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EULOGY

OF

LENNART TORSTENSON,

BORN, 1603 — DIED, 1651,

Grand Master of the Swedish Artillery,

FIELD MARSHAL — GENERALISSIMUS.

Blitzen!—The Lightning!

“Like an Argus, he looked forth everywhere with an hundred Eyes, and then, like Briereus, acted with an hundred Arms.”

—VON LUNDBLAD'S “*Swedish Plutarch*.”

“In battle a Lion: everywhere else a Lamb.”

—JOHANNES LOCCENIUS' “*History of Sweden*.”

“For I know him to be the very man who is especially qualified to command the whole Army.”

—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, in 1632, to OXENSTIERN.

“The most active and talented of all the Generals in this (the Thirty Years') War.”

—KOHLENSCH'S “*History of Germany*.”

“Under Sweden's crown, Sweden's greatest commander.”

—GELFER'S “*History of the Swedes*.”

A Royal-Edict; Crowned-, or Prize-Essay.

PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

BY

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

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BY

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER,

M. A., L. L. D.,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL M. F. S. N. Y., 1861; BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL (by Concurrent Resolution, N. Y. State Legislature) N. G. S. N. Y., 1866; HONORARY MEMBER Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States; FIRST HONORARY MEMBER Third Army (of the Potomac) Corps Union; &c., &c., &c.

PREFACE.

READERS, your attention is invited to the history of a hero who shone unrivaled in all the virtues of a soldier, a patriot, and a man. Seventeen years ago his biography was published by the writer, but even when it was completed, after years of intense labor, the author was not aware of the real measure of the greatness he had attempted to commemorate and introduce to the American people.

Although it was well known that Gustavus III, Sovereign of Sweden, one of the most sagacious of men and bravest of soldiers, had prepared the Eulogy

of Torstenson as the greatest of Sweden's grand-captains, administrators and diplomats, yet it was nearly fourteen years before a copy of that memorial could be obtained. Even after it was received in this country, another long delay occurred before a scholar could be found capable of doing justice to the original, difficult in its idioms of the past.

Through the kindness of Mr. Habicht, Consul-General of Sweden and Norway, a translator, Mr. Corn, was at last engaged to render this beautiful composition into literal English, and to him the American biographer of Torstenson was indebted for the opportunity of herewith presenting a prize-paper—carefully revised by the writer—so honorable to its author who was doubly crowned as king and orator, and to its subject, who was the decisive actor in the Thirty Years' War for the deliverance of Europe.

One hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed since the death of the typical Swede, and yet the memory of his glory loomed up through that century and a quarter, scarcely less brilliant than when the victorious chieftain, alive, clad in steel and waving his truncheon as generalissimo, in the midst of the marvelous artillery he had created and at the head of his irresistible armies, dazed the eyes of "astounded Europe."

The Royal author of this eulogy, as renowned in the arts of peace as of war, was unwilling to enter the lists of science and art, under the dazzling influence of his crown. He was determined, as an unknown competitor for the prize of eloquence and truth, to contest the honors for which he strove, in order that Sweden's wisest might determine, if the theme was worthy of the occasion and the hero worthy of the eulogy. Both proved themselves equal to the honors—honors to crown with bays the temples of the kingly orator, laurels to deck the sarcophagus of the long since deceased general. Sweden recognized in the hero (Torstenson) who slept amid so many great captains, the greatest gen-

eral her soil—prolific of grand commanders—had given to humanity, to evangelical progress and to that science, war, on which, at last, depends the safety and success of a country.

With this introduction, the Royal Essay—royal in its origin, royal in its style, royal in its rewards and royal in its subject—is presented to the American reader. It is intended to serve as a preface to a Second Edition of the “Life of Torstenson,” whose feats of arms present themselves as undoubted proofs that whenever our weapons achieved triumphs worthy of military citation, they were performed in obedience to those principles of sagacious Practical Strategy which the whole career of the Swedish hero served to exemplify—a career which demonstrates that the only true elements of successful warfare are those which are productive of decisive results and their true consequents—an honorable and enduring peace and the prosperity of a nation.

J. W. DE P.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY OF THE EULOGY UPON IMPERIAL COUNSELOR (RIKSRADET)
COUNT LENNART TORSTENSON.

The first subject for competition which the Swedish Academy presented was “An Eulogy upon Field-Marshal Count Lennart Torstenson.” Four papers were handed in, among which there was one which, by its surpassing merit, at once distinguished itself. That the gracious founder of the Academy, King Gustavus III, had written this paper, was and remained during the discussions (of the association) a profound secret to the members of the Academy. It was first scrutinized by selected members, and subsequently by the whole Academy, in the very presence of the King. No more certain proof can be given, either of the Academy’s ignorance as to the author, or of the King’s exalted mind, than the untrammelled liberty with which the members ex-

pressed their thoughts, and the forbearance with which even such opinions were listened to and accepted which might contain remarks and reflections. The annals of the Academy bear witness to the former, and the latter is preserved with profound impressions in the memory of those who, then, were present. The prize was awarded without any other object than to do justice to a great and unusual talent. The paper was read on the day of the celebration ; but the reward remained in the keeping of the secretary until the author should make himself known.

The Academy soon commenced, however, to suspect the honor that had been conferred. But the King did not please to make himself known until during a conversation at the Academy, in the following year, 1787, on the 28th November. This gave the secretary, who then was also director, an opportunity for ascertaining whether the King would look upon it with pleasure, if the Reserved Prize Medal of the Academy were respectfully tendered him ; and the hope he entertained in this respect was communicated by him to the Academy, at their meeting of 1st December, 1787.

When the King, on the same day, honored the Academy with his high presence, and the members had risen, the Director made a speech in the name of the Academy, whereupon he humbly delivered the Prize Medal, which the King was pleased to accept, saying that "it should be kept in the King's Cabinet of Coins, together with a statement of the circumstances for the information of the future."

Such is the history of an event which has no precedent in the annals of literature—an event which the Swedish Academy, with mixed sentiments of admiration, gratitude and pride, transmits to memory and posterity.

EULOGY

upon

Riksradet (Senator) Field-Marshal*

LENNART TORSTENSON,

Count of Orjala,

a Paper to which

THE GREAT PRIZE OF THE SWEDISH ACADEMY,
FOR 1786, WAS AWARDED.†

“ To this hero's honor, astounded
Europe, still, can witness bear.”

A protracted and unjust silence has distracted the memory of the Swedish nation from the heroes who either surrounded or followed immediately after Gustavus Adolphus. It would seem as if we shunned their names, having lost the fruits of their con-

* The word *Felt*, or *Field-Marshal*, imports nothing else but that person who marshals the field, and is called in French, *Maréchal-de-Camp*, and so the primitive institution of the office was, and so it continued, till within these fifty years (1620-1670); for the present, in Germany, Sweden and Denmark, those who command *Armies-Royal*, consisting of Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, are qualified by the Titles of Felt-Marshals, and have an equivalent authority to the ancient Marshals of France, far above that of *Maréchals-de-Camp*; and those *Felt-Marshals* have under them Lieutenant-Generals of the whole Army, Generals, and Major-Generals of Horse and Foot, and these last are now the *Marshals of the Field*, for they draw up the several Regiments and Brigades of both in order of Battle. So upon the matter, a *Felt-Marshal* is now *General*- or Commander-in-Chief of the Army, so were BANER, TORSTENSON and WRANGEL, successively, one after another, in the long German War, under CHRISTINA, Queen of Sweden.” Page 247, “Pallas Armata, Military Essays of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War,” written in the years 1670 and 1671, by Sir JAMES TURNER, Knight, London, printed by M. W. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in S. Paul's Church-yard MDCLXXXIII.

† From the First Volume of the Writings of King Gustavus III; his Political and Miscellaneous Essays; likewise his Correspondence, Stockholm, 1806.

quests (1); as if the memory itself of a happiness that has vanished were a new grief; as if the image of our country's former glory ought not to be recalled at a period when we were only occupying ourselves with strife; when discord and persecution were tearing that country to pieces. But those times have disappeared; the name of Gustavus Adolphus, consecrated to immortality by conquest and virtue, has come to be as cherished by us as it was by our ancestors, and the revival of his laws has resuscitated the veneration for his virtues.

