one upon the alcoran, the other upon the gospel.

Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings against the partizans of John Hus, for having formerly presided at the council of Basil, and for the Croisade, which he had preached against the Turks, was at that time, by too blind a zeal, the cause of reproach and misfortune to the christians.

The peace was scarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himself he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet, and that the roused Greeks, would make one last effort. A pretext for violating the oaths was wanting. Amurath

had observed all the conditions with such exactness, that he left no subterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other resource than that of persuading Uladislaus, the Hungarian chiefs and the Polanders, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he assured them that the peace sworn upon the gospel was to no effect, because it was made against the inclination of the pope. In effect the pope, who was then Eugenius IV. wrote to Uladislaus, *that he commanded him to break a peace which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy see.* We already see the introduction of the maxim, *that no faith is to be kept with Heretics.* From whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themselves to be carried away by the torrent, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had so often beat Amurath and Mahomet II.

Uladislaus seduced by false hopes, and still more by false morality, surprises the territories of the Sultan. He is soon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formally called Mæsia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varnes.

Amurath carried in his bosom, the treaty of peace which they had so lately concluded. He drew it out in the midst of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to punish the perjurd, and revenge this outrage committed against the law of nations.

This is what gave rise to the fable, that the peace had been sworn upon the eucharist, that the host had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he address'd himself in the time of battle. The perjurd this time receiv'd the chastisement they deserv'd, the christians were vanquish'd after a long resistance. King Uladislaus was run thro'

thro' the body, his head cut off by a Janifary, was carried in triumph from rank to rank thro' the Turkish army, and this spectacle finish'd the rout. Some people have affirmed, that the cardinal Julian, who assisted in this battle, endeavouring in his flight to pass a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others say that the Hungarians themselves killed him. It is certain that he perish'd in this journey.

1445.

Germany ought to have opposed the progress of the Ottomans. But at that time Frederic, who had called in the French to his assistance against the Swifs, seeing that his defenders over-run Alsatia and the neighbouring country, goes to chase out these dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, altho' it was an imperial town. He exacts under the same title presents from Metz and Verdun. This right of protection upon these towns in their indigence, is the origin of that sovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Instead of carrying on a long, brisk, and well-conducted war against the Turks, a short one is made upon the frontiers against the French.

The ecclesiastical war between the council of Basil and pope Eugenius IV. still subsists. Eugenius bethinks himself of deposing the archbishops of Cologne and of Triers; because they had been partizans of the council of Basil.

He had no right to depose them as archbishops, and yet much less as electors. But what does he do? he names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy and at Triers, a natural brother of that prince; for a pope can never be either puissant or have it in this power to hurt but in arming one prince against another.

1446.

1446.

The other electors, the princes, take part with the two bishops vainly deposed. The pope had foreseen this; he proposes an accommodation, re-establishes the two bishops, he soothes the Germanians, and in fine Germany, which had remain'd neuter in the dispute between the anti-pope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The council of Basil soon falls into contempt, and in a short time dissolved insensibly of itself.

1447.

A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheless establish'd certain useful regulations, which the Germanic body afterwards adopted, and which it supports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbies are re-establish'd.

The pope never named priests to small benefices but during six months of this year.

There is nothing paid to the apostolical chamber for small benefices; many other laws of the same nature are confirm'd by pope Nicholas V. who thereby pays homage to the council of Basil, which in Rome is looked upon as an unlawful assembly.

1448.

The Sultan, Amurath II. again defeats the Hungarians commanded by the famous Huniades; yet Germany does not arm itself upon these dreadful news.

1449.

Germany is taken up with domestic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages in one against the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavours to subdue; almost all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet spectator of these divisions.

He does not chuse to give the young Ladislaus up to Bohemia where he was demanded, and leaves some room to suspect his intending to keep to himself the possessions of his pupil.

This young Ladislaus ought to be intirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Austria, of Moravia, and Silesia; these were indeed sufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy resigns the papacy, and becomes again an hermit at Ripaille.

1450, 1451, 1452.

Bohemia, Hungary, and the higher Austria, again demand the young Ladislaus for their sovereign.

A gentleman named Eisinger stirs up Austria in favor of Ladislaus. Frederic still excuses himself under pretence of Ladislaus not being as yet of age. He sends his brother Frederic of Austria to quell the sedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and join'd the interest of the emperor, because he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were masters of Ravenna, of Bergamas, of Bressia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peasant's son, who was become the most powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the successor of the Visconti. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza. The holy see had recover'd Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns who had master'd them. Things were in this state at the journey of Frederic III. into Italy; a journey the most useles and most mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attack'd by robbers on the road to Rome. They took part of his baggage and he ran the risk of his life. What a manner

of

of travelling was this for him who came to be crown'd Cæsar and chief of the Christian world?

He made one innovation at Rome subsisting even to this day. Frederic III. dares not go to Milan to propose their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicolas V. himself gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the pope a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

The pope confirms to Frederic III. the guardianship of young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Austria, a guardianship of which endeavours had been made to deprive him, and the pope excommunicates all those who had disputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is besieged at Neustadt in Austria by those whom he called rebels; that is to say by those who demanded his pupil.

He at last gives up the young Ladislaus to his people. He has been a good deal praised for being a faithful tutor, altho' he resign'd his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

1453.

This year was the memorable epocha of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet III. Certainly now or never was the time for croisades. But it is not astonishing that the christian powers, who had themselves in the ancient croisades wrested Constantinople from its lawful masters, should at length suffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time possess'd of part of Greece; all the rest was in the hands of the Turks. There remain'd but one town and that the capital of this ancient Empire, now besieged by more than 200,000 men, and in this very town they disputed about religion.

ligion. One of the points of disputation was, whether it was allowed them to pray in latin ; another, whether the light upon mount Tabor was created or eternal ; another, if they might be allowed to use unleaven'd bread.

The last emperor Constantine had always near him the cardinal Isidore, whose presence alone anger'd and discouraged the Greeks : *We had rather, say they, behold the turban here than the cardinal's hat.* All the historians, and even the most modern, repeat some old stories that were then trump'd up by the monks, Mahomet, according to them, was only a Barbarian, who destroy'd Constantinople by fire and sword, and who being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head to satisfy his Janisaries. This is all equally false ; Mahomet was better brought, up more polished, and understood more languages than any christian prince of those times. There was only a part of the town taken by assault by the Janisaries. The conqueror generously granted a capitulation to the rest, and faithfully observ'd it. And as to the murder of his mistress, they must be very ignorant of the Turkish customs, to imagine that the soldiers concern'd themselves with what pass'd in the emperor's bed chamber.

A diet is assembled at Ratisbon to endeavour opposing the Ottoman arms. Philip duke of Burgundy attends at this diet, and offers to march, if he is seconded, against the Turks. Frederic was not idle at Ratisbon, for this very year Austria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

1454.

The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope by the name of Pius II. solicits all the princes to defend christianity. He addresses himself to the Teutonic knights, and reminds them of their vows ; but they are too much

ingrossed in fighting with their subjects of Pomerania and Prussia, who shake off their yoke, and give themselves up to Poland.

1455.

There is no person to oppose the progress of Mahomet II. and by a cruel fatality almost all the princes of the Empire ruin themselves by civil wars one against the other.

The house of Brunswick was contending for the salt-work; the house of the Palatinate for the title of elector, which the governor endeavours to assume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for 22,000 florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more serious than any other; young Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, reclaims that duchy. It don't appear that the emperor takes any part in these quarrels. The possession of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the house of Burgundy.

1456, 1457.

This Ladislaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and despised. He had fled to Vienna when the Turks besieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raising the siege to the celebrated John Huniades and the frier John Capistran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and the lower Austria; duke Albert his brother of the higher, and Sigismund, their cousin, of Carinthia.

1458.

Frederic III. vainly endeavours to get Hungary to himself; it devolves upon Matthias son of the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavours also to reign in Bohemia and the states elect George Podibrade who had fought for them.

1459.

1459.

Frederic III. opposes the son of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podibrade only by artifices, which shew his weakness, and this weakness emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war against him in favour of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this scrape, only by giving up several places in Austria. He is treated by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the Empire.

1460.

The new pope Pius II. late Æneas Silvius, convokes an assembly of the christian princes at Mantua, to form a croisade against Mahomet II. but the misfortune of these antient armaments was, that as they had formerly been made without reason, they contributed to impede those which were founded upon reason. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landshut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather upon supporting his antient rights upon Donawert, than on the general good of Europe. And on the contrary, during the madness of the antient croisades, they had sold Donawert to assist in going against Jerusalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Lewis, leagues against the princes of his house and together with Ulric count of Wirtemberg, raises an army of 20,000 men.

The emperor supports the rights of Wirtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, against the pretensions of the duke. He makes use of the famous Albert, the Achilles, to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raised by the count of Holstein. The king of Denmark, Christian, possesses himself

by right of succession also of Schleswick by giving some money to the other claimants, and subjects Holstein to the emperor.

1461, 1462, 1463.

Much greater troubles ensue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which tears Germany; and there are still others caused by the disagreement between the emperor and his brother, Albert duke of Upper Austria. The emperor must submit, and is obliged by agreement to cede the government of his own territory of that part of Austria in which Vienna is contained, to lower Austria. But the delay of the payment of 40,000 ducats gave occasion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle ensues, and the emperor is beaten.

His Friend Albert, the Achilles of Brandenburg, is notwithstanding his surname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria. These intestine troubles eclipse the glory of the Empire and make Germany truly unfortunate.

1464.

We see yet another disgrace: There has been always a sort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that he who possess'd certain particular pledges, or signs, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece a garment and a pair of scarlet slippers were sometimes sufficient to constitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right upon Lombardy; and when rivals disputed the imperial crown of Germany, he who could seize upon those antique arms, the lance and sword of Charlemagne, was secure of the greatest party. In Hungary he was the best off who possess'd a certain golden crown. This ornament was in the treasury of the emperor Frederic, who did not chuse to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladislaus his pupil to the Hungarians.

Matthias

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war against him.

Frederic III. at last delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty which never had any thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederic for his father, and Frederic calls Matthias his son; nay it is stipulated, that in case this pretended son dies without children and without nephew, the pretended father shall be king of Hungary. In fine the father gives the son 60, 000 crowns.

1465. 1466.

This was a time in which the Christian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had still subsisted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Hussites. King George Podibrade, instead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favours the Hussites against the Catholics in Silesia. And pope Paul II. authorises the revolt of the Silesians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podibrade who is deprived of his kingdom. These unworthy quarrels take from the Christian cause very powerful assistance. Mahomet II. had no musti to excommunicate him.

1467.

The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg most of the Princes side with Podibrade in presence of the pope's legate. And duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut says, that instead of giving Bohemia to Frederic the imperial crown ought to be given to Podibrade. The diet order that a body of 20,000 men be kept up to defend Germany against the Turks. Had Germany been well governed, they had rather opposed them with 300,000. The Teutonic knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Prussia, and at length, by a solemn treaty, they acknow-

acknowledge themselves feudataries of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468.

The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwise called Corvinus, king of Hungary. That is to say the pope, whose great interest it was to oppose a bulwark to the Turks, especially after the death of Scanderbeg the great, instead of so doing encourages a civil war amongst the Christians, and abuses the emperor and empire, by daring to oppose a king who was an elector. For the pope had no more right to depose a king of Bohemia, than that prince had to give away the see of Rome.

Matthias Huniades wastes time, troops, and negotiations to possess himself of Bohemia. The emperor with great mildness, assume's the office of mediator. Some of the Princes of Germany involve themselves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Constance forms an alliance with the Swiss cantons.

An abbot of St. Gal joins Tockemburg to his rich abbey, and its costs him no more than 40000 florins. The inhabitants of Liege war unsuccessfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbour. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469, 1470, 1471, 1472.

Matthias Huniades disputes still about Bohemia, nor does the sudden death of Podibrade extinguish the civil war. The hussite party chuse Ladislaus prince of Poland. The Catholics declare for Matthias Huniades.

The house of Austria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III. for a long time loses more than it gains. Sigismund of Austria, the last prince of the branch of Tirol, sells to Charles the
rash,

raſh, duke of Burgundy, Briſgau, Suntgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for 80000 golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries than for ſovereignties to be ſold at a very mean price. This was diſmembring the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already poſſeſſed all the low countries. It was not to be foreſeen that at ſome time or other the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Burgundy ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria. The laws of the empire forbid theſe alienations; the conſent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the aſking of it was neglected.

At the ſame time Charles duke of Burgundy purchaſed the duchy of Gueldres, and the country of Zutphen for near the ſame price. This duke of Burgundy was the moſt powerful of thoſe princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were ſo powerful. He was at the ſame time a vaſſal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

1473, 1474.

This duke of Burgundy as enterpriſing as the emperor was inactive; is uneaſy to all his neighbours at the ſame time. No perſon could have a clearer title to the name of *Raſh*.

He invades the palatinate. He attacks Lorain in Switzerland. It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiſs for the firſt time. There were yet but eight united cantons, Switz, Uri, Underwald, Lucerne, Zurick, Glaris, Zug, and Berne.

Lewis XI. gave them 20000 franks a year and four florins and half a man per month.

1475.

It has been always the good luck of the Turks, that the Chriſtians were divided among themſelves, as if to facilitate the conqueſts of the Ottoman empire.

Mahe-

Mahomet, master of Epirus, of Peloponesus, and of the Negro-Pont, scatters terror every where. Lewis XI. thinks of nothing but sapping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inspired him with jealousy. The provinces of Italy were employed in supporting themselves against each other; Matthias Huniades was taken up with disputing Bohemia against the king of Poland, and Frederic III. thought of nothing but amassing money, that he might one day be enabled more firmly to establish his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himself with Silesia and Moravia; he leaves Bohemia and Lusatia to the king of Poland.

Charles *the Rash* invades Lorain. He finds himself by this usurpation master of one of the finest countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the sea of Holland.

1476.

His ambition is not satisfied. He wants to restore the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby inclose the Swiss. People defend themselves against him, as they had before done against the Austrians. They defeat him intirely in the battle of Grandion, or of Morat. Their pikes and back-swords triumph over the heavy artillery, and the shining military force of Burgundy. The Swiss were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themselves, such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto scarcely fought for any thing but their advancement. Never people defended more greatly a valuable liberty than the Swiss. They were wanting in nothing but historians.

It was in this battle of Morat, that Charles the rash lost that beautiful diamond which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiss, who found it among the spoils, sold it for a crown.

1477.

Charles *the Rash* at last perishes near Nantz. He was betrayed, by Campo-Casso a Neapolitan, and killed in his flight, after the battle, by Bausmont a gentleman of Lorrain.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, the Artois, Charolois, Maçon, Bar-sur-seine, Lile, Doway, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Lewis XI. king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders which was titled imperial, with all the Low-countries, and the Franche-comté, devolve upon the young princess Mary daughter to the last duke.

That which is certainly best is, Frederic III. marrying his son Maximilian to this rich heiress. Maximilian espoused Mary in the town of Essant on the 17th of August, and Lewis XI. who ought to have given her in marriage to his son, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the strongest, and in its consequence the source of eternal discord, kindles this war against the princess. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any rights upon Cambray? Has it any upon the Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté still to be esteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the succession of Burgundy, or ought it to revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have chosen rather the whole inheritance. Lewis XI. is willing to ingross all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of so many unhappy wars between France and Austria, there being no acknowledged law was the occasion of so many people being sacrificed.

Lewis XI. at length possesses himself of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low-countries of all that he could possibly grasp in the Artois or in Hainault.

1478.

A prince of Orange of the house of Chalons in the Franche-Comté, endeavours to preserve this province to Mary. This princess defends herself in the low-countries without her husband being able to furnish her any succour from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent husband of a sovereign heroine. He presses the princes of Germany to take part in his cause. They all rather attend to their own interest. A landgrave of Hesse carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in prison. The Teutonic knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is upon the point of making it up with Mahomet II.

1479.

At last Maximilian, assisted only by the natives of Liege, puts himself at the head of his wife's army, which is called the Flemish forces, altho' Flanders, properly speaking, that is to say from Lille to Ghent, was of the French party. The princess Mary had a stronger army than the king of France.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegaste in the month of August. This battle was not one of those which at once determines the fate of a war.

1480.

A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. sends a legate into Flanders. They made a treaty of two years. Where all this time is the emperor Frederic III? He can do nothing for his sons, neither during the war nor by negotiations. But he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481.

However the Turks besiege Rhodes. The famous grand-master Daubuisson, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raise the siege at the end of three months.

But

But the basha Acomat enters the kingdom of Naples with 50 Gallies. He takes Orant by assault. All the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herself trembles. The indolence of the Christian princes escapes this torrent only by the sudden death of Mahomet II. and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimsical agreement between John king of Denmark and Sweden and his brother Frederic duke of Holstein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holstein as a fief of the empire, and Schleswic as a fief of Denmark in common. All these agreements are in general the sources of war; but this above all others.

The Cantons of Friburg in Switzerland and of Soleuse join with the other eight. This by itself is but a trifling event. Two small towns cut but a small figure in the history of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty sets them above the greatest provinces that compose it.

1482.

Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her possessions in the name of Philip the minor his son. These towns are all priveleged. These privileges cause almost perpetual dissensions between the people who would support, and the sovereign who would subject them to his will. Maximilian reduces Zealand, Leiden, Utrecht and Nimeguen.

1483, 1484, 1485:

All the towns surrender one after another, but without any agreement, and are reduced gradually. The seeds of discontent still remain.

1486.

So far are they from uniting against the Turks, that Matthias Huniades king of Hungary, instead of making a proper use of the death of Mahomet II.

to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What's the reason of this war of the pretended son against the pretended father? It is difficult to guess. He wants to possess himself of Austria. What right has he to it? his troops beat the Imperialists; he takes Vienna. Here is his sole right. The emperor appears insensible to the loss of lower Austria; he roves about the low-countries; thence he goes to Frankfort to secure among the electors the title of king of the Romans to his son. A man could not have less personal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his house.

Maximilian is crown'd at Aix-la-chapelle on the 9th of April, by the archbishop of Cologne; pope Innocent VIII. giving his consent thereto, for the popes always grant what they believe to be necessary. The emperor, who had credit sufficient in the diet of Frankfort, to make his son king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain 50,000 florins a month, to enable him to recover Austria. This is one of those strange contradictions often to be met with in history. At this time was made the league of Suabia to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort, a menacing law, which put all those who attack'd their neighbours under the ban of the Empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia associated themselves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demolish the strongholds of the *Malandrins* or robbers. They also obliged duke George of Bavaria to desist from insulting his neighbours. This was a militia for the public good. It did not last long.

1487.

The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades which only a vanquish'd man would have made. He leaves to him the lower Austria, until he

he should pay to him all the expences of the war, and reserving to himself the right of succeeding his adopted son in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488.

Maximilian king of the Romans finds himself at the same time attacked by the French and by his own subjects in the Low-countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied some taxes against the laws of the country, all of a sudden clap him into prison where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition, that he should withdraw the few German troops which he had with him, and make peace with France.

How happen'd it that the ministry of the young Charles VIII. king of France neglected so favourable a conjuncture? this ministry was then weak.

1489.

Maximilian secretly espouses by proxy the duchess Anne of Bretagne. Had he espoused her effectually and had children by her, he had doubly press'd France, which was surrounded at the same time by Franche-Comté, Alsatia, Bretagne, and the Low-countries.

1490.

Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us see if the emperor Frederic, his adopted father, succeeded him by virtue of treaties. Frederic parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the states swear to acknowledge him only whom she should espouse, and soon weds Ladislaus Jagellon king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheless recovers lower Austria, and carries the war into Hungary.

1491.

The same treaty that Frederic III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladislaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged presumptive heir to Ladislaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia.

Fate, even at this distance, was preparing Hungary for subjection to the house of Austria.

The emperor does a bold action in these times of prosperity. He puts his kinsman Albert of Bavaria duke of Munich under the ban of the Empire. It is astonishing to think what a number of princes of this house have been thus treated. What was the occasion of it? Tirol was given solemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigismund of Austria, and this donation or secret sale was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunigonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederic III.

The emperor pretended that the Empire could not be alienated, and the whole Empire was divided upon this question; an indubitable proof, that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing so much wanting in society.

The ban of the Empire was in such cases no more than a declaration of war, but this was very soon concluded, Tirol remain'd in the possession of Austria: some compensations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratisbon, which had been for some time in his hands.

Ratisbon was an imperial town. The duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his estate, establishing his title upon ancient right; it had been newly declared an imperial town; there scarcely remain'd to the duke of Bavaria above one half of the rights of custom.

1492.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagin'd he might establish the grandeur of his house upon a peace-

peaceable foundation by marrying his daughter Margaret of Austria to Charles VIII, king of France, with whom she was brought up; and soon after by marrying Ann of Bretagne by Proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII. on the 6th of December 1491, and that they are about to send back his daughter Margaret to him. Women are no longer the subjects of war among princes; but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Matilda had so long troubled the peace of Italy, so does that of Maria of Burgundy kindle perpetual discord.

Maximilian surprises Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace by which the king of France cedes to him la Franche-Comté in pure sovereignty, the Artois and the Charolois and Nogent on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that these countries are ceded but to his son Philip, as the representative of his mother Mary of Burgundy.

It must be acknowledged, that no king of the Romans ever began his career so gloriously as Maximilian. The victory of Guinégaste over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the stroke of a pen cover'd him with glory.

1493.

Frederic III. dies the 19th of August aged 78. He had reigned 53 years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the most glorious.

M A X I M I L I A N .

F O R T I E T H E M P E R O R .

ABOUT the time of Maximilian's coming to the Empire, Europe began to wear a very different aspect. The Venetians at length opposed themselves as

a bulwark against the Turks, who already possess'd a very large territory. The Venetians still kept Cyprus, Candy, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia. They extended their sovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them thro' the channels of commerce.

The popes were become sovereigns of Rome; but sovereigns extremely confined in this capital: and most of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always disputed, were lost by them.

The house of Conzagna possess'd Mantua, a town belonging to the countess Matilda, and a fief of the Empire which the holy see never possess'd. Parma and Placentia which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the *Sforzas* dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the house of *Este*. Bologna belonged to the *Bentivoglio*, Perugia to the *Baloni*, Ravenna to the *Polentini*, Farenza to the *Manfredi*, Immoia and Forli to the *Rimario*; almost all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romania, was possess'd by particular sovereigns, the most of whom easily obtained charters as vicars of the Empire.

The *Sforzas* had not during 15 years condescend'd to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of *Free*, under the direction tho' not in the power of the Medicis.

The states of Savoy, as yet very much oppress'd, standing in need of both money and commerce, were then much less considerable than the Swifs.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we shall find it begin again to flourish. Its members, that had been so long divided, re-unite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Ann of Bretagne with Charles VIII, compleated the strengthening of this kingdom; which had received some considerable improve-

Improvements under Lewis XI. by the acquisition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, she had had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than she had been for near 700 years, at this time began to revive. Isabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Grenada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprize of glory unheard of until that time; she began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a passage to the Indies by sea. Here are the sources of all the great events that have since actuated all Europe.

1494.

The Turks under Bajazet cease not as yet to be terrible, tho' less so than under Mahomet. They make incursions into Hungary and some part of the Austrian dominions; but these are only a few scattered billows, that after the mighty storm contend upon the surface. Maximilian goes to secure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Inspruc the niece of Lewis Sforza, otherwise called Lewis the Moor, the usurper of Milan, who had poisoned his pupil and natural heir. This was not the only house where crimes had the sanction of nobility. Money only constituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the investiture of the Milanese to Lewis the Moor, which Germany resents.

At the same time Lewis the Moor calls also Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the same time in pay an emperor and a king of France.

He deceives them both. He believes that he may divide the conquest of Naples with Charles VIII, and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the em-

peror shall invade France. The beginning of the 15th century is famous for the deepest intrigues and the blackest treacheries. It was the crisis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavoured to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495.

A new imperial chamber established at Francfort, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg is first president. It was the same chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and at length to Vetzlar, where some processes were determined, which had subsisted since its foundation.

Wirtemberg erected into a duchy.

A great dispute to determine, whether the duchy of Lorrain be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorrain and Bar, at the same time protesting, that he did it only in consideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh most, his homage or his protestation?

While Charles VIII. called into Italy by Lewis the Moor, and by pope Alexander IV. rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himself master of the kingdom of Naples by means of a bastard of the house of Arragon, this same Lewis the Moor, and the same pope Alexander IV. league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chuses to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, tho' in reality not so.

1496.

Maximilian goes into Italy whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always seen there, a strong hatred against the French and Germans, defiance and divisions between the several powers. But what is most to be remarked is, that

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he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thousand horse with him, and four or five thousand other men. He looked rather like the pensioner of Lewis. He wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluce and to the duke of Modena, by their presence to assist his coronation at Pavia, which all these lords refuse. Every thing concurs to shew him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itself independent.

It is the emperor's fault if he has so little credit in Italy? it appears not. The princes and diets of Germany scarcely furnish him any subsidies. He draws but little assistance from their territories. The Low-countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his son. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

1497.

The feudal right is always the occasion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a slight Tax for the service of the Empire, the Frieslanders refuse to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the Empire. Maximilian sends the duke of Saxony in quality of governor to reduce the Frieslanders. A people poor and very fond of their liberties, descended of the ancient Saxons at least, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themselves; but not so successfully as the Swiss.

1498.

Charles VIII. dies, and in spite of associations, in spite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the side of Burgundy, a fruitless irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties. Maximilian persists to reclame all the succession of Mary of Burgundy for his son Philip *le Beau*.

Lewis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for the Charolois, Artois and Flanders; and they mutually agree to submit their pretensions on

the duchy of Burgundy to the decision of the parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swifs, who are looked upon as invincible in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Grifons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildness. He writes them a soothing letter. The Swifs in their assembly at Zurich cry out, that no confidence to be placed in Maximilian.

1499.

The Austrians attack the Grifons. The Swifs defeat the Austrians, and support not only their own liberty but that of their allies. The Austrians are again beaten in three battles.

The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500.

The imperial town of Basil, Schaffhausen, and Apenzel, join the Swifs union, which is composed of the 13 cantons.

The Aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the states of the Empire in the diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry causes thither as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council having more power, causes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greatest supports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite settled till the year 1512.

The Empire is divided into six circles, in which the electoral territories are comprized as well as the rest of the Empire. Tho' this regulation had not yet sufficient force, till twelve years after the diet of Cologn.

Charles V. born in the town of Ghent, the 24th of February being St. Matthias's day. We have remarked this, because the day was always favourable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very same year in favour of this child. Don Michael, the infant of Spain dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes presumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time the new world was discovered, the fruits of which discovery Charles V, was one day to reap.

1501.

Maximilian had been the vassal of France for part of the succession of Burgundy. Lewis XII. demands, that he should be the same for the Milanese. He comes from conquering that province under Lewis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the least disturbed at the fate of a country so dear to all his predecessors.

Lewis XII. had also conquered and divided the kingdom of Naples with Ferdinand king of Arragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more disturbed.

Maximilian promises the investiture of Milan, upon condition that madam Claudia daughter of Lewis XII. and of Anne of Bretagne should marry the young duke, Charles of Luxemburg. He intends declaring the Milanese a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor masculine. Whether a daughter shall or shall not inherit, all that depends on custom imperceptibly established.

Lewis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milanese as a feminine fief in effect, because he had had no other pretensions to it than in the right of his grandmother,

mother, Valentina Viscomti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milanese and Bretagne should one day pass to his grandson, in which case Lewis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the house of Austria.

The arch-duke Philip, and his wife Johanna, daughter to Ferdinand and Isabella, caused themselves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Asturias. Maximilian sees nothing but real grandeur for his posterity, and has scarce any thing for himself but titles; for he has but the shadow of power in Italy; and of precedency in Germany. He could carry his smallest designs into execution only by policy.

1503.

He endeavours ineffectually to make Austria an electorate.

The electors continue to meet for two whole years to support their privileges.

The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany awakens the attention of the German princes.

The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and some other territories are forced from their new masters by one of pope Alexander the sixth's bastards. That is the famous cesar Borgia a deacon, an archbishop and a secular prince. He employs more art in getting possession of 7 or 8 small towns than the Alexanders, the Gengis, and the Tamerlanes had shewn in the conquest of Asia. His father the pope and himself thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Lewis XII. had been a long time in alliance with these two blood-stained men, because he stood in need of them. As for the emperor, he seemed intirely to have forgotten Italy.

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The town of Lubec declares war against Denmark. Lubec seemed to be endeavouring at being in the North what Venice was already in the Adriatic; and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark prevented its being crushed.

1504.

