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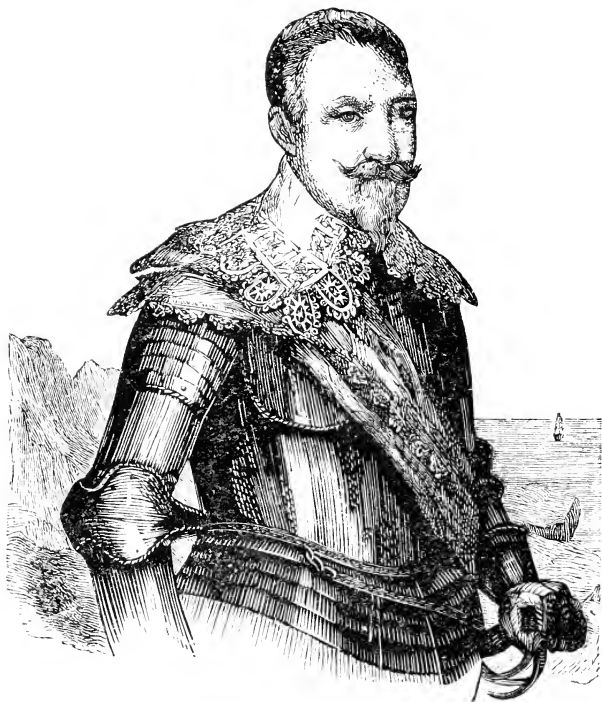
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Gustavus Adolphus.

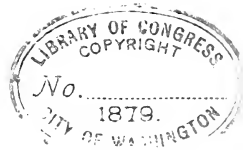
Frontispiece

THE

BY

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OF LOGIC," ETC.



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PREFACE.

THE tangled story of this long, terrible, and eventful war I have endeavored so to draw out as will make it easily understood by even youthful readers.

My authorities, in addition to general histories and encyclopædias, are, Schiller's and Gardiner's histories of the Thirty Years' War, and Abelous' *Gustavus Adolphus*, translated by Mrs. C. A. Lacroix.

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THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Chapter I.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION—JOHN DE WICKLIFFE—JOHN HUSS—MARTIN LUTHER—RELIGIOUS CIVIL WAR—PEACE OF AUGSBURG—CHARLES V.

THE Protestant Reformation began in a very effectual manner with John de Wickliffe, often styled the Morning Star of the Reformation. He was born A. D. 1324, in the parish of Wickliffe, Yorkshire, England, and became a student and afterwards professor in the University of Oxford. So early as 1356 he assailed the authority of the Pope in a treatise entitled, "The Last Age of the Church." During the life of Edward III he had the support of the monarch against persecution, as well as the popular favor; but in the next

reign he was condemned for heresy, and expelled from the university. He retired to his rectory at Lutterworth, and devoted himself to the translation into English of the Holy Scriptures, the first ever made; of which the New Testament portion only has been printed. He died of a paralytic stroke A. D. 1384. He held that the Pope was not the head of the Church, and objected to the authority of councils. He rejected the Roman doctrines of confession, transubstantiation, and the celibacy of the clergy. His influence was felt throughout Christendom. The Council of Constance, which condemned his disciple John Huss, condemned the writings of Wickliffe, and ordered his bones to be taken up and burned. This was accomplished in A. D. 1425.

The second great movement for Reformation was by John Huss, of Bohemia. He was born at Hussinatz, in 1373, and was educated at the University of Prague, and became Professor of Theology and Philosophy. As preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel he acquired great popularity. Having read the writings of Wickliffe, and being

familiar with the original Scriptures, he perceived the corruptions of the Church, and assailed them with the greatest intrepidity, especially papal indulgences, masses for the dead, image worship, monastic life, auricular confession, simony, various fasts, and withholding the cup from the laity. He was summoned by the Council of Constance to appear before them and answer the charge of heresy. The Emperor Sigismund gave to him a safe conduct, which was shamefully violated by his being thrown into prison soon after his arrival. Seven months afterwards, June 7th, he was called by the council to defend himself in the presence of the emperor. He was condemned to be burnt, and his ashes were thrown into the Rhine July 6, 1415. On his way to the place of execution he passed the spot where his writings had been burnt, and he smiled as he looked upon their charred remains. At the stake he was offered pardon and deliverance from death if he would recant; but he made no sign of submission, and preferred the martyr's crown.

His colleague, Jerome of Prague, was in prison

at Constance when the sad news of the martyrdom of Huss was brought to him. There he remained in darkness until the 11th of September, when, worn out by his sufferings, he consented to make some recantation. But it availed nothing; he was not set at liberty; and being called to an audience on the 26th of May, he formally and solemnly retracted his recantation. He was condemned to be burnt, and on the 30th of May he marched to the pile singing hymns and reciting the Apostles' creed. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine. This was a man of great learning and surpassing eloquence.

The sympathy with the doctrines of Huss and his designs was so general in Bohemia, that a religious war was kindled by his death. The sacramental cup, which was denied the laity, was made the symbol of insurrection. John Ziska, blind in one eye, but a genius in military art, and a favorite with the masses, put himself at their head, and bore down all the armies brought against him.

The indignation of the people at the action of

the Council of Constance was inflamed to the utmost by the seduction by a monk of his sister, a nun. A priest belonging to the party of the Hussites was hit by a stone as he marched in a procession. A riot was the consequence. The town hall was attacked, and thirteen of the city councilmen thrown out of the window. The aged king of Bohemia, Wenceslaus, was so alarmed that he died of a paralytic stroke. The Emperor Sigismund, his brother, was the legal successor to the crown of Bohemia, and going on his way of persecuting the reformers, the Hussites swore never to acknowledge him as sovereign. A fortified town was built on Mount Tabor, under the direction of Ziska, who employed for the first time bulwarks of wagons to protect his infantry from the attacks of cavalry. He defended Prague against the approaches of Sigismund by intrenchments on the hill of Wittkow, now called Ziska's Hill, where, with only four thousand he repelled the assaults of thirty thousand men. While at the siege of the castle of Raby he was made totally blind by an arrow striking his only

remaining eye; but he contrived to manage his army by reports brought to him as he moved over the field in a car. After having won thirteen pitched battles and brought the emperor to sue for peace by offering him the government of Bohemia, he was the victim of a pestilence which invaded his camp at the siege of Preibislaw, October 12, 1424. The war was continued under other leaders; the result was that the Catholic party gained the ascendancy at first, but the reformed doctrines took such hold on the mass of the people that at the breaking out of the thirty years' war, two centuries later, three-fourths of the inhabitants were Protestants.

But the time was not come for the success of Protestantism; another century must pass before the next great step will be taken. Meanwhile the revival of the study of Greek classics, the art of printing, the new universities, the growing numbers of learned men, and the better education of the masses, prepared the way for Martin Luther.

The story of Luther need not here be re-

counted. Suffice it that in 1525 John, Elector of Saxony, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Albert, Duke of Prussia, declared for the Reformation. Sweden, under Gustavus Vasa, received it in 1527, and soon after Denmark, Lower Saxony, the north of Westphalia, Hamburg, and Lubeck. For the moment all Germany seemed to be going in the same direction. The Catholic princes, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, Duke Louis of Bavaria, and others, together with several archbishops and bishops of Southern Germany met and concluded a treaty at Ratisbon for the defense of Popery. The result was a civil war, in which the Protestant princes finally had the advantage. A convention for the settlement of difficulties was held at Passau in 1552, by which it was agreed that a Diet or general assembly should be held at Augsburg to establish the terms of a general peace. This Diet was held in 1555, and a treaty of peace was signed, by which the Protestant estates were not only to be tolerated, but to retain the possession of the confiscated ecclesiastical property. The Emperor Charles V, disappointed in his measures

to compel union in religious matters, and worn out with the cares of empire and with physical disorders, abdicated all his imperial and royal governments and retired to a monastery in Spain.

Chapter II.

RUMBLINGS OF THE COMING STORM — THE CATHOLIC ELECTOR GEBHARD, OF COLOGNE, MARRIES THE COUNTESS AGNES, OF MANSFIELD, AND BECOMES A CALVINIST—HE IS DISPOSSESSED—TROUBLES IN STRASBURG AND DANAUWERTH—DISPUTE ABOUT THE SUCCESSION OF CLEVES—HENRY IV, OF FRANCE.