The Muses consecrated to the glory of heroes, celebrate now for the first time that day which—one hundred and ninety-two year ago—witnessed the birth (2) of a Father to Sweden, of a Liberator to Germany. A venerable minister (Archbishop Uno von Troil) expresses in the temple of the Lord the gratitude of posterity towards that God who gave us so good, so great a king. And whilst his name is thus exalted by the guardians of religion, while it is sung by the voice of the skald (3), that Hero is not forgotten whom he himself had trained, who upheld and completed his work. Eloquence prepares itself to illustrate the merits of Torstenson, and an Association which combines the most excellent men with

(1) There was a time when, owing to particular reasons and purposes, it was attempted to dispute the great services Gustavus Adolphus had rendered to the realm. It was insisted upon that his glorious reign was more brilliant than advantageous to the kingdom; that it contributed more to the nation's honor than to its happiness. But if this great King has, after his death, suffered the same fate which most of the present Kings experience whilst still alive, his memory has, on the other hand, shared in the partisan spirit of the times; for he has found as many ardent advocates as opponents. The former have, finally, conquered, and now it appears that the whole nation joins Europe in veneration for, and rejoicing at, this Great King's memory.

(2) According to the statutes of the Swedish Academy, it is on the birthday of Gustavus Adolphus that its annual general festival is celebrated. King Gustavus Adolphus was born on the 9th of December, 1594.

(3) The elevation to the throne of Gustavus Adolphus was the subject for competition in poetry.

the greatest talents of the realm—in a word, the Swedish Academy—assembles with the object of crowning him who is the most eloquent. The principal citizens, the most beautiful, the most deserving among that sex which so well knows how to appreciate great actions, await the verdict of so enlightened judges. Who would not tremble at the sight of so illustrious an assemblage? And yet I venture to present myself, though astonished at my own boldness; for as a Swede I am undaunted, and as a citizen I wish to offer an incense, though weak, on the altar, which, now, is to be kindled to the honor of Torstenson. It is the subject that elevates me; it is of a HERO I speak; it is in the language of the heart that true eloquence consists.

FIRST PART.

It was when Charles IX. (1550–1611) still reigned, that Sigismund, expelled from the empire of his fathers, supported by the (Polish) people who had chosen him for king, endeavored to revenge himself on Sweden, for his own grievances, and on Charles, for the innocent blood which had been shed on the square of Linköping. The Swedish nobility, divided between love for their creed and affection for their legitimate king, hated Charles as a tyrant, but feared him as a great man; commiserated the injustice done to Sigismund, but considered him incapable of wearing the crown of Gustavus Ericson. These views increased the sufferings of the individual, whilst they caused the continuance of those of the community. Citizen against citizen, relative against relative, brother against brother, were seen in conflict for either the one or the other of these kings, whom their affection, their gratitude, or their fear, compelled them to follow—and all contribute to the misery of the land. Hardly any family could be considered as united. If, on the one hand, Anders

Lennartson of Torstena (1) fought at Stangebros for Charles, his brother, Torsten Lennartson, faithful to Sigismund, saw himself, on the other hand, obliged to leave his native land, confiding, during his flight, to his mother's care, an only son, a child of eleven weeks.

O thou faithful Swedish knight! If thy eyes could have read in the book of the future! If thou couldst have foreseen that this son, this fatherless child, was some day to become the hero who bridled the (Imperial) Eagle's pride, and before whose arm the enemies of Sweden were to tremble, thy heart would have been consoled, and, content with thy fate, thou wouldst, without repining, have pursued the course thy faithfulness had prescribed.

Margaret Ekeblad, the widow of a soldier (Lennart Torstenson) who had sacrificed himself and lost his life (in King Eric's war with the Danes) against the enemies of the kingdom, employed all her care to develop in her grandson the heroism which was hereditary in the races of the Torstens.

The fate of a lifetime often depends upon the impressions which the soul receives in childhood. The objects which, in the most lively colors, picture themselves in the eyes of youth, are those which fix their attention, fire their imagination, and stimulate their ardor to imitate what they admire. Torstenson, born in an age when foreign and domestic wars occupied the minds of all, felt a burning desire to follow in his grandsire's footsteps, and by a warrior's deeds make his name celebrated.

Charles IX. was dead; great as king, bad as citizen, excellent as statesman; stern, severe, tyrannical, but anxious for the honor, the independence of the kingdom; a dangerous rival, but still more dangerous as a subject; the only one of his brothers and sisters who would have been like his father,

(1) At the battle of Stangebros he led the right wing of Duke Charles IX's army, and contributed considerably to the victory by his valor. See von Dalin's "History of the Swedish Empire," 3 vols., 2 parts.

provided fate had permitted him to be born to a crown, and had saved him from obtaining it by crime. He had left his kingdom at war: first with Poland, which was more intent upon the acquisition of Liefland (Livonia) than upon replacing Sigismund on the throne of Sweden he had lost; second, with Denmark, which thought the time opportune to avail herself of Sweden's intestine discord for the extension of her own boundaries; third, with part of Russia, which, united with Sigismund, intended to hurl Sweden's greatest ally, Vasili Schuski, from a throne (the Russian) to which the son of Sigismund aspired, on which an impostor (Demetrius) had seated himself, but which, after the fall of Schuski, seemed to be destined for a prince of the House of Vasa. (Duke Charles Philip elected Grand Duke of Muscovy at the death of Charles IX., 1611.)

Within the kingdom all was consternation, uncertainty; three hereditary princes, but no positive successor to the throne (1); a foreign soldiery, ungovernable and discontented; an empty exchequer; an excited multitude. No distinguished family but mourned for a father, a brother, a son, sacrificed to the vengeance of Charles; Kalmar in the power of Denmark; Jonkoping threatened by Danish armies,

(1) Duke John, of East Gothland, being the son of King John, seemed to have had the nearest right to the crown, while, however, Gustavus Adolphus, eldest son of Charles IX., was, by the resolutions in Norrkoping, considered successor; but although Charles IX. had died at the palace of Nykoping on 30th October, 1611, the Diet was not proclaimed in the name of Gustavus Adolphus, but of Duke John and of the Dowager-Queen; and, at its opening, it was Duke John who made the address on 10th December. At the same time a representation was made to the Estates in the name of the Dowager-Queen, that they should declare which of the three hereditary princes they desired to acknowledge as King; the sons of Charles IX., obligating themselves, in case the choice fell on Duke John, to acknowledge him as King. Finally, Duke John made his formal resignation in the Chamber of the Diet, on 14th December, 1611, and Gustavus Adolphus was accepted as King and declared to have attained his majority. From all this, it clearly appears that the change made by Charles IX., in the order of succession, was not firmly established at his death, and only became so when Gustavus Adolphus was proclaimed King.

and a seventeen-year-old prince, the only hope to maintain the integrity of the kingdom. But this youth is GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. He stood forth, he ascended the throne, and everything assumed a different form and appearance. His valor resisted the enemy ; his gentleness, his virtues conciliated the citizen. The nation soon forgot the son of Charles IX., only to venerate and cherish a young prince, gifted with the best qualities of soul and body, trained to save the kingdom ; and soon there were gathered round him the children of those who had suffered for the sake of Sigismund, and who now became the firmest supports of the throne of Gustavus Adolphus. TORSTENSON, who had found in the house of his father's sister, the shelter of which death had robbed him in that of his father's mother, burned with ardor to follow the king whose name already filled Sweden with astonishment. Riksråd (Senator) Boo Ribbing introduces him to the King, who accepts him as his Page (or "Squire of the Chamber.") To be trained at the Court of Gustavus Adolphus was to be trained in camp. The Peace of Knarod had freed Sweden of one enemy ; but Sigismund was still alive, and Liefland (Livonia) was the field where heroes were to be bred.