The quarrels of Denmark and of Sweden have nothing to say to the history of the empire; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having chosen a governor, of whom king John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the senators of Sweden as rebels and traitors, and remitted the sentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This king John had been elected king of Denmark, of Sweden, and of Norway; notwithstanding which there was a necessity for an emperor whose power was very weak, to approve and confirm his sentence. This very king John tho' with three crowns had very little power himself, especially in Sweden from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we see examples, marks sufficiently the respect always paid to the empire. It was always addressed when there seemed to be a necessity for it, as the holy see was often solicited to strengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheless failed not to procure a proper respect to be paid to the rescripts of that authority which they attributed to him. He commanded the states of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwise proceed against them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war sprung up, between a branch of the Palatine and the possessors of the house of Bavaria. The branch of the Palatine is at last condemned in the diet of Augspurg. Yet this does not make the war the less. Unhappy constitution of a state where
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the laws are without force. The branch of the Palatine loses in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very singular nature is concluded at Blois between the ambassadors of Maximilian and his son Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboise in the name of Lewis XII. on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the house of Austria, by which Lewis XII. should be in reality invested with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Lewis XII. should break the marriage of madam Claudia with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince should have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Asti by way of reparation: on the other hand, should the treaty be broken on the side of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the house of Austria should not only quit its pretensions upon the duchy of Burgundy, but also upon the Artois, the Charalois, and other territories. It is scarce credible that such a treaty was serious. If Lewis XII. should marry the princess, he should lose Bretagne; if he broke the marriage, he was to lose Burgundy. Nothing else can be said in excuse of such promises, than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505.
Isabella queen of Castile dies, and by her will disinherits her kinsman Philip father of Charles of Luxemburg, and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preserve the kingdom of Castile to her husband Ferdinand of Arragon.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johanna daughter of Isabella, heiress of Castile, was, at it is well known, called Johanna the foolish. She well deserved the title. An ambassador of Arragon comes

to Bruffels, and engages her to sign her mother's will.

1506.

An agreement between Ferdinand of Arragon and Philip. The latter consents to reign in common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put first; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip. A sure way to confound 3 persons, as will appear in the sequel.

The states of France, in concert with Lewis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboise, oppose the treaty which give madam Claudia and Bretagne to the house of Austria. They marry her to the presumptive heir of the crown, count d'Angoulesme, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had got the wife of Maximilian, Francis I. the wife of Charles V.

While so many treaties were making on this side the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were gone into Spain and Maximilian kept fair on all sides, at the same time not letting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes pursued their new design of establishing a great sovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much used. Pope Alexander VI. had began, Julius II. finished it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio, and Lewis XII. or rather the cardinal d'Amboise, assist him therein.

He had already reunited to the see of Rome the territory which Cesar Borgia had taken for himself. In effect Alexander VI. had fought for his son, but Julius II. conquered for the see of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Lewis XII. guardian of his son Charles. This will was formed on the hatred which he had for his step-father Ferdinand, and in spite of their disagreement on account of madam Claudia's marriage, he looked upon Lewis XII. to be a much honestier man than Ferdinand the catholic

lic. A mighty religion, but a most perfidious monarch! who had deceiv'd the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinsman.

1507.

A strange affair! the Low-countries refuse to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent during the minority of Charles. They say that Charles was a Frenchman, because he was born at Ghent the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext the seventeen provinces govern'd themselves for eighteen months without Maximilian's being able to remedy the insult. There was no conquer'd country more free than the Low-countries at this day; England had not obtain'd near so much liberty.

1508.

A war against the house of Gueldres who had been long since driven from their dominions, part of which having recover'd they incessantly struggled for the rest, obliges the states at last to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Austria his favourite daughter is declared governess.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover some credit in Italy by getting himself crown'd at Rome. The enterprize was difficult. The Venetians now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare they would oppose his progress in Italy if too strongly attended. The governor of Milan for Lewis the XIIth joins the Venetians. Pope Julius the II^d tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not advise him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in spite of the Venetians who had not sufficiently guarded the passes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Inspruc,

The famous Venetian general Alviano intirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians possess themselves of almost this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieste, capital of Istria and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then as a last resource sends a circular letter to all the states of the empire, injoining them to give him the title of *Roman emperor elected*; a title which his successors have ever since taken at their accession. Custom heretofore had given the name of emperor to those only who were crowned at Rome.

1509.

The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers and many small ones. Lewis XII. on one side, master of the Milanese and of Genoa, who having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Arragon, who took every thing to himself with that perfidy which is usually called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of christianity against the infidels, a rampart broken indeed in an hundred places; yet still making some resistance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the isles of Candy, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Besides, she was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than she lost by her possessions.

Her dominions upon Terra Firma began to be something. She had seized upon Faenza, Rimini, Ceseno, some territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They possessed Ravenna, and justified the most of these acquisitions, because, that having assisted the houses dispossessed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, these territories were awarded to them as their recompence. The Venetians had for

a long time possessed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquisate of Trevisa, and Frionia. They had near the Milanese Bressia and Bergamas. Francis Sforza had given them Crema, Lewis XII. had ceded to them Cremona and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compose in Italy a state so very formidable, that Europe should fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treasury. It was there that they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April 1509, Lewis XII. marches against his old allies the Venetians at the head of 15, 000 horse, 12, 000 French infantry and 8000 Swiss. The emperor advances against them on the side of Istria and Frioul. Julius II. the first warlike pope, enters the towns of Romania at the head of 10, 000 men.

Ferdinand of Arragon, as king of Naples, declares also against the Venetians because that he held some ports in the kingdom of Naples on account of some money which he had formerly lent upon them.

The king of Hungary also declares against them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having some pretensions upon the kingdom of Cyprus, gives also an helping hand to the enterprize. The duke of Ferrara a vassal of the holy see also joins in it. In fine so far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppress the Venetians.

Pope Julius the II^d was the first promoter of this singular league of the strong against the weak, so well known by the name of the *League of Cambray*. And he who would have shut strangers out of Italy for ever, floods the whole country with them.

Lewis the XIIth has the misfortune to beat the Venetians compleatly in the battle of Guiaro d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary soldiers of Venice could hold out against the other sovereigns

of Italy but not against the French gens d'armes. The misfortune of Lewis the XIIth in beating the Venetians was, that he labour'd for the emperor. Master as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they must shut their eyes not to see, that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American seas, would finish the sources of the Venetian power. Lewis XII. had received from Maximilian 100, 000 golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not possibly have marched towards the Alps.

The 14th of June 1509 the emperor gives the investiture of the Milanese to cardinal d'Amboise, who receives it for Lewis XII. in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his issue to count d'Angoulesme Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant 60, 000 golden crowns. Thus for three ages past had every thing been sold. Lewis XII. might have employed this money to settle himself in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almost to her Islands.

The emperor then advances on the side of Friouli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice during the absence of Lewis XII. acquires new courage, and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raise the siege of Padua, and by giving him up every thing that he asks concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league Julius II.

The principal design of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly

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called in these nations to support him, one against the other, and vice versa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predecessors, by delivering Italy and strengthening himself, sought an immortal name. Maximilian refuses to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510.

Julius II. at length makes his own use of the Swiss whom he spirits up against Lewis XII. as also old Ferdinand king of Arragon and of Naples. He endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and at the same time devises the seizing Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augsburg in the midst of so many different interests. Here they debate, whether Maximilian shall give peace to Venice.

Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long disputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Lewis XII. are again united, that is to say, Lewis XII. assists the emperor in pursuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the least contribute to preserve to Lewis Milan and Genoa whence the pope endeavours to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand king of Arragon, tho' he had promised it to Lewis XII. Ferdinand, already master of Naples, stood in no need of this ceremony; but then it cost him only 7,000 crowns rent, whereas formerly 48,000 used to be paid to the holy see.

1511.

Julius II. declares war against the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conquest of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonso d'Este an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march and gives

gives them to the house of Mirandola but as fiefs of the holy see. These are but trivial wars, but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predecessors; since he found the art of making them in some measure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little service to them, since they could not enable them to curb the enterprizes of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been some time possessed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milanese should have besieged it.

1512.

The pope at length prevails upon Maximilian secretly to sign a treaty with king Ferdinand and him against France. These are the fruits that Lewis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray, and so much money given to the emperor.

Julius II. who intended chasing the Barbarians out of Italy, instead of it introduces all at once the Swifs, the Arragons, and the Germans. Gaston de Foix, nephew to Lewis XII. governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by supporting himself with a very small army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and by that means the fruits of it are lost. Such almost always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They lose the Milanese after that famous battle of Ravenna, which at another time had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almost the only place that remains to them.

The Swifs who, excited by the pope, had made an hand of this resolution, receive from his holiness, instead of money, the titles of defenders of the holy see.

Maximilian in the mean time continues the war against the Venetians; but these rich Republicans make a good defence and daily repair their former losses.

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The emperor and the pope incessantly treat. And it is in this very year, that Maximilian offers himself to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the papedom. He sees no other way of re-establishing the imperial authority in Italy, and from this view he sometimes assumes the title of *pontifex maximus*, in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no exclusion from the papacy, it being justified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having disappointed him in his views of being coadjutor to him, Maximilian begins to devise the succeeding him, for which purpose he gains some cardinals, and endeavours to borrow money to purchase the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archduchess, Margaret his daughter, is a testimony of this, the original being still to be seen.

The investiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had cost Lewis XII. 160,000 golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza at a much easier rate. To the son of that Lewis the Moor whom Lewis XII. had kept so harshly, yet so justly, in prison. The same Swiss who had betrayed Lewis the Moor to Lewis XII. bring his son back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II. dies after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; for as for his spiritual it daily diminishes. This temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reason of this is the weakness of a sacerdotal government and the nepotism.

1513.

A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hans towns; Lubec, Dantzic, Vismar and Riga. There were many examples of this kind which we shall not see in these days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almost all parts of Europe; so very hard is it to preserve true liberty.

Leo X. less warlike than Julius, but not less enterprising, more cunning but less capable, forms a league against Lewis XII. with the emperor, with Henry VIII. king of England, and old Ferdinand of Aragon. This league was concluded at Mechlin on the fifth of April by the care of that Margaret of Austria governess of the Low-countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to possess himself of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Arragon of Guienne. This last had lately usurped Navarre from John d'Albret, by means of a papal bull seconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the strongest. Thus rapaciousness always acts by the hands of religion. Lewis XII. at length unites with those very Venetians he had before so imprudently lost. The papal league is broken almost as soon as formed. Maximilian only gets some money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakness! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconstancy! what rapacity is manifested in all these great affairs!

Lewis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milanese. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Navarre by the Swifs, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swifs do not intend to take Milan themselves. Milan and Genoa as well as Naples are lost to France.

The Venetians who formerly had in Lewis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only an useless ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare against them and beat their famous general Alviaños, as Lewis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who signed the league of Mechlin against France; that keeps his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III. or a Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promised him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives an 100 crowns a day, as pay, to that successor of the Cæsars, who would have set himself up for pope. He is present at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegasse, called the battle of the spurs, being the very same place in which he himself had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very considerable sum. He receives 200,000 crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked, by a young and powerful king was certainly after the loss of her men and money in Italy in imminent danger.

Maximilian nevertheless with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiss to attack Burgundy. Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg here leads the German cavalry. Dion is besieged. Lewis XII. loses Burgundy after the Milanese, and all by the hands of the Swiss. Nor can la Trimouille oblige them to retire without promising in the name of his master, 400,000 crowns. What are the vicissitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! since we see the Swiss, their hands still reeking with blood shed in defence of their liberty against the house of Austria, now arming in defence of that house, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the same.

1514.

Maximilian, seconded by the Spaniards, continues the war against the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed, and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Lewis XII. driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Arragon, beaten and abused by his subjects, vanquished by Henry VIII. of England, who revives the clames of his ancestors upon France, has no other resource

resource than that of marrying Mary sister of Henry VIII. for his second wife.

This very Mary had been promised to Charles of Luxemburg. It seems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promised to the house of Austria.

1515.

The great point at which Maximilian always aims is the establishing his house. He concludes a marriage between Lewis prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his grand-daughter Mary of Austria, as well as between the princess Ann of Hungary, and one of his grand-sons, Charles or Ferdinand, who were afterwards successively emperors.

This is the first contract whereby a girl is promised to either one husband or another, as her parents shall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention in this contract, that his house shall inherit Hungary, according to the antient conventions between the houses of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheless these two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, because the votes of the nation are necessary to support the Austrian authority.

Charles being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France Francis the first, for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolois. Henry of Nassau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is proposed for the archduke Charles. Francis the first promised him madam Raignier his step-sister; but this appearance of union covers an insatiable discord.

The duchy of Milan is still the object of the ambition of Francis the first, as it had been of Lewis XII. He also, like his predecessor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milanese in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza re-

tires to live privately in France, upon a pension of 30, 000 crowns. Francis the first obliges pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promise to surrender Modena, and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiss whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the catholic, king of Arragon, grandfather to Charles V. dies the 23^d of January, after having prepared much glory for his grand-son, whom he very little regarded.

The success of Francis the first revives Maximilian. He raises troops in Germany with the money which Ferdinand had sent him before his death: for the states of the Empire never furnished him any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I; pays no regard to any of his promises; neither does he surrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; so much had the popes always at heart the great design of keeping strangers out of Italy; of making them destroy one the other, and of acquiring by that expedient a right over the Italian liberty of which they were the avengers; glorious design, worthy of antient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome, to accomplish.

The emperor Maximilian descends by the Trentine, besieges Milan with 15, 000 Swiss; but this prince who was always raising money and always wanting it, not paying his Swiss regularly, they mutinied. The emperor fearing to be stopt by them secures himself by flight. Here then you see the last efforts of the famous league of Cambray, which had stripped Lewis XII. and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being imprisoned by his hirelings.

He proposes to Henry VIII. king of England, to cede him the Empire and the duchy of Milan merely
with

with a view of extorting money from him; a circumstance almost incredible, had it not been attested by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again stipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never prince had been promised to so many wives without having got one. Francis I, gives him his daughter Louisa aged one year.

This marriage which turned out no better than the others, is stipulated in the treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles shall do justice to the house of Navarre stripped by Ferdinand the Catholic, and that he should engage the emperor his grand-father, to make peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, altho' it should have brought in to the emperor's treasury 200, 000 ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was also to give Charles 100, 000 crowns a year, until he had full possession of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimsical. One would imagine them gamesters endeavouring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes another with his grand-son Charles and the king of England against France.

1517.

Charles passes into Spain. He is acknowledged king of Castile jointly with Johanna his mother.

1518.

Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the christian princes against the Turks who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim the 2^d, conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embellish Rome, and finish the court of justice of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. and abso-

lutely one of the finest monuments of architecture ever made by men.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of christianity by the sale of indulgences. These indulgences were originally exemptions from certain imposts, granted either by the emperors or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppressed.

The popes and also some bishops had applied these temporal indulgences to spiritual affairs but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, those of the popes were taxes on them ; much more so since the belief of purgatory had become generally established, and that the vulgar, who are in every country at least 18 out of 20, are led into a persuasion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of punishment. A public sale of this kind is one of those ridiculous affairs which people of the least sense in these times never think of. But then one ought no more to be surpris'd at it than the people of the East to see the Bonzes and Talapoins sell a remission of all sins for a sixth part of a farthing.

There are every where offices of indulgence, where they are leased out as the rights of entries and exits. Most of these offices were held in houses of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the distributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the augustines, who had been long in possession of the farming of these follies, became jealous of the dominicans to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the first part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the son of a blacksmith, born at Eisleben. This was Martin Luther an augustin monk, employed by his superiors to preach against a merchandise which they had no longer the vending

vending of. The quarrel was at first between the augustinians and the dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who gave them to christians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people once spirited, began to judge that which they had adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederic the old elector of Saxony, surnamed *the Wise*. He who after the death of Maximilian had the courage to refuse the Empire. The doctrine of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himself in the beginning with saying “ that the communion
“ ought to be administered in common bread and
“ wine : that sin remained in the infant after baptism:
“ that auricular confession was really useless : that
“ neither popes nor councils could make articles of
“ faith : that purgatory could not be proved by the
“ canonical books : that monastic vows were an
“ abuse ; and that all princes ought to unite in abolishing the mendicant friers. ”

Duke Frederic elector of Saxony, as we have already said, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had sufficient religion to constitute a christian, sufficient reason to see the abuses of it; and a strong desire to reform them. Perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immense wealth which the clergy possessed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he laboured for his enemies, and that the rich arch-duchy of Magdeburg would fall to the house of Brandenburg already become his rival.

1519.

While Luther, cited to the diet at Augsburg, withdraws himself, after having made his appearance, summons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greatest revolutions that ever was made in the christian church since the extinction

of paganism. The emperor Maximilian who had been already forgot, dies at Inspruc on the 12th of January of a surfeit of melons.

AN INTERREGNUM

To the first of October, 1520.

The electors of Saxony and the Palatinate jointly govern the Empire to the day of the emperor elect's coronation.

Francis I. king of France and Charles of Austria king of Spain put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at least some shadow of the Roman Empire. The neighbourhood of the Turks already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous necessity of choosing a puissant emperor. Christianity required that either Francis or Charles should be elected : but it was the interest of pope Leo X. that neither one nor the other of them should be put in the road of being his master. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo X. crosses as much as possible the two competitors. Seven great princes were at the most critical juncture to dispose of the foremost place in Europe, and votes are nevertheless bought. In the midst of these intrigues, and during this interregnum, the antient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes, that great and useful lesson of not abusing their power. The league of Suabia renders itself praiseworthy by making war upon duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who oppressed his vassals.

This league of Suabia is really established for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards sells them for a scandalous price

price to Charles of Austria. Then every-thing is done for money ! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, plunders thus such a house, and purchases for a very trifle the estate of another ?

Lewis X. attempts governing despotically in Tuscany.

The electors meet at Francfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederic, surnamed *the Wise*, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther ? was he solemnly elected ? No. In what then consists his refusal ? In this ; that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his interest to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes.

Charles V. is unanimously elected on the 28th of June 1519.

CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

THIS year is that of the first capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this sufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of justice, opens a passage to injustice. There ought to be a stronger bulwark against the abuse of authority of a prince so powerful in himself. By this certain contract of the sovereign with the constituents, the emperor promises, that if he has any estates to which he shall appear not properly intitled, he will give them up at the first intimation of the electors. This is to promise much.

Some considerable authors pretend, that they swore him also to a constant residence in Germany ; but the capitulation expressly says, *that he shall reside there*

as long as he possibly can. To exact a piece of injustice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is just.

The day of Charles the fifth's election is marked by a battle between a bishop of Hildesheim, and a duke of Brunswick in the duchy of Lunenburg. They dispute about a fief, and in spite of the establishment of the *Austregne*, of the imperial chamber and the aulic council, in spite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almost daily, for the most trifling matters between the bishops, the princes, and the barons. Some laws indeed subsisted at that time in Germany; but the coercive, which is the first power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried into Spain to him by the elector Palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themselves equal to electors; the peers of France above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of them both.

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but first makes a voyage to England, to league already with Henry VIII. against Francis I. He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle the 23^d of October 1520. At the time of accession of Charles V. to the empire, Europe insensibly assumes a new aspect. The Ottoman power fixes itself at Constantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league against the Turks. The Venetians at the same time stand in awe of the sultan and the emperor.

Pope Leo X. is master of only a trifling territory, and already finds one half of Europe endeavouring to escape from his spiritual authority; for about the year 1520, from the bottom of the North, all the way to
France,

France, the people were revolting both against the abuse of the Roman church and against its laws.

Francis I. king of France, rather a brave soldier than a great prince, had more desire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his strength been equal, how could they have succeeded against an emperor, king of Spain and of Naples, sovereign of the Low-countries, whose frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whose ports of Spain the treasures of a new-found world began already to be poured ?

Henry VIII. king of England pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I. A great example of what the courage of the English, assisted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is observable, that Henry VIII. one of the principal personages, was one of the greatest scourges the earth ever felt; absolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: Yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakness, and Charles I. who could be reproached with nothing but goodness, died upon the scaffold.

A king still wickeder than Henry VIII. that is Christian II. after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monster always stained with blood, and surnamed the Nero of the North, yet at last is punished for all his crimes; altho' the brother of Charles V. is dethroned, and dies in prison in old age, the object of contempt and detestation.

Thus have I drawn in miniature the principal Christian princes who cut a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

The sciences flourished at that time in Italy more than ever. But she was never more distant from that

great end proposed by Julius II. of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almost always at war; but happily for the people the little armies, which were raised for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth, and in the midst of the most obstinate disputes Europe had not above one-fifth of the soldiers which she now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which consumes the substance of a government in always keeping on foot those numerous armies, which in times of peace can only be employed against the people, and may in futurity become fatal to their masters.

The principal force of the Christian armies consisted always of cavalry, foot was generally despised; wherefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte*, tillers of the earth. The Janisaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almost always made use of foreign infantry: The Swiss as yet made no other use of their liberty, than to sell their blood, and he generally believed himself sure of victory in whose army there were the most Swiss. They preserved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he first attempted a descent upon Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been. His great successes, the progress of sciences in Italy, the reformation in point of religion of one half of Europe, commerce opened with India by the Ocean, and the conquests of Mexico and Peru will make this age eternally memorable.

1521.

A diet at Worms, famous for re-establishing the imperial chamber, which no longer subsisted but in name.

Charles

Charles V. establishes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire, are Saxony and the Palatine, whose decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the sovereign. These governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his possession in Austria, the count Palatine, and 22 assistants.

This diet summons to appear before them, the dukes of Brunfwick and of Lunenburg on the one part, and the bishops of Hildesheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war. They despise their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they also hold in contempt, persisting in mutual hostility. The power of Charles V. is not yet sufficiently strong to give force to his laws. Two bishops, armed and rebellious; dispose the people very much not only against the church but its possessions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Hus. The priests were not the strongest party in this diet. They confer with him without rightly understanding one another, agree upon nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to destroy the Roman religion. On the 6th of May the emperor publishes an edict against the absent Luther, injoining under pain of disobedience every prince and sovereignty of the empire to imprison Luther and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony; who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. against Francis I. was willing to appear as a catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Christian II. his brother-in-law, assuring him of succour. Sentiments of horror against tyranny are always predominant in general assemblies; the enthusiasm of
virtue

virtue must communicate itself, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims against an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of 94 senators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the securing to himself the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The same year pope Leo X. more cunning perhaps than wise, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V. he should be only involved, makes almost at the same time a treaty with each; the first in 1520, with Francis I. to whom he promises the kingdom of Naples, reserving to himself Gaietta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His second treaty was in 1521, with Charles V. to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milanese to Francis'Sforza, a younger son of Lewis the Moor, and above all to obtain for the holy see Ferrara; of which they always attempt to deprive the house of Este.

The first hostility that engages the empire against France is this. The duke of Bouillon, la Marck sovereign of the castle of Bouillon, solemnly declares war by a herald against Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was stirred up by Francis I. who in public denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and pope Leo X. makes war upon Francis I. on the side of Picardy, and towards the Milanese. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain, but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milanese, a very unfortunate general, because he was rash and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma and Placentia, by Prospero di Colonna.

Léo X. dies on the 2d of December. George marquis de Malaspina, attached to France, and supposed to have poisoned the pope, is arrested and clears himself of a crime which it would have been very hard to prove.

This pope had 12000 Swifs at his command.

Cardinal Wolfey, tyrant of Henry VIII. who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. tricks him and manifests his power by making his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain, pope.

Adrian is elected on the 9th of January, and preserves his name, notwithstanding the established custom of the 11th century. The emperor absolutely governs the popedom. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for 11 years. The emperor has some reason to fear it, but he inclines to please the Germans.

1522.

Charles goes again into England. He receives at Windsor the order of the garter, and promises to marry his cousin Mary, daughter to his aunt Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. She who was afterwards married to his son Philip. He submits by an astonishing clause, in case he should not marry this princess, to forfeit 500000 crowns. This is the fifth time of his having been promised without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII. who begins to think of reviving the pretension of his ancestors upon that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting 500000 crowns is explained. This money lent is to serve one day as a portion, and this singular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a sort of security. The emperor gives the prime minister, cardinal Wolfey, pensions,

penfions, which do not recompence him for the lofs of the papacy. Why is the moft powerful emperor that has been feen fince the days of Charlemagne, obliged, Maxmilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII? He makes war on the fide of the Pyrennian mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy all at the fame time. Germany bears no part in his expence; Spain very little: the mines of Mexico furnifh yet no regular produce; the expences of this coronation and of his firft eftablifhments of every kind, were immense.

Charles V. is every-where fucceffful. Only Cremona and Lodi remain to Francis I. in the Milanefe. Genoa, which fhe had hitherto poffeffed, is taken from him by the Imperialifts. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the laft prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the mean time the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the fiege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The ftates of Denmark folemnly depofe their tyrant Christian, whom they look upon as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindnefs in confining themfelves barely to depofing him. Guftavus Vafa, banifhes the catholic religion in Sweden. All the North even to Wefer, is ready to follow this example.

1523.

While a controversial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Chriftianity in Europe, the quarrels of Charles V. and of Francis I. occafion new misfortunes both to Italy and France.

Charles V. and Henry VIII. in order to cruft Francis I. engage in their caufe the conftable of Bourbon,

Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and vengeance rather than by a patriot love, undertakes to cause a diversion in the Heart of France as soon as the enemies of Francis shall attack his frontiers. They promise to him Eleonora sister of Charles V. widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is still more essential, Provence with other territories which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the last stroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, pope Adrian and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains possessed of Milan, which is wrested from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan, and defers deciding upon that province until he shall become so absolutely master of it that the French can have no more pretension.

The imperial troops enter Champagne; the treachery of the constable of Bourbon being discovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midst of these great troubles a trivial war breaks out between the elector of Triers and the noblesse of Alsace, which appears like a small vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much ingrossed with ruminating on his vast designs and his variety of interests, to attend to the pacifying these transitory quarrels.

Clement VII. succeeds Adrian the 29th of November. He was of the house of Medicis. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakness, which at length caused the destruction of Rome, sacked by the army of Charles V; it will be always distinguished by the loss of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England torn from the Roman church.

1524.

The first step of Clement VII. is the sending a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany

many to arm against Solyman, and to answer a writing intituled, *The hundred complaints against the court of Rome*. He succeeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor and afterwards the minister of Charles V. a man born with the genius of a subaltern, should enter into a league which must render the emperor absolute master of Italy, and soon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheless sufficient courage to detach himself from this league in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the same family who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medicis, Charles V's general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the constable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milanese which they still possessed; who beat *Bonivet* at *Biagrasse* where the famous chevalier Bayard lost his life.

The marquis de Pescara, whom the French call *Pescacie*, a noble rival to John de Medicis, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: The latter determines on the siege of Marseilles in spite of Pescara, and the enterprize miscarries, but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I, when he ought to have assembled an army, pursues the imperialists, who withdraw; he passes the Alps. He, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been so often won and lost. The house of Savoy was not yet sufficiently strong to stop the progress of the French arms.

At that time the ancient papal policy displayed itself, and the fear which a powerful emperor inspired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I. to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army; thus by
dividing

dividing his forces he weakens himself, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himself and Rome.

1525.

The king of France besieges Pavia. The count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Pescara and Bourbon, endeavour to raise the siege by forcing a passage at Mirabel park, where Francis I. was posted. The French artillery alone put the imperialists to the rout. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the pursuit, and is intirely defeated. The Swiss, who made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled, and he was not persuaded of the ill consequences of having an intire mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage until he fell a captive into the hands of the imperialists and of that Bourbon whom he had abused and forced into rebellion.

Charles V. received the news of his excessive good fortune at Madrid where he still was, and dissembles his joy. They send him his prisoner. He then appears absolute master of Europe, and had been so effectually, had he pursued his fortune at the head of 50000 men, instead of remaining at Madrid. But his successes raised him enemies; and the more so, since he, who passed for one of the most active princes, did not make a proper use of them.

Cardinal Wolfey, who was out of humour with the emperor, instead of persuading Henry VIII. whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned and an easy prey, engages him to declare against Charles V, thereby seizing that balance which had escaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiné and the estate of the constable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milanese.

One must necessarily believe that Charles V. had some secret weighty engagements in Spain, since at that critical time he neither entered France, entirely open to invasion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an easy conquest; nor yet Germany, where new disputes and the love of independency created fresh troubles.

The different sectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming against the abuses of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuses. Melancton opposes Luther upon some Articles.

Storck, a native of Silesia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the sect of Anabaptists whose apostle is Muncer. They both preach sword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party, Muncer established his among the people of the country, whom he soothed and spirited with a notion of the equality nature's primitive law, which had been destroyed by force and associations. The first fury of the peasants displayed itself in Suabia, where they were greater slaves than elsewhere. Muncer goes to Thuringia, and there whilst he preaches equality, makes himself master of Mulhausen; and while he preaches up disinterestness caused the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peasants rise in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

Indeed these sort of savages draw up a manifesto which a Lycurgus would have signed. They insist upon *paying only the tithes of their corn, which shall be employed to relieve the poor; that they shall have free libery of water and chace; that they shall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them against the cold; and that their daily labour shall be lessened.* They lay clame to the rights of human people; but they support them like wild beasts. They massacre all
the

the gentlemen they meet. A natural son of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable, that these peasants at last set a gentleman at their head, like the revolted slaves mentioned in antiquity, who finding themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king the only master that had escaped the slaughter.