THE religious peace was observed by the emperors and potentates of Germany until the accession of Rudolph II, a weak, bigoted prince, who gave more attention to painting and astronomy than to the duties of his government, and allowed his religious advisers to dictate oppressive measures against the new religion. The ecclesiastical states were, by a reserve clause, not included in the peace stipulations, and an elector changing his religion would forfeit all the temporalities of his bishopric. A romantic affair led to great troubles. The Elector of Cologne, Gebhard, fell in love with Agnes, the young and

beautiful Countess of Mansfield and Canoness of Gerresheim. He could not marry her while he remained a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church; consequently, he renounced the Catholic religion, and embraced Calvinism. But he refused to relinquish his principality, and was sustained by the Protestants, who had always objected to the reserve clause. The emperor at once interposed, and the ban of the Pope was pronounced against the elector, depriving him of all his dignities. This excited the indignation of the Protestant princes, and especially of Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France. A civil war arose in the electorate, and ended in the exclusion of Gebhard from his dominions. He might have succeeded better had it not been for the sad want of union between the Lutheran and Calvinist sections of the reformed Church, the Lutheran princes refusing to come to his aid.

A dispute took place in Strasburg respecting the election of a bishop, which brought on a local war, and ended in the triumph of the Catholics.

In 1607 the free city of Danauwerth, in Suabia,

was made the scene of a riot which cost the city its liberties. The inhabitants were mostly Protestants, and felt themselves insulted by a fanatical abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Cross leading a procession through the city, with flying banners and the Roman cross. A year afterwards a similar attempt was suppressed by the populace, who trampled the banners under foot and drove the Papists to their homes with blows and abusive outcries. The emperor placed the city under the ban; and when the Duke of Bavaria marched an army to enforce it the city submitted without resistance, and was converted into a municipality of Bavaria.

These and similar aggressions led to the formation, under the guidance of Christian, Prince of Anhalt, of a Protestant union for the protection of their rights. Soon after, a Catholic league was formed, under Maximilian of Bavaria, to antagonize the Protestant union.

In 1609 an event happened which threatened to involve all Europe in war. The Duke of Cleves died, and the succession was disputed by

no less than eight princes, chief of whom were the Elector of Brandenburg and the son of the Duke of Neuburg. The emperor claimed the right of umpire, and prepared to occupy the duchy. In this emergency the disputants, who were both Protestants, agreed to a joint government of the territory. The emperor sent his relative, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau and Strasburg, to seize the city of Juliers, which he effected by stratagem; but all the rest of the country submitted to the Protestant princes. The real question here was whether the Protestant or the Catholic party was to be strengthened by the accession of this duchy. Against Austria, on one side, were arrayed England, Holland, and France.

Henry of Navarre was now Henry IV of France. He had always felt that the House of Austria, by its affinity with Spain, was likely some day to combine with that ambitious rival against the peace and safety of France; and he devoted himself, with the aid of his great minister, Sully, to extensive preparations for a war which should humble Austria and cripple her power. In con-

cert with Maurice, Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, he was on the eve of commencing hostilities by making the Duchy of Cleves the battleground, when the dagger of an assassin extinguished his life and put an end to his vast projects. The coming of France into the final scenes of the Thirty Years' War, as we shall see, gave the victory to the Protestants, and fixed for a long period the political geography of Europe.

The two rival claimants could not come to a settlement between themselves. At length the young Prince of Neuburg thought of the expedient of marriage with the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg, and proposed it to him; whereat he was so incensed that he boxed the young man's ears. The result was that Neuburg abjured Protestantism, and called on the Catholic league to take his part in the quarrel. It is a wonder that affair did not set all Europe in a blaze of war. But the time was not yet; these events were the clouds and thunder on the horizon betokening the coming tempest.

Chapter III.

RUDOLPH GRANTS A ROYAL CHARTER TO BOHEMIA—MATTHIAS, ELECTED HIS SUCCESSOR, VIOLATES IT, AND IS DEPOSED, AND FERDINAND IS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE DIET AS THE LEGITIMATE HEIR TO THE CROWN—THE PROTESTANTS OBJECT, AND APPEAL TO MATTHIAS, WHO SANCTIONS THE WHOLE THING—THE PROTESTANT ESTATES ASSEMBLE AT PRAGUE AND MARCH TO THE PALACE, AND THROW THE OBNOXIOUS COMMISSIONERS OF THE EMPEROR OUT OF THE WINDOW, AND INAUGURATE A REVOLUTION—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR BEGUN—REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED—COUNT THURN RAISES AN ARMY—THE EMPEROR PREPARES FOR WAR—BOHEMIA IS INVADED—COUNT MANSFIELD ARRIVES FROM THE PROTESTANT LEAGUE WITH FOUR THOUSAND MEN—THE DEATH OF MATTHIAS AND ACCESSION OF FERDINAND TO THE DUKEDOM OF AUSTRIA—THURN INVADES AUSTRIA AND BESIEGES VIENNA.

BOHEMIA had become a Protestant kingdom, but was under the government of the Catholic emperor, Rudolph II, as king. In 1609 the nobles and princes of the kingdom extorted from him a royal charter, granting freedom of conscience to every citizen; but authority to build

churches and hold public worship belonged to the Estates of the kingdom, which was made up of about fourteen hundred gentry and representatives of forty-two towns. On the royal domains, however, worship was to be free. Rudolph was never satisfied with this state of affairs, and strove to break the charter. The result was that in 1611 he was dethroned by the Estates, and his brother Matthias was made king. The next year he died, and was succeeded by Matthias as emperor.

Very soon Matthias, as King of Bohemia, began to show his opposition to the royal charter. The Protestants of Braunau and of Klostergrab were forbidden by the Catholic ecclesiastic landowners to make use for worship of the churches they had built; and it was contended that this interdict was contrary to the charter, inasmuch as these lands were in the royal domain, where worship was free. But Matthias decided against the Protestants, and one of the churches was pulled down and the other was closed up. In 1607 the Bohemian Diet was summoned to meet, and Ferdinand of Styria was declared king by hereditary

right. It was produced in argument that in years past the Estates had declared the throne to be hereditary, and not elective, and therefore the acceptance of the election of Matthias was not to be tolerated as a revolutionary measure. They submitted, if they were not convinced, and so deposed Matthias by acknowledging Ferdinand to be the hereditary king.

Ferdinand was a rigid Catholic, and had rooted out the new religion in his principality of Styria. Could he, therefore, make oath to observe and maintain the royal charter? The Jesuits explained to him that, though it was a sin to grant such a charter, it was now the law of the land, and it would not be wrong to accept it. He accordingly took the oath, and was crowned King of Bohemia. By this act the Estates had settled the succession to the crown on the House of Austria.

But the nation was disgusted with this procedure. A summons was issued to the representatives of the Protestant Estates to meet, to consider the emergency. They met, and prepared a petition to Matthias. But, strange to say, some time

before they met word was sent from Matthias sanctioning all that had taken place, and declaring the assembly illegal.

This answer, it was believed, was instigated by Slawata and Martinetz, imperial delegates, who had become odious by their persecution of Protestants. . Led by Count Thurn, armed members of the assembly proceeded to the royal palace, and demanded of the four commissioners there in session who had been instrumental in procuring the obnoxious imperial message. Steenberg and Lokowitz were taken by the arm and put out of the room; and Martinetz and Slawata were dragged to the window and pushed into the castle trench, a height of seventy feet. Their secretary, Fabricius, was sent after them. Martinetz, seeing his doom, begged for a confessor. "Commend thy soul to God. Shall we allow the Jesuit scoundrels to come here?" was the answer. "Jesus! Mary!" cried he, as he made the fearful plunge. "Let us see," said one of the revolutionists, "whether his Mary will help him." Strange to say, he was not killed by the fall. He

lighted upon an immense dung-heap, and his fall was broken. Looking out of the window, and seeing him rise and walk off, one of the party exclaimed, "Behold, his Mary has helped him!" The other two followed him, and with the same astonishing escape from death.

"There are moments," says Gardiner, "when the character of a nation or party stands revealed as by a lightning flash, and this was one of them. It is not in such a way as this that successful revolutions are begun."