Gustavus Adolphus hastens to the conquest of Riga, and young Torstenson follows him. The walls of Riga are stormed, and Jan Baner is the first to climb them. He drives the enemy before him, and takes the commander prisoner. Riga is taken, and Gustavus Adolphus, on the battle-field, raises Baner to the chief command. This was the first sample of war (1621) displayed before the eyes of Torstenson—a hero's victory, his reward, his valor. What an encouraging sight for one who burned with ardor for glory ! Soon a truce places bounds to his desire to combat at the side of his king ; but already Gustavus Adolphus knows the value of the youth he trains.

The Netherlands were, at that time, the school for the science of war. A people contended there

against the most powerful king of Europe, to free itself from a yoke which the cruelty of the Duke of Alba and the tyranny of Philip II. had attempted to impose. It had its courage, its despair, and William of Orange, wherewith to meet the Spanish power, the wealth of Peru, and the house of Austria. The conflict had lasted for sixty years, and had produced great leaders on both sides, as well as a thorough knowledge (of the art and science of war). Maurice of Orange, William's worthy son, carried out the work his father had commenced, and Spinola, worthy to combat against so great a warrior, retained part of the Netherlands under the rule of Spain. It was to this school that Gustavus Adolphus sent Torstenson, with part of Sweden's young nobility. Gustavus Horn, already known in Swedish armies as a great captain, whose misfortunes (Nordlingen) Torstenson was, some day, to efface with victories, (Leipsic ii—Janikau,) was the leader (1620) of these young squires. It was under the supervision of this great man, and under the command of Maurice and Frederic-Henry of Orange, (the most renowned chieftains of that day,) that Torstenson fought during two years. But the truce with Poland expires, and Gustavus Adolphus recalls these young squires to their native land. Torstenson had already by the side of his king, and under the Prince of Orange, shown that he had left behind the years of childhood. The sword, a knight's most worthy emblem, was then not considered a mere ornament. Youth had to merit the right to wear decorations of honor; not before proofs of manhood had been given was it thought to have got beyond childhood. Gustavus Adolphus confirms Torstenson's manhood (at the Castle of Gripsholm, 23 October, 1624); a sword is given him by the King's hand; the Life Banner (Royal-Ensign) of the Guards is intrusted to him.

FIELDS OF WALLHOFF! you can bear testimony to Torstenson's valor! The enemy driven off, the soldiery once more gathered round the Life-Banner, victory given to Gustavus Adolphus! All indica-

tions of what Torstenson some day will be. His perspicacity, his valor, lead him soon to the chief command ; when Sigismund, fatigued, in the vain attempt to compete for a crown of which he is deprived, more by the virtues of Gustavus Adolphus than by the cunning and severity of Charles IX., concludes a truce of six years with an enemy (Gustavus Adolphus) whom he has found to be invincible.

Torstenson returns to his native land, where he has scarcely arrived, when Gustavus Adolphus entrusts him with the Chief Command of the Artillery. A larger field opens up to the hero ; a field on which the eyes of contemporaries and of posterity shall be fixed. The question is no more, which of Gustavus Ericson's grandsons is to wear the crown of Sweden ? It regards the destinies of Europe ; it regards the liberty of Germany, and the existence of the Evangelical Creed.

SECOND PART.

The Austrian house, which had gone forth from out of the (Swiss) mountains of Hapsburg, to rise to that height of power which already, under Charles V., threatened fetters to Europe—divided after his death, but still terrible—had, by the elevation of Ferdinand II. to the imperial throne, appeared to gain renovated strength ; since an ambitious prince imparts new life to the government, even if by his ambition he places it in danger of being crushed. The princes of Germany trembled at his boldness. Irritated by his pride, excited to resistance by religion, they were all armed, but not united. Bohemia had given the first sign of opposition, and Frederic of the Palatinate, elected King, vanquished, driven from his throne, had seen himself robbed of the lands of his ancestors, and, a fugitive, had experienced that an unfortunate king is the most

unfortunate of men. His fall had still further strengthened the power of Ferdinand and added to the chains of Germany. Her princes, expelled from their lands ; robbed of their cities ; coerced in their religion, without protection of the laws, which were despised, transgressed, and trodden under foot ; had at length found themselves brought to that despair which is born when all hope of better times appears impossible. Christian IV., the only king who had dared to protect them, had appeared, had fought ; but, conquered and pursued, he had with difficulty, and by a despicable peace, saved himself from Ferdinand's wrath and vengeance. All seemed lost, and Germany's liberty forever shackled, when a hero, whom Ferdinand had offended, came to avenge his own wrongs, the wrongs of his religion and those of Germany, and the entire aspect of things was changed.

On the one side was seen Ferdinand, supported by Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, the Roman Catholic League, the power of Spain, the treasures of the New World, by Tilly, by Wallenstein, still unconquered, and flushed with the victories of thirty years ; on the other side, Protestants, who had their religion, their despair, and GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

TORSTENSON, the pupil of his king, to whom his thunderbolts had been entrusted, follows him (since 1629, Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery) like the god of the armies. Demin, Frankfort on Oder, Landsberg, Greiffenhagen ! ye triumphal fields that were the first fruits of his victories ! your dilapidated walls, your unprotected towers, gave terrible evidence of the strength of his wrath ; your fugitive inhabitants spread the renown of his name over Germany, and this renown, which struck terror into the enemy, revived the hope that Ferdinand was not invincible. Pomerania and Mecklenburg yield with delight to the protection of their Liberator.

Gustavus Adolphus advances ; Berlin opens her gates. The Elector, astonished at finding a master

in his brother-in-law, but still trembling at the Eagle's thunder, follows Gustavus and delivers his fortresses into his hands. Saxony, nearer the power of Ferdinand, is more vacillating; Gustavus approaches; fear is changed into hope, and hope is established (as faith) by being united with the hero. Ferdinand, incensed that a Gothic prince dares measure his strength with the power of the Hapsburg, sends Tilly to avenge, to punish, and to finish, in one day, the war, the fate of Germany and the glory of Gustavus; Tilly, the chieftain, the conqueror of thirty years, who has never met with (successful) resistance, and has merited the name of "Invincible."

Whither hastenest thou, audacious leader? Thou hastenest to thy fall. In one day thou shalt lose the fruit of the labors of sixty years. Fortune, whom thou hast attached to thy banners, shall tear herself from them. Victory abandons thee. She declares herself on the side of the just; but too long has she been subservient to might and to injustice. A young prince, a still younger commander, are armed for thy fall; the hour has struck—learn to know thy superiors.

LEIPSIC! Thou sawest, for the first time, Swedish armies as conquerors, the courage of Gustavus, the valor of the Finns, (1) and the glory of Torstenson. It was not in vain that Gustavus Adolphus had entrusted him with the artillery; he (Torstenson) proved on that remarkable day that he was worthy of this confidence. Gustavus conquered, Tilly fled, Germany raised her head, shook her chains, and thought herself already liberated. And so ye shall be, ye brave Germans; but yet much is to be ventured. Beware, lest too sudden a hope cool your desire for the battle-field; beware lest the Emperor's cunning mislead you; preserve among yourselves unity and confidence in your liberators. Your only

(1) It was principally the wing of the Swedish army consisting of Finnish troops which contributed to the victory.

danger consists in your discord, in your fears (1). Gustavus advances ; and Torstenson announces his arrival by conquering cities.

Erfurt, Konigshafen, Wurzburg, are taken. Ye banks of Rhine and Lech, proud of your fortresses, ye are to feel your conqueror ! In vain are ye crowned with towers and walls ; they only serve to make conquest more illustrious !

At Kreutznach Torstenson meets with unexpected resistance ; the scaling-ladders are fastened to the walls, and the soldiery, animated to the assault by their commander, see in him the first to mount the rampart. They follow him with double ardor ; but soon struck on his head by a stone, he loses his strength, but not his courage ; he lifts his arm to revenge himself ; the sword drops powerless, his feet tremble, the ladder slips from his hands, and, insensible, he falls prone from the height of the wall. The soldiery think him dead ; revenge and despair double their courage. Kreutznach is taken, and Torstenson, returned from the gates of death, finds himself but too well avenged.

The victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus animate all those princes who, downtrodden, persecuted or conquered by Ferdinand, look upon the Emperor as deserted by fortune. Among these, the most unfortunate, and the one who was the very cause of the war, Frederick, King of Bohemia, deprived, in one battle, of his hereditary lands, thinks the time has now arrived for driving Maximilian of Bavaria from his capital, and for avenging his ruin.

Gustavus Adolphus resolves to carry the war into Bavaria. Maximilian and Tilly hasten to meet him. A river divides the two armies. Victory alone can open a way across. Lech ! thy hurrying waves

(1) Gustavus Adolphus, and after his death his generals, encountered more trouble and difficulty through the envy of the German princes, and their secret plottings with the Emperor, than from grappling with the whole Austrian power. This conduct was more particularly brought to light subsequent to the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards after the loss of the battle of Nordlingen.

shall become as immortal as the strands of Granicus, and the Hero who shall bridle thee surpasses the Macedonian king as much in the art of war and in prudence, as he surpasses him in virtues.

Torstenson, who in artillery displays a power as new as it is unknown to the world—a fire, continuous, enduring and rapid—carries from the heights on this shore of the river Lech, death among the enemies; and a cloud of smoke enwraps the army of Gustavus. The enemy, astonished, hesitating at first, hastens to resist, and already the Finns are overpowered. The earth seemed as if to raise itself above its surface, and to convert itself, on all sides, into ramparts, which covered the Northern heroes. Thou wert thyself astonished, thou valiant Tilly! but thy courage, thy experience, would dearly have sold the victory to thy enemies, had not a shot, a mortal shot, ended thy illustrious career by an illustrious death, and left victory and Bavaria in the power of Gustavus.

Maximilian, vanquished, compelled to abandon his country, his cities, flies, and repents, too late, his hard-heartedness towards his own blood, and his attachment to Germany's tyrant. Gustavus, as conqueror, carries (the dethroned) Frederic into the capital of his persecutor; Munich trembles from fear of Frederic's revenge, but is comforted by the generosity of Gustavus. Augsburg and Nurnberg submit to the conqueror. Now Maximilian implores the protection of Ferdinand. Ferdinand, who is indebted to him for his first victory (1), for a crown; Ferdinand, for whose sake he is now persecuted by Frederic, sacrifices to him his just anger. He does more; he subdues his pride and invokes the assistance of Wallenstein; Wallenstein, whom he had discarded after so many victories; Wallenstein, who

(1) Maximilian of Bavaria had gained the victory of Prague (on the White Mountain) on 8th November, 1620, which hurled Frederic of the Palatinate from the Bohemian throne, and placed the crown of Bohemia on the head of Ferdinand II., who created Maximilian Elector in place of the deposed Frederic.

had forgotten that he was a subject, and who had defied his master. Ferdinand conquers himself in order to save Maximilian and to revenge himself on Gustavus Adolphus ; Tilly is dead ; Wallenstein is the only one capable of regaining the victory, and Wallenstein is sufficiently magnanimous, sufficiently proud, to forgive his emperor, to join his (personal) enemy, Maximilian, (1) and carry him back to his capital. Their united armies approach Nurnberg, but are compelled to give way. Gustavus Adolphus attacks their own camp. Now commences the most inveterate contest, and Torstenson, at the head of the Swedish armies, braves every danger. At every point he is to be seen ; one might imagine it were his first display at arms—Maximilian and Wallenstein are warriors worthy of combating against—until finally, surrounded, harrassed, bleeding, he is forced to deliver himself up into the enemy's hands, and is carried, a captive, to Ingolstadt.

Oh shame ! Oh times of barbarism and violence ! A wounded prisoner, a hero, taken with arms in hands, is treated as a criminal ! A sombre vault, a dwelling destined for murderers, is the one in which Torstenson is confined ; its unhealthy air (2), the yellowish water which oozes through its walls, the sulphur-like fog that fills it, the darkness which makes day appear like night, are honorable evidences of the terror with which thy glory has inspired thy enemies ; this horrible cell is their shame and thy honor. Take courage, Torstenson ! Wallen-

(1) This negotiation with Wallenstein was so much the more troublesome, as Wallenstein was a personal enemy of the Elector of Bavaria. The extravagant benefits, which Wallenstein claimed and received from the Emperor before he would consent to resume the command, are generally known ; benefits which still more fomented his pride, and which finally caused his misfortune.

(2) This prison, filled with sulphurous vapors, was the cause of Torstenson's deteriorated health, which eventually deprived his country of this Hero at an age which ought to have promised a prolonged life. He was only 48 years old when he died. See Berch's "Celebrated Men and Women," p. 144.

stein himself blushes at the treatment thou hast experienced ; he shall himself contribute to unlock thy chains. (1) Thy King mourns thy fate. Alas, thou shalt soon shed tears for him !

Nine months pass by, and Torstenson, with a hero's fortitude, bears up under the contemptible cruelty of Maximilian. At length his prison doors are opened ; his chains removed ; he is free ! he goes forth !

General rejoicings fill the city ; bonfires are lit ; the sound of the bells calls the people to the temple of the Lord, to praise Him ; the whole pomp of the Romish Church is employed to celebrate a public joy. Torstenson, like one returned from the dwellings of the dead, inquires, astonished, for the reason of such great rejoicing. The enemy of Ferdinand, the enemy of Rome, is no more ! Gustavus Adolphus is killed ! Oh my King ! Oh Hero ! Oh Hero of my Fatherland ! thou art no more ! Why am I not still in the dwelling of darkness ? Why was I not there permitted to end my days ? I would have believed my country victorious, my king alive ; I would have died content. He is no more. Enemies of Sweden, tremble ! As long as this arm can wield a sword, as long as this blood runs in my veins, I devote you to my revenge, to death, to destruction ! He speaks, and hastens away from a place where all display such hateful joy. (2) Oxenstiern, Gustavus' confidential friend and enlightened counsellor, had upheld everything since the death of the King. It seemed as if the great soul of Gustavus hovered over his allies and sustained their courage. It was Oxenstiern who freed Torstenson from his fetters ; but this did not suffice. He knew the love

(1) Wallenstein himself paid to the Elector of Bavaria the ransom for Torstenson, whom he subsequently exchanged for his brother-in-law, Count Harlach.

(2) Nothing proves better the success of Gustavus Adolphus, and the terror with which his great qualities inspired the enemy, than the indecent and extravagant joy which the Roman Catholic League evinced at the news of his death.

he bore his king ; he foresaw the despair he would feel at his death, and Oxenstiern desired to bestow upon Torstenson that consolation which is most worthy of a hero : to take his revenge on the enemy by victories. Torstenson, at the head of the troops sent him by the Riks-Chancellor, advances across the Lech and attacks Landsberg. A few days have elapsed since his chains were unloosed, and the enemies discover with anger and surprise that Landsberg is taken. But if the generosity of his heart had despised the cruelty of a prison, his body could not resist such heavy trials, and his grief at the death of Gustavus Adolphus filled the measure. His strength gave way, and to Count Horn he transferred the command. He had to look for quiet in order to recover the strength he desired to use in his country's service. His grief carries him to the spot where the earthly remains of Gustavus Adolphus still are kept.

That arm which curbed the ambition of Austria, which removed the chains from Germany, which protected her liberty, now is rigid ; that heart which burned for glory, which felt for the unfortunate, which, with such deep affection, loved his own people, that heart now is cold ! Gustavus Adolphus is no more ! His immortal soul has risen to the dwellings of the just, but his name still excites his subjects to revenge, and the German princes and Estates to defence ; and his inanimate body, surrounded by trophies and by grateful subjects and strangers, is carried to the Fatherland, there to rest in the Sanctuary of his God.