They seize upon Heilbron, Spire, Wurtsbourg and the countries round these towns.

Muncer and Storck lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederic, engages in a bloody battle with them near Franchusen in the county of Mansfield. In vain do the two prophets sing canticles in the name of the Lord; these fanatics are intirely defeated. Muncer, taken after the battle, is condemned to lose his head. He abjures his tenets before his death. He had been no enthusiast; he had only conducted those that were. But his disciple Fiffer condemned along with him, dies fully persuaded of them. Storck returns to preach in Silesia, and sends disciples into Poland. The emperor, in the mean time, negotiates at his ease, with the king of France his prisoner at Madrid.

1526.

The principal articles of the treaty whereby Charles V. imposes laws upon Francis I. are these.

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois. He renounces his right of sovereignty upon the Artois and upon Flanders. He cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lile, Douay, Orchies and Hesdin. He desists from his pretensions upon the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, the county of Aste, and upon Genoa. He promises no longer to protect the duke of Gueldres, whom he had always supported against this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Wirtemberg, who claimed his duchy, which had been
fold

fold to the house of Austria. He promises to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it ; he signs an offensive and defensive league with the conqueror, who had ravished from him so many territories, and promises to marry Eleonora his sister.

He is obliged to receive into favour the duke of Burgundy, to restore him his estate, and to indemnify not only him but all his party.

Nor was this all, the two eldest sons of this king were to be delivered up as hostages for fulfilling the treaty, which is signed the 14th of January.

While the king of France brings his two sons to be left captives in his stead, Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, enters his apartments, booted, to make him sign the contract of marriage with Eleonora, whom he had never seen, and who was then four leagues off. A strange way this of taking a wife !

It is affirmed, that Francis I. made a formal protestation against all his promises, in the presence of a notary, before he signed them. It is difficult to believe, that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the prison of a king, to witness such an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are sent into Spain, exchanged for their father upon the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he caused it to have been ceded before he had released his prisoner. The king of France exposed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when such an infringement would have cost these two princes their lives.

Francis I. causes it to be represented by the states of Burgundy, that he cannot part with so fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promised it. Such was the situation of this king, that every party was sorry for him.

On the 22^d of May, Francis I. whose misfortunes and necessities had procured him many friends, signs a league at Cognac with pope Clement VII. the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swifs, against the emperor. This league is called *holy* because the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby stipulates, to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have stripped of it, in possession of the Milanese.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies. The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming against his power; because that power itself was not sufficiently strong to prevent such a revolution, and because he remained idle at Madrid when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper use of the victories won by his generals.

During this confusion of intrigues and of wars, the imperialists were masters not only of Milan but of almost the whole province. Francis Sforza possessing no more than the castle of Milan; but as soon as the league is signed, there is a rising in the Milanese. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milanese at the head of the pope's army. In spite of so many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preserves Italy to him. He ought to have lost it for staying at Madrid: But it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops fast enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts slowly, and that of Venice, faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his castle of Milan. A very small number of Spaniards and Germans, properly commanded and accustomed to victory, procure all these advantages for Charles; at a time of his life when he scarcely does any thing himself. He remains still at Madrid. He applies himself to the regulating ranks and forming titles; he

he marries Isabella, daughter to Emanuel the great, king of Portugal, while the new elector of Saxony, John the *constant*, professes the reformed religion, abolishing that of Rome in Saxony: While Philip Landgrave of Hesse does the same in his dominions, Francfort establishes a Lutheran senate; and while a great number of Teutonic knights, destined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry, and appropriate to the use of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the knights Templars had been formerly burned; and the order extirpated for no other reason but because they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful, Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master of it, divides Prussia with Poland, and remains sovereign of that part, called ducal Prussia, doing homage and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumstanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the establishment of their religion in Germany at the diet of Spire. While Ferdinand, who holds this diet, requests assistance against Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion, nor the succours in behalf of Christianity against the Ottomans.

The young Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he shall be able alone to sustain the attacks of the Turkish empire. He dares give battle to Solyman. This Battle was called that of the *Mohats*, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its consequences to the Christians, as the battle of Varnes. Almost all the noblesse of Hungary perished therein. The army is intirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a Morass. The writers of those times tell us, that Solyman caused 1500 Hungarian prisoners, who were of the noblesse, to be beheaded; yet that he wept at seeing the picture of the unfortunate king

Lewis

Lewis. It is scarcely credible, that a man, who in cold blood could strike off the heads of 1500 noblemen should weep for the death of one. These two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the surrounding countries. This misfortune of christianity aggrandizes the house of Austria. The archduke Ferdinand brother to Charles V. demands Hungary and Bohemia, as estates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one supporting the other. The states of Hungary elect him on the 26th of October.

In the mean time another party declare John Zapol count of Scepus, Vaivode of Transilvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom since that time was so unfortunate as Hungary. It was almost always divided into two factions and over-run by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the mean time, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themselves.

1527.

On the 24th of February Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera & bona voluntate*, by the free and good-will of those who had chosen him.

Charles V. remains still in Spain, while his house acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outsoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange. However they subsist upon rapine, to which they give the name of contribution. The holy league was considerably disordered. The king of France had neglected a vengeance which he sought

after, and had not yet sent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians stir but little; the pope still less; and he is reduced to raise very bad troops. Bourbon leads his soldiers straight to Rome, which he storms on the 27th, but is killed in scaling the walls. However the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge and is made prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged and destroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is said that the pillage amounted to 15 millions of crowns. Charles for only requiring half that sum as its ransom, might have reigned in Rome. But after the troops had lived there for nine months at discretion, he was obliged to part with it. His luck was the same with all others who had sacked that capital.

There had been too much blood spilt in this disaster; but many soldiers who were enriched by the spoil remained inhabitants of the country, and in Rome and the neighbourhood round it, in some few months were reckoned not less than 4700 young women with child. Rome, that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans; the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of strangers under the Cæsars. At this day there is but one single family in Rome that can call itself Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this mistress of the world subsist.

During the imprisonment of the pope, Alphonso I. duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his possessions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Malatestas possess themselves again of Rimini. The Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, say they, against the emperor. The Florentines, shaking off the yoke of the Medicis, set themselves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII. instead of sending troops into Italia send embassadors to the emperor, who was then at Valadolid. Fortune in less than two years had put into his hands Rome, the Milanese, a king of France and a pope, without his making use of these opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, yet he was not able to keep it, and the old clame of the emperors, their pretence upon the dominion of Rome, remained still eclipsed.

At length Francis I. sends an army into the Milanese, under that very Lautrec, who had before lost it, leaving his two children still in bondage. This army once more re-takes the Milanese, which they had won and lost in so short a time. This diversion and the plague which ravage Rome and the conquering army at the same time, prepare the pope's deliverance. Charles V. on the one side sings Te Deum, and makes processions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheless holds in captivity; on the other, he sells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clément VII. lays down 100,000 and makes his escape without having paid the rest.

While Rome is sacked, and the pope ransomed in the name of Charles V. the protector of the Catholic faith, such sects as were enemies to that religion make new progress. The sacking of Rome and the pope's captivity give the Lutherans fresh spirits.

Mass is legally abolished at Strasburg in consequence of a public dispute. Ulm, Augsburg, and many other imperial towns declare themselves Lutherans. The council of Berné admit the cause of the catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, disciples of Zuinglius to be pleaded before them. These sectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the eucharist. The Zuinglians affirm, that God is in the bread only by faith; and the Lutherans affirm, that God is with the bread, in the bread, and upon the bread; but all

agree, that the bread exists. Geneva and Constance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calvinists: Of people of sound sense, but simple and austere. The Bohemians, the Germans; and the Swiss are those who ravaged one half of Europe at the siege of Rome.

The Anabaptists renew their fury in the name of the lord from the Palatinate to Wirtsburg. They are dispersed by the elector Palatine, assisted by the generals Truchses and Fronsberg.

1528.

The Anabaptists appear again in Utrecht, and cause the archbishop of that town, who was the sovereign of it, to sell it to Charles V. lest the duke of Gueldres should make himself master of it.

This duke, secretly protected by France, opposes Charles V. whom nothing could hitherto withstand. Charles makes peace with him on condition that the duchy of Gueldres and the county of Zutphen should revert to the house of Austria, in case of the duke's dying without male issue.

The quarrels of religion seem to demand the presence of Charles in Germany, while war summons him to Italy.

Two Heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France; the other on that of England, declare war against him at Madrid. Francis I. had no business to declare it, because he had already done it in the Milanese, and Henry VIII. still less, because he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think, that princes neither act nor speak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor sharply reproaches the king of England with his intended divorce from Catharine of Arragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the Herald, Clarencieux, to tell him, that cardinal Wolsey advised both the divorce and the war to revenge himself for the loss of the papacy. As to Francis I. he

he reproaches him with the breach of his promise, and declares he will fight him hand to hand. It is true that Francis I. had broke his word; but it is no less true, that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. answers him in these terms: *You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie, &c.* Appoint the place of combat, we shall meet you properly prepared. The emperor sends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on the 10th of September in the most magnificent manner. The herald would have spoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was ascertained the place of engagement; but the king silences him, and will only see the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up with giving each other the lye by Heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight errantry and ridicule very different from our manners.

During all these bravadoes, Charles V. loses the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is also near losing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already seized upon Abbruzo intirely. The Venetians had possessed themselves of most of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrew Doria, then in the French service, had with the gallies of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who six months before was master of Italy, is near being driven out of it; but it is the fate of the French to lose always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army. Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry duke of Brunswick with a new army approaches to defend the Milanese against the French and against Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed so much to the success of France, disgusted at Francis I. and fearing an

arrest, quits his service and passes over to that of the emperor with his gallees.

The war continues in the Milanese, and pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his scepter into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the case, had he refused to lead the pope's horse by the bridle; but the pope, after his imprisonment, after the sacking of Rome, ineffectually supported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to establish his family at Florence, perceiving besides Sweden, Denmark, and one half of Germany fallen from the Roman church; the pope, I say, in these extremities, respected and feared Charles V. so very much, that instead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catharine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII. his ally, because Charles required it.

1529.

The king of England, a slave to his passions, bends his thoughts upon nothing but being separated from his wife Catharine of Arragon, a very virtuous woman, by whom he had had a daughter some years before, and marrying his mistress Ann of Bolein, or Bollen, or Boulen.

Francis I. still leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war against him in the Milanese. Duke Francis Sforza is still leagued with that king and seeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preserve his duchy by the hands of the stronger, and fearing to lose it either by the one or the other. Germany is rent by the Protestants and Catholics. The sultan Solymán prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valadolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greatest generals of his time, 73 years old, sick of the gout, and carried

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ried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milanese, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them disperse, and quit a country that has been so fatal to them. The pope still continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiation, before the French receive this last stroke. The emperor treats the pope very generously; first, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics; and in truth he had some need of it, for the scandal of sacking Rome. Secondly, to engage the pontif to oppose the arms of religion to the scandal that was like to fall upon his aunt at London, by making void her marriage, and bastardizing his cousin Mary, that very Mary to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, because the French were not rooted out of Italy, when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Servia, Modena, and Reggio to pope Clement VII. leaving him at liberty to pursue his pretensions on Ferrara. He promises him also to give Tuscany to Alexander de Medecis. This treaty, so advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after he agrees to terms with Francis I. who purchases his children for 2,000,000 of golden crowns, paid down, and 500,000 crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII. being the sum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his cousin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to say to Charles the Vth's debts; but he was conquered and his children ought to be redeemed: 2,500,000 golden crowns certainly impoverished France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; besides it was so contrived with the king of England, that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoverished, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Spire, where the Lutherans take the name of protestants from the protesting of Saxony, Heflia, Lunenburg, Anhalt, 14 imperial towns against the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the protestants to believe and act as they please: He did well. Solyman, who had no religious disputes to appease, still intends the crown of Hungary for John Zapoli, Vaivode of Transilvania, an opposer of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Solyman subdues Hungary, enters Austria, takes Altemburg by assault, besieges Vienna on the 26th of September; but Vienna is always the stumbling-block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the house of Bavaria to defend Austria in these perils. Philip *the Warlike*, brother to the elector Palatine, the last elector of the eldest Palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raises the siege in 30 days; but remains master of Hungary, and gives the investiture of it to John Rapoli.

Charles at last quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks besiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive, on his knees, the benediction of him; whom he had held captive, whose dominions he had desolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himself at his, and asks his pardon. He gives him the investiture of the Milanese for 100,000 golden ducats, paid down, and 500,000 payable in 10 years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Christiern in marriage; after which he himself is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederic III. he receives
from

from him 3 crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the empire. The pope in giving him the scepter, addresses him thus : *Emperor, our son, take this scepter, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy to command.* In giving him the globe he says to him ; *This globe represents the world which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and constancy.* The ceremony of the globe recalls to mind the image of the ancient Roman empire master of the best part of the known world, and in some measure belonging to Charles V. sovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kisses the pope's feet in the time of Mass, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the same state, each at a table by himself.

He promises to the pope's nephew Alexander de Medecis his bastard Margaretta, with Tuscany as a portion.

By these regulations and concessions it is evident, that Charles V. did not aspire at being king of the Christian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal personage, at having the chief influence there, and preserving his right of sovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have ingrossed all to himself, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have established himself at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this he does not do ; for the more he had ingrossed the more he had had to fear.

1530.

The Tuscans, seeing their liberty sacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope, have the courage to defend themselves against them both ; but this courage is useless, opposed to strength. Florence besieged surrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medecis is received as their sovereign, and acknowledges himself a vassal of the empire.

Charles V. disposes of principalities like a judge and a master. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara in spite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this æra he gave Malthea to the knights of St. John, who had lost Rhodes. The donation bears date the 24th of March. He makes them this present as king of Spain and not as emperor. He avenges himself, as much as possible upon the Turks, by opposing to them this bulwark, which they could never destroy.

After having thus disposed of territories, he goes to endeavour to give peace to Germany; but it is much harder to settle the quarrels of religion, than the interests of princes.

The confession of Augsberg was made about this time, which serves as a rule to the protestants and a rallying of their party. This diet of Augsberg began the 20th of June. On the 26th the protestants present their confession of faith in Latin and German.

Strasburg, Menninguen, Lindau, and Constance there present their act of separation, and call it *the confession of the four towns*. They were Lutherans like the rest, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius also sends thither his confession, altho' neither he nor the Canton of Berne were either Lutherans or imperialists.

Disputes run high. On the 22th of September, the emperor publishes a decree, injoining the Protestants to desist from farther innovations, to leave full liberty to the catholic religion in their different territories, and to prepare a presentation of their griefs for a council to be convoked in six months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three Cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Basil, whereby they are to be furnished with troops, should any incroachments be made upon their liberty.

The diet makes out the process of the grand master of the Teutonic order; Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have seen, had become a Lutheran, possessed himself of ducal Prussia, and chased out the catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is, never the less master of Prussia.

The diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spire. It is by this that it is finished; and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother Ferdinand there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is chosen on the 5th of January by all the electors, except John *the constant*, of Saxony, who fruitlessly opposes him.

The protestant princes at that time and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themselves at Smalcalde a town of Hesse. The league for their general defence is signed in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of seeing the empire, which was elective, become an hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between John duke of Saxony, Philip landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wirtemberg, the prince of Anhalt, the earl of Mansfield, and the towns of their communion.

Francis I. who caused the Lutherans in his own dominions to be burnt, promises to assist those of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them; the anabaptists only are prosecuted who had settled in Moravia. Their new apostle, Hutter, who travelled about making proselytes, is taken at Tirol, and burnt at Inspruck.

This Hutter preached neither sedition nor slaughter, as most of his predecessors had done. He was a man infatuated with the simplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own disciples to carry

arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the first who undertakes to re-unite the sects that are separated from the Roman Communion. A project which has been since vainly attempted, and would have saved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that shew themselves more obstinate than cunning. The Princes and the Towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial Power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this last article there had been no civil war. The Protestants persist in refusing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

1532.

The emperor, made uneasy by the Protestants, and threatened by the Turks, stifles for some time the rising troubles, by granting to the Protestants all they asked in the diet held at Nuremberg in the month of June, and suppressing all proceedings against them, gives them intire liberty even to the holding a council; nay leaves even the rights of his brother Ferdinand undecided.

He could not have yielded more; but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condescension of Charles encourages the Protestants to manifest their duty. They furnish an army against Solyman, and raise, by way of common subsidy, 150,000 florins for that service. The pope also exerts himself, by furnishing 6000 men and 400,000 crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now see an army of above 100,000 men composed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the same

same spirit to march against the common enemy. The count Palatine, Philip, destroys a body of Turks, who had advanced as far as Gratz in Stiria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Constantinople. Solyman, in spite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong steps, bringing with him near 200,000 slaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, disband their army; the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the present danger. But few troops remained under the imperial ensigns. At that time every thing was done of a sudden. There were no established fund for the maintenance of an army any long time, and very few designs were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was every-thing. Charles V. then made war in person, which others had so long made for him; for till that time, he had seen none but the siege of the little town of Mouzon in 1521. ever since which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533.

He returns into Spain by the way of Italy, leaving to his brother the king of the Romans the care of governing the Protestants.

He is no sooner in Spain than his aunt Catharine of Arragon is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuse himself from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milanese were still nearest the heart of Francis I. This prince seeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavours to draw off the

the latter from the emperor's interest. He sends him secretly a Minister named Maraviglia, born in the Milanese, with orders not to assume any character, altho' he gave him credential letters.

The subject of this man's commission is seen into Sforza; to clear himself with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the minister's head to be struck off, nor is the king of France able to revenge it.

All that he can do is to secretly assist Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, to re-enter his duchy, and shake off the yoke of the house of Austria. This prince being a protestant, expected his re-establishment from the league of Smalcalde, and the king of France's assistance.

The princes of the league had sufficient authority in the diet of Nuremburg to have it determined, that Ferdinand king of the Romans should surrender the duchy of Wirtemberg of which he was possessed. The diet in this acted conformably to the laws. The duke had a son, who certainly ought not to be punished for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treason against the empire, consequently his issue ought not to be deprived of his possessions.

Ferdinand promises to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, surnamed very justly *the magnanimous*, takes the part of the duke of Wirtemberg: he goes to France; borrows of the king 100,000 golden crowns; raises an army of 15,000 men, and restores Wirtemberg to its master.

Ferdinand sends troops thither under the command of the very count Palatine; Philip *the warlike*, who had beaten the Turks.

1534.
Philip *the magnanimous* of Hesse beats Philip *the warlike*. Then the king of the Romans submits to a composition.

Duke Ulric was re-established; but the duchy of Wirtemberg declared a masculine fief of the arch-duchy of Austria, and as such ought to revert in case of the failure of male issue to the arch-ducal house.

In this year Henry VIII. separates himself from the Roman communion, and declares himself head of the English church. This revolution was made without the least trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion caused much bloodshed, particularly in Westphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length become the most powerful in Munster and drive out bishop Waldec. The Anabaptists succeed to the Sacramentarians, and possess themselves of the town. This sect spreads itself in Friezeland and Holland. A Taylor of Leyden, named John, goes to the succour of his Brethren with a troop of prophets and assassins. He caused himself to be proclaimed king, and solemnly crowned at Munster the 24th of June.

Bishop Waldec besieges the town, assisted by the troops of Cologn and of Cleves: The Anabaptists compare themselves to Holofernes, and believe themselves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the same intention;—but instead of returning to her Bethulia with the bishop's head she is hanged in the camp.

1535.

Charles, at that time in Spain, meddled but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual source of uneasiness, without the least advantage. He seeks for glory in another quarter. Not strong enough in Germany to carry on the war against Solyman, he intends revenging himself on the Turks by turning his arms against the famous admiral Cheredin, who had possessed himself of Tunis, after having driven out the king Muleiassem. The de-throned African came to offer himself as a tributary to Charles, who passed over into Africa in the month

of

of April, with about 25,000 men, 200 transports and 115 gallies. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty considerable, of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the Austrian territories. He joined 9 gallies to the Spanish fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in person, which was superior to his in number but very ill disciplined.

Historians report that Charles, before the battle, expressed himself thus to his generals: tho' straw may ripen medlars, our tardiness rather rots than ripens the courage of our soldiers. Prince seldom express themselves thus; they ought to be made to speak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never said; almost all their harangues are fictions cooked up in history.

Charles gains a complete victory, and re-establishes Muleyassen who gives up to him Goulett with an extent of country for 10 miles round, declaring himself and his successors vassals to the kings of Spain; submitting to pay as a tribute 20,000 crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the christian slaves whom he had set at liberty; bestowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their respective homes. These were so many mouths who every-where published his praises. Never did he enjoy before so fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory having repulsed Solyman, given a king to Tunis, and obliged Francis I. to abandon Italy, he presses Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman church daily increase.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the sect, to which he had the credit of giving his name, spread itself in France, and was to be feared by the Roman church, who scarcely retained more than the territory of the house of Austria and Poland.

In the mean time Francis Sforza duke of Milan dies

dies without children; Charles V. seizes upon that duchy as a fief devolving to him. His power and his riches increase. His will is a law in Italy where he is more master than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter Margaret with Alexander de Medecis the created duke of Tuscany in the most brilliant manner, whereby he increases the affection of the people.

1536.

Francis I. did not lose sight of the Milanese that sepulchre of the French. He demands the investiture of it at least for his second son Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refused him plainly.

The house of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whose ally it had a great while been. The emperor had every thing; there was scarcely a prince in Europe who had not some pretensions at the cost of his neighbours. The king of France had demands upon the county of Nice, and upon the marquisate of Saluce. He sends an army thither, which possesses itself of almost all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reason for having and keeping the Milanese was to command and fortify Piedmont; once mistress of the Alps she had been sooner or later sovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, altho' so powerful, had yet no army of consequence in Italy. It was the custom then to have them only for the present occasion; but he at length engages the Venetians in his interests; as also the Swiss, who recal their troops from the French army. He soon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph; but not as a master which he might formerly have done. He takes a seat at the consistory below that of the pope. One is astonished to hear a victo-

a victorious Roman emperor, pleading his cause before the pope. He pronounces a discourse against Francis I. as Cicero had done against Antony. But he does what Cicero did not; proposes fighting his antagonist in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity with the spirit of knight-errantry. After having spoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. publishes the bull of convocation.

The king of France had sent troops sufficient to possess themselves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then left almost defenceless; but this army was not sufficiently formidable to resist one soon after led by the emperor, composed of a number of brave fellows tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of 50,000 men, while his fleet hovers upon the coast, consisting of 140 vessels commanded by Doria. All Provence, exclusive of Marseilles, is subdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the antient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, presses France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which under count de Reux take Guise, and proceed still farther.

In the midst of these disasters, Francis the Dauphin, son to Francis I, dies of a pleurisy at Lions. Twenty authors have affirmed, that the emperor caused him to be poisoned. No calumny can be more absurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never opposed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what shameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under such a suspicion? They pretend, there was poison found in the box of Montecuculi,

a domestic of the Dauphin's brought into France by Catharine of Medicis.

Montecuculi was quartered, because poison was found in his possession and that the Dauphin was dead.

The question was put to him, whether he had ever conversed with the emperor? He answered, that having been once presented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had asked him, what order the king of France observed in his meals. Was this a reason strong enough to throw the suspicion of so abominable and useless a crime upon Charles V.

The invasion of Provence is fatal to the French without being serviceable to the emperor, out of whose power it is to take Marseilles. Great part of his army is destroyed by sickness. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is obliged to evacuate Picardy. France, tho' on the brink of ruin, still holds out. That which had lost Naples to Francis I. loses Provence to Charles V. Enterprises so very distant from one another seldom succeed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy subdued, France weakened, and Germany still in trouble.

The Anabaptists continue their depredations in Friezeland, Holland and Westphalia, which they call *fighting the Lord's battles*. They go to succour their prophet king John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk governor of Friezeland. The town of Munster is taken. John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are shewn about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red-hot pincers. The Lutheran party increase their strength; animosities also increase. The league of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

1537.

Charles is not at ease in Spain. There is a necessity to support the war which Francis I. had inconsiderately begun, and still continued to wage against the emperor.

The

The parliament of Paris summon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vassal, and deprive him of the counties of Flanders, the Artois, and the Charolois. This edict surely was good after his having conquered those provinces. The imperial troops, in spite of it, advance in Picardy. Francis I. goes in person to besiege Hesdin in the Artois; but is obliged to quit it. There are several trivial engagements fought, but the success of them undecisive.

Francis I. resolves to make a great stroke, and hazards christianity to revenge himself on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milanese with a powerful army, at the same time that the Turks should make a descent upon the kingdom of Naples and upon Austria.

Solyman keeps his word; but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous Captain Pacha Cheredin makes a descent with part of his gallies upon Apulia; also near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off 16,000 Christian slaves. This is that Cheredin, Viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbarossa. This nick-name had been given to his brother, who died in the year 1519, after having made some conquests on the coast of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand king of the Romans comes up with the Turks between Buda and Belgrade. A bloody battle ensues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight with the loss of 24,000 men. One would have imagined Italy and Austria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I. master of Lombardy; but this is not the case. Barbarossa, not finding Francis I. appear to assist him in the Milanese, retreats with his booty and his slaves to Constantinople. Austria is left in security. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from the Artois and Picardy. His two sisters, the one Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low-countries, the other Eleonora of Portugal wife of Francis I. having managed

managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor consents to it, that he may have fresh troops wherewith to oppose the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to pass into Italy.

The dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were masters of almost all the towns, some few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vasto, whom the French call Duguaft. A treaty is then concluded for some months in this country. This was not making war seriously after projects of so great and so dangerous a nature. He who lost most by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered both by friends and enemies; for both imperialists and French keep still the possession of most of his towns.

1538.

The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is prolonged at the expence of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally don't pursue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having past into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his bastard daughter widow of Alexander de Medicis to Octavio Farnese, grandson to a bastard of Paul the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Castro. These duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the countess Mathilda; she had given them to the church, and not to the pope's bastards. They have since been annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the ecclesiastical state, whence they were detached by Paul III. who gave them to this son. The emperor might very justly have claimed the sovereignty of them; but he rather chose to favour the pope than quarrel with him.

After all these great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont.

Charles

Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aignemortes with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his prisoner, as if he had never given him the lye, as if he had never challenged him to single combat, as if the king of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not suffered Charles V. to be treated as a prisoner.

1539.

Charles V. is informed in Spain, that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is upon the brink of revolting in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low-countries have certain rights; no assistance was ever obtained in this flourishing country by arbitrary imposition. The states always furnished their sovereign, when it seemed needful with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own contribution. The states of Flanders having granted 120,000 florins to the governess of the Low-countries, appoint 400,000 to be raised upon the people of Ghent, who oppose this incroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governess causes the principal citizens to be arrested; a raising ensues, the inhabitants take up arms: It was one of the richest and largest cities in Europe. They offer to give themselves up to the king of France as to their sovereign; but he makes a merit of refusing their proposal; still flattering himself with hopes of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan for one of his sons. And what ensues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a passage for himself thro' France, that he may punish the rebels of Ghent. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayonne. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerrant. Charles V. enters Paris on the 1st of January.

nuary. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Prisoners are in his name set at liberty. He presides in parliament and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigismund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honourable and useless title.

Knighthood had been in great esteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given insensibly to lords of fiefs, distinguished for their military achievements. By little and little these lords of fiefs had erected knighthood into a sort of imaginary order, composed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the constitution of a state; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more respected than another in some castles, but it was not upon the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the states of France, the courts of Spain, or the parliament of England, but upon the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords bannerets in the armies were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had castles and territories in quality of *worthies*; but they only called them *worthy*, because they were supposed to have done some worthy action.

In the main that which is called knighthood belongs rather to Romance than history. It was little more than an honourable Mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailif of a town in France, because that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and in effect the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not so. This nobility was acknowledged in
France

France only by courtesy out of respect to the emperor. But what is most likely is, that Charles V. by this procedure would have insinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigismund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make another; nor could this prerogative be refused to an emperor to whom they had granted that of setting prisoners at liberty.

Those who have imagined that the detaining Charles prisoner was a subject of debate, speak without any proof. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greatest infamy, if thro' a mean treachery he had detained him prisoner, whose captive he had been by force of arms. There are some state crimes which have the sanction of custom; there are others which no custom can authorize, and which the chivalry of these times would have discountenanced. It is said that the king only exacted from him a promise of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans brother to the Dauphin Henry, and that he satisfied himself with his bare word. Here he piqued himself more upon his generosity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of 2000 horse and 6000 foot which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raised 80,000 armed men, yet they give him no opposition.