The leader in this movement was Henry Matthias, Count Thurn. He was concerned in obtaining from the emperor the royal charter, and was enthusiastically devoted to the Protestant cause. He was not a native of Bohemia, but had estates in the kingdom, and had achieved renown and popular favor in the war against the Turks. He was at this time deeply incensed against the imperial court for depriving him of the office of Constable of the Castle and Custodian of the Bohemian Crown and the National Charter, and revenge, as well as devotion to his adopted coun-

try, moved him to engage in these revolutionary projects.

The revolution was formally organized by the appointment of thirty directors. These took possession of all the offices of state and the imperial revenues. The royal army and officers of civil government were taken into their service. The Jesuits, who were hated as the insidious enemies of the kingdom, were banished; and all was done on the pretense of maintaining the royal authority and the laws of the realm. Appeals for sympathy were made to the neighboring Protestant princes. John George, Elector of Saxony, hesitated to sanction rebellion, and remarked that his office would be to "help to put out the fire." But the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, son-in-law of James I of England, expressed a warm sympathy with the patriots, and a readiness to furnish them aid when the proper time should arrive.

Where now was Ferdinand, who had been crowned King of Bohemia? He was in Vienna, at the court of the emperor, and exhorted him

instantly to employ the severest measures to put down the rebellion, and to root out the reformed religion, the cause of it. "Disobedience, lawlessness, and insurrection," he pleaded, went always hand in hand with Protestantism. Every privilege which had been conceded to the Estates by himself and his predecessor had had no other effect than to raise their demands. All the measures of the heretics were aimed against the imperial authority. Step by step had they advanced from defiance to defiance, up to this last aggression. In a short time they would assail all that remained to be assailed in the person of the emperor. In arms alone was there any safety against such an enemy; peace and subordination could only be established upon the ruins of their dangerous privileges; security for the Catholic belief was to be found in the total destruction of this sect. Uncertain, it was true, might be the event of the war, but inevitable was the ruin if it were permitted. The confiscation of the lands of the rebels would richly indemnify them for its expenses, while the terror of punishment would

teach the other states the wisdom of a prompt obedience in future.

The emperor did not fully reciprocate these sentiments; but he was convinced that war could not be avoided. He applied to Spain for aid, and was promised gold and detachments of the Spanish forces in Italy and Belgium. On the muster of the army Count Bacquoi, a Netherlander, was made general-in-chief, and Count Dampierre was associated with him. The emperor now issued a manifesto to the Bohemians, in a conciliatory spirit, in which he declared "that he held sacred the Letter of Majesty; that he had not formed any resolutions inimical to their religion or privileges; and that his present preparations were forced upon him by their own. As soon as the nation laid down their arms, he also would disband his army." But the Protestants did not believe in his pacific intentions, as they regarded him as the instrument of the bigoted and cruel Ferdinand, with whom they could have no friendly relations.

The war began on the side of the Bohemians.

Count Thurn marched an army to capture Budweis and Krumman, two towns in which the Catholics held dominion. Krumman surrendered without resistance, but Budweis refusing to surrender, was besieged.

The imperial army now advanced in two divisions, under Bucquoi and Dampierre, and invaded the Bohemian territories with the design of laying siege to Prague. Every-where the people rose up against them, and contested their march at every pass and every defile where a stand could be made. Reports came in from Merovia and from the Protestant Union that aid was coming to them. Four thousand men from the army of the Duke of Savoy were offered to the Union, and Count Peter Ernest of Mansfield was placed at the head. He had repudiated the Catholic faith in which he was reared, and entered with enthusiasm into the cause of the Protestants. He soon appeared on the scene of action and made his first attack upon the Catholic town of Pilsen. After a short siege it surrendered, and was occupied by his troops. This gave him a strong foothold in the country.

All the time Count Thurn was facing the army of Bucquoi, and resisting his progress. Silesia soon espoused the cause of the revolutionists, and sent an auxiliary army into the field. Before these united forces Bucquoi was compelled to retrace his steps and return to the fortified town of Budweis. Winter now set in, and the contending armies took up Winter quarters.

On the 20th of March, 1619, the aged Emperor Matthias died. The next legitimate heir to the crown of Austria was Ferdinand, the rejected King of Bohemia. He directly made overtures of reconciliation to the directors, and promised to respect the Royal Charter. But they had no faith in his Jesuitical pledges, and rejected his proposals with scorn.

With the opening of Spring the campaign commenced anew. While Mansfield held Bucquoi in check Count Thurn marched into Merovia, where the Protestant population hailed him with rapture. Brun is taken, and all the rest of the country came over to him. He next invaded Austria, and meeting no opposition from the

people, the greater part of whom, in Upper and Lower Austria, were largely Protestant, and had refused allegiance to Ferdinand on the decease of Matthias. Before midsummer the exulting army of Thurn had reached the walls of Vienna, where Ferdinand was holding his court.

No preparations were made to resist a siege. The troops in his service were few in number and disaffected for want of pay. The population were almost equally divided on the question of religion. A deputation came from the Austrian estates demanding his signature to a compact with the Bohemians. One day fifteen Austrian nobles crowded into his chamber, and one of them seized him by the button and cried: "Ferdinand, wilt thou sign it?" What could he do? He was no coward, and his mind was decidedly against the reformed religion. He threw himself down before the crucifix, and the image of Jesus bowed his head to the royal suppliant, so it was reported, and so perhaps he fancied he heard the consoling answer to his petition, "Ferdinand, I will not forsake thee." Soon after a trumpet announced

the entrance into the city of a regiment of horse that had found a gate unguarded by the besieging army. But this re-enforcement would have been of no avail had Count Thurn been supplied with siege equipage, and had he been seconded, as he expected, by a rising of the Protestant faction of the city. A report that Bucquoi had defeated Mansfield and was marching on Prague, added wings to his retreat.

Chapter IV.

FERDINAND ELECTED EMPEROR OF GERMANY—HE IS DEPOSED FROM THE KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA—FREDERICK, ELECTOR OF THE PALATINATE, IS CHOSEN KING—HIS ARMY UNITES WITH THAT OF THE PRINCE OF TRANSYLVANIA AND BESIEGES VIENNA—FERDINAND IS AGAIN RELIEVED—MAXIMILIAN, OF BAVARIA, ENGAGES TO AID HIM—JOHN GEORGE, OF SAXONY, LIKEWISE—THE UNION AND THE LEAGUE ARM FOR THE CONFLICT—FRANCE INTERPOSES—MAXIMILIAN MARCHES INTO UPPER AUSTRIA AND THENCE INTO BOHEMIA—THE BATTLE OF PRAGUE—DEFEAT OF THE BOHEMIANS—FLIGHT OF FREDERICK—FERDINAND TEARS UP THE ROYAL CHARTER, AND THE LIBERTIES AND RELIGION OF THE BOHEMIANS ARE TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT.

DIRECTLY upon the end of the siege, Ferdinand hastens to Frankfort, where the election of a successor to Matthias, as Emperor of Germany, was to take place. The Protestant electors, if united, might have prevented his election, but John George, of Saxony, got mad in debate with the Elector Palatine Frederick, and cast his vote for Ferdinand; the rest gave in for

one reason or another, and the vote was unanimous for Ferdinand, who was declared emperor, with the title of Ferdinand II, August 28, 1619.

Only two days before, the Bohemian Diet deposed him from the throne of Bohemia and elected Frederick in his place. In deposing Ferdinand they declared that he had shown himself an enemy to the religion and liberties of Bohemia; had by his bad counsels alienated from them the Emperor Matthias; and had furnished him foreign troops to invade and spoil the country. It was not easy for the Diet to decide upon his successor; some voices were for the Duke of Bavaria and some for the Duke of Savoy—both of them were Catholics. Nor could the Lutherans and Calvinists readily agree on any man; but finally the consideration that Frederick was personally an agreeable and virtuous person, the leader of the Evangelical Union, the kinsman of the Duke of Bavaria, and the son-in-law of James I of England, determined their choice.

The Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Bavaria, and even the King of Great Britain and his

own mother, advised him not to accept a position so full of peril. But his own ambition, the advice of the astrologers, the unanimous wishes of the people, the conviction that God had called him to this position, and the eager desires of his wife, prevailed over all scruples and fears. "Had you," said the daughter of James I, "confidence enough in yourself to accept the hand of a king's daughter, and have you misgivings about taking a crown which is voluntarily offered you? I would rather serve bread at thy kingly table than feast at an electoral board."