Torstenson hastens towards Wolgast. Once more he desires to see the king he had loved, the hero, who had been his foster-father, his teacher ; whose hands he wishes to bathe in his tears. He desires to enjoy the last consolation of approaching the earthly remains of him whose life he would repurchase with his own. Here he finds Jan Baner, Maria Eleonora, the foremost princes of Germany, the most distinguished of Sweden's nobility. It is with this

majestic escort of heroes, of a tender consort, of trophies, of dismayed subjects, that Gustavus is carried back to his Fatherland. Torstenson returns to Stockholm. The tender sentiments which the heart experiences when, after a long absence, returning to one's native land, one finds one's self surrounded by relatives and friends, cannot be felt by Torstenson. Entirely abandoned to his grief, all that presents itself to his eyes revives the memory of the hero he laments. He sees Stockholm again; but what a difference between now and the time when he left this (Sweden's) capital! In place of a king surrounded by heroes, by a people whom he had united, he now finds a nation steeped in grief, counsellors agreed as to upholding the realm, but anxious at the great task with which they are entrusted; and, finally, on the throne, a tender child, who expects to find her support in her innocence alone. But this child was the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. He embraces her feet, and to her, but still more to the memory of her father, he swears eternal allegiance, and, inspired by the purest attachment to Christina, he abandons himself exclusively to his grief and to the duties of his important office. Soon love comes to soothe his sorrow. A young beauty, descended from a race wont to bridle the Sarmat's arrogance, conquers his heart. Hymen hallows his flame, and indissoluble ties unite him to Beata de la Gardie. [She formed a consort worthy of such a spouse, followed him to the wars, was captured by the Imperial cavalry at Janikau, and was released by a charge led by her own intrepid husband.]

THIRD PART.

By the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the male line of the house of Vasa was extinguished on the Swedish throne. Christina, daughter of the Great Gustavus, unanimously done homage to and acknowledged as sovereign, had with her Father's Crown also inherited his enemies; and, among these, one who, although he was in reality the least dangerous, still bore a name and had rights which appeared capable of shaking Christina's throne, inasmuch as, in addition to the crown of Poland, he possessed the honor of being the only male descendant of Gustaf Ericson, since his two brothers were dead to the world [one, John Casimir, was a Cardinal, and Charles Ferdinand was a Jesuit and a Roman Catholic Bishop]. Vladislav, son of Sigismund, born Swedish crown-prince, and even after his father's misfortune acknowledged as such in Sweden, having lost the crown only by the latter's fault, and not through anything with which he himself could be reproached, had been elected King of Poland at the very period when the Truce, stipulated by Gustavus Adolphus, expired. The guardians of Christina, immovable in their affection for the blood of Gustavus Adolphus, were anxious firmly to place the crown on her head, and to preserve the Liberty of Germany. They offer peace to Poland, but they recommend Jacob de la Gardie—whose name alone was sufficient to strike terror in the Polish armies; (1) who, with credit, had fought under three kings; (2)

(1) Count Jacob de la Gardie's victories over the party of the Demetri, and over the Poles, had struck such terror in these nations that his name was placed in the Litany, where it remained for many years.

(2) Jacob de la Gardie had been brought up at the court of King John III., and had served in the armies during the reigns of Kings Sigismund, Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus. He was King John III.'s grandson by the latter's natural daughter, Lucretia Gyllenhielm, and now, as Riks-Marsk, he was the second of Queen Christina's guardians.

and who, to the honor of having become gray beneath laurels, added a still greater honor of having had a Gustavus Adolphus for his pupil—now to leave (for a space) the guardianship of Christina, in order, in the evening of his life, still, again, to fight for his young queen. He begs his new relative, brave Torstenson, (1) to accompany him, and to be the prop of his age. He approaches the shores of Poland, and the rumor of his arrival accelerates the conclusion of another Truce. (2) He leaves his army to Torstenson and returns to his native land. Not without emotion does Torstenson receive the command. From the teacher (military preceptor, such as Schwerin was to Frederic the Great) of Gustavus Adolphus he had still hoped to learn; but greater dangers (elsewhere) require his presence. The honor of the Swedish arms calls him to Germany; Baner awaits him; his (Torstenson's) presence alone can bring back fortune to the Swedish armies. [Was he not "the only man" whom Gustavus the Great declared to be (already in 1632) "especially qualified to command the whole army"? (Loccenius, 715.)] Who can resist Baner and Torstenson united? Ye cities, vacillating in your fidelity! ye princes, who fear Ferdinand's revenge! ye allies, who think the fortune of Sweden vanished! ye enemies, who presume on your victories! ye faithless friends, who betray your own country, your protectors, whom you abandon for your oppressor! learn what two great men may do. (3) Torstenson hastens to the assistance

(1) Beata de la Gardie, the wife of Torstenson, was the daughter of Baron John Pontus de la Gardie, the brother of Riks-Marsk Jacob de la Gardie.

(2) The Truce between Sweden and Poland was concluded for twenty-six years at Stumsdorf by the mediation of France.

(3) The battle of Nordlingen and the peace of Prague, in consequence of which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and other princes abandoned Sweden, had changed her fortunes, and caused her power in Germany to waver, until the victories of Baner and Torstenson, combined with the treaty concluded by the Riks-Chancellor Oxenstiern with France, at Campienne, infused new life into her affairs.

of Baner; and hardly has he entered Germany when a victory announces his arrival. Marasini, conquered at Wollin, saves himself with difficulty under the walls of Stargard. Torstenson permits him to fly, convinced that a prudent warrior must not allow himself, from any cause, however brilliant, to be diverted from his main objective.

Torstenson hastens towards Baner, and they join their forces at Malchin. (1) Here my voice stops short. I know now the extent of the task I have imposed upon myself. In whatever direction I turn my eyes on the remarkable events which the historian has preserved, I find difficulty in doing them justice; not to fatigue by the enumeration of so many victories, and yet to make mention of them, and rightly to select the best; not to forget those which, although not productive of eventful results, are yet noteworthy through the genius of the leaders. What examples! what a school for warriors! Baner and Torstenson combat together! Sweden's fortunes, lately wavering in Germany, are already re-established; victory has returned, and everywhere the enemy flies. Here words are wanting me to describe such varied victories, so many conquests; be it when Torstenson, on the battle-field at Wittstock, under Baner's command, prepares for him, with the Swedish vanguard, a complete victory, and at Chemnitz contributes to the dispersing of the enemy; or be it when Torstenson, alone, defends the shores of the Saale, and makes them a barrier against the attacks of an enemy superior in force; or be it when, during Baner's absence, he gives this hero time to recover from the blow inflicted by the loss of a beloved wife; or be it when, despising the hypocritical voice of flattery and discord, and filled with ardor for his Fatherland, he keeps alive his intimate friendship with Baner. Both these men were worthy of each other; both were without

(1) In all these descriptions of the deeds of Torstenson, Kanslirad Berch's "Lives of Celebrated Swedes" has been followed.

jealousy, without other ambition than best to serve their country—the true sign of greatness in men. But so many cares, so much fatigue, have exhausted his strength. His body is not equal to his mind; he is compelled to seek rest; he is permitted to return home, where he is installed in the highest office in the realm, and takes his seat in the council. But soon he is called to more difficult tasks. Baner is no more; Baner is taken away when his life is needed the most, and Sweden's power is once more threatened with ruin. The army of Baner is without a commander. Discord, selfishness and arrogance are paramount in every mind. All aspire to rule. The enemies rejoice at the discord displayed in the united armies of Sweden and France, and already expect to reap the same advantages as after the battle of Nordlingen.

Ye rejoice too soon, ye enemies of Sweden! Your hope deceives you. Gustavus has reared more heroes than one. You yourselves have lost your chieftains: Tilly died on the field of honor; Wallenstein, sacrificed by your own murderous hands, has left no successor; but the death of Gustavus Adolphus has been avenged by Weimar, by Horn, by Baner, by Oxenstiern. They have preserved the victory and fortune; Weimar and Horn have, in vain, shown you the possibility of conquering; all has been repaired by the firmness of Oxenstiern, by the intrepidity of Baner. Baner is dead; but Sweden, like that land which fable represents as procreating warriors, has already another hero in readiness to take Baner's place. Torstenson lives, and the baton of the armies is entrusted to his victorious hands. [He was created Field-Marshal (Generalissimus) 31st August, 1641.]