1540.

On the 12th of May the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, 24 of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance towards the rebuilding it 300,000 ducats, and to furnish 9000 ducats yearly for the support of the garrison. There is seldom a better use made of law in the hands of the strong. When the blood of the ministers of Mary of Burgundy had been here shed before her eyes, the town escaped without punishment, while for supporting her real rights she was almost ruined.

Francis

Francis I. sends his wife Eleonora to Brussels to solicit the investiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offensive one with the pope against them. It was the emperor's design to make him lose his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The Lutheran religion and the league of Smalcald acquire, new strength in Germany by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful sovereign of Misnia and Thuringia. He was a very zealous catholic, and his brother Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his last will, disinherited his brother and his nephews in case they did not return to the religion of their ancestors, and left his dominions to the house of Austria. This was quite a new case. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his estate on account of his religion. John Frederic elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Hesse, George's kinsman, preserve the succession to the natural heir by furnishing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here as well as those of Saxony and Hesse, become Lutherans.

Lutheranism signalises itself by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of George, indulges her husband, whom she could not please, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter to a Saxon gentleman, proposes the question to Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, whether he could in conscience have two wives? and whether the law of nature could in this point be reconciled to the christian law? The three apostles, extremely confounded give him privately their permission in writing. All husbands might be permitted to do the same; for in a case of conscience a landgrave cannot be allowed greater privileges than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties ensuing from keeping two wives exceeds greatly the disgust arising from having only one.

The emperor does his best endeavours to overturn the league of Smalcald; and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg surnamed the Alcibiades. Several conferences are held between the Protestants and Catholics, the common consequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541.

On the 18th of July the emperor publishes at Ratisbon an *interim*, an *inhalt*, so it is commonly called, or an edict whereby every person is left to his own belief without molestation.

This edict was necessary now when armies were to be levied against the Turks: We have before remarked that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been considered as the protector of John Zapoli, who had always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkish invasion; for John being dead Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his son.

The imperial army besieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda; but the Turks come to his assistance, and give the Christians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The Sultan at length weary of fighting and conquering so often for Christians, seizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Transylvania to the young prince, who according to his doctrine could have no hereditary right to an elective kingdom as Hungary was.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the Sultan, that he must renounce all claim to Hungary, and besides do him homage for Austria.

Whilst things were in this situation, and the Turkish army diminished by the plague, Solyman returns to Constantinople; and Charles passes over into Italy.

Instead

Instead of projecting the rescue of Algiers from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain, than that of the empire. Master of Tunis and Algiers all Barbary had been subjected to the Spanish yoke; while Germany was to defend itself against the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coast of Algiers, on the 23d of October, with almost as many people as attended him at the siege of Tunis. But a violent storm having sunk fifteen of his galleys, 86 of his vessels, and his troops having been annoyed, on land by the Moors and tempests unitedly, Charles is forced to re embark on board the remainder of his ships, and arrives at Carthagena in November with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation suffers considerably. He is blamed for his rashness in this undertaking; yet had he succeeded; he had been still the avenger of Europe. The famous Herman Cortez, the conqueror of so many American nations, served as a volunteer in this expedition against Algiers. Here he saw the difference between a small number of men who know how to defend themselves, and multitudes who permit themselves to be overcome.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conquests, is inconceivable; but it is easy to see why Germany permitted it. Because the Catholic unite against the Protestant princes; it is because the league of Smalcald makes war against the duke of Brunswic a catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and sets at ransom all the ecclesiastics. It is, in fine, because the king of France tired with the refusal of the investiture of the Milanese, prepares strong alliances and potent armies against the emperor.

Charles the Vth's life and empire were but one continual tempest. The Sultan, the pope, Venice, one half of Germany and France were one or other of them almost always against him; and sometimes

all together. England was at one time a second, at another an opposite. No emperor was ever more feared; yet less to be feared.

Francis I. sends an ambassador to Constantinople and another to Venice at one and the same time. He who was sent to Solyman was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone; the other Fregose a Genoese. Both were assassinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of colonel St. Clair assassinated in our time as he returned from Constantinople to Sweden; these two events were either causes of, or pretexts for very bloody war; Charles V. disavows the assassination of the two ambassadors of the king of France. In truth he looked on them as men born his subjects and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to chuse his own party, than it can possibly be, that a prince has any right to assassinate his subjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty it is very dreadful for it. Charles in disavowing the action committed in his name, owned it in effect to be a most shameful crime.

Politics and revenge equally spur the armament of Francis I.

He sends the dauphin into Roussillon with an army of 30,000 men, and his other son the duke of Orleans with the like number into Luxemburg.

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Gueldres, invaded by Charles V. was with count Mansfield in the duke of Orleans's army.

The king of France has as yet an army in Piedmont. The emperor is astonished to find France, whom he had so often oppressed, still mistress of such force and so many resources. War is waged equally between them without any advantageous decision for either one party or the other. The council of Trent assemble during this war. The imperialists arrive

arrive there on the 28th of January. The Protestants refuse to attend, and the council is suspended.

1543.

On the 26th of August is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorraine, with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the imperial chamber two thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the mean time there is published a new league against Francis I. between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they re-unite. That very Henry VIII. whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcilable enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and possesses himself of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves asks him pardon upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce the sovereignty of the duchy of Gueldres, and gives him the investiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, altho' a free town, the Empire and France had wrangled. No sooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to bear down France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his assistance a second time. Cheredin their admiral comes with gallies to Marseilles. He goes to the siege of Nice with count D'Enguien; he takes that town, but the castle is succoured by the imperialists, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This descent of the Turks was not very memorable, because they had been armed in the name of the most christian king.

At the same time that Charles V. makes war against France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Roussillon;

while he treats with the pope and the Protestants; while he presses Germany to secure him from the Turkish invasions, he wages war against the king of Denmark.

Christiern II. kept in prison by those who had been formerly his subjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer possessed, and which were elective. Gustavus Vasa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holstein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark; by name Christiern III. who attacked the emperor in Holland with a fleet of 40 ships; but a peace is soon clapt up. This Christiern III. renews with his two brothers, John and Adolphus, the ancient treaty, relating to the duchies of Holstein and of Schleswick. John and Adolphus, and their descendants, were to possess these duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles assembles at that time a great diet at Spire; at which Ferdinand his brother, and all the electors and princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, are present. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand succour against the Turks and against the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the enemy of God. The king of France intends to send ambassadors to this great diet. He dispatches a herald to procure him a passport, and they put his herald in prison.

The diet grant him subsidies and troops; but these only for six months. They consist of but 4000 horse and 20,000 foot: But a feeble assistance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this succour without doing much in favour of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining in this diet, that the imperial chamber of Spire shall be made up of one
half

half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly, but vainly, complains *.

The old admiral Barbarossa, who had passed the winter at Toulon and Marseilles, again sails on the coast of Italy, and carries off his galleys loaden with plunder and slaves to Constantinople, where he finished a career that had been a long time fatal to Christianity.

The king of France gathered a less odious and more honourable success from the battle of Cerisoles, which count d'Enguien gained in Piedmont over the marquis Del Vasto, a famous general of the emperor, on the 11th of April: Yet this victory could not open a passage to the French in the Milanese, while the emperor penetrates to Soissons and menaces Paris.

* Father Barre, author of a large history of Germany, puts these words into the mouth of Charles V. *The pope is happy in that the princes of the league of Smalcald did not propose my becoming a protestant. In that case, I know not what I should have done.* It is well known, that this was the emperor Joseph's answer to Clement XI. when he complained of his condescensions to Charles XII. Father Barre is not satisfied with imputing to Charles V. this discourse, which he never held; but he has also inserted in his book a great number of facts and discourses, taken word for word from the history of Charles XII. He has copied above 100 pages. It is not impossible that they may have said and acted in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries exactly as in the 18th, but it is not at all likely. There was a necessity for making this note, because Journalists having perhaps seen in the history of Charles XII. and that of Germany, so many accounts absolutely alike, might have accused the writer of Charles the XIIth's life of plagiarism; never considering that the latter historian had written 20 years before the former.

Henry VIII. is for his part in Picardy. Notwithstanding the battle of Ceresoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheless, by one of those mysteries, which history can scarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed but the mistrusts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England. This peace is concluded on the 18th of September, at Crepi. This treaty imports, that the duke of Orleans, second son of the king of France, shall espouse a daughter, either of the emperor or the king of the Romans, and that he shall have the Milanese or the Low-countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles in parting with the Milanese bestows only a fief of the Empire; but in giving up the Low-countries he strips his son of his inheritance.

As for the king of England his conquests are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preserved from every attempt.

1545.

The council of Trent opens in the month of April. The protestants declare, that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunswic, stripped, as we have seen, of his possessions by the league of Smalcald, re-possesses them by the assistance of his brother the archbishop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and sword.

Philip the famous landgrave of Hesse, and Maurice of Saxony the nephew of George, reduce him to the last extremities. He surrenders to these princes at discretion, marching bare-headed, together with his son Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments these dangerous Victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As soon as the council meets, Paul III. with the consent of the emperor, gives in the most solemn manner the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his

his eldest son Peter Lewis Farnese, whose son Octavius had already married the widow of Alexander de Medecis, who was Charles V's. bastard. This coronation of a pope's bastard made a strange contrast with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector Palatine made use of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies soon after at Isleben on the 18th of February, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the satisfaction of withdrawing one half of Europe from the Roman church, and he esteemed this glory beyond any that conquest can bestow.

1546.

The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low-countries or the Milanese, removes one uneasiness of Charles; however he had others that were very sufficient; the protestant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was scarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other, they did not openly disavow his authority; but then they respected it as little as if it had been intirely abolished among the protestant princes.

These princes shew their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They send ambassadors to these two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favours the league of Smalcald.

Lutheranism had made such a progress, that the elector of Cologn, Herman de Neuvid, altho' an archbishop, introduced it in his territories, and waited only a fair opportunity to secularise both himself and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his archbishoprick. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased: but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the Empire of his

dominions; to that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders, that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schavembourg the archbishop's coadjutor; but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Harman is at length deposed, and Schavembourg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg margrave of Culmbach, joins with John of Brunswick the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and underhand assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III, about 10, 000 foot, and 500 light horse, for six months paying 200, 000 Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one half of one year's revenue, belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of 500, 000 crowns. He durst not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbours, and many churches would have rather secularised themselves than have submitted to pay.

The protestants are already masters of all the passes of the Tirolese, and extend themselves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony John Frederic and Philip landgrave of Hesse, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the house of Brunswick, and his four sons, three princes of Anhalt and George of Wirtemberg uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldenburg, of Mansfield, of Oettingen, of Henneberg, of Furstemberg, and many other princes are seen at the head of their troops.

The

The towns of Ulric, of Strasburg, of Norlinguen, and of Augsburg, send out their forces also. There are eight regiments of Swiss protestants. This army consisted of more than 60, 000 foot, and 15, 000 horse.

The emperor, who had but very few troops nevertheless acts as master, put the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire at Ratisbon on the 18th of July. He has soon an army strong enough to support his edict. The 10, 000 Italians sent by the pope arrive; 6000 Spaniards being his old regiments from the Milanese and from Naples join themselves to his Germans; but tho' he ought to have three nations armed, he had not as yet an army equal to that of the league when re-inforced by the soldiery of the elector Palatine.

There are several slight skirmishes; several posts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken, and retaken.

The emperor is preserved by a protestant prince. Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinsman to the landgrave of Hesse, the same to whom the landgrave and elector of Saxony had preserved his dominions, and whose tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to these his neighbours and sides with the emperor, who promises not to molest him in his religion of Lutheranism; and this assurance serves him as a pretext for his conduct to his subjects.

He assembles 10, 000 foot and 3000 horse; makes a diversion in Saxony, defeats the elector's troops; and is the first cause of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France sends them 200, 000 crowns. This was enough to keep discord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Most of the towns of Franconia surrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector Palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himself at Charles's feet, and asks his

pardon. Almost all the country as far as Hesse-cassel is subdued.

Then pope Paul III. withdraws his 10,000 men, for whose service he had only articed six months. He fears assisting the emperor too much, even against the protestants. Charles is not much weakened by this loss. The death of the king of England Henry VIII. happens on the 28th of January, and a disorder which at the same time hastens the dissolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547.

Charles easily succeeds in detaching the old duke of Wirtemberg from the league. He was so irritated at the revolts, to which religion had given a pretext, that he attempted establishing at Naples an inquisition, of the same sort with that so long settled in Spain; but this tribunal is no sooner set up there than it is abolished, having caused a most violent sedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to assist him in suppressing the league of Smalcald, than to persist in forcing upon them an inquisition, from whence he could reap no advantage.

The league seems almost destroyed by the submission of the Palatinate and of Wirtemberg, but acquires new strength from the junction of the citizens of Prague and several of the cantons of Bohemia who revolt against their sovereign Ferdinand, and go to succour the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbac, surnamed Alcibiades, of whom we have often spoken, was in reality for the emperor; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken prisoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompence the loss of the elector of Brandenburg, John the severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favour of the head of the empire and assists Ferdinand against the Bohemians.

All

All things were in confusion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor passes the Elbe with a very strong army near Mulberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked on the 24th of April. This battle of Mulberg was decisive, and it is affirmed that in it there were but 40 men killed on the side of the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony being wounded is taken prisoner with the young prince Ernest of Brunswic. On the 12th of May Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva, presided on this judgment. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with prince Ernest of Brunswic.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce for himself and his children the electoral dignity in favour of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependancies, having first demolished the fortrefs. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of 50,000 golden crowns yearly, and to advance him 100,000 at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those that had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswic, were set at liberty; but the elector remains still the prisoner of Charles.

His wife Sibilla, sister to the duke of Cleves, throws herself at the emperor's feet, all bathed in tears, to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally, that he comes to embrace the knees of the emperor, that he razes all his fortresses, except Cassel or Zingenheim, paying besides 150,000 golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise under their hands to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children, and in case of failure to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to every thing. Granvel bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions which Philip signed. We have been always assured, that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expressly stipulated, that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvel writ that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *U* in the place of an *N* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einiger gefængniss*, and Granvel writ *e Wiger*.

The landgrave was remis in revising the treaty; he imagined it was as it ought to have been; confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederic elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Wirtemberg. He confiscated the possession of many of the chiefs of the party: he imposed taxes on all those whom he had vanquished, not excepting the towns
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that had only assisted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raised 1,600,000 golden crowns.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, on his part punishes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual imprisonment. The taxes and confiscations were immense, these never fail to have a considerable part in the vengeance of sovereigns.

The council of Trent was dispersed during these troubles. The pope inclines to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the League, but not the protestant religion. Those of that communion demand in the diet of Augsburg, that the protestant divines shall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more dissatisfied with the pope than with the protestant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the church in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the investiture of it to his bastard son when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when dissatisfied he recollected, that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milanese, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the investiture. Pope Paul III. alarmed at the power of Charles V. negotiates against him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In these circumstances, the son of the pope become odious for his crimes all over Italy was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his parental tenderness for Margaret his daughter.

1548.

The emperor quarrels with the pope, and favours the protestants a little more. He had alway designed the

the council to be in some German town, and pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favour of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On the 15th of May the grand *Interim* was published in the diet of Augsburg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was very reasonable; therefore it contented no body. The people were too unsettled; both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice the new elector of Saxony, in order to oblige him, in vain endeavours to have the new form received in his dominions, but the protestant ministers were stronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector Palatine receive the *Interim*. The landgrave of Hesse submits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheless deceived.

John Frederic the former elector of Saxony, altho' a prisoner, refuses to sign it. His example is followed by many princes and several towns. The clergy in general cry out against the peace presented them by the *Interim*.

The emperor contents himself with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that
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the council should return to Trent, and charges himself with the care of transferring it.

The Low-countries are in this diet put under the care of the Germanic body. They are declared free from the taxes which the states were to pay the empire, and from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, tho' included in the the tenth circle. They are not obliged to be any way serviceable to the empire; but in case of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. These rules were subscribed by Charles V. on the 26th of June. The people of Valois are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes; from which they are at this day exempt, because they are known to have become free.

The town of Constance does not receive the *Interim* until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The towns of Strasburg prevails so far as to procure the *Interim* to take place in that district with respect only to the catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christiern III. king of Denmark receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers John and Adolphus, by the hands of his Ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid the latter end of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is notwithstanding governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549.

The emperor retired to Brussels, causes the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois to do homage to his eldest son Philip.

The council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest.

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The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio should, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III. has occasion to complain equally of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts however to seize upon Parma without success. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor: But ought not they who advanced this, to remember adding that he was 81 years of age?

1550.

The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, so that the empire was not at all disturbed by the Turks. The Persians preserve Austria, but the Turks remain still masters of the greatest part of Hungary.

Henry II. king of France seems very easy. The affairs of the council and those of Placentia gave considerable uneasiness to the new pope Julius III. The emperor has the better in the *Interim*, which is still the occasion of vexation in Germany. What must the people think to see men so little scrupulous as Paul III. Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war against the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns these two towns and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence.

fidence. Maurice justifies the ambition which had stripped his tutor and his kinsman of the electorate of Saxony by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honour lost by the imprisonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse, who notwithstanding his security and that of the elector of Brandenburg was still detained a captive. These two princes press the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the singular resolution of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavours to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony thus dissatisfied with Charles V. is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotically. He does nothing against Magdeburg. He lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate. He had too much reason to be sorry for it. It was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns, as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this new-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles he already treats with Henry II. and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551.

Charles V, whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, shewed him the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary; and in Bohemia, almost every-body revolted against his brother Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans and his clame of succeeding to the empire in favour of his son Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design; but it is certain that the imperial authority stood in need of a chief, who, master of Spain and of the new world, had been also sufficiently powerful to control at the same time his enemies and the princes of the Empire. It is also certain, that the princes saw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and submitted, not without difficulty, to the emperor's views. They contributed only to anger Ferdinand and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands his deposition, of the electors, and requires their votes in favour of his son. He reaps nothing from this undertaking but the mortification of being refused, and of seeing the elector Palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppose his designs.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon conditions, and tho' he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he had subdued it for himself. The same ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony, at the hands of Charles V. now spurred him on to unite against that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Frederic the count Palatine, Christopher duke of Wirtemberg, Ernest marquis of Baden-dourlach and several other princes.

This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II. king of France, a young enterprising prince, joins the league. He was to furnish 240,000 crowns during the three first months of the war, and 60,000 each month following. He makes himself master of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the Empire; a
singular

singular sort of title, which he then assumed as a pretext, as if he had been really one.

The king of France already laid hold of the affair of Parma, as a sufficient cause for carrying the war into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things, that it was he who should have protected Octavio Farnese against the emperor his father-in-law; but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing unessayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan to which his predecessors had always pretensions.

Henry also unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I. and the admiral Dragut, a man not less formidable than Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, had been, made a descent upon the coast of Sicily, where he pilaged the town of Augusta.

The army of Solyman at the same time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only person who took the part of Charles V. with whom he united against his kinsman, Octavio Farnese, tho' at bottom, the interests and pretensions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of sovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French also carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the same time obliged to oppose a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one half of Germany leaguered and armed against him, and a king of France, young, rich, and well served, impatient to signalize himself, and to repair the misfortunes of his predecessors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by interest and danger. They have at length some success in Hungary.

Ferdinand was at the same time happy enough to get Transilvania. The widow of John Zapoly, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, govern'd Transilvania, in the name of her son Stephen Sigismund, under the protection of the Turks, a protection so very tyrannical, that she was weary
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of it. She is induced by Martinusius Bishop of Waradin, afterwards cardinal, to exchange Transilvania with Ferdinand for some possessions in Silesia, such as Opelen and Ratibor. Never did queen make so bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinusius Vayvode of Transilvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name with authority and courage. He puts himself at the head of the Transilvians to march against the Turks, whom he assists the imperialists, in repulsing. But Ferdinand beginning to mistrust him, causes him to be assassinated by Palavicini in the castle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time too closely connected with the emperor to dare enquiring into the cause of this assassination; however he excommunicated Ferdinand the year following. An excommunication productive of neither noise nor effect: It is one of those which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheless put in practice when such men as spake in the name of the divinity, imagine they have a right in his name, to set themselves above such sovereigns as abused their power to excess; but those who judge of kings, ought themselves to be irreprehensible.

1552.

Maurice the elector of Saxony throws off his mask, and publishes a manifesto, declaring himself allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederic, the very man whom he had dispossef'd, the enlargement of the landgrave of Hesse, and for the support of his religion.

He is join'd by Joachim elector of Brandenburgh. William son of the imprisoned landgrave of Hesse, Henry Otho elector Palatine. and Albert of Mecklenburg are up in arms before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tirol, and drive out the few imperialists who possess'd

sefs'd them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken prisoners, and save themselves by a very disorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a prisoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refused to accept it, is almost unaccountable. Perhaps if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheless about the beginning of April the king of France seizes upon Verdun, Toul and Metz. He takes Haguenau and Wissemburgh. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburgh, possesses himself of several towns.

To add to the emperor's disgraces, he is informed in his flight that the pope has abandon'd his interest, and declared himself neuter between France and him. It was about this time his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honour, that these censures were not pass'd at a time when they seem the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburgh plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nurembergh, Weitzbergh and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spire, and lay siege to Francfort.

In the mean time the emperor having retired to Passau, and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into measures. A peace is concluded on the 12th of August. By this renowned peace of Passau, he grants a general amnesty to all who had born arms against him, since the year 1546. The protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mulberg they had been

been excluded. It is some matter of surprise, that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfeld until he should give assurances of his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful, that nothing was stipulated in favour of John Frederic the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor nevertheless, in a short time after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty, and permits him to return to Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads 16,000 men into Hungary, notwithstanding which assistance, Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of the upper Hungary, without submitting to the states, and paying an annual tribute of 20,000 golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat and Parma were over-run with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans, after the battle of Mulberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages and his wars absorb them all. He borrows 200,000 golden crowns from the duke of Florence, count de Medicis, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombiono and of the island of Elbe. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburgh, the only protestant prince, who still held out against him, is reconciled, and joins his forces; but the famous Francis duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French

french nobility, obliges them, on the 26th of December to raise the siege after having lain 65 days before the town. Charles loses in this undertaking more than one third of his army.

1553.

Charles, to revenge himself of the misfortune that had befallen him at Metz, sends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay siege to Terouane, which town is taken and destroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who soon became one of the greatest generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Hesdin, which is razed to the ground in the same manner as Terouane. But the duke of Arscot, who commanded a considerable body of troops, suffers himself to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a stand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the same situation; nor are those of Germany settled. The restless Albert of Brandenburg, called *Alcibiades*, still heads a body of troops that subsist only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunswic and of Maurice elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildesheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himself killed. This prince, tho' but 32 years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander and a great politician. He is succeeded by his brother Augustus.

Albert, the *Alcibiades*, still continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceeds against him, notwithstanding which he continues his depredation; but at length wanting men and money takes refuge in France. The emperor better to secure that prodigious power, which had received so many additions and diminutions, concludes the marriage of his son

Philip with Mary queen of England daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Arragon.

Tho' the parliament of England made it an additional clause in the marriage contract, that the alliance between the English and France should still subsist, Charles had nevertheless hopes, and those not ill-grounded, that this alliance would be soon broken. It was in reality to arm England against France, that he gave that kingdom to his son as a sovereign; and had Mary had children, the house of Austria had seen all the states of Europe from the Baltic sea, France excepted, subservient to its laws.

1554.

Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily to his son Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary his spouse, in the same manner as king William has since been with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is still carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with various success, but still in a sort of æquilibrium.

The troops of France still remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, tho' this number was inconsiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the Milanese very great. It seemed as if they were drained on both sides.

Cosmo duke of Florence takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Sienna, which feared falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medequino marquis of Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies on the 2d of August. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

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1555.

1555.

Ernest count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near getting possession of the town of Metz, by the contrivances of a Franciscan frier, tho' the emperor had not been able to subdue it with 50,000 men. This Frier's name was Leonard; he was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Thro' his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans, entered the town disguised like Franciscan Friers, under pretence of a general chapter which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthusian; father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making 18 Franciscan Friers assist at the gibbeting him.

The ancient papal policy, revives under pope Paul IV. of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as has been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the pope from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese with the assistance of France, to procure if possible, these principalities for his nephews. In case that Henry II. shall furnish new troops, he engages to join them with 10,000 men.

The war begins to grow brisker than ever. Charles saw it impossible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of such a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time born a principal part in all the transactions of Europe. He resolves to finish his course by the most singular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce so many sovereignties that he might seclude himself in a monastery, he confirms the liberty of the Protestants in the diet of Augsburg. He gives up to them the ecclesiastical revenues upon which they had seized, and on their account the form of oath administered to the counsellors of the imperial chamber is changed to swearing by the gospel, instead of by the saints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mulberg give way to necessity, and on the eve of assuming the monkish cowl acts like a philosopher.

On the 24th of November he gives up the Low-countries to his son Philip in presence of the states assembled at Brussels, and Spain and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on the 10th of the ensuing January.

He pardons his kinsman Octavio Farnese, giving up to him Placentia and the Novarese, after which he prepares himself to surrender the empire to his brother the king of the Romans.

1556.

All things disgusted him. The Turks were masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore impatiently their yoke. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest himself of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he who certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul III. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontif was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles

Charles V. without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on the 17th of September 1556, and in the 36th year of his reign.

The prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial scepter to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura in the monastery of St. Justus, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion, that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely upon human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theater on which he had played so considerable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the ecclesiastical electors neither to accept of the dismissal of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his business to sow the seeds of discord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new strength; and in truth all the acts of the empire were published in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any historian.

F E R D I N A N D I.

FORTY SECOND EMPEROR.

1557.

THE abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The house of Austria, divided into two branches, is as yet the most considerable in Europe; but the Spanish branch, far superior to the other, intirely ingrossed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer

permits the Spanish, Italian, and Flemish troops to contribute to the imperial greatness.

Ferdinand has very large possessions in Germany; but the Upper-Hungary, which is his, scarcely affords him sufficiency to maintain such troops as were necessary to make head against the Turks. The Bohemians seemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impossible for Ferdinand to be powerful independent of the Empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstadt to Philip landgrave of Hesse and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen of the house of Brunswic against Friezeland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles set on foot by Frederic III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower-Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length, on the 28th of February, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother at Francfort. An embassy is sent to the pope, which he refuses to receive; still pretending Ferdinand not to be emperor. The ambassadors protest and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswic is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558.

On the 21st of September 1558, happens that great event Charles the Vth's death. It is well known,

known, that thro' a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay that he was stretched upon the bier in the middle of the church of St. Justice while they sung *de profundis*. In this last action of his life he seemed to have possessed a little of the spirit of Johanna his mother, and yet upon a throne he had always conducted himself like a politician, a hero, and a man not insensible to his pleasures. How many contrarieties united in his disposition! who, tho' possessed of more than monkish devotion was supposed at his death to hold several of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakness and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V. tho' he died a monk, yet at his death is suspected of heresy.

Since the funeral rites of Alexander nothing had been so superb as the obsequies of Charles V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Bruffels they cost 70,000 Ducats. Expences noble as these contribute to illustrate the memory of a great man while they employ and encourage arts: Yet more durable monuments ought to have been raised than a show, passable as this, which is certainly far from being sufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559.

Ferdinand holds a diet at Augsburg, in which the ambassadors of Henry II. king of France are introduced. France had just made peace at Catan-Cambresis with Philip II. king of Spain. The French by this peace preserved in Italy only Turin and some other towns which they afterwards give up; but they kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet it is hardly spoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambassadors, that while

France keeps possession of these three towns it will be extremely hard for a good understanding to subsist between France and Germany.

The new pope Pius IV. is not so inflexible as Paul IV. but soon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560.

On the 29th of November the council of Trent, after having been so long suspended, is at length re-established by a bull of Pius IV. He gives notice of the assembling this council to all sovereigns; he even signifies it to the protestant princes of Germany. But as the address of his letters was *To our most dear son*, those who did not chuse to acknowledge themselves children of the pope send back his letter unopened.

1561.

Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time masters of this province under the imperial protection. But these knights, unable to resist the Muscovites, and receiving no succours from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigismund, king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler.

The meetings of the council of Trent begin.

1562.

The ambassador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in possession of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the first things discussed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the seculars. The decree barely imports, that
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the church has very just reasons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers shall conduct themselves in this affair, intirely by the judgment of the pope, which shall be to them decisive.

On the 24th of November, the electors at Francfort unanimously declare Maximilian son of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors assist personally in their several functions at this ceremony, according to the tenor of the golden bull. This solemnity was rendered the more glorious by the presence of an ambassador from Solyman, who signs a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of the Austrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not so terrible as he has been. Nevertheless this peace was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was easy and happy.

1563.