He was crowned with great pomp at Prague. Silesia and Moravia offered their homage to him, and Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch Republic, and Venice acknowledged him as King of Bohemia. Above all, the nation itself was full of joy and enthusiasm at the election of a king who would protect their religion and defend their liberties. Had his courage and ability been equal to his vanity, Frederick might have fulfilled all their fond expectations and maintained himself upon a throne so generously bestowed upon him. The

great difficulty before him was to reconcile the Germanic princes to seeing one of their number already potent as an elector of the empire taking possession of another electoral throne.

The first event after his coronation, affecting his prospects, was an alliance with Bethlehem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, to invade Hungary and Austria. Of a sudden this half-barbaric prince appeared at the head of a victorious army in Upper Hungary. The nation submitted to him at once, and he was crowned king at Presburg. He was ready now to march on Vienna. The army of Bucquoi was summoned to the defense of the capital. The Bohemian army pursued them, and re-enforced by twelve thousand Transylvanian troops, and united to the legions of Prince Gabor, they laid siege a second time to Vienna, and the newly elected emperor was again put in peril of his life and crown. But, as before, unexpected events turned out in his favor. The troops left by Gabor in Hungary were attacked and defeated. He was obliged, therefore, hastily to withdraw from the walls of Vienna, and the coming on of

the Winter made it necessary that the Bohemian army should go into quarters.

The Catholic princes of Germany and their allies, the Pope and the Jesuits, mocked at the usurpations of Frederick, and augured his speedy downfall. "He has cast himself," said the Pope, "into a fine labyrinth." Maximilian, of Bavaria, whose dominions bordered on Bohemia and the Palatinate, made a treaty with Ferdinand II to assist him in putting down the rebels, on condition of having transferred to himself the electoral dignity of Frederick and the payment of his expenses during the war. The Catholic League were ready to espouse his cause, and Spain promised large subsidies of money.

What was there to offset this alliance on the side of Frederick? The Protestant Union seemed comparatively lukewarm and inert; and some of the allied princes deemed the cause as not within the purpose of the Union. Where was John George, of Saxony, whose territory bordered on the north and west of Bohemia? He was not willing to see the Union of the Palatinate and

Bohemia under his rival, who would thereby have two votes in the electoral college and overshadow all the other Protestant members of the empire. He finally agreed to an alliance with Ferdinand, provided the League "would never attempt to secure by force the lands of the Protestant administrators, or the secularized lands in the northern territories, as long as the holders continued to act as loyal subjects." All this was promised, and confirmed by Ferdinand II.

While the armies of the union and the league, under their respective leaders, were making ready for a decisive battle, France offered her mediation, being more concerned for the preservation of peace in her own borders by the suppression of Protestant rebels in Bohemia than for the prevention of the growth of Austria. Under her influence a treaty was signed at Ulm, by which it was agreed that the union should abandon all interference with the affairs of Bohemia, and confine the aid which they might afford to Frederick to his Palatine territories.

The league was now at liberty to unite with

the Bavarians to put down the revolution in Bohemia, while the union could only defend their own territories if attacked. Very soon Maximilian surprised the disaffected Estates of Upper Austria by the appearance of his army; and they submitted without a struggle, and sought the pardon of the emperor. He next united his forces with those under Bucquoi, and entered Bohemia at the head of fifty-five thousand men. Town after town were stormed, and capitulated; or terrified by his approach, opened their gates to him. The Bohemian army, numbering but thirty thousand, under Prince Christian of Anhalt, retreated to the White Mountains, near Prague, and intrenching itself, awaited the attack of the enemy. On the morning of November 8, 1620, the united forces of Bavarians and imperialists appeared in sight, led by Tilly, as commander-in-chief. The attack was delayed for a short time by a division of opinion between Tilly and Bucquoi as to the expediency of an immediate battle. The dispute was terminated by the enthusiasm of a Dominican friar, who exhorted them to make no delay, for

the Lord would deliver the heretics into their hands. "See here," said he, showing them a figure of the Virgin, which had been mutilated by the reformers; "see here, what they have done. The prayers of the Holy Virgin will be yours. Trust in God, and go boldly forth to the battle. He fights on your side."

Inspired by these assurances, and by the lesson of the Gospel for that Sunday morning, which contained the words, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," the order was given to advance upon the enemy's works. They were met by the discharges of the ten cannon on the heights and the rush of Anhalt's cavalry. The front rank gave way; but the heavy columns of Walloons and Bavarians came up, and with overwhelming numbers repelled the cavalry, and broke the ranks of the Bohemian infantry, who were put to flight. The German troops, seeing this, gave way also. In less than an hour the victory was complete. Four thousand of the Bohemians were slain, and all their artillery fell into the hands of the enemy.

Frederick had not expected the attack of the enemy on that day, and was in the city of Prague, entertaining two English Envoys. The noise of the battle called him from the hotel, and from the walls of the city. He saw with dismay the flight of his army. He sent a flag to the Duke of Bavaria, and requested a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, to give him time for deliberation. Eight hours only were allowed him. During the night he fled from the city, accompanied by his wife, the Prince of Anhalt, Count Thurn, and other military and civil officers. He fled first to Breslau, and finally to the Hague, in Holland.

The next day Prague surrendered, and other towns followed its example. The Estates of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia hastened to make their submission to the emperor. At first he put on an aspect of clemency; but when the nobles were thereby deceived, and had returned to Prague, all of a sudden they were arrested, and twenty-seven of them, together with a large number of inferior citizens, perished on the scaffold.

The absentees were condemned, and their lands confiscated. All Protestant preachers were expelled from the kingdom. The royal charter was torn in pieces by the emperor, and the seal thrown into the fire. Toleration of the Reformers was revoked, and Romanism was established as the religion of the kingdom. The victory of Ferdinand II was complete.

Chapter V.

FREDERICK PUT TO THE BAN—MANSFIELD STILL STANDS FOR HIM—THE MARGRAVE OF BADEN JOINS HIM, ALSO FREDERICK OF BRUNSWICK—TILLY DEFEATS THE MARGRAVE AT WIMPFEN—CHRISTIAN IS DEFEATED AT HOOCHST—THE CAUSE IS LOST, AND FREDERICK DISMISSES MANSFIELD AND CHRISTIAN, AND RETIRES TO THE HAGUE—THE DISMISSED GENERALS WAGE WAR ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT—DIET AT RATISBON—FREDERICK IS DEPOSED FROM HIS ELECTORATE, AND IT IS GIVEN TO MAXIMILIAN FOR HIS LIFE-TIME.

HAD Ferdinand contented himself with his victory over Bohemia, the thirty years' war of Protestants and Catholics would not have stained the pages of history. But no; he wanted to share with Maximilian of Bavaria the rich provinces of the Palatinate. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, 1621, Frederick, with all due formality, was put to the ban; that is, politically excommunicated from the empire, and his estates and prerogatives declared forfeited. The

Protestant princes of Germany, of course, were deeply offended, and alarmed to see a Protestant principality usurped by the Catholic party, and more particularly because Ferdinand had pledged himself, when elected, not to put any one to the ban without a full and fair trial. But Ferdinand had agreed to indemnify Maximilian for his expenses in the war, and how could he do it better than to give him a share of the Palatinate? Besides, had he not promised the Holy Virgin, both at Loretto and at Rome, that he would at every risk and sacrifice extend her worship?

Had Frederick on his part acknowledged his defeat, and abandoned his ambitious claims on the sovereignty of Bohemia, he might have secured sympathy and aid from the Protestant nations. Had his father-in-law, the pusillanimous King of England, stood forth courageously in his behalf, he might have arrested his downfall. He offered his mediation, but it was not to be backed up by the sword, and was of no effect. As to the Evangelical Union, it had been compelled to sign a treaty of peace with Spinola, and to

withdraw its troops from the territory of the Palatinate.