Torstenson goes forth to accomplish his task. It matters not that his physical strength has given way; it matters not that the prison of Ingolstadt, and still more the death of Gustavus Adolphus, have left behind impressions which his body can scarcely resist—his duties have to be performed; Sweden re-

quires his services, and all is sacrificed for Fatherland.

He arrives; his presence re-establishes order; his prudence restores harmony among the chieftains; already he prepares the enemy's fall. But his health has not been recovered; his vigor is impaired; his exertions are retarded. Three months are thus lost to Torstenson's glory, though not to Sweden's service. (1) The enemy believes him still in the arms of death, and already he is in Silesia; Glogau is besieged, and in three days taken. The enemy, exasperated by finding himself foiled by the artifice and sagacity of Torstenson, unite, and advance hastily to encounter him. It is to Albrecht of Lauenberg that revenge is entrusted. Torstenson marches to meet him; he has more than one reason for being influenced by animosity in giving battle to this prince. (2) The walls of Schweidnitz are witnesses of his victory. The enemy, vanquished and made fugitive, abandons the field of battle to the conqueror, and leaves upon it his commander wounded and a prisoner. He dies in the Swedish camp from honorable wounds; he dies in the manner of heroes....he who....let us avert our eyes.... Oh, my king! Oh, thou great Gustavus! we have lost thee,....and in what manner!

Neisse, Olmutz, Eulenberg, Neustadt, Oppeln, fall into the conqueror's hands; he advances upon Lausnitz; he desires to avenge the Peace of Prague and the defection of the Elector (of Saxony). The

(1) While Torstenson was during three months invalidated by gout, he occupied himself with negotiations with the German princes who had joined the Peace of Prague, so that, although prevented from making any movement with the army, his time was, nevertheless, not fruitlessly employed.

(2) This Duke Frantz Albrecht of Sachsen-Lauenburg is generally considered as the assassin of Gustavus Adolphus. Brought up in Sweden, together with the King, he was alone with Gustavus Adolphus when the latter fell, and immediately after this disaster he went over to the Austrian side, where he took service and changed his religion. He was Field-Marshal when, mortally wounded, he fell into Torstenson's hands.

latter, terrified, implores the aid of Leopold and of Piccolomini, both of whom, elated with the victory of Nordlingen, consider themselves superior to the whole of Sweden's chieftains.

But Torstenson upon Leipsic's battle-field avenges Nordlingen's loss. It was there thou for the first time didst battle ; thou didst battle there, thou generous Charles Gustavus ; everywhere thou didst carry the orders given by Torstenson ; (1) thou didst behold him, there, conquer on the same battle-field where he first had seen Gustavus Adolphus as a conqueror of German liberty. Leipsic is taken ; Leopold flies to Bohemia ; Torstenson follows him ; Gallas covers the dispersed army of Leopold. Here both Torstenson and Gallas give evidence of all the resources of the art of war, its marches, its most scientific and most skilful manœuvres, and, without proceeding to a conflict, they retain equal advantages. But suddenly Torstenson is missed by the enemy ; unusual movements and marches, the object of which nobody can foresee, spread terror through Germany. Every city fancies Torstenson before its walls ; every one is ignorant where this thunder-threatening, lightning-bearing cloud will burst ; when, at length, the rumor of his victory discovers the secret. He is master of Holstein and Jutland : Christianpries is taken ; the Danes are beaten at Kolding ; this city is conquered, and the Danish army, fugitive towards Fyen, leaves the whole country in Torstenson's power. The old hatred which, ever since the Union of Calmar, had divided Sweden and Denmark, had been rekindled afresh. War had burst forth, and Torstenson, to whom Sweden's revenge had been entrusted, had, like the thunder, followed the lightning, and had everywhere spread fear and terror. Gallas, who had lost

(7) This battle was fought on the plain near Breitenfeld, on October 23d, (O. S.) 1642, and is generally termed the second battle of Leipsic, or the battle of Breitenfeld. Charles Gustavus (afterwards King) served here as adjutant to the Field-Marshal.

sight of his enemy, having learned where he is, by the fame of his victories, hastens to seek him.

He believes that the time has now arrived to pen him up between Germany and Denmark. But Torstenson, similar to a young lion, turns first upon his most dangerous enemy; he leaves Helmold Wrangel in Jutland, there to pursue his victory, and marches, himself, against Gallas. Him he forces into Magdeburg, where he keeps him locked in. At Juterbock he falls upon the Saxons; he battles and conquers. Gallas thinks himself fortunate in being able to fly, but Torstenson follows him into Bohemia. Ferdinand is in Prague, and has collected all his forces; Hatzfeld and Goetz, the principal commanders, are prepared. Torstenson does not await them; he advances to their encounter, and the battle-field of Jankowitz bears new testimony to a victory which in itself alone would have made him (Torstenson) immortal. One of the (Imperial Field-Marschals) commanders is killed, the other falls into his hands (1). The Emperor flies, and Torstenson pursues his victorious march even to the gates of Vienna. But here his victories cease; it would seem as if nature had collected within him her last strength, in order to enable him to carry his banner to the Emperor's capital, and (then) as if fatigued, she intended to point out to him the end of his glorious course. Prevented by (sheer) impossibility from continuing in command, he earnestly prays for a successor; he fears to lose his glory since he has lost his physical strength; he fears still more to risk the fortunes of the realm. Christina, in the most flattering manner, grants his request. He delivers his army into the hands of Charles Gustavus Wrangel, (2)

(1) Field-Marshal Hatzfeld, five other generals, 4,000 men, 70 flags and banners, and 26 pieces of artillery, were taken in this battle, fought 24th February, O. S., 6th March, N. S., 1645.

(2) Torstenson was unable to await the arrival of Wrangel, but left the army under the temporary command of Wittenberg, Grand Master of the Artillery, but the chief command he delivered up at Eulenberg, where he met Wrangel on his way home.

and returns to that Fatherland which he, during so many years, had made victorious.

Peace follows soon upon his return ; a peace (that of Westphalia) which gives to Germany laurels, liberty, security ; which completes the work of Gustavus Adolphus, and which firmly establishes that balance in Europe which the power and ambition of the house of Austria had attempted to disturb.

Sweden, restored to peace after so long a war, saw her youthful queen grow up surrounded by the laurels which had covered her cradle ; by an army victorious throughout a period of forty years ; by statesmen who had dictated laws to Europe ; by heroes, of whom one alone would have been sufficient to confer honor upon his native land. They all, but principally Torstenson, received from their monarch the most touching, the most honoring proofs of consideration, friendship and gratitude. (1) It was amid general cheering ; it was amid the most enthusiastic exhibitions of joy, that Torstenson saw the crown of Gustavus Adolphus placed upon the head of (his only child) Christina.