This year is memorable for the dissolution of the council of Trent. This long council, which was the last general, neither served to soften nor subdue the enemies of the Roman church. They published some edicts concerning discipline, which were scarcely admitted in any catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The council of Basil had rent the church and set up an anti-pope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution and was the cause of a thirty years war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran striped count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII. by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame. The 4th council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the *Bald*, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicea, under

der Ireneus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Monothelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a very bloody one. It is well known that great divisions actuated the councils held on account of Arius. The council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with tranquillity.

1564.

On the 25th of July, Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments; scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost 200 years after.

This famous testament of 1543, appoints in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V. that the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter Ann and her issue. She was the second daughter of Ferdinand, and wife to Albert II. duke of Bavaria. This foreseen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences had been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage contract of his daughter had been more clearly expressed.

It may be remarked, that this Ann duchess of Bavaria assumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage contract, as well as the rest of her sisters. They might indeed have called her queen without her being one, as she was called archduchess without possessing any archduchy. However this custom was not followed.

Ferdinand besides, by his last will, left Hungary, Bohemia, and the Upper and Lower Austria to his son Maximilian king of the Romans.

To his second son Ferdinand he bequeathed Tirol and the anterior Austria.

To Charles, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his possessions in Istria.

The Austrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire which still remained in that house, was the standard to which all the princes of that house re-united.

Ferdinand was neither crowned at Lombardy nor Rome. The inutility of these ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more essential for the two principal branches of the imperial house, Spain and Austria, to hold a good intelligence. It is that which renders Italy submissive, and brings the holy see to a dependence upon that house.

MAXIMILIAN II.

FOURTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564.

THE empire, as we have already seen, without ceasing to be elective becomes hereditary. The emperors since the time of Charles V. desist from crossing the Alps to seek either an iron crown or one of gold. The power of most weight in Italy was that of Philip II., who, tho' at the same time a vassal to the empire and to the holy see, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world, only the first gleanings of which his father had possessed, but he enjoyed its real sweets.

The empire under Maximilian II. as under Ferdinand I. was certainly Germany, Paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy being in the hands of Philip II. belonged rather to an ally than a vassal. Hungary became a dominion of the house of Austria, a dominion that incessantly opposed the Turks and was as it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian in the first year of his reign is obliged, as his father and grand-father had been before, to carry on a war against Solyman.

This Sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Transilvania furnished him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary Vaivode, and John Sigismund son to that queen of Hungary, who had ceded her rights for some villages in Silesia, had put his hereditary dominions under the Sultan's protection, chusing rather to be a sovereign and tributary to the Turks than a simple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary, and in the month of January Maximilian's generals take Tokai. Augustus elector of Saxony is the only prince who assists the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes both catholic and protestant, were bent upon strengthening themselves. Religion at that time ingrossed the attention of the people more than it had ever divided them. The greatest part of the catholics in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the council of Trent, stipulate barely that they shall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the priests, who before the breaking up of the council of Trent had been permitted to marry, desire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers these two requests to the pope. Pope Pius IV. to whom the council had left the decision of the sacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they please, but refuses leave to the priests to marry; besides the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565.

A treaty is made with the Turks who still remain masters of Buda, and the prince of Transilvania continues under their protection.

Solyman

Solyman sends Bacha Mustapha to besiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this siege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired.

1566.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power ever since the treaty of Passau, the legislative authority was still vested in the emperor, and was pretty effective when the princes with whom it had to deal were not too puissant.

Maximilian II. employs this authority against John Albert duke of Mecklenburg and Ulric his brother, each of whom pretends to equal rights upon the town of Rostock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themselves to be exempt, whom the two brothers make war against and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commission.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occasion to demand in the diet of Augsburg more powerful succours than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The diet orders soldiers to be raised for him and grant him the *Roman months* for three years, a thing that they had never done before.

Count Serin, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand Visier sends his head to Maximilian with this message, that he ought to have hazarded his own head incoming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command 120,000 men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their

their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low-countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame; but Maximilian more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his subjects liberty of conscience, and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquillity at home.

1567.

This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the ancient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, ought to have been an object of the Elder's regret. A gentleman named Groumbach, who was proscribed with many of his accomplices for divers crimes, retired to Gotha the residence of John Frederic, son to him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mulberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself upon Augustus elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, in concert with whom he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators being taken at Dresden confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers resolutely determined to share his fortune be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town, but are at length

length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederic, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantaneously executed.

1568.

The troubles of the Low-countries increase. William *the silent*, prince of Orange, now head of a party, who founded the republic of the united provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low-countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire: and in effect the emperor sends his brother Charles of Austria archduke of Gratz into Spain to soften Philip II. but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain nor hinder most of the protestant princes of Germany from assisting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alba, that bloody governor of the Low-countries, presses the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the supreme jurisdiction of the Low-countries being vested in the empire, he ought for this purpose to address himself to the imperial diet. Such an answer shewed very sufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arrest.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war upon another party of German troops. It was however natural for him to assist his cousin Philip in this affair; the more so, as he had made peace that very same year with Selim II. successor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman months*.

Yet so far was he from assisting his cousin the king
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of Spain in the reduction of his subjects in the Low-countries, who demand liberty of conscience, that he appears to disapprove the conduct of Philip in soon after permitting the Austrians to adopt the confession of Augsburg. He afterwards promises the pope to revoke that permission. All these things manifest his authority to be weak, confined, and unstable. It had been said, that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the house of Brandenburg was intirely protestant. A son of the elector John George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick Julius also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector Palatine and most of his country profess protestantism. The catholic religion hardly subsisted any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many protestants as well as in Bohemia; all these things authorised the liberty Maximilian gave to the protestant religion in Austria; but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569.

In the midst of these wars of religion and politics behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II. duke of Florence and Alphonso duke of Ferrara contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis the hereditary prince of Florence and the duke of Ferrara had each of them married sisters

sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration. But pope Pius V. who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory and the duke of Florence as his ally; hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of great duke, as if the bare word *great* made some vast addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himself a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making *great dukes* but *kings*. The dispute grows worse. But at length the great duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570.

This year was held the diet of Spire, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund prince of Transylvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary. A title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund king of Sweden cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian. The rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark; they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lubec is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commer-

commercial priveleges with Sweden and Denmark are confirmed: This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come in to it fearing to bring the Ottoman forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely thro' form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Fical belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where in quality of vassal of the empire he demanded justice, and in the mean time Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, finding easily means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572.

After the death of Sigismund II. king of Poland, the last of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian, underhand makes interest for the throne, which he flatters himself the republic of Poland will offer him by ambassy.

The secret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitless, for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of asking for, send no ambassy.

1573.

The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected on the 1st of May, to the great discontent of the protestant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold so near them a man stained with blood in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574.

1574.

The prince of Orange, who supported himself in the Low-countries by his valour and reputation against all the power of Philip II. holds an assembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the emperor sends an imperial commissary, apparently to support the majesty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575.

Maximilian causes his eldest son Rodolphus to be elected king of the Romans in the diet of Ratisbon. Thro' long custom, the fear of the Turks; and the convenience of having a chief able to support the imperial dignity by his own power, the possession of the imperial throne became necessarily lodged in the house of Austria.

The princes of the empire were not less masters of their own rights. The elector Palatine furnished troops to the Calvinists of France, while those of the Low-countries were assisted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou king of Poland by the death of Charles IX. he quits Poland as if he fled from a prison, and that throne being consequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himself elected king of Poland on the 15th of December.

But an opposing faction put a most atrocious affront upon Maximilian, proclaiming king, Stephen Battori Vaivod of Transilvania, the Sultan's vassal: a man looked upon in the count of Vienna as a rebel and an usurper. The Polanders marry to him the sister of Sigismund Augustus the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John Czar of Muscovy offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days,

days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Batori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavours to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the protestants instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with soliciting in the diet free liberty for the protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576.

Maximilian uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on the 12th of August, aged 49.

R O D O L P H U S II.

F O R T Y - F O U R T H E M P E R O R.

1577.

RODOLPHUS, who had been crowned king of the Roman in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest; and the same form of government still prevailed: Rodolphus barely promises in the first diet held at Francfort, to conform himself to the regulation of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed the appeasing the disturbances in the Low-countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II. shewing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavour as much as possible to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs. Such

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body ; and it was evident that the emperor Rodolphus was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother the archduke Matthias from accepting the government of the Low-countries on account of the confederates who are armed against Philip II. so that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria natural son to Charles V. governing Flanders in the name of Philip II. and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neuter, while Germany furnishes each side with mercenaries.

Rodolphus is not more disturbed by the irruptions which the Muscovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.

The Low-countries become a theater of war, confusion, and politics. Philip II, in having neglected to endeavour the restoration of order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The arch-duke Matthias contributing scarcely more than his name to the cause of the confederates, had less power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had not sufficient to send him assistance. The prince palatine Casimir, tutor to the young elector Frederic IV. who had marched into France with a little army to the assistance of the protestants, comes with the remainder of this army and some new troops to assist theirs and the cause of the revolters in the Low-countries. The brother of Henry III. king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, altho' a catholic, was called in to the assistance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavouring each to profit by these disturbances, the arch-duke, prince Casimir the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange, the whole four disunited, and Don John of Austria famous for the battle of Lepanto, singly opposed them all. It is advanced,

vanced, that this same Don John aspired to the sovereignty. So many troubles sprung from Philip's having abused his power, and his not having supported that abuse by his presence.

Without any proof whatsoever, and purely from a desire of rendring him odious, Philip II. is accused of having hastened the death of his brother, Don John of Austria, who departed this life on the 1st of October.

1579.

During the desolation of the Low-countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma successor of Don John, supports the cause of Philip II. and of the catholic religion by arms, Rodolphus, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France and Elisabeth queen of England furnish the confederates with men and money, and the emperor assists Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rodolphus was not sufficiently efficacious for his character, nor was he sufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. absolutely refuses liberty of conscience, and the Prince of Orange chuses not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580.

The Prince of Orange had found the secret of resisting Farnese, and to rid himself of the arch-duke Matthias. This arch-duke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a pension from the states, which they assign him upon the episcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581.

Matthias withdraws from the Low-countries, having done nothing but stipulated for his pension, one half of which they retrench. The States General
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by a public edict, dated July 26. in a legal manner on off the Government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their situation in respect of Germany remains undetermined, and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavouring to enslave the nation that he came to defend, is disconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582.

Pope Gregory XIII. having signalized his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the protestant princes not only of Germany but of all Europe oppose the reception of this necessary reformation. They had no other reason for it, but that of its being Rome that administered this service. They feared making that court appear too respectable should they receive instructions from it; and that should the people receive astronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuse its religious ones. The emperor is obliged in the diet of Augsburg to appoint the imperial chamber to observe the Julian stile, made in the time of Cæsar, which, tho' it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event disturbs the empire this year. Gebhard de Truchses, archbishop of Cologne, who was no priest, had embraced the confession of Augsburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes de Mansfield a nun of the monastery of Guericen. It was no extraordinary thing for a bishop to marry; but this bishop was an elector. He wanted to espouse his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a secular dignity. It might have happened very easily, that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbishopric, that the prelate had been at the same time a lutheran bishop and an elector. At that time the only catholic elec-

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tors were the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and of Triers. The empire seems well nigh falling into the hands of the protestants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard de Truchses endeavours, without success, to introduce lutheranism in Cologne. The chapter and senate were much more attached to the catholic religion, sharing in a great measure the sovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to lose. In effect the elector, tho' a sovereign, was far from being absolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magistrates. Soldiers are raised on every side, and the archbishop fights for his mistress with success.

1583.

The protestant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector Palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg write in his favour to the emperor, to the chapter and senate of Cologne; but proceeded no farther, and as they had no personal interest that should induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at least at present, they do not.

Truchses is only assisted by some petty princes. The archbishop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings some cavalry to his assistance. The count de Solmes and some lutheran gentlemen of Westphalia send him troops in the heat of the dispute. The prince of Parma on the other hand sends in his favour to the chapter. A canon of the ancient house of Saxony, which is the same as that of Brunswic, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it to be a holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Rosendale, during this petty war. The emperor Rodolphus concerned himself no farther in this affair, than in exhorting the archbishop to quit his church and his electorate;

electorate; but he determines to preserve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member; and orders the election of a new archbishop. This bull of the pope causes the protestant princes to rebel; but they only make some motions. Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, of Frisinguen, and Hildesheim, is chosen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince Palatine, Casimir, is the only person who at that time assists the dethroned elector; and even that was for a very short time. The town of Bonn was very soon the only one which Truchses could call his own. The troops which had been sent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay siege to Bonn, which is soon obliged to surrender.

1584.

The old elector still wrestles with his ill fortune. He has some few troops left. These are defeated. And at length, being neither sufficiently able nor happy to arm any considerable potentates in his favour, he has no other resource but that of retiring to the Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life, even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The catholics in general acknowledge the new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but in truth, at the cost of a tribute, and Rodolphus imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585.

Led by the example of Gebhard de Truchses two other bishops renounce their bishopricks; the one is a son of William, duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Munster, that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden of the house of Brunswic.

1586.

Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavoured for, thro' a ten years war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the united provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard a native of Franche-comte. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscanneer, named Jaurigni, but he was cured of the wound. Salcede had conspired against his life, and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament as preparatives to this action.

Maurice II's son succeeds him at the age of 18. It was he who was afterwards the greatest general in Europe. The protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, tho' it was for the interest of their religion; but they send troops into France to the king of Navarre afterwards Henry IV. because the Calvinist party in France were able to pay their soldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587.

Prince Maurice still continues the war in the Low-countries against Alexander Farnese. He levies some troops among the protestants of Germany at the expence of the states of Holland. This was all the succour that he could possibly procure.

A new throne offers itself to the house of Austria, which honour contributes to shew still more how very low was the credit of Rodolphus.

Stephen Batori Vaivode of Transilvania and king of Poland, dying on the 13th of December 1586, Fedor, Czar of Muscovy, enters the lists to succeed him; but is unanimously rejected. One faction declares for Sigismund king of Sweden son to John III. by a princess of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperors's brother, Maximilian.

They

They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian being defeated, retires to Silesia while his competitor is crowned.

1588.

Maximilian is a second time defeated by Zamoski the polish general. He is shut up in a castle near Lublin, and his brother Rodolphus can do no more for him, than intreat Philip II. to engage pope Sixtus V. to write in favour of the prisoner.

1589.

Maximilian is at last set at liberty, having renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland. He has an interview with Sigismund before his departure. It is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given to him; because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590.

The only event which now regards the empire is the war in the Low-countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Westphalia. The Circle of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591.

Henry IV. who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends Viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christiern, elector of Saxony, influenced by Viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France; whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

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1592.

1592.

A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishopric of Strasburg, as had very lately happened at Cologne upon a very different account. The people of Strasburg were protestant: Their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a catholic, dies. The protestants elect John George of Brandenburg a lutheran; the catholics chuse the cardinal of Lorrain. The emperor Rodolphus appoints by commission one of his brothers the archduke Ferdinand, to appease the difference and conduct the administration. He is acknowledged neither by catholics nor protestants. The cardinal of Lorrain supports his right at the head of 10,000 men. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, and of Basil, furnish troops to the protestant bishop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France where he had served unsuccessfully Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorrain. This affair is put into arbitration the following year, and in the year 1603, it was at last agreed, that the cardinal of Lorrain should remain bishop of Strasburg, paying 130,000 golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly possible to purchase a bishopric at a much dearer rate.

1593.

A much more considerable affair rouses the indifference of Rodolphus. Amurath III. breaks the league and the Turks already lay waste supper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Saltzburg are the only persons who as yet furnish the emperor with troops, joining theirs to those that are supplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand brother of Rodolphus had by his first wife, who was daughter to a Senator of Augsburg, a son, named Charles of Austria. This son was

never

never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deserved to be one. A considerable body of troops were under his command. A count Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which seemed to be ordained to fight successfully for the house of Austria. The Serini, the Nadaftis, and the Palsis headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worsted in several engagements, and the upper Hungary at length secured, Buda excepted, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594.

The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rodolphus held a diet at Augsburg to consult upon measures of opposition. Is it credible, that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the first instance of a war being supported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarians troops, tho' but indifferently paid, still fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias by his own desire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who in the name of the emperor his brother governs Carinthia and Croatia. These cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javerin.

1595.

Happily for the imperialists Sigismund Batori, Vaivode of Transilvania, shakes off the Turkish for the Imperial yoke. We often see princes change sides, oblig'd by the necessity of their affairs to attach themselves to the more powerful of two protectors. Batori swears fidelity and does homage to the emperor for Transilvania and some possessions in Hungary. He agrees, that in case he shall die without male issue, his dominions shall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he his promised Christina daughter to the arch-duke Charles, together with the title of *most illustrious* and the order of the golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy; but the church-boxes set up for the payment of the army not being filled, the imperial troops rise and pillage part of that country which they had been destined to defend.

1596.

The arch-duke Maximilian commands this year against the Turks. The new Sultan Mahomet III. enters Hungary in person, and lays siege to Agria, which surrenders upon condition; but the garrison is massacred going out of the town, and Mahomet enraged against the Aga of the Janizaries, for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be struck off.

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on the 26th of October.

While the emperor Rodolphus remains at Vienna, employed in distillation, chemistry, and searching after the philosopher's stone, while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks, while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatness upon the sluggishness of Rodolphus, one of his brothers called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have scarce heard any mention, is made verner of such part of the Low-countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government succeeded the arch-duke Ernest another of his brothers, who died after having possessed it upwards of two years without having done any one thing remarkable. Very different was the conduct of cardinal Albert of Austria, who made war upon Henry IV. with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever since the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Ardres.

Henry IV. after much difficulty conqueror of the league, seeks the assistance of the protestant princes, which not obtaining he is forced to defend himself.

1597.

1597.

The Turks are still in Hungary. There is a rising of the peasants of Austria, harrassed by the imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the desolation of the country. There is a necessity for sending some disciplined troops against them. This was a favourable opportunity for the Turks. But by some strange fatality the upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progress. The imperial army this year owes its safety to a revolt of the Janizaries.

1598.

The county of Simeren by the death of the last incumbent, falls to the elector Palatine.

Philip II. king of Spain dies, aged 72, after a reign of 42 years. He had long disturbed part of Europe, or had his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rodolphus ever forwarded his designs, neither had he in the least contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death, he had given the Low-countries to the infanta Isabella his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal arch-duke Albert. This was depriving his son Philip III. and the crown of Spain of a most beautiful province. But the troubles which had wasted it for some time, had rendered it a burdensom possession; however it was stipulated, that it should revert to the Spanish crown in case of the failure of male issue in the arch-duke Albert, which happened to be the case.

The driving the Turks out of upper Hungary begins to be matter of deliberation. The diet grants towards the support of this war 20 *Roman months*.

The same Sigismund Battori, who had renounced the Turkish protection, and done homage to the emperor for Transilvania, repents of his proceedings. The same territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigismund; that is to say,

Oppelen, and Ratibor in Silesia, were given him in exchange for his sovereignty and for Walachia. He was as little satisfied with his bargain as that queen had been. He abandons Silesia and re-enters his former dominions ; but always inconstant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his cousin. This cardinal by name Andrew Battori, immediately puts himself under the protection of the Turks, and receives a vest from the Sultan as a mark of that favour he solicited. Martinusius like, he puts himself at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement against the imperialists.

1599.

By the death of cardinal Battori, and the flight of Sigismund, Transilvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be wasted by the Turks. Those who are astonished to see at this day, such a fertile country so thinly peopled will find it easily accounted for, when they consider the numbers of inhabitants of both sexes which the Turks carried into slavery.

This year the emperor resolves at last to enfranchise Wirtemberg from the infeodment of Austria. Wirtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail, it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600.

The Turks advance as far as Canesa upon the Drave on the side of Stiria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorraine, could not prevent this strong place from being taken. The people of Transilvania and Valachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601.

The fortune of Sigismund Battori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transilvania, but
is

is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Canisa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602.

At length the archduke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda, which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the charge of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Battori is still more unfortunate; and spurned by the Turks, who refuse him assistance, surrenders at discretion to the imperial troops, and this prince who was to have married an archduchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603.

Some unaccountable fatality always puts a stop to the Turkish conquests. Mahomet III. who threatened to command a formidable army against them in person, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet his son, a youth only 13 years old, is raised to the Ottoman throne. Factions disturb the Seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The diet of Ratisbon promises this time 80 *Roman months*. The empire had never before granted so potent a succour; but alas it was furnished in scarcely any thing but words.

This year Lubec, Dantzic, Cologne, Hamburg and Bremen, the old Hans towns of Germany, obtain in France those liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of these towns are exempted from all right of Escheatage, and still enjoy it. Events

of this nature are not the most remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604.

The emperor is near losing that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occasioned by the exactions of a governor of Casobia, who having extorted money from an Hungarian lord named Botskai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares himself lord of Upper Hungary without daring to take the title of king.

1605.

The Turks and the rebel Botskai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Presburg only excepted. The archduke Matthias was with an army in Presburg. The grand visier was in the town of Pest. Botskai causes himself to be proclaimed prince of Transylvania, and receives the crown of Hungary, from the hands of the grand Signior, with great solemnity at Pest. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated, that for the future the states of Hungary, who had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishopricks was a right vested in the crown; but the states now article, that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops, and that such bishops as are named by the emperor, shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transylvania from Botskai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand visier. The Hungarians expressly article,

ticle, that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated amongst them.

Under the weak government of Rodolphus Germany was nevertheless pretty quiet. The intestine wars that happened in it during that reign were very trivial; such as the duke of Brunswic endeavouring to subdue the town of Brunswic, and the duke of Bavaria striving to reduce Donawert. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful obtains his end of Donawert, but the duke of Brunswic could not prevail against Brunswic, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being supported by the Teutonic hanse. The great trading towns could at that time easily defend themselves against the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in case of war. These occasional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face since princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other respects peaceable, in spite of the three contending religions, in spite of the troubles in Hungary and Transilvania, and the wars in the Low-countries which incessantly harrassed the frontiers. The weakness of Rodolphus in Germany was of a very different nature from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would if possible have been independent and powerful; they were troublesome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aspired.

1606.

The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Transilvanians were only the seeds of new troubles. The Transilvanians after the death of Botskai, notwithstanding their treaties with the

emperor, chuse Sigismund Ragotski as Vaivode, and he emperor permits it.

1607, 1608.

Rodolphus, who had purchased peace so dearly at home, endeavours to restore it to the Low-countries by treaty, which could be only done, as formerly had been in Hungary, at the expence of the Spanish branch of Austria.

The famous union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The States General of the seven united Provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The seven united Provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rodolphus writes to them thus: *You are states holding of the Empire; your constitution cannot alter without the consent of the emperor who is your head.* The States General sent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the mean time the peaceful and philosophical indifference of Rodolphus, which would have sat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the arch-duke Matthias his brother, who devised making himself sovereign of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rodolphus, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almost intirely over-run by the Turks, and torn to pieces by factions, Austria exposed and Bohemia discontented. The inconstant Battori was by a new turn of fortune, re-established in Transilvania, restored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Battori, with the Turks, and with the malecontents of Hungary. The states of Austria had furnished him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an
army

army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the designs of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired, and has some fears concerning his own safety, and raises a few troops in haste. Matthias his brother throws off the mask and marches towards Prague. The Protestants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to insist upon new privileges from Rodolphus whom they otherwise threaten to quit. They obtain that the catholic clergy shall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquisition of lands without the consent of the states; that all places of trust shall be disposed of in favour of Protestants. This condescension of the emperor irritates the catholics, and he finds himself obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On the 11th of May he cedes Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to Matthias, reserving to himself in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia and the sovereignty of Silesia. Thus does he strip himself of all that he had so weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. His brother only acquires in the end new embarrassments. He was fain to agree with the Protestants of Austria, who sword in hand demanded from their new master a free exercise of their religion, to which he was obliged, to consent at least out of the towns. He was also compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who insisted upon no Germans bearing a public trust among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he strive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to resist that of the Turks.

1609.

The more the protestant religion gained ground in Austria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The succession of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms

the two parties who had as it were slumbered since the peace of Passau. From hence sprung a protestant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave rise to a catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deux-ponts, of Saxony and at last Charles of Austria marquis of Burgau dispute about the inheritance of John William the last duke of Cleves, Bergh, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor imagined to reconcile the different pretenders by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the arch-duke Leopold his cousin to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg, already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue, from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederic IV. elector Palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues. The protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the catholics that of Austria. Frederic IV. elector Palatine, altho' a calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden-dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of *the evangelical union*.

The chiefs of the catholic league which opposed this, were Maximilian duke of Bavaria, the catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, altho' he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture

of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-darmstadt, altho' a protestant, joined the catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel a quarrel of religion; but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The catholic league makes pope Paul V. and Philip III. king of Spain join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the *evangelical union*: With this difference, that the pope and king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one catholic league already.

1610.

These words of rallery, *catholic*, *evangelical*, and the name *pope*, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV, who it is well known fell on the 14th of May in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly from the examination of Ravellac, who had been before a frier, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it was every-where said, *that he was going to make war against the pope.*

All Henry IV's great designs perished with him. However there still remained some master-springs of that great machine which he had set in motion. The protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops under the command of marshal de la Châtre support the parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the archduke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611.

The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany plainly shews what Henry IV. might have

have done had he survived. Rodolphus the philosopher remains still at Prague. The arch-duke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retires into Bohemia, where he subsists it upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, won't however let any one else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to intreat the states to crown him *thro' excess of fraternal affection.*

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia on the 21st of May, of which place there remains to Rodolphus only the title of king, as unprofitable for him as that of emperor.

1612.

Rodolphus dies on the 20th of January according to the Gregorian Calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe from the beginning of the 17th century, and this was occasioned by his carelessness and the weakness of Philip III. in Spain. Rodolphus had lost his possessions, but he had saved his money. It is said there were 14,000,000 of crowns found in his exchequer. This discovered a meanness of soul. With these 14 millions and courage he might have re-taken Buda from the Turks, and made the empire respectable. But his character adapted him to the living like a private man upon a throne, and he was happier than those who plundered and despised him.

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M A T T H I A S

F O R T Y - F I F T H E M P E R O R .

1612.

MATTHIAS the brother of Rodolphus is unanimously elected, and this unanimity astonishes Europe. But he had been enriched by the treasures of his brother, and the near neighbourhood of the Turks made it necessary to elect a prince of the house of Austria king of Hungary.

Even to that time the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented, therein there were some articles in favour of Matthias, whose ambition was sufficiently manifest.

Hungary and Transilvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possession in the neighbourhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Battori, the new prince of Transilvania, was the Sultan's vassal.

1613.

The two great leagues catholic and evangelical, which had once threatened the empire with a civil war appear to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particular trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg and the elector of Brandenburg, being put into possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them ;

them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a catholic, in hopes of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the protestant league to his assistance.

Mean-while the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir altho' there had been an imperial decree in his favour. The Spanish and Dutch Low-countries take part in the quarrel. Two great generals, the marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the States General. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution that foreign powers are rather interested in their intestine quarrels than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions which in some measure founded an almost equal balance between its members.

1614.

The case was very different in Hungary and Transylvania. The emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Battori Vaivode of Transylvania endeavours to keep fair as well with the Turkish as the Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Battori. He is abandoned by his subjects nor can the emperor assist him. Battori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers. The only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethleem-gabor is invested by a Pacha. This province seemed for ever lost to the house of Austria. The new Sultan Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, begun to make
make

make it feared, that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rodolphus; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the Persians. Their frontiers upon the black sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened, that the Turks, at the very time that it was feared they would over-run Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615.

The emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more favourable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing the sword, for the restitution of Agria, Canisa, Alba-regalis, Pest, and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of almost all Hungary, leaving Transilvania and Bethleem-gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the protestant princes by leaving this country still divided between the Palatinates of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616.

Negotiations and intrigues ingross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were

were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election; the spirit of party was predominant among them, but much more the spirit of independence; the difference of religions nourished discord, but the protestants and catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little disposed to choose an Austrian emperor, and the evangelical union, which still subsisted, left this house but small hopes.

The first step to be taken was to secure the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced these two kingdoms from his brother, and was not at all inclined that his inheritance should pass to his remaining brothers Maximilian and Albert. There is not the least gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low-countries, would have certainly been more able than another to support the imperial dignity had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that these crowns should descend to his cousin Ferdinand de Grats duke of Stiria. Consanguinary right was but little consulted.

1617.

Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the states of Bohemia as successor to Matthias, according to which rank he is crowned king on the 29th of June. The evangelical league begins to be frightened at seeing this first approach of Ferdinand de Grats, towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the evangelical league, more useful than ever. He hoping to have Cleves, Berg and Juliers, sides in everything with the house of Austria; the Palatine, having very different interests, continues still at the head of the protestants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the Palatine which ensued. This was that war of 30 years continuance which

which desolated so many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the empire assumed a very new face.