Ernest, Count Mansfield, was left in Prague when Frederick fled from it, and he held it until his soldiers mutinied for their pay and yielded the city to the emperor. He immediately took position in the Upper Palatinate with what troops he could retain under his banner; and about his little army, as a nucleus, he gathered twenty thousand men, mostly from the disbanded forces of the union. The Bavarian General Tilly was sent against him, but he adroitly avoided a conflict, and led his troops into the Lower Palatinate. He crossed the Rhine, entered Alsace, and took possession of Hagenon and fortified it. Subsisting his army by the plunder of the province, and recruited, he next marched again into the Lower Palatinate.

In disguise, Frederick here visits his camp. He is now encouraged by the coming to his aid of George Frederick, Margrave of Baden, with an army which he had been enlisting without making known the object he had in view. To

secure his son in his inheritance of the margrave, he resigned it formally to him before he started for the enterprise. The combined armies met Tilly at Wiesbach, and he was compelled to retreat to Wimpfen, where he was re-enforced by Cordova, commander of the Spanish troops belonging to the Spanish Netherlands. Finding it impossible to subsist so large an army, Mansfield separated his troops from those of the margrave. Tilly and Cordova seized the opportunity to attack the margrave, and completely routed his army. Cordova then went in pursuit of Mansfield, and obliged him to retreat to his stronghold in Alsace.

Christian of Brunswick, cousin of Elizabeth, the wife of Frederick, won by her charms to enlist in the forlorn cause of her husband, was now ready to join Mansfield, and was on his march, with a large army, to the Main. Frederick and Mansfield went forth to meet him. They marched through Darmstadt, whose landgrave, a Lutheran, had made himself obnoxious by adherence to the Emperor Ferdinand; and every-where

along their march they ravaged and plundered the country. Delayed by a fortified post on the Main, they were overtaken by Tilly and Cordova, and compelled to retreat to Manheim. The victorious generals then went to meet Frederick. A battle took place at Höchst, in which Christian suffered great loss, but succeeded in crossing the Main and joined Mansfield at Manheim. They were here abandoned by the Margrave of Baden and retreated to Alsace. Here Frederick, disgusted with the predatory manner in which they carried on the war, formally dismissed them from his service and returned to Sedan. Thence he retired again to the Hague, where he disappears from the scene of conflict for ten years. Ferdinand had proposed that he should first lay down his arms, and then appeal for clemency; and James I thought this was the proper course to take. It was this reason, more than any thing, which induced him to dismiss his last supporter, and to await the emperor's decision.

The dismissed generals now undertook war on their own account. They marched first to Lor-

rairie and refreshed the troops upon the spoils of the country. They were then called into the service of the Dutch Republic. The Spanish commander Spinola was now laying siege to Bergen-op-zoom. To reach the scene of action they crossed the Spanish Netherlands, and were met at Fleurus by an army under Cordova. Just as they were going into battle two of Mansfield's best regiments refused to engage in the battle unless their arrears should be paid. In this emergency Mansfield addressed the mutinous troops, and with promises of redress as soon as possible, begged them to keep their position if they did not fight. They obeyed their general so far, and with the appearance to the enemy as a reserve force, they saw their comrades enter into a desperate battle. The troops of Christian fought with a good will. Charging at the head of his cavalry again and again, he had three horses killed under him, and was shot in his left arm. They conquered, and marched on to Bergen-op-zoom and raised the siege. After the battle at Fleurus it was found that Christian's arm must be amputated, and he

ordered the trumpets to keep sounding while the operation was being performed.

After a short engagement in the service of the Dutch, Mansfield rested and fed his army by forage and plunder in East Friesland, and Duke Christian withdrew into Lower Saxony to await further opportunities to strike at his enemies. "The arm that is left shall give my enemies enough to do," he said; and upon the money he coined from Spanish silver he had captured he stamped the inscription, "*Altera restat, the other remains.*" Though Frederick had abandoned his cause, he carried the princess's glove in his hat, and put on his banners, "All for God and thee."

Meanwhile, the emperor had summoned an Electoral Diet at Ratisbon, to decide the fate of the Palatinate. The majority of the electors were Catholics, and it was clear how the vote would be. John George, of Saxony, to be sure, was a Protestant, and the chief of the Protestant princes; but he was a Lutheran, and he hated the Calvinists almost as bad as the Catholics. The

sectarianism and bigotry of Protestants was the cause of troubles in Germany and the United Netherlands, only second to Jesuitism and the Inquisition. No resistance was made to the verdict of the majority of the electors, and Maximilian was declared Elector of the Palatinate for his life-time; but this should not prejudice the claims which his heirs might set up after the demise of Maximilian. It was also agreed that if Frederick should abandon his claim to the electorate, and ask forgiveness of the emperor, he would take into favorable consideration the restitution of his estates. This was all a mere pretense. The curtain now falls on the first act in this sad drama.

Chapter VI.

THE LOWER SAXON CIRCLE—MAKES PREPARATION FOR WAR—THEY EXPEL CHRISTIAN OF BRUNSWICK, AND HE IS PURSUED AND DEFEATED BY TILLY AT STADT-HOLM—LOWER OR NORTHERN GERMANY NOW ARMS AGAINST FERDINAND—APPEAL IS MADE TO ENGLAND, HOLLAND, VENICE, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN—ENGLAND ENLISTS FRANCE—AN EXPEDITION UNDER MANSFIELD SENT OUT FROM ENGLAND IS SUFFERED TO DISPERSE FOR WANT OF SUPPLIES—INTERVENTION OF CHRISTIAN IV, OF DENMARK—THE EMPEROR NEEDS ANOTHER ARMY UNDER TILLY—COUNT WALLENSTEIN OFFERS TO FURNISH IT—WALLENSTEIN IS ATTACKED BY MANSFIELD AT DESSAU—MANSFIELD IS DEFEATED—MARCHES THROUGH SILESIA TO TRANSYLVANIA—PURSUED BY WALLENSTEIN—HE JOINS BETHLEN GABOR—DISBANDS HIS ARMY—DIES AT ZERA—DEFEAT OF CHRISTIAN IV AT LUTTER.

THE Lower Saxon Circle had as yet taken no active part in the war, but now, by the coming of Christian of Brunswick, into their territory, they were obliged to arm themselves. Tilly was upon their borders, and urged them to take sides with the emperor, who would maintain his

promise at Mühlhausen not to disturb their possession of the bishoprics. Finally Christian, by alliance with his brother, the reigning Duke of Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, and by large enlistments of troops, alarmed the Circle, and they ordered him to leave the territory. He charged them with betraying the cause of true religion; and took up his march for the Dutch Netherlands. Tilly immediately started in pursuit of him, and just before he reached the borders he was overtaken, and a battle ensued at Stadtholm. Victory soon declared on the side of the veteran general and veteran troops over raw recruits, and so great was the slaughter and rout of Christian's army that scarce six thousand out of twenty thousand made good their retreat into Netherlands.

Mansfield withdrew his troops to the lower Rhine and there disbanded them. There was no army now on foot except that of Tilly, and the war was over and the emperor was victorious. But, as the emperor and the League kept their army in the field, there was no peace. Southern or Upper Germany was subdued; but Lower or

Northern Germany, where Protestantism was in the ascendancy, was not yet touched, except where Tilly had invaded and ravaged Lower Saxony. But this was enough to alarm them. They awoke to the danger of the situation and began to arm. The recovery of the Catholic bishoprics interspersed through Northern Germany was still an object of Ferdinand's bigoted ambition. They appealed for help to England, Holland, Venice, and especially to Denmark and Sweden.

James I was roused at last from his delusive dream of an alliance with Spain. Prince Charles had gone with Buckingham, the king's favorite, to see and woo the Spanish Infanta, but he had come back disappointed in that and in his hope of Spanish intervention in behalf of the restoration of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, Frederick. James had discernment enough to see the danger arising from an overgrown imperial power in Germany, and that nothing could prevail against it but a European confederacy. His Parliament went no further with him than to approve of his tentative negotiations with other nations. He

accordingly conferred with the French Government. The result was, that Louis XIV, under the advice of Richelieu, his great minister, would not directly engage to furnish troops for the reconquest of the Palatinate, but he agreed to furnish large subsidies to the Dutch in their struggle with the Spaniards, and to aid James in an expedition preparing in England under Mansfield to attack the Palatinate. This expedition proved a failure. Mansfield landed on the Dutch coast with twelve thousand English infantry, and was joined by two thousand French cavalry under Christian of Brunswick. But James dared not assemble his Parliament to ask for money, and he had no sufficient means of providing for the troops, and they came near perishing or dispersing before they reached the scene of war. Subsequently the civil war with the Huguenots tied the hands of Richelieu, and for the present nothing could be done for the Protestants of Germany.