Great heroes often lose, during the calmness of peace, the splendor and veneration they have acquired through their victories. In the camp, during the vicissitudes of war, when the fortunes of the whole empire are entrusted to their hands ; when they stand, as it were, prominent before the eyes of the present generation and of posterity, their soul experiences such great emotion, such powerful excitement, that it frequently rises above humanity. But Torstenson's renown is enduring even in the very calm his prowess has gained for Sweden. Always the same, as free from selfish aims, from selfish ambition, as formerly, as ardent in his exertions for the welfare of the empire when in council or in the government of West-Gothland, Dahl- and Halland,

(1) The Queen created him, on his return, Count of Ortala, and Baron of Virestad, also Governor-General of West-Gothland, Werm-land, Dahl-land and Halland.

as when leading his armies, he retains the confidence of Christina, the friendship of Oxenstiern, the respect of his colleagues, and the veneration of the people. Ever attached to the memory of Gustavus Adolphus, he frankly opposes all attempts to raise a new dynasty upon the throne. (1) I know that it appears surprising to us (to us, who now judge at the distance of more than a hundred years) that such great men, such loyal citizens, as Oxenstiern, Brahe and Torstenson, could, with all the power their surpassing services and a well-merited dignity gave them, oppose the succession of Charles Gustavus. I know that they are blamed for, that they are reproached with, having harbored more ambition than good citizens ought to permit themselves. But we are, perhaps, perchance, too severe in our judgment. Oxenstiern, Brahe, and some of their colleagues, I leave to their own intentions; I wish only to speak of Torstenson. In order to judge impartially we must remove ourselves to the age in which they lived; we must remember the deep veneration they entertained for the memory of Gustavus Adolphus and for his race; their despair at finding Christina averse to continuing the succession in the same line; and on the other hand, the multitude of heroes, of great warriors of all stations, of all ages, who surrounded her throne, who had all either served under or avenged Gustavus Adolphus, and who, accustomed to see princes obey them, looked upon Charles Gustavus as upon a young warrior, whom they had themselves led on in the path of glory—one who was scarcely their equal, far less their superior: and who, uncertain whether Christina might not some day regret what she had done, and still dispose of her hand, apprehended, with reason, that with the acknowledgment of two dynasties, the intestine discords might be renewed, which had torn asunder the kingdom during the bloody dissen-

(1) See "Mémoires de Christine," par Archenholz. 1 Tome, pp. 172-173, 1 Note.

sions of the houses of Ericson and Swerker. And when we place ourselves at Christina's court, and separate the name of Charles-Gustavus from the idea of a conqueror, from the idea of that great monarch who added to the (Swedish) kingdom the countries which we have preserved during our misfortunes ; when we consider him only as a young prince, who gave hopes of himself, but whose good qualities were as yet only maturing in the shade of nearly a private life, and whose shining parts were intermingled with those of so many great men by whom he was surrounded, we will soon discover how natural the opposition might appear with which the decision of Christina had to contend. Christina alone foresaw the danger involved in a vacancy upon the throne ; she alone foresaw the great qualities of Charles Gustavus. Worthy of the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, her choice was also worthy of the throne she bestowed. Torstenson, raised to the highest place of honor in the kingdom ; to the highest office among warriors ; to the highest hereditary dignity ; endowed by Christina's liberality with estates which made him one of the wealthiest men of his time, could not entertain any more wishes for himself. As a teacher of Charles Gustavus in the career of war ; attached to him by the ties of friendship ; he could not expect, even had he been ambitious, less of him during his reign than respect, confidence and power. But as a citizen he abandoned himself to his convictions and expressed his opinion with freedom, without deceit, and without reserve. But if any doubt could arise as to his intentions ; if it were possible to question the character of a man (who, though still in his prime, already stood on the brink of the grave) who had during the whole course of his life proved himself loyal to his country and void of egotism ; if, I maintain, all these reasons do not suffice, I appeal to Charles Gustavus himself. It is for him to vindicate the memory of Torstenson.

Charles-Gustavus, this most generous of our sovereigns, has in the archives of the kingdom preserved

the most honoring opinion that can be expressed by a great man, a great king, of a departed hero ; “ If Segersjo (Torstenson’s private residence) were situated within the courtyard of my castle, the heirs of Torstenson should keep it ; for the kingdom cannot sufficiently repay his great services, and for whatever I know I am indebted to Torstenson.” (1)

It is the conqueror of Poland, it is he who won us the possession of Scania, Halland and Blekinge, the Passer (or Conqueror) of the Belt, who speaks these words. Jealousy, stand paralysed ; calumniators, keep mute ! Who is sufficiently bold to appeal from such a judgment ?

Torstenson, surrounded by friends and relatives, passes in their midst, the few remaining days of a life so short, and yet so full of honor. Sufferings and pain fill his days, but with the same heroism, the same fortitude with which he had borne the dangers and fatigues of war, he now meets his death, which he regards as a goal all have to reach, and thinks it happier to die early than to survive one’s self. He dies, and Sweden thinks that all is lost—for the loss of a great man is a general loss—and what can be said more in his praise than that in war, Baner, Horn, Weimar, Wrangel, Turenne, Condé, Montecuculi, Gallas, Piccolomini, were his rivals ; in peace, Oxenstiern, Brahe, Charles-Gustavus, Jacob de la Gardie, Gyllenhielm, were his friends, his associates ; Christina considered him the prop of her throne ; Charles Gustavus looked upon him as a father. Worthy pupil, worthy teacher, of two immortal heroes, his name shines in the annals of war between Gustavus Adolphus and Charles-Gustavus, and his name is not eclipsed by the splendor which these two sovereigns have shed.

Oh, my native land ! Oh, Sweden !—(permit me this last prayer before I finish this speech, which I have made in honor of a great man)—mayest thou

(1) These words of Charles-Gustavus are written in the Minutes of the Council.

long enjoy the tranquility of peace ; but when enemies arm themselves, when the torch of war is kindled by the hand of discord, mayest thou then find many heroes, who, while they equal Torstenson in courage, in prudence, in knowledge, may also equal him in devotion, in respect for his duties, and in those gentle virtues without which the glory of a hero is eclipsed, and becomes often a burthen to his Fatherland.

A closing observation, and this little work goes forth as an evidence how even an absolute king could appreciate a patriotic subject, who, in the vastness of his fidelity, had the moral courage to oppose the substitution of a stranger line for that which should have sprung from one (Christina) whom that subject loved and honored as the true and only, however wayward, daughter of the hero in the light of whose example he had grown himself to be an *equal* hero. Gustavus III—himself the son of a king who obtained the crown by marrying into the Vasa line as Charles X, had acquired it through the refusal of the rightful heir to accept his hand, and through her resignation in his favor—might justly have been excused from eulogising a patriot who had so bitterly resisted the supersedure of the offspring of the genuine stem by a collateral branch. But Gustavus III ever rose superior to any such prejudice, and always sought occasion to hold up Torstenson in every respect as an example, not only as the greatest of Sweden's Warriors, but as the most exemplary of her Citizens. In his "Utterances" or Advice, addressed to the Consistory of the University of Upsala, 13th October, 1768, he said, "I have more frequently observed that young people are better educated in their parents' house than those who have passed their whole time in a public institution of learning. It is out of the bosom of this home-education that we have seen to issue forth the men who

have honored and increased the Swedish realm. It is there, in the school of home, that an Oxenstiern, (greatest of statesmen,) a Skytte, a Bjelke, a Baner, ("the second Gustavus,") a TORSTENSON, ("Under Sweden's crown, Sweden's greatest commander,") acquired their knowledge and the virtues which won for them the astonishment of their (the XVII) century, and which still excites the respect of our own time" (the succeeding one, the XVIII).

DESCRIPTION OF MEDALS

PRESENTED BY

H. R. M. OSCAR,

KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY, &c. &c. &c.

TO

Gen. J. WATTS de PEYSTER,

together with the LETTER, BY ORDER OF H. R. M., from
Colonel, Count Eric de Lewenhaupt, PRIVY SECRETARY
 TO H. R. M. THE KING OF SWEDEN, in relation thereto,

&c. &c. &c.

STOCKHOLM, December 22d, 1856.

Mr. J. WATTS DE PEYSTER,

Brigadier General *in the United States Service* :

SIR :

His Majesty's Minister, Resident in the United States, Mr. SIBBERN, has forwarded to its high destination a copy of the "HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF LEONARD TORSTENSON,"* that you wished being presented to His Royal Majesty, my August Sovereign, as a testimonial of your admiration of our great Kings, GUSTAVUS II. ADOLPHUS and CHARLES XIV. JOHN, and of the former's illustrious Pupils in the Art of War, amongst whom the great TORSTENSON occupied such an eminent place.

The King has ordered me to express the high gratification afforded to His Royal Majesty by receiving your work, and to offer

* An elaborate work of over 364 pages, bearing date 25th July, 1855, of which THREE HUNDRED COPIES were printed, at Poughkeepsie, for private distribution.

you, as a token of His appreciation of the sentiments which dictated your homage, the hereby joined collection of Medals, with the effigies of the great GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, of CHARLES XIV. JOHN, and of His August Son King OSCAR.