1618.

Matthias engages the Spanish branch of Austria to renounce all the pretensions which it could possibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III. king of Spain, gives up his rights to these kingdoms in favour of Ferdinand, conditionally, that in case of Ferdinand's dying without male issue, Hungary and Bohemia shall descend to his sons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters in the order of birth-right. By this bargain these dominions might easily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited these kingdoms, and married a king of France, the eldest son of this king would have been intitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family-contract was evidently contrary to the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. The dispositions that men make for establishing the peace of futurity are too often preparatives of discord. In fine, this new treaty causes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who see themselves disposed of without being consulted. The protestants of Bohemia begin to associate after the example of the evangelical union. The catholics were soon induced to join this party, since their civil rights had been infringed independent of religion. Silesia, that great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is inkindled. The confederates are headed by count de Turm, otherwise de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageously, and they make progress even to the gates of Vienna.

1619.

In the midst of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foresee the destiny of his house.

His

His cousin, Ferdinand de Grats was at length happy enough not to find any great opposition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia leagued against him, the Protestants of Austria ready to revolt, and those of Germany not at all disposed to raise him to the empire. The house of Austria had never seen a moment more critical. Four electors on the one hand offer the imperial crown to Maximilian duke of Bavaria; the sovereignty of Bohemia on the other is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a distance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector Palatine, Frederic V. In the mean time, there is a meeting at Francfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany and an emperor. Almost all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the states of Bohemia order their deputies at Francfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuse to acknowledge him for king, and consequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not only threatened to be excluded from the imperial but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire but both Protestants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in such a manner, that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand de Grats his particular interest; even the elector Palatine to whom the states of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which had he refused, it would have been to no purpose. This election was made on the 19th of August 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle on the 19th of September; before which he signs a more extensive capitulation than any of his predecessors had done.

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FERDINAND II.
FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619.

AT the same time that Ferdinand II. is vested with the imperial dignity, the states of Bohemia name the elector Palatine for king. This honour was now much more dangerous, than it had formerly been, on account of Ferdinands, being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederic been assisted by his father-in-law, James I. king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it but gives way to his fortune.

Frederic is solemnly crowned at Prague on the 4th of November, with the princess of England his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederic. He had a few English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either thro' personal friendship for him and hatred of the catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law the king. He was seconded by the Vaivode of Transilvania, Bethleem Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector Palatine's party in Bohemia are supported by the count of Mansfield; even the Protestants of Au-

stria

stria are troublesome to the emperor. If the house of Bavaria, like that of Austria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the stronger party; but tho' the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his house. Jealousy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor, so that what had been the fate of the house of Saxony under Charles V. was the same of that of Bavaria under Ferdinand de Grats.

The Protestant and Catholic leagues were a little after, almost equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favour Ferdinand; furnishing him with troops, as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgot her old interests, and was no longer governed by a cardinal de Richlieu. The court of Lewis XIII. weak and confused, seemed to have views (if we would suppose it to have had any) very different from the designs of Henry the great.

1620.

Lewis XIII. instead of marching with an army, sends the duke d'Angouleme, at the head of a solemn embassy to offer his mediation. The princes assembled at Ulm listen to him, but conclude upon nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethleem Gabor causes himself to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederic V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the states of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkish and a Venetian ambassador in the town of Neuhausel. It is unusual to see the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was so intirely at variance with the Spanish branch of Austria, that she openly declared herself against all of that house.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better seconded in Germany than the elector Palatine.

On

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Lusatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia with a powerful army, whilst the Emperor's forces make a shift to hold out in Hungary against Bethleem-Gabor.

The Palatine is at one and the same time attacked both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederic of Nassau, the brother of, and afterwards successor to Maurice, the stadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has also some English; but against him are the choicest troops of the Spanish Low-countries under the command of the famous Spinola. The palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Austria and the elector palatine. On the 19th of November Frederic is entirely defeated near Prague by his relation Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Silesia with his wife and two of his children, and loses in one day all his dominions both hereditary and acquired.

1621.

James king of England mediates in favour of his unfortunate kinsman, with as little success as he had acted with conduct.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January the 20th the emperor puts the elector Palatine, under the ban of the empire. He banishes the duke de Jagendorf into Silesia, the prince of Anhalt, the counts de Hoenlo, de Mansfelt, de la Tour, and all those who had taken arms in favour of Frederic.

This vanquished prince finds some intercessors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavours to persuade the emperor to clemency, notwithstanding which Ferdinand causes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remained in Bohemia, after which he hastens to secure Upper Hungary against Bethleem-Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this campaign, and Ferdinand soon enters into an accommodation with the Transilvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to secure the rest. In the mean time the elector palatine flies from Silesia to Denmark and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria seizes upon the Upper Palatinate, and a body of Spanish troops, furnished by the arch-duke governor of the Low-countries, pours into the Palatinate under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector Palatine could obtain from either his father-in-law king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless Embassies to Vienna. From France, whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke de Jagerndorf in Silesia and the count de Mansfelt in the Palatinate; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favour they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederic. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfelt particularly, still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfelt supplied them with, who made war like a very partizan; the art of doing which was pretty well known in those times, wherein there was scarcely found very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favour of troubles. Mansfelt rouses and encourages the neighbouring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswic, named Christern, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of
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the house of Halberstadt joins Mansfelt. This Christiern intituled himself *the friend of God and the enemy of the priests*; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfelt and he did a great deal of mischief to the country, without being of the least service to the Palatine.

The prince of Orange and the united provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low-countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the Palatine any efficacious assistance. His party was crushed, notwithstanding which it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion some protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favour. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favoured his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector Palatine. The margrave of Baden-Dourlach joined Mansfelt, and all the Protestant princes in general fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appear disposed to take arms, whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622.

It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the Palatine his cousin's party. Tilli the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswic, surnamed very properly *the enemy of the priests*, who was returning from plundering the Abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfelt was the only person left who could defend the palatinate, and he was capable of doing it,

being at the head of a small army which joined with the remainder of Brunswic's forces, amounted to about 10,000 men. Mansfelt was a very extraordinary man, he was bastard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately assisted by the prince of Orange and the Protestants, and found himself general of an army, which was intirely his own.

The unhappy Palatine was weak enough, being very ill advised to renounce his succour, in hopes that he might obtain from the emperor favourable conditions, which it was impossible to do without force. He himself obliged Mansfelt and Brunswic to abandon him. These two wandring chiefs pass into Lorraine and Alsace, and search out new countries to ravage. All the accommodation that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine is to send the victorious Tilli to take Heidelberg, Manheim and the rest of the country; in short all that belongs to the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the most numerous and best chosen library in Germany, particularly of manuscripts; these were sent to the duke of Bavaria, who transported them by water to Rome; but most of the cargo was lost by a shipwreck, and the remainder is still preserved in the vatican. Religion and the love of liberty always occasion some troubles in Bohemia; but they are such seditions as to be ended by punishment. The emperor banishes the Lutheran ministers from Prague and shuts up their churches. He gives the administration of the university of Prague to the Jesuits. There is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethleem-Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transilvania, and ceding to him seven countries, containing 50 leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an unin-

uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623.

The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares, “ that the elector Palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian duke of Bavaria be in this diet invested with the Palatinate ”. This was to speak like a master. The catholic princes in every-thing give way to the emperor’s will. The protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswic, Holstein and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec and others, renew the *evangelical league*. They are joined by the king of Denmark, but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On the 25th of February, Ferdinand upon his throne invests the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate. The vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly, *that the emperor out of the fulness of his power confers on him this dignity*.

The territories of the elector Palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswic *the enemy of the priests* and the famous general Mansfelt, secretly supported by the protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswic establishes himself in lower

Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. The count de Tilli vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfelt still remains immoveable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained to the Palatine; a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624.

The protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I. king of England, not being able to obtain anything by negotiation in favour of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower-Saxony, of which Christiern IV. king of Denmark was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christiern IV. king of Denmark finds troops. The famous Mansfelt increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625.

At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower-Saxony was the seat of war.

1626.

The emperor's two great generals, Tilli and Wallstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilli defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northeim in the Brunswic territories. This victory seems to deprive the Palatine of every resource. Mansfelt, who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia to attack the emperor

peror in Hungary. Bethleem-Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms and joins Mansfelt with 10,000 men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfelt's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion in the flower of his age; exhorting the remainder of his soldiers even in the hour of death to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswic, the other support of the elector Palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the Palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethleem-Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance, as it was under the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Walstein repulsed him as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controls Bethleem-Gabor, by a treaty, in which Transilvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole was to fall to the house of Austria.

1627.

Every-thing succeeds with Ferdinand without his taking any other steps than wishing or commanding. Count Tilli pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswic are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recalls them, and breaks the treaty. The count de Tilli and Walstein now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live every-where at discretion.

Ferdinand uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishoprick of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswic, and the archbishopricks of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them together with several abbies, on one of his sons. He had caused his son Ferdinand Ernest to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbours of the Turks and of Bethleem-Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628.

Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The protestant princes and Christiern IV. king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry because cardinal de Richlieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richlieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark, and encourages the protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the danes had obliged to declare for them, whose duchy he gives to Walstein.

1629.

The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christiern IV. who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Sleswick with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him monitorial letters,

as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Sleswic. The king of Denmark answers, that this duchy never was an imperial fief like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies, that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the pretensions of the empire upon the North to be supported with more dignity.

The empire ever since the time of Charles V. had till now appeared intirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua called Vincent II. died without issue. His kinsman, Charles de Gonzaga duke de Nevers, clames the succession in virtue of some matrimonial contracts. His relation Cæsar Gonzaga duke de Guastalla had received the eventual investiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke de Nevers was already in possession, and had caused himself to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to seize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the first time, exerts his authority in Italy. He sends count Nassau, in quality of imperial commissary, to put in sequestration Mantua and Montferrat, whilst the process is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this sort had not been heard of in Italy these 60 years. It was very visible, that the emperor intended at one and the same time to support the ancient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spanish branch of Austria with these spoils. The ministry of France, who watched every opportunity of bounding the Austrian power, assists the duke of

Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valteline, and hindered the Spanish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tirol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low-countries. With these views cardinal de Richlieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were a people the nearest and most exposed, send into the Mantuan, an army of 15000 men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke, to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favour these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Austria, and Ferdinand, who saw himself by the imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand every-where successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the imperial dignity despotic, and the catholic religion universal. He orders by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed, since the time of the treaty of Passau signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party. For the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lubeck, Misnia, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices must have been given up. There was not one prince, either Lutheran or Calvinist, who did not stand possessed of some ecclesiastical substance.

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The Protestants have now no longer any measures to keep. The elector of Saxony, whom the hopes of one day possessing Cleves and Juliers had so long restrained, at length breaks out. These hopes had been weakened inasmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themselves. Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the first, and Juliers by the second, without any disturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony sees these provinces lost to him, and Magdeburg with the revenue of several bishoprics going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near 150000 men in arms: The catholic league had about 30000. The two houses of Austria were closely united. The pope and all the catholic states encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly cross him; nor was there any power in Europe that seemed in a condition to oppose him. The duke of Walstein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Wirtemberg; but the catholic churches gained very little by these restitutions. Much was taken from the Protestants; the officers of Walstein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expence of both parties, who equally complained.

1630.

Ferdinand sees himself exactly in the same circumstances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to submit, or he was to be overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the Palatine, and it was he who, conjunctly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine he aspires at being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while the Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son Ferdinand Ernest elected king of the Romans; he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly; but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The elector of Bavaria was the first to say, *that it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet so long as the emperor has an army of 150,000 men on foot.* The ecclesiastical electors and bishops, who were present, pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put in execution without the support of an army, and the army could not be supported but at the expence of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, insists upon Ferdinand's dismissing the duke Wallstein. Ferdinand might have assumed the command himself, and by so doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take so glorious a step. He deprives Wallstein of the command and gives it to Tilli; by these means intirely losing the Bavarian. In short he has soldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the states of Germany fear their approaching loss, gives uneasiness to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richlieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty when informed, that Gustavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the same. The elector Palatine, who a little before had been forsaken by all the world, finds himself suddenly on the point of being assisted by all these powers. The king of Denmark, weakened by the preceding losses, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Gustavus at length quits Sweden on the 13th of June, embarking with 30000 men. He lands in Pomerania. He already claims this province either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children. His dominions by the law of consanguinity should have devolved upon the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus stipulates, that on the death of this duke, he is to hold the province in sequestration, until he shall be reimbursed the expences of the war.

1631.

Cardinal de Richelieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Gustavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only costs France 300000 livres, paid down, and 12000 livres a year. This was one of the most ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria who might have been the greatest support of the emperor was therein stipulated, as also that of the princes of the catholic league, who were not to assist the emperor against the Swedes; and care was taken at the same time to make Gustavus promise to preserve all the rights of the Roman church in every place where he should find that religion subsisting. By these

these means the making this a war of religion, was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themselves were furnished with a specious pretext for not assisting the emperor. This league was signed at Brandenburg on the 23d of January.

The protestant states gained new courage. They assemble at Leipstick where they resolve to present their most humble remonstrances to Ferdinand, and to support their petition with 40000 men for the establishment of peace in the empire. Gustavus still augments his army as he advances. He comes to Francfort upon the Oder, yet can't prevent general Tilli from taking Magdeburg by assault on the 20th of May. The town is reduced to ashes: the inhabitants are destroyed by fire and sword; an horrible event! but now almost swallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed these times. Tilli being master of the Elbe imagines he shall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy: the superiority was still intirely on his side. The elector of Saxony who had been the first to call in Gustavus Adolphus is at this time extremely embarrassed, and the elector of Brandenburg finding himself equally in the power of the Imperial and Swedish armies, continues very irresolute.

Gustavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, sword in hand: the elector George William delivers to him the fortress of Spandau, during the whole time of the war; secures all the passes for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, constraint as an excuse for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Gustavus. The king of Sweden advances

vances towards Leipfick. Tilli arrives before him and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies confifted of about 30,000 fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of refiftance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to fhare their flight. This miffortune is repaired by the Swedifh difcipline. Guftavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accuftomed his army to order and to a fort of exercife that never had been known before, in confequence of which Tilli, tho' looked upon to be one of the beft generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on the 17th of September.

The conqueror purfues the Imperialifts into Franconia : all places fubmit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silefia. Guftavus fuddenly re-eftablifhes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions to the fuprife of Germany, and after taking Mentz haftens into the palatinate.

The depofed elector Palatine fearches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alface. The elector of Saxony, on his fide, makes himfelf mafter of the capital of Bohemia, and conquers Lufatia. All the proteftant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Guftavus's victories. Tilli with the remains of his army continues in Weftphalia, where he is re-inforced by fome troops from the duke of Lorrain ; but he takes no fteps towards oppofing fuch rapid progrefs.

The emperor fallen in lefs than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared fo formidable, is obliged at laft to reftore the command of his troops to that duke Wallftein whom he had deprived of it; with more abfolute power than ever had been given to any general. Wallftein accepts the charge, and there are only a few troops left to Tilli to enable him at leaft to act on the defensive. The
protection

protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector Palatine in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times rather like a prince with whom he would chuse to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable; they had before the battle of Leipfick subsisted at the expence of the catholic and protestant states, since which time they were deprived of these resources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as possible, all lay upon Walstein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to ask both men and money from pope Urban VIII. and they are both refused him. He endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus, and his holiness promises a jubilee instead of a crusade.

1632.

Mean while the king of Sweden repasses the Rhine towards Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donawert upon the Danube; restores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the passage of the Leck in spite of Tilli, who is mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augsburg as a conqueror, and restores the protestant religion. It is scarcely possible to push the rights of victory to greater length. The magistrates of Augsburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neuter, and not in arms either for the emperor or himself, is obliged to quit Munich, which surrenders to the conqueror on the 7th of May, paying to him 300,000 rixdollars to save it from being plunder'd.

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The Palatine has at least the comfort to enter with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem desperate. Tilli an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital. Walstein, duke of Frieland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria his declared enemy, had refused to march to his assistance; and the emperor Ferdinand, whose inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Walstein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Walstein now employs himself in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons as Gustavus had over the Imperialists.

With great difficulty Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, at length obtains being joined by Walstein. The Bavarian army partly levied at the elector's expence, and partly at the expence of the catholic league, consists of about 25,000 men. That of Walstein amounted to 30,000 old soldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above 20,000, but re-inforcements were coming in to him on every side. He is joined by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince Palatine of Birckenfield. His general Banier always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighbourhood of Nuremberg with above 50,000 men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Walstein in their intrenched camp. They gives him battle, but it is not at all decisive. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria. Walstein carries it into Saxony; Provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus leaving 12,000 men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipfick, at a time when Wallstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lutzen on the 15th of November. The victory is a long time doubtful; but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army, is accused of having assassinated him; nay his death is imputed to cardinal de Richlieu who had business for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who exposed himself like a soldier to die like one?

This loss was fatal to the elector Palatine, who hoped to have been re-established by Gustavus. He was then sick at Mentz, and the news of Gustavus's death heightened his disorder in such a manner, that he died on the 19th of November.

Wallstein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lutzen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany now that Gustavus was no longer at their head; but general Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He causes the body of the king to be publicly shewn in the army, in order to excite the spirit of revenge.

1633.

Gustavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter six years old, and consequently a government divided, as was the protestant league by the death of him who had been its chief and support. The fruits of so many victories were now near being lost, yet nevertheless they were not. The true reason perhaps

of so extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his closet, when he ought to have exerted himself at the head of his army. The senate of Sweden appoint their chancellor Oxenstiern to follow exactly the designs of Gustavus the great in Germany. They also give him absolute power. Oxenstiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank than ever subject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the protestant princes of Germany.

These princes meet at Heilbron, and among them are the ambassadors of France, England, and the States general. Oxenstiern opens the conference in his own house, and immediately signalizes himself by restoring the upper and lower-Palatinate to Charles Lewis son of the dispossessed elector. This prince Charles Lewis had appeared in one of those assemblies as an elector; but this ceremony had not restored him his dominions.

Oxenstiern renews with cardinal Richlieu the treaty that had been made with Gustavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year subsidy, instead of 1200000 livres which had been allowed his master.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the protestant princes, having a view of dividing them; but he does not succeed. The war is still continued in plundered Germany with undecisive success. Austria is the only part which was free from it as well before as after the time of Gustavus. The Spanish branch of Austria had hitherto but feebly supported the imperial branch; however it at last makes an effort, sending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about 20,000 men, the greatest part of which army he lost in his marches and operations. The elector of Triers, bishop of Spire, had built and fortified Philipsburg, on which the imperial troops had seized in spite of him. Oxenstiern by the force of the Swedish arms obliges them to restore it to the elector, notwithstanding the duke of Feria vainly strove to force him

to

to raise the siege. This wise politician seemed inclined to convince Europe by his conduct, that he did not want to subdue the catholic religion, but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the protestants and catholics. A conduct that encouraged the pope to refuse the men money and crusade which the emperor had demanded.

1634.

France as yet had only taken part privately in this dispute. It had hitherto cost her but a very trifling subsidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be shaken by the Swedish arms; but cardinal Richlieu began now to deliberate upon making some use of their success. He vainly endeavoured the sequestration of Philippsburg, for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herself mistress of some towns in Alsace, as Haguenan and Saverne, which she had obliged the count de Solmes, governor of Strasburg to part with by treaty. Lewis XIII. who had not declared war against Austria, yet declares it against Charles duke of Lorraine, because he was a partizan of that house. The ministry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, because they were able to defend themselves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorraine. Charles II. the deposed duke is commonly called Charles IV. a prince well known for his extravagancies, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The French have an army in Lorraine and troops in Alsace ready to act openly against the emperor the first fair opportunity that may afford the least justification for such a proceeding. The duke de Feria, pursued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almost intire dispersion of his army.

In the midst of these troubles and misfortunes, the duke of Wallstein is ingrossed with a design of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute

bute to his own grandeur, and thereby render himself independent of an emperor who seemed dilatory in assisting even himself, and was always distrustful of his generals. It is pretended that Walstein treated with the protestant princes and even with Sweden and France. But those intrigues of which he is accused were never clearly proved. The conspiracy of Walstein is received as an historical fact, and yet we are absolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They guessed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavouring to become absolute master of it. Time and opportunity had done the rest. He administered an oath to such of the principal officers of this army as were most in his interest; the purport of which was, their binding themselves *to defend his person and share his fortune*. Altho' he might justify himself in this step by the very ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spanish and Bavarian parties at that court were Walstein's professed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a resolution of taking off Walstein and his principal friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Walstein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Lacy and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers having received their commission in Egra, where Walstein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper; after which they assassinate himself in the castle on the 15th of February. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very hateful, it ought to be reckoned amongst his misfortunes.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians stirred not upon this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army; but the Silesians openly

openly revolt and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; marshal Horn governs upon the Rhine, Bernard duke of Weimar upon the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him, that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethleem-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. employed against the Persians.

Ferdinand secure on that side, drew some assistance from Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tirol. The king of Spain supplied him with some money, the catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The Austrians and Bavarians united, support the fortune of Germany upon the Danube. Ferdinand Ernest, king of Hungary son to the emperor, encourages the Austrians by putting himself at their head. He takes Ratisbon in sight of the duke of Saxe-weimar. This prince and marshal Horn who were joined make a stand upon the borders of Suabia, and on the 5th of September they give the imperialists battle. This was the memorable battle of Norlinguen. The king of Hungary commanded the army: the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops; the cardinal infant, governor of the Low-countries, led some Spanish regiments. Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who had been stripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thousand men, which he had sometimes led to the service of the emperor, sometimes to that of the Spaniards, and subsisted at the cost of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army several great generals, such Picolomini, and John de Vert. It was one of the most bloody battles that

that ever was fought, lasting above a day and a half; the army of Weimar was almost totally destroyed, and Suabia and Franconia submitted to the imperialists where they quartered at discretion.

This misfortune, which was shared by the Swedes, by France, and the Protestants of Germany, contributed to the most christian king's superiority and at length secured him the possession of Alsace. It was not the chancellor Oxenstiern's intention before this event, that France should have much power in that country, but that the Swedes who had all the labour of the war should reap the advantage of it. Besides, Lewis XIII. had never openly declared against the emperor. But after the battle of Norlinguen the Swedes were obliged to intreat the ministry of France to take possession of Alsace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Protestant princes nor states should make peace or treat with the emperor without the consent of France and Sweden. This treaty is signed at Paris November the first.

1635.

In consequence of this, the king of France sends an army into Alsace, and puts garrisons into all the towns, Strasburg excepted, which appears as a considerable ally. The elector of Triers, being under the protection of France, is arrested by the emperor. This elector is confined at Brussels under the care of the cardinal infant, and furnishes also a reason for going to war with the Spanish branch of Austria.

France had not joined her arms to those of Sweden until the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Norlinguen had recovered the spirits of the imperialists. Cardinal Richelieu already shared in imagination the conquest of the Spanish Low-countries with the Dutch. He reckoned he should soon have the chief command himself, and Frederic Henry a prince of Orange be subservient to his orders. In Germany he

he had in his pay Bernard de Weimar upon the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was distinguished by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles IV. of Lorraine or of Mansfelt, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army, of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Higher and Lower Rhine, altho' it was paid by France, and not in the least subsisted by these circles.

This was the height of the thirty years war, in which, on the one side we see the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and the catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the protestant league.

The emperor could not possibly neglect dividing the protestant league after the victory of Norlinguen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war, which had she made in the time that Gustavus himself was in Germany, the French troops had entered without resistance a discontented country, harrassed by the government of Ferdinand; but they came at a time when Germany was wearied with the Swedish devastations, after the death of Gustavus and the battle of Norlinguen, when the superiority again appeared in favour of the imperialists.

At the same time that France declared herself, the emperor did not neglect to make a very necessary agreement with most of the Protestant princes. The same elector of Saxony, who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by the treaty, which is distinguished by the name of Prague. Few treaties more plainly shew how religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany in a flame by the restitution of benefices; in the treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all eccle-

ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg a Calvinist. The interest of the house of the elector Palatine, which had given first rise to this long war, seemed to be the least thing regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was only obliged to subsist the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the Palatine his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor besides this engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them; and it was likewise stipulated, that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswic, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, duke Bernard, de Saxe Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate expecting great advantages.

The whole weight of the war, which had rested intirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French, and this war which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté and the borders of France. Lewis XIII. who had only paid 1200,000 Franks by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed 4,000,000 to Bernard de Weimar for the use of his troops; besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned, that had not cardinal Richlieu been the man who made this treaty it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns? It is very probable, that cardinal Richlieu had no notion of keeping Alsace, nor had he any hope of annexing Lorraine to France, over which she had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche-Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but very feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low-countries with the Dutch, was the cardinal's principal object, and he had this so much at heart, that had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person; yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and Alsace which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard de Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresight of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1636.

Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel, but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valteline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont; the Rhine; the frontiers of Flanders; those of Franche-comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made the like efforts; and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms such confusion of powers which pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is defeated by general Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony and Westphalia. Ferdinand still intirely ingrossed by politics, at last causes his son Ferdinand Ernest to be declared king of the Romans, in the diet of Ratisbon on the 12th of December; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Austria exclaim against this election as null and void. The elector of Triers, say they who advance this, was a prisoner; Charles Lewis son to Frederic the palatine king of Bohemia is not restored as yet to the rights of his palatinate: the electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperors pensioners; all which, say they, is against the golden bull. It is very certain that none of these clauses were inserted in the golden bull: And that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices, was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor; the manner of which is not specified in the golden bull.

1637.

Ferdinand II. dies on the 15th of February, aged 59, after a reign of 18 years, which had been perplexed with strange and intestine wars, against which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his successes he had imagined it necessary to be bloody, and he had afterwards felt great

changes of fortune. Germany was still more unfortunate than her master; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes and by the French, pining under poverty and famine and plunged in barbarity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.

FERDINAND III.

FORTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

FERDINAND III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harrassed people began to hope for some repose; but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been appointed at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give at least to the public the appearances of the approaching accommodation. But peace was not the object of either cardinal Richlieu or the Austrian council's intention; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general Banier, and the country about the Rhine by duke Bernard de Weimar: the Spaniards having taken the island of St. Margaret had entered Languedoc, and in the Low-countries, penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low countries against the cardinal infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the protestant and catholic league, and on the elector Palatine's account; but their purpose now was that superiority of which France endeavoured to deprive the house of Austria, and the design of the Swedes was to pre-
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serve part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638.

Duke Bernard de Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in 15 days near Rhensfield, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master, and at the second battle he intirely destroyed the army of John de Werth a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner with many of his general officers. John de Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Brisac; he gains a third battle, assisted by marshal de Guebriant and viscount Turenne, against general Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who like Weimar had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, he takes the fort of Brisac on the 18th of December, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Lewis, count Palatine, who had re-assembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under general Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for any thing but misfortunes.

1639.

The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard de Weimar as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is cut off by sickness in the flower of his age, being only 35 years old, on the 18th of July.

The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conquests. This army, in truth, was secretly

paid by France; but it belonged to Weimar. It had sworn fidelity to no other. There was a necessity to negotiate with it to preserve it in the French service, and keep it from the Swedish.

Marshal Guebriant purchases the fidelity of these troops, and Lewis XIII. is thus master of Weimar's army, of Alsace, Brisgaw, and the neighbouring country.

Money and negotiations do every thing for him. He disposes intirely of Hesse, a province that furnishes good soldiers; the celebrated Amelia Dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot with the help of some French subsidies an army of 10,000 men in that ruined country which she had restored; enjoying at the same time that stipulation which all the virtues of the sex bestow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neuter, but then she caused a considerable diversion by employing Spain and the Low-countries.

Banier was in all his battles successful. After making sure of Pomerania he had secured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of so many troubles, which had been the re-establishment of the house of the Palatine seemed to be most neglected, and by a singular fatality this prince was thrown into prison by the French themselves, who had so long seemed willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count Palatine at the death of the duke de Weimar, had conceived a noble and indeed a very reasonable design, that of re-entering upon his estates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchased with the money of England. He goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France; but the cardinal Richlieu, who was very willing to protect him, yet did not care to see him independent, causes

causes him to be arrested; nor is he set at liberty until Brisac and Weimar's troops are secured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640.

The progress of the French and Swedes continue. The duke de Longueville and marshal Guebriant join general Banier. This army is still increased by the troops of Hesse and Lunenburg.

They march toward Vienna without general Piccolomini; but in a wary, skilful and deliberate manner. It had been otherwise very difficult for so numerous an army to advance in sight of the enemy in a country that had been so long ruined, and where the soldiers as well as the people were in want of every thing.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the house of Austria. Catalonia revolts and gives itself up to France. Portugal, which ever since the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoverished Spain, shakes off the Austrian yoke and soon erects herself into a separate and flourishing kingdom.