While Mansfield was preparing his expedition in England James I sent Sir Robert Anstruther as ambassador to Christian IV, king of Denmark,

and Sir James Spens to Gustavus Adolphus, to engage them in the great antagonism to the ambitious projects of Ferdinand and the Catholic league.

Gustavus did not immediately accede to this overture. He had a clear and comprehensive view of the greatness and difficulty of the undertaking. He saw that to arrest effectually the aggressive movements of the emperor and the League, that all their opponents from Hungary to France should be enlisted. Nor was he willing to have a subordinate or divided command, but the chief direction of the war. He required, also, that one port on the Baltic and another on the North Sea must be put in his possession to secure his communication. He calculated that fifty thousand men would be necessary at the outset, and that of these England must support seventeen thousand with advance pay for four months. These views not being accepted by the English Government, he turned to carrying on his war against Sigismund, his rival in Poland.

Christian IV, of Denmark, was more eager for

the enterprise, and more moderate in his terms. He was a member of the Lower Saxon Circle, as Duke of Holstein, and he had a special interest in the secular bishoprics—that of Verden on the Elbe belonging to one of his sons, and that of Bremen, on the Weser, being his in regular succession. He reckoned that thirty thousand men would be sufficient, of which England should provide for six thousand. These views were more acceptable to the English Government, and Charles I having succeeded his father on the throne, engaged to supply thirty thousand pounds monthly for the war, and ordered Mansfield to join his forces directly with those of the King of Denmark. The Circle of Lower Saxony placed their army also under his command, and with a force variously estimated from thirty thousand to sixty thousand he took the field against Tilly.

It was clear to the mind of Ferdinand that Tilly's army was not equal to the emergency, and he had not resources sufficient to engage auxiliaries. What should he do? At this moment Count Wallenstein made the surprising offer of

raising and clothing an army of fifty thousand men, provided that he should have the supreme command of them.

Who was Count Wallenstein? Albert, of Waldstein, was a descendant of an old aristocratic Bohemian house. His Lutheran parents left him an orphan, at the age of twelve years, to the care of an uncle, who sent him to a Moravian school for his education. He disliked the severe discipline of the school, and escaped to a Jesuit institute at Olmütz. Here he adopted the Roman religion as a matter of form, and along with it a real faith in astrology, by which he was assured that a grand destiny awaited him. He embraced the life of a soldier in the service of the Archduke of Austria, and obtained distinction in several campaigns before the Bohemian revolution. He became wealthy and the owner of large estates in Bohemia by marriage. At the time of the Bohemian revolution he deserted to the emperor, carrying off the treasure-box of the estate of Moravia; but Ferdinand sent the money back, not liking that method of replenishing his exchequer. He fought

at the battle of Prague, and was promoted to be major-general, in which capacity he achieved a victory over a Hungarian army invading Bohemia. He was rewarded by a large share of the forfeited estates of the rebel nobility; and was known at the time as the richest noble in Bohemia, and was Prince of Friedland. He was of noble stature and mien, with keen, bright eyes and with features expressive of decision and severity of temper. He was born to command, and his nod was law to all around him. His offer was accepted by Ferdinand, and in a few months he appeared on the borders of Lower Saxony at the head of thirty thousand men, splendidly arrayed and equipped. His method of supporting them was not to be like that of Tilly and Mansfield, by indiscriminate plunder of friends and foes, but by forced contributions; a method, however, which Ferdinand had no right to sanction, for by the fundamental laws of the empire no money could be exacted for military purposes, but by vote of the Diet. He was directed to unite with Tilly and attack the King of Denmark, but he chose

to act independently towards the same end; and indeed he was obliged to take this course in order to subsist his army on territory which could supply provisions. He accordingly marched to Dessau, and made himself master of both banks of the River Elbe, from which he could attack Christian IV in the rear as he faced Tilly's army, or at his option invade his territory.

Here he was confronted by Mansfield. Having fortified the bridge at Dessau, he surrounded himself with intrenchments, and was ready to defy the enemy.

On the 25th of April, 1626, the battle was fought. Mansfield surveyed his position, but, deeming it not impregnable, he ordered the assault. His hardy troops rushed impetuously upon the intrenchments, but failed to carry them. In the moment of surprise and confusion which followed an unsuccessful assault, Wallenstein ordered a charge. It swept the field, and the army of Mansfield was routed, but not

He was soon after re-enforced at Arnstadt, of Weimar, and by recruiting in Brandenburg he

marched through Silesia, to form a union with Bethlen Gabor and invade Austria. Seeing this, Wallenstein, after sending a few regiments, made haste with the main body of his army to intercept him. But Mansfield outmarched him, and reached the camp of Gabor, in Transylvania. But Gabor was looking for aid from England, and re-enforcements from Lower Saxony and the Turks; and instead of this he found himself, by his union with Mansfield's jaded and poorly supplied army, exposed to the attack of Wallenstein's victorious legions. He accordingly determined to abandon the project of invading Austria, and made a treaty of peace, treacherously determining, however, to break it when it should suit his purpose to do so.

What, in these circumstances, could Mansfield do? He disbanded most of his army, and, selling his artillery and baggage-train, he proceeded, on the 15th of August, with Gabor, towards Venice, with a small portion of his army. His career was in this manner coming to an end. At Dara, in Dal-

matia, he was attacked with a fever. Seeing death was near, he said, "Raise me up—I am dying now." His friends lifted him from the bed, that he might look out upon the hills as the day was dawning. With the great cause still at heart to which he had devoted his life, he said to them, with his dying breath, "Be united, united; hold out like men."

It is time to return to the King of Denmark. Disappointed of supplies from England, he conceived the idea of passing through Thuringia into Bohemia, and forming a junction with Mansfield and Bethlen Gabor to invade Austria. He had reached Duderstadt when Tilly came up with him, and he was obliged to direct his course to Brunswick. Tilly followed, and came up with him in the neighborhood of Lutter. A battle was now inevitable. The king took the initiative, and three times charged the enemy at the head of his cavalry. The fight thickens; but in the midst of it some of the Danish regiments protested that they would not fight without pay. The superior

discipline and number of Tilly's veterans prevail. The Danes are routed, leaving four thousand men dead upon the field, among them many officers of distinction. Christian of Brunswick was not in the battle, having died a few weeks before the fatal day. The king, with his cavalry, escaped from the scene of slaughter, and was joined not long after by the straggling remnants of his army. Charles I sent him the avails of a forced loan in England and six thousand men. Count Thurn, the Margrave of Baden, Durlach, and Bernard of Weimar joined the forces with him.

Wallenstein's return to the scene of the conflict in North Germany, and the combined movements of the two imperial armies, made the cause of Christian IV hopeless. He loses fortress after fortress; his allies, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the Elector of Brandenburg, are forced to desert him. Wallenstein overruns Silesia, and compels the principal cities and towns to send ransoms to fill his treasury. Christian IV makes overtures for peace; but Wallenstein requires the

surrender of Holstein as a condition, which can not be submitted to. In a few months all Schleswig and Jutten, except a few towns, are occupied by the enemy. At last the king withdrew the remnant of his army to the island of Funen.

Chapter VII.

WALLENSTEIN'S POLICY OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY AND A REAL GERMAN EMPIRE—THE ELECTORS OPPOSED TO HIS COURSE—HE CONQUERS MECHLENBURG—STRALSUND IS BESIEGED, BUT IN VAIN—GLTCKSTADT ALSO RESISTS THE COMBINED ATTACK OF TILLY AND WALLENSTEIN—WALLENSTEIN SUGGESTS PEACE WITH DENMARK—CHRISTIAN IV MAKES A TREATY OF PEACE AT LUBECK—WALLENSTEIN IS REWARDED WITH THE DUCHY OF MECHLENBURG—THE EMPEROR'S OPPRESSIVE POLICY—THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION—THE ASSEMBLY AT RATISBON DEMANDS THE DISMISSAL OF WALLENSTEIN—HE RETURNS TO HIS ESTATES IN BOHEMIA, AND IN ALMOST REGAL STATE ABIDES HIS TIME.