His Majesty regrets not being able to add a Medal of the Hero whose Biography you have written ; but unfortunately there exists no Medal in commemoration of him.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obed't Serv't,

Coll. Count Eric de Zewenkaupt,

Privy Secretary to H. R. M. the King of Sweden and Norway, &c.

P. S.—Mr. SIBBERN having informed me of your wish to possess a good likeness of the Field Marshal TORSTENSON, I am very glad to offer you hereby one, that happened to be in my possession.

CT. E. DE LPT.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MEDALS.

No. 1.—(2.25 inches in diameter.)—*Obverse* : Head of King **Oscar**, of Sweden, encircled with the following inscription : OSCAR SVERIGES NORR. GOTH. O. VEND. KONUNG. TILL MINNE AF D. 20 OCT. 1846.—[Translation : OSCAR, King of Sweden and Norway, the Goths and the Vandals. In remembrance of the 20th Oct. 1846.]

Reverse : Full length statue on lofty pedestal, in bas-relief, encircled with the following inscription : CARL XIV. JOHANN, SEGERSALL, FREDSELL, AF NORRKOPINGS INVANARE. [Translation : To CHARLES XIV. JOHN, Victorious, Peaceful, from the Inhabitants of Norrkoping.]

No. 2.—(2.25 inches in diameter.)—*Obverse* : Head—encircled with laurel wreath—of King CHARLES XIV. JOHN, of Sweden, surrounded by the following inscription : CAROLUS XIV. JOHANNES, SUECORUM ET NORVEGORUM REX. [Translation : CHARLES XIV. JOHN, King of the Swedes and Norwegians.]

Reverse : Full length statue on lofty pedestal, in bas relief. Inscription on pedestal : AT CARL XIII FADERNESLANDETS RADDARE, FOLKETS FADER AF DESS TACKSAMME SON CARL XIV. JOHAN. [Translation : To Charles XIII. (1) the Fatherland's Saviour, and Father of his People, by his grateful son Charles XIV. John.]

Under the Monument : PIE VOVIT FILIUS CAROLUS XIV. JOHANNES, MDCCCXXI. [Translation : Dedicated with affectionate respect (dutifully), by his son (2) Charles XIV. John, 1821.]

Around the whole : CAROLO XIII RERUM SVECIE RESTITUTORI PATRI PATRIÆ. [Translation : To CHARLES

(1.) May 13, 1809, the DUKE OF SUDERMANIA, Uncle of the King Gustavus IV., deposed and banished, was elected King of Sweden, with the title of Charles XIII.

(2.) JOHN BAPTISTE JULIAN BERNADOTTE, PRINCE OF PONTE CORVO and Marshal of France, was, on (21st Aug.?) 3d November, 1810, adopted as the Son and Heir of the reigning monarch of Sweden, Charles XIII.

XIII., the Restorer of the Swedish Commonwealth, and the Father of his Country.]

No. 3.—(2.05 inches in diameter.)—*Obverse*: Head and Bust in Armor of **Gustavus Adolphus**, KING OF SWEDEN; surrounded by the following inscription: GUST. ADOLPH. D. G. REX SUECLÆ. [Translation: GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, by the grace of God, King of Sweden.]

Reverse: Image of the sun in bas-relief; surrounded by the following words: TOTUM HAUD CAPIT INTEGR ORBIS. [Translation: The entire world scarcely contains the whole (of his glory, *understood*).]

Inscription on a Roll containing the following Portraits, from COLONEL COUNT **Eric de Lewenhaupt**:

A Portrait of FIELD MARSHAL Torstenson ;	} All good } likenesses.
“ “ “ KING Gustavus III. Adolphus ;	
“ “ “ KING Charles XIV. John ; (3)	
“ “ “ KING Oscar I.	

OFFERED BY COUNT ERIC DE LEWENHAUPT, TO BRIGADIER GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, AS A TOKEN OF HIS APPRECIATION OF “THE LIFE OF **Leonard Torstenson**.”

TIVOLI, New York, }
April the 18th, 1857. }

COLONEL COUNT

Eric de Lewenhaupt:

Privy Secretary to H. R. M. the King of Sweden, &c.:

SIR:

It is with sentiments of no ordinary satisfaction that I acknowledge the receipt of the Medals with which His ROYAL MAJESTY OSCAR, THE KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY, has been pleased to mark his gracious acceptance of my History of the great and illustrious TORSTENSON.

Please permit me, through you, to express to His ROYAL MAJESTY, the extreme gratification which I have experienced in receiving these testimonials of his pleasure, conveyed in such flattering terms as they are by your esteemed letter, and to assure him that they will be preserved by myself and family as precious memorials of approbation from a Sovereign of that country which, the champion of civil and religious Liberty in its darkest hour, is now invested, and especially to the American mind, with such glorious reminiscences and such brilliant hopes.

With sentiments of grateful consideration,

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

(3.) On the 5th of February, 1818, BERNADOTTE, as Charles XIV. John, succeeded to the throne of Sweden, vacant by the death of his adopted father, Charles XIII.

TIVOLI POST OFFICE, State of New York, }
 April 18th, 1857. }

COLONEL COUNT

Eric de Lewenhaupt :

COLONEL AND COUNT :

As an officer, and one belonging to a service which resembles in many respects the INDELTA of your country, I feel that I may use a military frankness in expressing to you the great pleasure with which I have received your present of the likenesses of their Royal Majesties, OSCAR, CHARLES JOHN, GUSTAVUS THE GREAT, and of FIELD MARSHAL TORSTENSON.

To you, a Swedish Officer, the name of TORSTENSON must be synonymous with genius, courage, and all those qualities which make and grace an illustrious warrior ; and I can assure you that, although no Swedish blood flows in my veins, yet a Swede cannot feel a deeper affection and higher admiration for his memory than I do myself.

Alive to the glorious past of that kingdom to which Germany and all Europe owe, in a great measure, the religious freedom they enjoy ; the annals of your country, since my earliest boyhood, have been a most instructive study and delightful recreation ; and I cannot, therefore, think that you will deem me a trespasser upon your time and patience, if—to express my own hopes and feelings—I quote a sentence from TURNER's beautiful introduction to his translation of GELLER's *History of the Swedes* :

“ A new era of peace, of rapidly advancing prosperity perhaps, too, if the aspirations of ardent patriots carry trust-worthy presages, “ one of Union, in which the three nations”—Swedes, Norwegians, Danes,—“ of the Northern Peninsula will present a compact and “ united front, that may bid defiance to any foreign aggression—has “ now risen upon them. To Sweden, whose power has but relatively declined, while absolutely it is much greater than ever, the “ foremost place will no doubt be yielded ; and a brilliant prospect “ opens, which will yet be realized. Meantime honor and regard “ should wait on this ancient and warlike nation, which keeps watch “ by the Polar lights over the portals of the East-Sea and the West. “ To her are committed the keys of Europe, the vanguard of “ civilization. And if ever the day should arrive, when the legions “ of the Muscovite shall march to conflict with those of the West “ and South, her post will be one of danger, and doubtless of glory. “ Once she was the arbiter of the European system ; she may yet “ be its preserver.”

Considering this a private communication, I will add, that, appropriately bound, the four portraits which you have sent me will lie upon my study-table, beside the interesting and honored Memoria of your august Sovereign's gracious approbation ; for a commendation of my labors, so disinterested as yours, is a high, if not the highest, source of gratification which I, as an author, could receive, and doubly flattering when transmitted by a gentleman so conversant with our language, and an officer of elevated rank in that service to which my hero belonged.

In conclusion, I may say that, considering my labors as still imperfect while there can yet be any thing done in illustration of the greatness and glory of TORSTENSON, and regretting my absence from those materials which the archives of Scandinavia can alone furnish, I would still be under great obligation to you, if, suitable to your convenience, you would be pleased to refer me to such of those materials as either in their original state or through copies, might be procured for transmission to the United States.

With sentiments of respect and high regard,

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

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