Ferdinand then begins seriously to treat of peace; yet at the same time demands of the diet of Ratisbon an army of 90, 000 men to carry on the war.

1641.

While the emperor is at the diet of Ratisbon, general Banier is very near seizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube which was frozen, and had he not been surpris'd by a thaw, he had taken Ferdinand in Ratisbon.

The same fortune which had taken off Gustavus and Weimar in the midst of their conquests, at length delivers the imperialists from the famous general Banier. He sickens and dies on the 20th of May at Halberstadt, being 40 years old, and at that time

more formidable than ever. None of the Swedish generals had any long career.

They negotiate still. Cardinal Richlieu could have made peace, but he did not chuse it. He know very well what advantages France was to reap, and it was his intention to make himself necessary, during the life and after the death of Lewis XIII. whose end he foresaw approaching: but his forecast could not teach him that he was to die first. He concluded a new treaty of an offensive alliance with Christina queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they soothed an oppressed people. He augments the Swedish subsidy with an addition of 200,000 livres.

Count de Torstenson succeeds general Banier in the Swedish army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almost all the Swedes who had fought under Gustavus and Banier were dead; and under the name of Swedes the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shews himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guebriant and he again defeat the imperialists near Wolfenbuttle.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany from the main even to the Baltic sea is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not intirely decisive. They could not at once go thro' so many different enterprises, and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642.

Frederic William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jagendorff in Silesia; a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who had been his governor, since

since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague and the misfortunes of the Palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorraine also implores the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions; which she does, keeping only some warlike towns. This is another support which taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out notwithstanding all these losses; nor is he abandoned by either Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the arch-duke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lawemburg and Piccolomini. But this victory is attended with no consequences. He re-passes the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipzig. He gains another signal victory in that country where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfeld the 2d of November. Torstenson enters Leipzig on the 15th of December. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany; but they had never penetrated to its center, or to the emperor, who supports himself after more than 20 defeats.

Cardinal Richlieu dies on the 4th of December, a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643.

The Swedes in the course of this war had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia; but notwithstanding his victories could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg while the war was pursued very briskly. Lewis XIII. dies on the 14th of May. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace. He flattered himself he should be able to withdraw the Swedes

from the French assistance during the troubles of a minority; but it happens during the minority of Lewis XIV. tho' very perplexed, as it had under that of Christina, that the war is continued at the expence of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length strengthened by the duke of Lorraine who joins him after the death of Lewis XIII.

The death of marshal Guebriant, who is killed at the siege of Rothuel, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who perished in the progress of his victories against the Imperialists. It was the emperor's good fortune also that general Mercy should defeat marshal Rantzau, Guebriant's successor, at Dutlingen in Suabia.

These vicissitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Munster and at Osnabrug, where the congress at last is settled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of some Danish ships, taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to breathe. This accident might have given the superiority to the emperor, who shews what were his resources by marching a small part of his army with Galas at its head to the assistance of Denmark. But this diversion serves only to ruin Holstein, the stage of this transitory war, and one of the most desolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more surprized at hostilities between Sweden and Denmark, because Denmark had offered itself as mediator of the general peace, but was now excluded; and Rome and Venice have at length the sole mediation of this peace, which is yet very distant.

The first step taken by count D'avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Munster, threw the greatest obstacle in the way of it. He writes to the princes and states of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, to engage them to support their prerogatives, and to share with the emperor and the electors

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the right of peace and war; a right that had been always contested between the electors and other imperial states. At the diet these states insisted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the start of the French ministers, who in their letters used some disrespectful terms towards Ferdinand. This occasions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France they receive news about that time of a most memorable victory, gained over the Spanish-Austrian army, at Rocroi, by the duke D'Anguien, afterwards the great Condé, who in this battle destroys the celebrated Castilian and Walloon infantry, whose reputation had been so very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by such victories, might write in any terms.

1644.

The emperor might still flatter himself that Denmark would declare in his favour; but of this resource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarine, Richlieu's successor, is assiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden; nor is this all, Denmark also engages itself not to assist any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Austrians. The duke D'anguien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four days, between the 5th and 9th of August, in the neighbourhood of Friburg to general Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country, from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarine and the Chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotia-

tions, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotsky, who had been sovereign of Transilvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotsky wants neither pretexts nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary, persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of ancient treaties, form Ragotsky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the mean time the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Galas flies every-where before him, and before count Koningsmark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645.

Ferdinand, and the arch-duke Leopold his relation, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia and obliges them to fly to Vienna.

Torstenson comes up with the imperial army at Tabor, which was commanded by general Gœuts and John de Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John de Werth flies: in short the rout is compleat.

The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brinn; nay even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of Disasters something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brinn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching towards the Danube to join the Swedes as they were to have done in case they had conquered, viscount Turenne is beaten on the beginning of his journey by general Mercy at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat, by a most signal victory on the very same plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death

death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more it is destructive. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotsky to prevent the French from marching thro' Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it thro' Moravia.

In all probability while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantages of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set a boundary to their progress.

After the famous battle of Norlinguen it was scarcely to be expected, that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Necker, where he himself was not, but where Turenne remained. Such vicissitudes are frequent in this war.

In the mean time the emperor, tired with such continual shocks, began to think seriously of peace. He at length gives the elector of Triers his liberty, whose imprisonment had given France a pretext for declaring war. But the French arms re-establish this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the imperial garrison, and the elector of Triers allies himself to France as his benefactor. The elector Palatine might have had the same obligations; but France as yet had done nothing decisive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's safety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almost always born the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All had thereby been lost. The fear of
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the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to satisfy Ragotsky. He acknowledges that prince sovereign of Transilvania, a prince of the empire, and restores to him all that he had given to his predecessor Bethleem-Gabor: thus by every treaty is the emperor a loser, and he hastens the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, whereby he is to lose still more.

1646.

Pope Innocent X. was the first mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be considerable losers; the republic of Venice was the second. Cardinal Chigi, afterwards pope by the name of Alexander VII. was the pope's minister at Munster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations marshal Turenne by an unexpected and bold march joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the arch-duke Leopold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor had not been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning his eldest son Ferdinand in the month of August at Prague and afterwards at Presburg; tho' this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity: besides the thrones which his father at that time bestowed, were very unsteady.

1647.

The emperor in endeavouring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged by the misfortunes

of the war to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to the same conduct; and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone without any one prince daring to take part in his quarrel; nor have we till this time a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About this time Wrangel, a new Swedish general who succeeded Torstenson, takes Egra, and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great, that the elector of Bavaria, notwithstanding his great age, and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the empire left without succour, but breaks thro' the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favourable conditions; but on the least check are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648.

The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians, at Summarhausen and Lawingen near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Wirtemberg and that Montecuculi who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Saltzburg.

In the mean time count Koningsmark at the head of the Swedes, surprizes Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer

ger any enemy in Germany but the emperor; all the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Munster and Osnabrug.

The peace of Westphalia.

This peace of Westphalia at last signed on the 14th of October 1648, at Munster and Osnabrug, was made, given, and received, *as a fundamental and perpetual Law*; such are the exact words of the treaty. It was to serve as the basis of imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a Law as sacred and as fully received as the Golden Bull; nay very much superior to this Bull, by the detail of the many interests comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made as well in religion as civil affairs.

This work had been laboured at incessantly for more than six years at Munster and Osnabrug; there had been however much time lost in disputing about ceremonials; the emperor refusing to give the title of *majesty* to the kings who had triumphed over him. His minister Lutzan, in the first act of 1641, wherein the passports and conferences were settled, spoke of preliminaries *between his most sacred Cæsarian majesty and the most serene and most christian king*. The king of France for his part refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty the court of France had given the title of *majesty* to the great Gustavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no superiority but that of victory. The Swedish ministers at the congress of Westphalia, affected to be put upon a footing with those of France. The plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain insisted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The new states of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings.

The

The term *excellency* began now first to be used. The ministers assumed it to themselves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Munster were named his sacred imperial majesty, his sacred most christian majesty, and the sacred royal majesty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of *excellency* given him in these conferences; nor do the ambassadors of France give place even to the electors themselves among the princes, and the count D'avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: *Sir, I have done all I could to serve you.* When the king of France addressed them, the States-general of the united-provinces were to be called *the lords of the states*; pursuant to which, when count D'avaux went from Munster to Holland in 1644, he never addressed them by any title but that of *messieurs*. Nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the distinction of *excellency*. The count D'avaux also refused it to an ambassador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini because he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by these pretensions and refusals which the Romans call *gloriole*, and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but insist on when they have established one. These customs, titles, ceremonies, superscriptions, and subscriptions of letters with their different forms have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a secretary was sufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote established forms which passing afterwards into other languages appeared odd. The emperors before Rodolphus I. sent all their mandates in Latin, *thouing* every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This *thouing* of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language which disallows such expressions. We find every where such examples, but they have not even to this day settled a particular precedent.

The mediating ministers were rather witnesses than arbitrators; above all the Nuncio Chigi, who was only there to see the church sacrificed. He sees the diocese of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede who was a Lutheran. (Those of Magdeburg, Albstadt, Minden, and Camin,) to the elector of Brandenburg.

The bishoprics of Ratsburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg.

The bishoprics of Osnabrug and of Lübec were not indeed intirely secularized but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the first troubles of religion; - but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of Fanaticism was extinct.

Liberty of conscience was established all over Germany. The emperor's Lutheran subjects in Silesia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit protestants into the Aulic council.

The commandries of Malta, the abbey and benefices in protestant countries were given to the princes and sovereigns who were at the expence of the war.

How very different were these concessions from the edict of Ferdinand II. who in the time of his prosperity had ordered the restitution of all ecclesiastical possessions. Necessity and the repose of the empire ordained this law. The Nuncio protested and anathematized. That a mediator should condemn the treaty over which he presided was before this unknown; but he knew not what other step to take. The pope by his bull deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the peace of Westphalia as far as they related to religion. But had he been in the place of Ferdinand he had ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious causes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire,

pire, being in possession of all the hither Pomerania, the most beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rugen, the town of Wismar, many neighbouring villages, and the dutchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holstein also hereby gained some territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loses great part of the hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquisate. He had also Camin, Halberstadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loses Wismar, but he gains the territory of Ratzburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden which the seven circles were to have discharged, and 600,000 crowns were paid to the prince landgrave of Hesse to be raised upon the archbishoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Munster, and the abbey of Fuld. Germany as impoverished by this peace as it had been by the war, could scarcely have paid its protectors dearer.

These afflictions were however healed by the useful regulations made both in commerce and justice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town as well as of every gentleman who laid their rights before the congress as before a supreme court (that was) to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itself for ever the possession of three bishoprics, and the acquisition of Alsace, Strasburg excepted; but instead of being paid like Sweden she is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tirol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alsace and Sundgaw. France paid both for war and peace, but she did not purchase so fine a province dearly. Brisac and its dependencies were also hers as well as the right to garrison Philipsburg. These two

advantages she has since lost, but kept Alsace which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasbourg's having given herself up.

There are few civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Munster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up *all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty*, and to give up *the prefecture of ten free imperial towns*, are two very different things. It is very probable, that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not chuse to fathom it; well knowing, that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove and power overthrow.

The house of the Palatine was restored to all its rights, except the higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favour of the Palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of 20000 crowns, which the emperor was to give to the mother of the count Palatine, Charles Lewis, and 10000 to each of his sisters. Even he was well received who only came to demand the restitution of a few acres of Land. All things were discussed and regulated. There were 140000 restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorrain and the affair of Juliers submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace after a war of 30 years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris in 1647 emboldens Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The States-general, who were to have treated at Munster as well as Spain make a separate peace with Spain in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their ancient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular
artifice

artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith; he persuaded them that he was ready to give the Infanta in marriage to Lewis XIV. with the Low-countries by way of dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than a lye. And indeed, properly speaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important treaty of Westphalia the Roman empire had hardly any share. Sweden had no business to quarrel with the sovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had some points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor; these concerned Pignerol, the succession of Mantua and of Montferrat which were fiefs of the empire. It was settled that the king of France should pay about 600000 livres to *Monsieur the duke of Mantua upon the receipt of Monsieur the duke of Savoy*; provided that he should keep Pignerol and Casal in full and independent sovereignty of the empire. France has since lost these possessions; as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania have been taken from Sweden; but the treaty of Westphalia as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained respected, and is still inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION OF GERMANY

From the peace of Westphalia to the death of Ferdinand III.

Thus the chaos of German government was not well settled in less than 1700 years; reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler before whose time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been restrained to proper limits; most of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate noblesse, and of the towns, were not incontestibly fixed till after the treaty of Westphalia. Germany was a grand aristocracy,

at the head of which was a king not unlike those of England, Sweden, and Poland, or such a form of government as had been anciently received by the States founded by the people who came from the North and the East. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany: they are States belonging to the empire and not to the emperor: they neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando*, without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign States. Nevertheless with all these rights they have very little power, because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconveniences annexed to a government so complicated and mixed in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance each other until in the heart of Germany a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its losses after the peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body every-where wasted and torn; who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during 30 years.

When it is said that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals to whom they belong, and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is to middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary like Germany breathes a little after so many intestine wars and such frequent invasions of the Turks, she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then 17 years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his *serene highness* sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use *serene highness* instead of *majesty*; a title they never give to any but the emperor or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes. They had neither Swedes nor French to guarantee their privileges; they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks; and for this reason Hungary has been at length intirely subdued in our time after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while the Hungarians thought themselves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tirol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the holy Roman empire always subsists. It is difficult to define what it is besides Germany, and what Germany is besides the empire. Charles V. had justly foreseen, that if his son, Philip II. had, not, together with the imperial throne, enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, scarcely more had remained to him than the name of empire. In effect when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spanish branch, this branch found itself at the same time, that it was a titular vassal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuscany and the principal towns in Italy secure

secure themselves in their ancient independence of the emperors. A Cæsar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and states, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We see in all the course of this history two great designs, carried on for near 800 years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome; and that of the German lords preserving and increasing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III. at his death in 1657, left the empire, while the Spanish branch of Austria still carried on that long war with France, which was finished by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the infanta Maria Theresa with Lewis XIV.

These events are so recent and so very well known as well as observed by all historians, that it would be needless to repeat here what no-body is ignorant of. From this situation of affairs a general idea may be formed of the empire, down from those days to ours.

THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE

UNDER LEOPOLD.

FORTY EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IT is to be remarked, that at first, after the death of Ferdinand III. the empire was near passing out of the house of Austria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themselves obliged to chuse Leopold Ignatius the son of Ferdinand, who was then 18 years old. But the good of the state, the neighbourhood of the Turks, and private jealousies, contributed to the election of a prince, whose house was sufficiently powerful to support but not to enslave the German empire.

empire. They had formerly elected Rodolphus de Habsburg, because he had scarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his posterity because they had a great deal.

The Turks still masters of Buda, the French possessors of Alsace, the Swedes of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election necessary; so natural is the idea of æquilibrium amongst all men.

Besides it was in Leopold's favour, that there had been ten emperors successively of the same house; so many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus, that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the ministry of Leopold; there was no longer any need of seeking a crown at Rome; and still less of exerting the Austrian clames as lord Paramount, over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign. These three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulsed, or vanquished without Leopold's drawing his sword. This prince, the least warlike of his time, always attacked Lewis XIV. when France was in the most flourishing condition; at first, after the invasion of Holland, when he furnished the united provinces with an assistance which he had not extended to his own house at the invasion of Flanders; and some years after, at the peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous league of Augsburg against Lewis XIV. and at last, at the time, when, in the most astonishing manner, the king of France's grandson was raised to the Spanish throne.

Leopold in all these wars knew how to interest the Germanic body, and to make them declare them wars of the empire. The first was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by these wars, as they had been by

the war which lasted 30 years; but the frontiers on the side of the Rhine were damaged. Lewis XIV. had always the superiority; nor could it well happen otherwise; able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom every where united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these advantages are wanting. It is astonishing, that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste; often illpaid, and subsisted still worse, the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue; France in this war, which was ended by the treaty of Nimeguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the league of Augsbourg. Lewis XIV. had then against him, England, joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France abandoned her; furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they at the peace of Reswick with all their power force Strasburg from Lewis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time, the king of France was more powerful than ever. He governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low-countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Hochstedt gave things an intire new face. Leopold died in the following year 1705, convinced that France would be soon crushed and Alsace re-united to Germany. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was of the greatest service

service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty, that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbours, more especially the English.

They impute to him, his having had a notion of universal monarchy. But had Leopold inherited the Spanish succession, which he seemed for some time very likely to do, this emperor being then absolute master of Hungary, whose boundaries were very extensive, being very powerful in Germany, possessing Spain and the absolute dominion of one half of Italy, as well as sovereign of the best part of the new world; thus enabled to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, he had effectually appeared to have made the nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Lewis XIV. because after the peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near reigning over Germany, Spain and Italy.

Lewis XIV. in irritating his neighbours did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done hurt to it by his power.

OF HUNGARY AND THE TURKS,

During the time of Leopold.

Leopold never risked any thing in the wars which he waged from his closet against Lewis XIV. Germany and his allies bore all the burthen, and defended his hereditary dominions; while on the side of Hungary and the Turks there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation that survived the destructions of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans; they sword in hand tilled the soil which was

still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavoured, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king and their liberty against the Turk; who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march in 1663, towards Neuhausel. It is true that they were vanquished the year after near St. Godarth, upon the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory? But a shameful treaty; by which Transilvania, and all the territory of Neuhausel is yielded to the Turks; who raise to the ground the fortifications of the neighbouring citadels. The Turks give Transilvania to Abassi, or rather settle him in it, and still destroy Hungary, notwithstanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the arch-duchess, who was afterwards electress of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have some thoughts of chusing a king of their own nation, should Leopold die.

Their projects, their steadiness in supporting their rights and their conspiracies cost Serini, Frangipani, Nadafli, and Tattenback, their heads.

The imperialists seize on the castles of all who had befriended these unfortunate men. The great dignities of Palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom and of the ban of Croatia are suppressed, and the form of justice gives countenance to rapine. This excess of severity drives them at first into consternation, afterwards into despair. Emerick Tekeli puts himself at the head of the malecontents, and all Upper Austria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte. At which time the court

court of Vienna soothes the malecontents of Hungary. She re-establishes the office of Palatine; confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promises to restore the estates that had been confiscated. But this condescension, after so much severity wears the appearance of a snare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkish than the Imperial court. He is made prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of 40000 sequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, assisted by some troops, under the command of the basha of Buda, ravages Silesia; and this basha takes Tokai, and Eperies, whilst the Sultan Mahomet IV. prepares the most formidable armament that the Ottoman empire had ever made against the Christians.

We don't see how the emperor could have opposed the Turks had they taken this step before the treaty of Nimeguen; seeing after that, his resistance was not very great.

The grand Visier Kara Mustapha traverses Hungary with above 250000 foot, 30000 spahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to so great a multitude. He drives Charles V. duke of Lorraine, everywhere before him, and lays siege to Vienna, unresisted.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA,

In 1683.

Together with its consequences.

This siege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of posterity. This town had been in some measure the capital of the Roman empire, and the residence of ten emperors of the house of Austria successively; yet it was neither strong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine

could have held out. Vienna and its suburbs contained about 100000 citizens, two thirds of which at least inhabited the suburbs, which were intirely defenceless. Kara Mustapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by 330000 men; including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended, that it was the grand visier's design to take Vienna for himself and make it the capital of a new kingdom independant of his master's. Tekeli with the Hungarian malecontents marched on the other side of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was lost and Vienna threatened on every side. Duke Charles of Lorrain had not above 24000 fighting men to oppose the Turks, who hasten their march. A slight combat ensues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which serves only to diminish the prince's already weak army.

On the 7th of July, the emperor Leopold, the empress his mother-in-law, the empress his wife; the archdukes, the archduchesses and all their household, quit Vienna, and retire to Lints. Two thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in despair. There is nothing to be seen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables; which last fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Lints brings with it only terror and confusion. The court does not think itself there safe. It flies from Lints to Passau. The consternation at Vienna increases. The suburbs are burnt with all the houses of pleasure, the body of the town is hastily fortified, and supplied with ammunition and warlike stores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on the 17th of July in the suburb of St. Ulric, 50 paces from the counterescarp.

The count de Staremberg, governor of the town, had 17000 men, in garrison, of whom there were not above 8000 effective. Such of the citizens as remained

remained in Vienna, and even the students of the university, were armed. The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune they are in want of money, and find the raising of 100000 rixdollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorraine had vainly endeavoured to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far North of the town while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony, and the circles, but above all of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks while general of the crown, and who owed his throne to his victories. Yet these assistances could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand visier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit. The space of ground taken up by his tents was equal to that of the besieged town. He had baths, gardens, and fountains, and in the midst of the progress of ruin, wantonned in excess of Luxury.

John de Sobieski at length passes the Danube, some leagues above Vienna, and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, and the circles being also arrived, they make

a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calenberg, at a time that every thing began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Polish armies descend from mount Calenberg, of which the grand visier had forgot to possess himself, extending themselves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of 12000 horse and 4000 foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander his son was very near him. The infantry of the emperor and of the elector of Saxony were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorrain commanded the imperialists. The troops of Bavaria amounted to 10000 men, and those of Saxony to near the same number.

Never were there seen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III: was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince chose rather to serve near the duke of Lorrain as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor a sword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned, after its deliverance, to Vienna, the young prince saluting him with this very sword, shewed him what a noble use he made of his present. It was the same elector who was afterwards put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, sprung from the ancient but unhappy house of Ascania. The infantry was commanded by prince Harman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of 7000, were under the conduct of prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army were three princes of the house of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holstein, a prince of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the house of Wirtemberg; while a third
distin-

distinguished himself within the town. The emperor only was absent.

This army amounted to 64000 men: that of the grand-vizir to double the number. So that this battle may be reckoned among those which shew that the smaller number has generally the better of the greater, because perhaps there is too much confusion in large armies, and more order in the smaller.

On the 12th of September Vienna was delivered, and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand-vizir left 20000 men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be assaulted, while he marched against the Christian army. This last assault might have succeeded, as the besieged began to want powder, and most of their cannon was dismounted; but the sight of assistance gave them new strength.

In the mean time the king of Poland having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing against the Ottoman army; the duke of Lorraine at the head of the other. Never was battle less bloody or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above 200 men; the Ottomans scarcely lost a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizir's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity arising from their long security, that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving even behind them Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizir's errors in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to the pope. The Germans and Polanders were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French wo-

man, daughter to the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand-vizir had made him his heir, and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: *You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, you are not a man, since you have returned without booty.*

The day following, being the 13th of September, king John Sobiesky causes *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral-church of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: *There was a man sent by God, and his name was John.* The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king and to kiss the hands of their deliverer; as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the 14th amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland without the walls, and there is great difficulty to conduct ceremonials at a time when acknowledgement ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobiesky had like to have been eclipsed by a disaster which was scarce to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to have marched thro' Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops, under the command of a basha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorraine who followed him, advanced near this place with his Gens d'armes. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in flank, slaying 2000 of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly: he is pursued; and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloke in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles

of Lorrain at length comes to his assistance; and to the glory of having seconded John Sobiesky, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobiesky himself.

Hungary, on each side the Danube, as far as Strigonia, soon falls again in the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks near 550 years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria defeat the Ottomans in those very plains of Mohats, where Lewis II. king of Hungary had perished in 1526, while Soliman II. conqueror of the Christians, covered the plains with 25000 dead.

Divisions and seditions at Constantinople, with the revolts of the Turkish armies, fought also in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The rising of the Janizaries, the deposing the weak Mahomet IV, Soliman III. advanced to the throne from a prison in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, disheartened and flying before a small number of Germans, were all occurrences favouring Leopold. A warlike emperor, seconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the siege of Constantinople, after having been upon the point of losing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to revenge the fear, into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His ministers pretend, that it would be impossible to confine the Turkish insolence within bounds, unless Hungary was re-united under an absolute dominion. Yet they had repelled the Turks from Vienna with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, Lorrain and other German princes who were under no despotic yoke; particularly with the Polish allies. The Hungarians might then serve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were too

many factions in Hungary; the Turks were not the men to make treaties of Westphalia in favour of this kingdom; and if they were not now in a condition to oppress the Hungarians, neither could they assist them.

The only congress between the Hungarian malcontents and the emperor is a scaffold; it is erected in the market-place of Eperies in the month of March 1687, and kept standing to the end of the year.

If some of the cotemporary historians are to be believed the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims which were without much distinction delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible: there have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle: it is common; they die sword in hand; and are revenged: but for nine long months that people should see their countrymen dragged, as it were legally to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature; and so very barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror.

That which is most terrible for the people is that these cruelties sometimes succeed; and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts.

Hungary was subdued, the Turks twice repulsed, Transilvania conquered, and in the hands of the imperialists. At length while the scaffold is still standing at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are summoned to Vienna, where in the name of the whole people they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary; the states afterwards assemble at Pressburg, where they confirm the decree; and Joseph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years old.

Leopold was at that time the most powerful emperor who had been since Charles V. Many happy circumstances concurred to enable him, at once, to continue the war against France till the treaty of Ryswick; and against Turkey till the peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1699. both of these were of advantage to him. He treated with Lewis XIV. at Ryswick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. These successes gave Leopold a manifest superiority in the diets of Germany, which, tho' it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER LEOPOLD.

Germany, under this reign, renews the bonds in which it had heretofore held Italy. For in that war which was ended at Ryswick, while Leopold in league with the duke of Savoy as well as with so many other princes against France, sent troops towards the Rhine, he required contributions of all that did not belong to Spain. The states of Tuscany, of Venice on the Terra firma, the Genoese and even the pope paid more than 300000 pistoles. In the beginning of the century when it happened that the provinces of the Spanish monarchy were disputed with Lewis XIV's grand-son, Leopold exerted the imperial authority in proscribing the duke of Mantua, and giving the Mantuan Montferrat to the duke of Savoy.

It was also as Roman emperor he gave the elector of Brandenburg the title of king. That the
king

king of Germany should make kings was never agreed among nations; but ancient custom has admitted princes to receive the title of king from him, whom the custom aforesaid calls the successor of Cæsar.

Thus the chief of Germany having this name bestows names, and Leopold makes a king without consulting the three colleges. But when he created a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover, he created this German dignity with the consent of four electors, as chief of Germany. Yet could he not fix him in the college of electors, where the duke of Hanover did not obtain a seat till after Leopold's death.

It is true that in all capitulations, Germany is called *the empire*. But this is an abuse of words authorized by time. The emperors in their capitulations swear, *that they will not bring any troops into the empire without consent of the electors, princes and states*. But it is clear that by this word *empire*, they then understood Germany, and not Milan and Mantua. For the emperor sends troops to Milan without consulting any body. Germany is called the empire as the seat of the Roman empire, a strange revolution, which Augustus could never have suspected. An Italian lord addresses himself without difficulty to the diet of Ratisbon; he addresses himself, during the vacancy of the throne, to the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria and to the Palatine; he obtains titles and territories when there is no body to oppose him. The pope indeed does not demand a confirmation of his election, of the diet, but the duke of Mantua presents him a petition when Leopold puts him under the ban of the empire in 1700. This empire is then the right of the strongest, the right of opinion founded on the happy incursions of Charles V. and Otho into Italy.

The diet of Ratisbon is become perpetual under the same Leopold ever since 1664. This, which one would

would think, should have increased its power, contributes to its weakness. Neither the princes who formerly made up this august assembly, nor the electors assist any longer at the coronation. They send deputies to the diet, and one deputy acts for two or three princes. The treating of weighty matters is either forgot or neglected, and Germany is secretly divided under the appearance of union.

OF GERMANY,

In the times of JOSEPH, and of CHARLES VI.

THE emperor Joseph was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, by all the electors when only 12 years old, in the year 1690; an evident proof of the authority of his father Leopold; a proof of the great security the electors were in with respect to their rights, which they would not have sacrificed; a proof of the firm agreement between all the states of Germany and their chief; which the power of Lewis XIV. had cemented more strongly than ever.

In his capitulation he promises to observe the treaty of Westphalia, *in every thing but where the advantage of France is concerned.*

The reign of Joseph was still happier than that of Leopold. The money of the English and Dutch, the success of prince Eugene and the duke of Malborough, make him every-where victorious, and his good fortune makes him almost absolute. He begins by putting under the ban of the empire, in consequence of his own authority, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, because they were the partizans of France and he seizes on their dominions. He gives the higher Palatinate to that branch of the Palatine which had lost it under Ferdinand II. and at the peace of Rastadt

Rastadt and of Baden, he afterwards restores it to the Bavarian branch.