WALLENSTEIN had larger and wiser views than his contemporaries in respect to the use the emperor should make of his triumphs over Germany. The league wished him to subsist his armies by contributions on Protestants alone, and to confiscate their estates to Catholic princes and bishops. On the contrary, he advised the emperor to adopt a liberal policy, and to establish

religious equality for the whole empire. With this understanding he could increase his army, and enforce and maintain a united German Empire. Eggenberg, the chief minister of Ferdinand, saw it in the same light, and together they persuaded the emperor to approve of it. But how could Ferdinand reconcile the avaricious and bigoted members of the Catholic league to any scheme which should not give them back the secularized bishoprics, the spoils of the war, and religious domination? The Jesuits would listen to nothing but the complete religious subjugation of the Protestants and confiscation of their property to Popery.

In October of 1627 the electors held an assembly at Mühlhausen, to consider what policy should be adopted. The Catholic electors, with the Elector of Bavaria at their head, held that the disloyal Protestant administrators had forfeited all rights secured to them by former treaties. John George of Saxony and the other Protestant electors had nothing to say. The war had been waged against Ferdinand wholly against their most urgent advice. But these views could not

be carried out without Wallenstein's favor and support. They complained of his perpetual enlistment of soldiers, and his forced contributions from friends and foes alike. They did not like the hints which came to them that he was aiming to establish a national imperial government, instead of the aristocratic Germanic confederation which bore the name of empire. They saw, however, that the time was not ripe for overthrowing the military despotism which the war had created, and they contented themselves for the present with petitioning the emperor to mitigate the evils of which they complained.

The next important enterprise of Wallenstein was the conquest of the Duchy of Mechlenburg, which the emperor pledged to him for the payment of his military expenses. He had now reached the borders of the Baltic, and he could look over the sea to Denmark and Sweden, and scheme for the conquest of these kingdoms. He was made Duke of Friedland before, and he was now made Admiral of the Baltic. The Hanse towns, those great commercial cities of the North,

were offered a monopoly of the trade of Germany with Spain and her provinces, if they would furnish him a fleet. But this they had the independence politely to decline. As to the seaports on the coast of the Baltic, he soon took possession of Weimar, and blocked up the harbor of Rostock with sunken vessels. He now turned his attention to Stralsund, a free city that had taken no part in the war. He demanded that a garrison of his troops should be admitted into it, and when this was declined he laid formal siege to it. His General Arnim seized Danholm, a small island at the mouth of the harbor. But the citizens of Stralsund sent a force against him, and retook the island and fortified it. With the greatest unanimity, they bound themselves in a solemn covenant to defend to the last their city, their liberties, and their religion. And how could Wallenstein, without ships of war, hope to take a city constantly supplied with troops and munitions of war from Denmark and Sweden? Wallenstein grew desperate. "I will have Stralsund," he exclaimed, "even if it be fastened by chains to

heaven." To a deputation of citizens he said, drawing his hand over the surface of his table, "Your town shall be made as flat as this." But when months had passed, and no advantage was gained by all his efforts, he lowered his terms, and simply demanded that, instead of a garrison of the imperial army, a garrison of their own nominal ruler, the Duke of Pomerania, who was not hostile to the emperor, should take possession of the city. The Council of the city was ready to yield to this, but the heroic citizens would not allow of it. They preferred the alliance of Sweden and Denmark to any submission whatever to the dictates of Wallenstein or his imperial master. Christian IV had put a Danish garrison in the city, and had come himself to give them encouragement. He had sent ships also to resist and to sink a Polish fleet which Sigismund had sent against it. When the Danish garrison was depleted by the long siege, Christian IV consented that a Swedish garrison should take their place. And now appears upon the scene of war that noble people whose great king, Gustavus Adolphus,

was to act so great a part in the deliverance of Protestant Germany. . After many months of useless fighting, and the loss of twelve thousand men, the conquering pride of Wallenstein was humbled, and he abandoned the siege, August 3, 1628. The tide of victory began to turn on the shores of the Baltic.

In the beginning of next year Wallenstein met with another repulse. Tilly had long been besieging Glückstadt, and Wallenstein came to his aid, but their united efforts were in vain. The Danish cruisers kept open the communication by the sea, and supplied them with food and munitions of war. Finally the besieged garrison made a powerful sally upon the ranks of the enemy and destroyed them. The siege was at an end.

Wallenstein having had a taste of combined Danish and Swedish valor, concluded that it would be best to separate the two nations by making peace with Denmark. He made overtures to the King of Denmark, and a conference was held at Lübeck. Christian IV was weary with the war, and Charles I of England having

failed to send him the succor promised, on account of the difficulties between him and his Parliament, he consented, without consulting with Sweden, to a treaty of peace. The terms were that his "hereditary possessions occupied by the enemy should be restored to him, while he should resign all claim to the bishoprics held by his family in the empire." "He should interfere no more with the affairs of Germany, and should leave the Dukes of Mecklenburg to their fate." The name of the Elector Palatine was not even mentioned in the treaty, though his restoration to his hereditary estates was one of the chief objects of the war. The peace of Lübeck reflects no glory on the name of Christian IV.

The emperor, who had another war on his hands in Italy, was on his part greatly relieved by the treaty; and Wallenstein, for the part he had in it, was rewarded with the Dukedom of Mecklenburg. This gave great dissatisfaction to the German nobles and people, who questioned his right, by his own authority, to dispose of the estates of princes in this manner.

There was an anxious desire for peace throughout the realm. The whole country had suffered from the ravages of the armies of both parties. Nothing now but religious bigotry and contention prevented an effectual peace. The emperor, instead of treating his subjects with impartiality, took the side of the Roman Catholics. In his hereditary Austrian and Bohemian estates he announced that the Protestants must abjure their religion or leave the country. The Upper Palatinate and a part of the Lower had been ceded to the Elector of Bavaria, who required first of the nobles and then of the people that they must conform to the Catholic faith or leave the country in two months.

In 1628, Ferdinand sent out commissioners through Southern Germany to report the ecclesiastical property which had come into the possession of Protestants since the Convention of Passau. All the Catholic churches which, by treaty, had been held for half a century by Protestants, were restored to the Catholic party, though in some towns there was none or next to none of

the Catholic population left to take possession. In the north of Germany he pursued the same policy in a wholesale manner. He issued, March 29, 1629, the Edict of Restitution, by which two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and two hundred and twenty abbeys and monasteries were restored to the Roman Church.

“The edict came,” says Schiller, “like a thunderbolt on the whole of Protestant Germany, dreadful even in its immediate consequences; but yet more so from the further calamities it seemed to threaten. The Protestants were now convinced that the suppression of their religion had been resolved upon by the emperor and the League, and that the overthrow of German liberty would soon follow. Their remonstrances were unheeded; the commissioners were named, and an army assembled to enforce obedience. The edict was put in force in Augsburg, where the treaty was concluded—the city was again placed under the government of its bishops, and six Protestant Churches in the town were closed. The Duke of Wurtemberg was, in like manner,

compelled to surrender his offices. These severe measures, though they alarmed the Protestant States, were yet insufficient to rouse them to active resistance. Their fear of the emperor was too strong, and many were disposed to quiet submission. The hope of attaining their end by gentle measures induced the Roman Catholic authorities to delay for a year the execution of the edict, and thus saved the Protestants. Before the end of that period the success of the Swedish army had totally changed the state of affairs."

Wallenstein had now increased his army to one hundred thousand men, none too many for the work the emperor had on hand—with the war in Italy, the danger of French and Swedish interference, and the internal excitement of the whole of Germany. But his ascendancy in the affairs of the emperor incited the jealousy and the ill will of the Duke of Bavaria and the other loyal princes, and the exactions and barbarities of his army of mercenaries raised a continual outcry from all the provinces which were the theater of war. Petitions came from all quarters to the emperor to

interfere. Wallenstein had insulted the princes of the empire by his insolent and overbearing behavior, and at the Diet of Ratisbon his dismissal from the command of the imperial armies was demanded by the whole college of electors. Wallenstein appeared at Ratisbon with great pomp, and set himself to counteract the machinations of his enemies. He showed clearly to the emperor that it was the selfish ambition of the Duke of Bavaria to rule over the councils and armies of the empire, that made the trouble. But the emperor had a prospect of having his son Ferdinand elected King of Hungary, and he must not excite the ill will of the Duke of Bavaria and the other electors. This settled the matter. After long hesitation he painfully decided to deprive Wallenstein of his command, and the man who had saved him from ruin by his sacrifice of wealth and his surpassing military ability must now go into private life. Tilly was appointed to supersede him as generalissimo of the imperial armies.