He acts in reality like a Roman emperor in Italy. He confiscates the Mantuan for his own use; he at first takes the Milanese for himself, which he afterwards gives to the archduke his brother: but he keeps the towns and revenues of it, by dividing from this country, Alexandria, Valenza, and Lomelina in favour of the duke of Savoy, on whom, to secure him in his interest, he bestows the investiture of Montferrat. He plunders the duke of Mirandola, and gives his possessions to the duke of Modena. Charles V. had not been more absolute in Italy; nor had Clement VII. been more alarmed, than was now Clement XI. Joseph goes to deprive him of the duchy of Ferrara, in order to restore it to the house of Modena from which the pope had taken it.

His armies possessing Naples in the name of the archduke his brother, and Bologna, Ferrara, and part of Romagna in his own name, already threatened Rome. It was certainly the pope's interest that there should be a balance in Italy; but this balance, victory had destroyed. All the princes were summoned, and all possessors of fiefs to produce their titles. The duke of Parma who held at that time of the holy see, had but 15 days allowed him to do homage to the emperor. At Rome was distributed a manifesto attacking the temporal power of the pope, and annulling all the donations which the emperors had made without the concurrence of the empire. It is certain, that if by this manifesto they subjected the pope to the emperor, they also rendered the emperors dependent upon the imperial decrees of the Germanic body: but reasons and arms are at one time used, which at another are rejected; and all they endeavoured at present was having some title to rule in Italy as cheaply as they could.

All the princes were astonished. It was scarcely to be expected, that 34 cardinals should at this time have the boldness and generosity to do that which neither Venice, Florence, Genoa, nor Parma, dared to undertake. They raised a little army at their own expence; one laying down 100,000 crowns, another 24,000; this sending 100 horse, and that 50 foot. The peasants were armed. But the sole consequence of this undertaking was, their submitting sword in hand, to the terms prescribed by Joseph. The pope was obliged to disband his army, to preserve no more than 5,000 men in the ecclesiastical state; to subsist the imperial troops; to abandon to them Comacchio, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles king of Spain. In 1709 he deprives the duke of Savoy of the Vigenevasque and the fief of Langues, nor yet does that prince dare to quit his party.

Joseph dies, aged 33, in the year 1711, amidst all his prosperity. Charles VI. his brother succeeded him, and found himself master of all Hungary in a state of subjection, the hereditary dominions of Germany, which were very flourishing, the Milanese, the Mantuan, Naples, Sicily, and the 9 provinces of the Low-countries, and had the propositions made in the year 1709 by France, then very much weakened, been listened to, Charles VI. had been also master of Spain and the New World. It was then, that there was no balance of power in Europe. The English, who had fought for this balance only, murmur against queen Ann for re-establishing it, by the peace of Utrecht: so much did hatred against Lewis XIV. prevail over real interest. Thus after the particular peace of Rastadt and of Baden, Charles VI. is the most powerful prince in Europe.

But as powerful as he was when he took possession of the empire, the Germanic body supported, nay augmented their rights more than ever. The capitulation of Charles VI. implies, that no German prince

prince or state shall be put under the ban of the empire but by consent of the 3 colleges, &c. They yet recalled in this capitulation the treaty of Westphalia, which had always been regarded as a fundamental law.

Germany was quiet and flourishing under the reign of this last Austrian emperor, for, the war of 1716 against the Turks was only waged upon the Ottoman frontiers, and nothing could have been more glorious.

Prince Eugene there increased the vast reputation which he had before acquired in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. The victory of Peterwaradin and the taking of Temiswaer signalized the campaign in 1716. The year following he had still more surprizing successes: for in besieging Belgrade, prince Eugene found himself surrounded in his camp by 150,000 Turks. He was circumstanced like Cæsar at the siege of Alexia, or of the Czar Peter near Pruth. He did not imitate the Russian emperor, who demanded peace, but Cæsar like, defeated his numerous enemies and took the town. He returned to Vienna covered with glory, where they talked of trying him for having hazarded that state which he had saved and whose boundaries he had enlarged. An advantageous peace was the fruit of these victories. The system of Germany was not at all broken in upon either by the war or the peace; which augmented the emperor's dominions, and confirmed the Germanic constitution. Charles XII. king of Sweden's disgraces add to the possessions of the houses of Brandenburg and Hanover. The Germanic body was become still more considerable. The treaty of Westphalia received in reality a blow by these acquisitions; but all the rights which the states of Germany had acquired by this treaty, were preserved by taking some provinces from the Swedes to whom they partly owed those very rights which they enjoyed. The three religions established in Germany maintained themselves peaceably

peaceably under the shade of their privileges, and slight inevitable differences no longer gave rise to civil troubles.

It ought principally to be observed, that Germany was intirely changed under Leopold, Joseph, and Charles VI. The mannets before this were rude, their lives unpolished, the sciences almost unknown, as well as convenient magnificence; there was scarcely one town well built, nor a house erected upon the regular and noble principles of architecture; neither gardens, nor manufactures of merchandize or taste. The Northern provinces were intirely uncultivated; a 30 year's war had ruined them. Germany was more altered in 60 years than she had been from Otho to Leopold.

Charles VI. was constantly happy to 1734. The celebrated victories gained by prince Eugene over the Turks of Temeswaer and at Belgrade had enlarged the frontiers of Hungary. The emperor predominated in Italy, where he possessed Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Mantuan. The imperial and supreme right over Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, which had been so long contested, were confirmed to him by his giving the investiture of these states to don Carlos, son of Philip the Vth who thereby became his vassal. The imperial rights exercised in Italy by Leopold and by Joseph, were then in their full vigor; and certainly, if an emperor had kept so many possessions in Italy, so many rights with so many pretensions, the 700 years struggle of the Italian liberty against the German power might have easily been finished by its subjection.

These prosperities were limited by the use which Charles VI. made of his credit in Europe, by procuring jointly with Russia, the throne of Poland to Augustus III.

This was a singular revolution, whereby he lost for ever Naples and Sicily, and enriched the king of Sardinia at his own expence, in order to give a king to Poland.

Poland. Nothing shews better the fatality that presides over events and mocks the foresight of man. It was his good fortune twice to have conquered 150,000 Turks, yet Naples and Sicily were taken from him by only 10,000 Spaniards in one campaign.

In the year 1700 could it have been possibly imagined, that Stanislaus should 44 years after have Lorrain in exchange for losing the crown of Poland, and that for the very same reason Tuscany should be given to the house of Lorrain? If one reflects on the many events which have disturbed and transformed states, it will appear that scarce any thing happens according to people's expectations, or as Politicians have designed.

The latter years of Charles VI. were yet more unhappy. He imagined because prince Eugene had defeated the Turks with inferior German armies, much more easily might they be beaten by the Germans and Russians joined. But alas he had no longer a prince Eugene, and while the armies of the Czarina Ann take Crimea, enter Walachia, and propose penetrating to Adrianople, the Germans were defeated. A disadvantageous peace succeeds. Belgrade, Temeswaer, Orsova, and all the country between the Danube and the Save remain to the Ottomans. All the fruits of prince Eugene's conquests are thus lost, and the emperor's only resource is that of imprisoning the unfortunate generals; striking off the heads of such officers as had surrendered the towns, and punishing those, who pursuant to his orders, had clapped up a necessary peace.

He died soon after. The revolutions which ensued are matter for another history, and the wounds which still bleed are too fresh to be probed.

A philosophical reader, after having run thro' this long succession of emperors, might reflect, that among them all Frederic III. only live 75 years, as Lewis XIV. only, among the kings of France. Whilst

among

among the popes we see numbers of lives stretched beyond 84. Not that the laws of nature in general make life longer in Italy than in Germany or France, but because popes are commonly more abstemious than kings, and that there are more popes than either emperors or kings of France.

The duration of the reigns of the emperors, which have passed in review before us, serves to confirm the rule which Newton has laid down for the reformation of ancient chronology. He supposes the generations of the sovereigns of old to make out one with another, 21 years each; and indeed the 50 emperors from Charlemagne to Charles VII. forming a period of near a thousand years, admits each of them to have reigned about 20 years. We can reduce this Newtonian rule still more in states subject to frequent revolutions. Without going higher than the Roman empire, we shall find in the space of 500 years, about 90 reigns; that is from Cæsar to Augustulus.

Another important reflection occurs, and that is, that there seems to be scarcely one emperor from the time of Charlemagne, who may be said to have been happy. The lustre of Charles V. eclipses that of all his predecessors; yet he, wearied with continual checks in life, and tired with the plagues of such a compounded administration, rather than disgusted with the nothingness of grandeur, secludes a premature old age in an obscure retreat.

We have not long since seen an emperor master of the most respectable qualities, sustain the most violent turns of fortune, while nature conducts him to the grave, even in the prime of life, by the most cruel disorders.

This history is scarcely any more than a vast scene of weaknesses, faults, crimes and misfortunes; among which we find some virtues and some success; as fertile vallies are often seen among chains of rocks and precipices. This is likewise the case with other histories.

OF THE
KINGS OF BOHEMIA,

From the end of the XIIIth Century.

OTTOCARUS son to king Wenceslaus the blind, killed in 1280 fighting against the emperor Rodolphus.

WENCESLAUS the elder after the death of his father, is placed under the guardianship of Otho of Brandenburg in 1305.

WENCESLAUS the younger dies, about a year after his father, of debauchery.

HENRY, duke of Carinthia, earl of Tirol, brother-in-law of Wenceslaus the younger, is stripped twice of his kingdom; first by Rodolphus of Austria son of Albert I. afterwards by John of Luxemburg son of the emperor Henry VII.

JOHN of Luxemburg master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, killed at the battle of Creci in France in 1346.

The emperor **CHARLES IV.**

The emperor **WENCESLAUS.**

The emperor **SIGISMUND.**

The emperor **ALBERT** of Austria.

LADISLAUS the posthumous son of the emperor Albert of Austria, dies in 1457 at the same time that Magdalene daughter to Charles VII. king of France is on the road from Germany to be married to him.

GEORGE Podibrad vanquished by Matthias of Hungary dies in 1471.

LADISLAUS of Poland king of Bohemia and of Hungary dies in 1516.

LEWIS son of Ladislaus also king of Hungary and Bohemia is killed fighting against the Turks aged only 20 years.

The emperor FERDINAND I. and after him the emperors of the house of Austria.

THE ELECTORS OF MENTZ.

From the end of the XIIIth Century.

VERNIER count de Falkenstein; he who best supported his pretensions to the town of Erfort, dies in 1284.

HENRY KENODERER a franciscan frier confessor to the emperor Rodolphus, dies in 1288.

GERRARD baron d'Eppenstein who fought at that battle in which Adolphus of Nassau was killed, dies in 1305.

PETER AICHSPALT a citizen of Triers, physician to Henry of Luxemburg who cured pope Clement V. of a disorder thought to be mortal, dies in 1320.

MATTHIAS count de Burgeck dies in 1328.

BALDWIN brother to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg holds Triers and Mentz for three years; this the only example of the kind.

HENRY count de Virneburg excommunicated by Clement VI. supports himself by war, and dies in 1353.

GERLACH de Nassau dies in 1371.

JOHN de Luxemburg count de St. Paul dies 1373.

ADOLPHUS de Nassau to whom Charles IV. gave the little town of Hœchst, dies in 1390.

CONRAD of Vinsberg who causes the Vaudois to be burned dies 1396.

JOHN of Nassau, this is he who deposed the emperor Wenceslaus, dies in 1419.

CONRAD count de Rens, beaten by the landgrave of Hesse, dies in 1431.

288 ELECTORS OF MENTZ.

THEODORE d'Urback, he ought to have contributed to the protection of printing invented in his time at Mentz, dies in 1459.

DITRICH count of Isenburg, and an Adolphus of Nassau long dispute sword in hand for the archbishopric. Isenburg yields the electorate to his competitor Nassau in 1463.

ADOLPHUS dies in 1475.

DITRICH reassumes the electoral see, builds the castle of Mentz, and dies in 1482.

ALBERT of Saxony dies in 1484.

BERTOLDUS of Henneberg the principal author of the league of Suabia, and great reformer of religious houses, dies in 1504. Gualtieri falsely asserts that he died of a disorder but little befitting an archbishop.

JAMES of Libenstein dies in 1508.

URIEL de Guimenguen dies in 1514.

ALBERT of Brandenburg son of the elector John at the same time archbishop of Mentz, of Magdeburg and of Halberstadt, who desired much a cardinal's cap, dies in 1545.

SEBASTIAN de Hovenstein doctor of the laws, in whose time Mentz is burned by a prince of Brandenburg, dies in 1555.

DANIEL BRENDL de HOMBURG, dies in 1582, leaving behind him a name valued and respected.

WOLFGANG of Dalburg he deprives himself of the pleasures of the chase because it damages the lands of his subjects, and dies in 1601.

JOHN ADAM of Bicken, he assists in France at the dispute between cardinal du Perron and de Mornai, he dies in 1604.

JOHN SCHWEIGHARD de Cronberg, persecuted a great while by the prince of Brunswic, *the friend of God, and the foe to the priests*, delivered by the arms of Tilli, and dies in 1626.

GEORGE FREDERIC de Grieffenclau, principal author

of

of the famous edict of the restitution of benefices, which caused the 30 year's war dies in 1629.

ANSELMO CASIMIR WAMBOLD of Umstadt, driven out by the Swedes, dies in 1647.

JOHN PHILIP of Schoenbron brings the town of Erfort under his subjection by the help of the French arms and the emperor Leopold's diploma, he dies in 1673.

LOTHARIUS FREDERIC of Metternich forced to cede his lands to the elector Palatine dies in 1675.

DAMIEN HARTARD *von der Lien*: he builds the palace of Mentz, and dies in 1678.

CHARLES HENRY of Metternich, dies in 1689.

ANSELMO-FRANCIS of Ingelheim, on whose town the French seize, dies in 1695.

LOTHARIO FRANCIS of Schoenbron coadjutor in 1694, respected by all his cotemporaries; dies in 1729.

FRANCIS LEWIS count Palatine, dies in 1732.

PHILIP CHARLES of Eltz, dies in 1743.

JOHN FREDERIC Charles count d'Holstein.

THE ELECTORS OF COLOGN.

ENGELBERG count de Walkenstein a good soldier, but an unhappy archbishop taken in war by the inhabitants of Cologn, dies about the year 1274.

SIFROI count de Vesterbuch not less a soldier and more unfortunate than his predecessor, a prisoner of war for seven years; dies in 1298.

VICKBOLD de Holt another warrior, but more happy dies in 1305.

HENRY count de Vinnanbuch disputes the electorate, and carries it from two competitors he dies in 1338.

VALRAME count de Juliers a pacific prince, dies in 1352.

GULL de Geneppe who heaped and left behind him great treasures, dies in 1362.

JOHN de Virnenburg forces the chapter to elect him, and squanders all the treasures of his predecessor, dies in 1363.

ADOLPHUS count de la March resigns the archbishopric in 1364, is made count of Cleyes and has children.

ENGHELBERG count de la March.

CANON of Falkenstein coadjutor to the former, and at the same time archbishop of Triers, governs Cologn for three years, and is obliged to resign it in 1370. There was brought to Cologn while he governed, a body quite fresh of one of the innocents massacred by Herod, which gives fresh credit to the relicks preserved in that town.

FREDERIC count de Sarverden a peaceable prince, dies in 1414.

THEODORE count de Mœurs, disputes the archbishopric with William of Ravensberg bishop of Paderborn; but this bishop of Paderborn being married; both diocesess fall to the count de Mœurs. He also enjoys Halberstadt, and dies in 1457.

ROBERT of Bavaria makes use of Charles the bold duke of Burgundy to assist him in subjecting Cologn, but is, at last forced to fly, and dies in 1480.

HERMAN landgrave of Hesse who governed some years, in time of Robert of Bavaria, dies in 1508.

PHILIP count d'Oberstein dies in 1515.

HERMAN de Veda or Neuvid, turns Lutheran, after being bishop 32 years, and dies in retirement in 1556.

ANTONY brother to Adolphus bishop of Liege and of Utrecht dies in 1558.

JOHN earl of Mansfelt born a Lutheran, dies in 1562.

FREDERIC de Veda abdicates in 1568, reserving to himself 30,000 florins of gold yearly, it is never paid him, and he dies miserably.

SALENTINUS count of Isenburg after having governed ten years, assembles the chapter and nobility,

lity, when reproaching them with the ingratitude where with they had repaid the pains he had taken with them; he abdicates the archbishopric, and weds a countess de la March.

GEBHARD truchses de Walburg quits his archbishopric for the beautiful Agnes de Mansfelt; which father Kolbs calls his *sacriligious spouse*. This father Kolbs was not polite, he dies in 1612.

FERDINAND, his land having been ravaged by the great Gustavus, dies in 1650.

MAXIMILIAN HENRY succeeds cardinal Mazarine in his retreat, and dies in 1688.

JOSEPH CLEMENT who carried the electorate from cardinal de Furtemberg, dies in 1723.

AUGUSTUS CLEMENT.

ELECTORS OF TRIERS.

HENRY de Vestigen subdues Coblentz, dies in 1286.

BOEMOND de Vansberg destroys the castles of the rebel barons, and dies in 1299.

DITRICH de Nassau cited to Rome to answer complaints made by his clergy, who afterwards refuse him burial, dies 1307.

BALDWIN of Luxemburg who joins Philip de Valois against Edward III. dies in 1354.

BOHEMOND de Sarbruck, who has in his old days great disputes with the Palatine, dies in 1368.

CONRAD of Falkenstein, makes great foundations, and resigns the electorate to his nephew in spite of the canons, he dies in 1388.

VERMER de Konigsten nephew to the last, reduces Vezel with artillery, and is almost always at war, he dies in 1418.

OTHO de Zeigenheim, beaten by the Hussites, dies on that expedition in 1430.

RABAN de Helmstadt, always at war with his neigh-

hours, pawns his possessions and dies insolvent in 1439.

JAMES de Sirck, the ravaged electorate of Triers not being sufficient to subsist him he is made bishop of Metz, and dies in 1456.

JOHN de Baden, it was he who concluded the marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, dies in 1501.

JAMES de Baden umpire between Cologne and the archbishop, dies in 1511.

RICHARD de Wolfrat who for a long time takes part with Francis I. against Charles V. in their struggle for the empire, he dies 1531.

JOHN de Metzenhausen encourages the sciences, and improves his territory, dies in 1540.

JOHN Lewis of the Hague, dies 1547.

JOHN d'Isenburg, under whom Triers suffers much from the Lutheran arms, dies in 1556.

JOHN de Leyen, he besieged Triers, dies in 1567.

JAMES de Els, he subdues Triers, dies in 1581.

JOHN de Schonberg, in whose time the garment of Jesus Christ was found at Triers, but whence it came is not exactly known, dies in 1599.

LOTHARIO de Metternick, joins briskly the catholic league, and dies in 1623.

PHILIP CHRISTOPHER of Sotern, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and furnished France with a sufficient pretext to declare war against Spain, he was restored to his see by the victory of Conde and Turenne, he dies in 1652. aged 87 years.

CHARLES GASPARD de Leyen, driven out of his capital by the arms of France, but restored by the defeat of marshal Crequi, he dies in 1676.

JOHN HUGO d'Orsbeck; he sees Triers almost quite destroyed by the French; the war was always dreadful, he dies in 1711.

CHARLES JOSEPH of Lorraine coadjutor in 1710, suffers still more by the war, dies ann. 1715.

FRANCIS LEWIS count Palatine, bishop of Breslau, and Worms, grand master of the Teutonic order dies anno 1729.

FRANCIS GEORGE de Schonbron.

THE ELECTORS PALATINE.

From the end of the XIIIth Century.

LEWIS dies an. 1285, his father Otho was the first count Palatine of this house.

RODOLPHUS son of Lewis, and brother to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, dies in England in 1319.

ADOLPHUS the *Simple* dies in 1327.

RODOLPHUS II, brother to Adolphus the simple, and son to Rodolphus I. father-in-law to the emperor Charles IV. dies in 1353.

ROBERT the *Red* dies in 1390.

ROBERT the *Stubborn* dies in 1398.

ROBERT the emperor.

LEWIS the *bearded* and the *pious* dies in 1436.

LEWIS the *Virtuous* dies in 1449.

FREDERIC the *Warlike*, Philip's tutor, enjoys the electorate tho' his pupil is alive, he dies 1476.

PHILIP son of Lewis the *Virtuous* dies in 1508.

LEWIS son of Philip dies 1544.

FREDERIC the *Wise*, brother to Lewis dies in 1556.

OTHO HENRY Philip's grand son dies in 1559.

FREDERIC III. of the branch of Simmeren, dies in 1576.

LEWIS VI. son of Frederic dies in 1583.

FREDERIC IV. of that name grand son to Lewis dies in 1610.

FREDERIC V. of that name, son of Frederic IV. allied to James I. king of Bohemia, but driven out of his dominion, dies in 1632.

CHARLES LEWIS re-established in the Palatine dies anno 1680.

294 ELECTORS OF SAXONY.

CHARLES son to the preceding, dies without issue in 1685.

PHILIP WILLIAM of the branch of Neuburg, father-in-law to Leopold, to the king of Spain and to the king of Portugal, dies anno 1690.

JOHN WILLIAM son of Charles Philip born in 1658, his country was destroyed by the war of 1689, and at the peace of Ryswick the lands which the house of Orleans disputed with him were adjudged by the pope's decisive sentence to this elector, he dies in 1716.

CHARLES PHILIP the last elector of the house of Neuburg dies in 1742.

CHRISTIAN PHILIP THEODORE de Sultzbach.

THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY.

ALBERT II. great-grand-son of Albert the *Bear* of the house of Anhalt succeeds his ancestors in 1260, and governs Saxony thirty seven year, dies in 1297.

RODOLPHUS I. son of the said Albert dies in 1356.

RODOLPHUS II. son of Rodolphus I. dies 1370.

WENCESLAUS a younger brother of Rodolphus II. dies in 1388.

RODOLPHUS III. son of Wenceslaus dies in 1419.

ALBERT III. brother to Rodolphus III. the last elector of the house of Anhalt, which had possessed Saxony 227 years, dies in 1422.

FREDERIC I. of the house of Misnia surnamed the *warlike* dies in 1428.

FREDERIC the *affable* dies in 1464.

ERNEST FREDERIC the *religious* dies in 1486.

FREDERIC the *wise* dies in 1525, it is he who is said to have refused the empire.

JOHN surnamed the *Constant* brother to the foregoing, dies in 1532.

JOHN FREDERIC the *Magnanimous* dies in 1554, dispossessed

possessed of his electorate by Charles V. from him the branches of Gotha and Weimar are decended.

MAURICE cousin in the fifth degree to John Frederic invested by Charles V. dies in 1563.

AUGUSTUS the *Pious* brother to Maurice dies in 1586.

CHRISTIAN son to Augustus the pious dies in 1591.

FREDERIC WILLIAM, ten years administrator, dies in 1602.

CHRISTIAN II. son to Christian I. dies in 1611.

JOHN GEORGE brother of Christian dies 1656.

JOHN GEORGE II. dies in 1680.

JOHN GEORGE III. dies in 1691.

JOHN GEORGE IV. dies in 1694.

AUGUSTUS king of Poland, dispossessed of the kingdom by the successes of Charles XII. and restored by the said Charles's misfortune dies in 1733.

FREDERIC AUGUSTUS II. elector and king of Poland.

ELECTORS OF BRANDENBURG.

After divers electors of the houses of Ascania, Bavaria, and of Luxemburg.

FREDERIC de Hohenzollern burgrave of Nuremberg, buys the marquisate of Brandenburg from the emperor Sigismund for one hundred thousand golden florins, repurchased by the same emperor, he dies in 1400.

JOHN I. son of Frederic abdicates in favor of his brother ann: 1464. he is not taken notice of in the memoirs of Brandenburg, so that he is not to be looked upon as elector.

FREDERIC *with the iron teeth*, brother to the foregoing dies in 1471.

ALBERT *the Achilles* brother to the two latter; it is pretended that he abdicated in 1476, and that he died in 1486.

JOHN surnamed the *Cicero* son of Albert the Achilles dies in 1499.

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- JOACHIM I. *Nestor* the son of John, dies in 1535.
JOACHIM II. *Hector* son of Joachim I. dies in 1571.
JOHN GEORGE son of Joachim II. dies in 1598.
JOACHIM FREDERIC, son of John George administrator of Magdeburg dies in 1608.
JOHN SIGISMUND son of Joachim Frederic divides the succession of Cleves and Juliers with the house of Neuberg, dies in 1619.
GEORGE WILLIAM whose dominions were laid waste by the 30 years war dies in 1640.
FREDERIC WILLIAM who re-establishes his country dies in 1688.
FREDERICK, who erects into a kingdom part of the province of Prussia of which he was duke, and which had formely held of Poland dies in 1713.
FREDERIC WILLIAM II. king of Prussia, who repoples the intirely ruined lands of Prussia, dies in 1740.
FREDERIC III. king of Prussia.

THE ELECTORS OF BAVARIA.

- MAXIMILIAN created in 1623, and at that time ranked among the electors, the first after the king of Bohemia, dies in 1651.
FERDINAND MARIA his son, died 1679.
MAXIMILIAN MARIA who was of great service in delivering Vienna from the Turks; he signalised himself at the sieges of Baden and Belgrade, was put under the ban of the empire by the emperor Joseph in 1706, and restored by the peace of Baden, he dies in 1726.
CHARLES ALBERT his son, emperor dies in 1745.
CHARLES MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH son of Charles Albert.

* * *

THE ELECTORS OF HANOVER.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS duke of Brunswic and Hanover &c. created by the emperor Leopold in 1692, upon condition that he should furnish 6000 men against the Turks, and 3000 against France, he dies in 1698.

GEORGE LEWIS son of the former, received in the electoral college at Ratisbon in 1708, with the title of archtreasurer of the empire, made king of England in 1714, he dies in 1727.

GEORGE II. his son also king of England.



THE HISTORY OF THE ELECTORATE OF HANNOVER.

A Letter from the Author.

TO HER

SERENE HIGHNESS

M^{ADAM} A^{UGUSTA} M^{ARY}

THE DUTCHESS DOWAGER
OF SAXE-GOTHA.

MADAM,

Colmar, March 8, 1754.

YOUR August name has ornamented the beginning of these annals, permit that it may crown the end; this little abridgment was begun in your palace, with the assistance of the old Manuscript, of my Essay upon Universal History, which had lain there a long time; and tho' this manuscript was no more than a very indigested collection of materials, I nevertheless made it useful. I had already caused the first Volume of the Annals of the Empire to be printed, when I was informed; that some loose sheets of this old manuscript had fallen into the hands of a bookseller at the Hague.

These loose sheets, without either order or connexion, doubtless transcribed by an ignorant hand, disfigured and falsified, were, to my great concern, reprinted several times at Paris and else where.

Your

Your Serene Highness has signified your resentment upon this account in your letters to me. You know how very much the real manuscript, which is in your possession, differs from the fragments that have been published. It is my duty, loudly to reprove and condemn such an abuse; and above four months since I acquitted myself of this obligation in the letter to a professor of history, prefixed to the annals. And I now, Madam, repeat this just protestation, under your favourable protection.

With respect to this small abridgment of the annals of the Empire, undertaken by your Serene Highness's orders, these orders themselves, and the desire of pleasing you, would have rendered the truth still more dear and sacred to me, were she not so by her own intrinsic worth.

This truth, to which our Illustrious *de-Thou* has sacrificed, which heaped upon him so much affliction, and makes his memory so valuable, can it hurt me, in an age much more enlightened than his?

What weak fanatic can reproach me with having respected the three Religions authorized in the Empire? what fool would have had me play the controvertist, instead of writing as an historian? I am confined to facts. These facts are proved; they are authentic. A thousand pens have been employed about them. No just man can complain. A great Queen aptly spoke thus of an historian: *they point out to us our duty by speaking of the faults of our predecessors. The truth is hid from us by those who surround us, and revealed to us by none but historians.*

There have been emperors, unjust and cruel; popes and bishops, unworthy of their station. Who is there doubts it? It is the consolation of the world, to have faithful annals, which excite to virtue, by exposing its crimes. What is it to the wise emperor who

reigns in our days, that Henry V. and Henry VI. were cruel? What is it to the enlightened, the just, the moderate pontiff, who now fills the throne of Rome, that Alexander VI. has left behind him an odious memory? The horrors of past ages are the eulogiums of the present. Unhappily those who are charged with the education of princes, hide from them these ancient truths. They accustom them in their infancy to see nothing but falsity, and thus prepare for the masters of the world, while in their cradles, the poison of illusion in which they are all their lives to be immersed.

You, Madam, who are a lover of truth, and were pleased, that I should proclaim it, let me intreat you to receive this new homage, which I pay to you and to her.

I am, Madam, with the profoundest respect, and the most inviolable attachment

Y O U R

M O S T S E R E N E H I G H N E S S

Most humble and most obedient

Servant

V

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