Wallenstein was with his army when this decision was made, and two of his personal friends

were selected by the emperor to convey to him in the most conciliatory manner possible the emperor's mandate, with assurances of his personal regard. Wallenstein was forewarned of his fate, and concluding that the time was not favorable to his scheme of a real German Empire, he restrained his indignation. "The emperor," he said, "is betrayed. I pity, but forgive him. It is plain that the grasping spirit of the Bavarian dictates to him. I grieve that with so much weakness he has sacrificed me, but I will obey."

Wallenstein retired to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia, where he was followed by multitudes of his officers and soldiers, who were indignant at his treatment. There his immense wealth enabled him to maintain an almost royal state. Life guards paraded in his antechamber, and six barons, six knights, and sixty pages waited upon him. He built magnificent palaces in Prague and several other towns; and he traveled from place to place followed by his court in sixty carriages, accompanied by fifty led horses and a hundred baggage-wagons. Awe-inspiring by his presence,

he attached every body to his service, if not to his person, by his unbounded munificence. In this manner he waited for the auspicious time when his services would be again needed, and he could execute his schemes. The astrologers had assured him that the stars proclaimed a glorious future for him, and he believed in it.

Under the cold northern stars beyond the Baltic a Christian king had prepared an army of veterans to intervene in behalf of the oppressed Protestant princes and people of Germany. It had already landed in Pomerania, and its victorious progress would soon make it necessary for the emperor to place again in power his banished general.

Chapter VIII.

SKETCH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS—HIS BIRTH—PRECOCIOUS TALENT—HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE—HIS MARRIAGE—WAR IN RUSSIA AND POLAND—PREPARES TO UNDERTAKE THE CAUSE OF GERMAN PROTESTANTS—HIS FAREWELLS—HIS ARMY DISCIPLINE—TAKES RUGER—DRIVES THE IMPERIALISTS INTO BRANDENBURG—THE ELECTOR REMAINS NEUTRAL—TILLY ASSEMBLES THE IMPERIAL ARMY AT FRANKFORT—HE HASTENS TO MEET GUSTAVUS BUT SOON RETIRES TO BESIEGE MAGDEBURG—GUSTAVUS TAKES FRANKFORT—SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF MAGDEBURG.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was born in Stockholm, Sweden, December 9, 1594. Ten years before his birth Tycho Brahe had predicted the birth of a prince in the North, who should become the deliverer of the oppressed Church of the Reformation. He was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, and the son of Charles IX, who was raised to the throne in place of his elder brother, Sigismund, who, by the law of Sweden, was disqualified on account of his being a Cath-

olic. Charles was reluctant to take the place of his brother, and nobly promised that if a son should be born to Sigismund, who should become a Protestant, he would resign the crown to him. Sigismund inherited the crown of Poland through his mother, and he raised in that kingdom an army to invade Sweden and seize the throne by violence. He was defeated in battle, and signed an abdication of his claims. Finland was involved in this insurrection, and Charles IX, taking with him his son, then only seven years of age, led an army into that province, and after a desperate struggle subdued it. Gustavus possessed a body that was sinewy and lithe, and a mind clear, active, and energetic. At the age of sixteen he was master of six languages, Swedish, Latin, German, Dutch, French, and Italian. He was carefully taught by both his father and mother the principles of the evangelical religion; and he deeply drank into the spirit of Christianity, and manifested it through his whole life in camp and court, in the privacy of domestic life, and on the battle-field. He was a born soldier,

fearless, vigilant, patient, and indefatigable. At seventeen years of age he was placed over a regiment, and did such effectual service in an expedition for the relief of Calmar, besieged by the Danes, that when his father was called away from the army to attend a Diet he was left at its head. On the journey his father fell ill and died, leaving him to ascend the throne. The estates of his kingdom declared him of age, preferring the young and precocious prince to a regency.

His brother, Charles Philip, was a competitor, with Uladislav, the son of Sigismund of Poland, for the crown of Russia, and Gustavus took up arms in his behalf; but when the Russians renounced both competitors and elected one of their own countrymen, he retired from the contest and received from the new sovereign, as compensation, a large addition to the territory of Sweden.

He had wars with Poland and Prussia, in which he first met Wallenstein as an antagonist, to whom he wrote: "What motive have you to meddle with my affairs?" "My master, the emperor," replied Wallenstein, "has too many

troops, and he is obliged to send a few of them to his friends." In an encounter with these troops at Marienburg he came near losing his life. In the thick of the fight the saber of a soldier struck off his hat, and directly after he was seized by the arm by another trooper, and would have been killed had not one of his own dragoons thrown himself upon the enemy and parried the blow aimed at his life.

He overran Prussia as far as Dantzic, and restored in every city the Churches of the Protestants. He tolerated the Catholics, and by his clemency in treating the conquered cities he surprised the people, and conciliated them.

He was happy in the choice of a wife, the pious and beautiful daughter of the Duke of Brandenburg; but it was otherwise in respect to his offspring. His first child was still-born, and the next was a daughter, who brought disgrace upon her family by her wicked conduct in after-life, and was obliged to abdicate the crown of Sweden. In personal presence he was tall and well-proportioned in body and limbs. His face

was long, with regular features, a high, retreating forehead, and piercing black eyes. He usually wore a mustache, curled upward at the ends, and a beard under his chin.

While still engaged in war with Sigismund of Poland, an ambassador sent by Richelieu, from the Court of France, appeared, and made overtures to him to engage with France in opposing the ambitious projects of the Emperor Ferdinand II. He visited each of the hostile camps, and succeeded in persuading Sigismund that it was not for his interest to continue a war for the benefit of the emperor. A truce for six years was the result. This left Gustavus at liberty to interfere in behalf of the oppressed princes of Germany. He chose not, however, to make any alliance with France, on any terms proposed by Richelieu, but, trusting that God had called him to this work, he prepared to rely on his own resources. His trusted and able chancellor, Oxenstiern, was at first opposed to the enterprise. But he was convinced by the arguments of Gustavus that it was both right and expedient. "If we

await the enemy in Sweden," said the king, "in the event of a defeat every thing would be lost; by a fortunate commencement in Germany every thing would be gained. The sea is wide, and we have a long line of coast in Sweden to defend. If the enemy's fleet should escape us, or our own be defeated, it would in either case be impossible to prevent the enemy's landing. Every thing depends on the retention of Stralsund. As long as the harbor is open to us we shall both command the Baltic and secure a retreat from Germany. But, to protect this port, we must not remain in Sweden, but advance at once into Pomerania. Let us talk no more, then, of a defensive war, by which we shall sacrifice our greatest advantages. Sweden must not be doomed to behold a hostile banner. If we are vanquished in Germany, it will be time enough to follow your plan."

To the Senate, assembled at Upsal, he explained his plans, and the lofty motives which prompted him to the work. When it was suggested that after so many years of war he needed

repose, he replied, "There is no repose to be expected but in eternity."

Of his army, fifteen thousand men only were to embark with him for Germany: ten thousand were to be under Oxenstiern, to encamp in Prussia to guard his interests there, and as a camp of observation against Poland. A reserve corps was to abide in Sweden for its defense, and as a nucleus about which to gather and discipline recruits for the future necessities of the war. In his last interview with the states of his kingdom, he presented to them his little daughter, and commended her to their affection as the heir to his throne. "I have not," he said, "thoughtlessly engaged in this perilous war which calls me far from you. Heaven is my witness that it is neither for any satisfaction nor personal interest that I go into this conflict. The emperor has ruthlessly insulted me in the person of my ambassadors; he has sustained my enemies, and persecuted my friends and my brethren; he has stretched out his arm to snatch from me my crown. Ready to sink

under the weight of oppression which hangs over them, the German Protestants stretch out suppliant hands to us. If it please God, we will give them aid and protection. I am not ignorant of the dangers that await me. I have already been in many others, and by the grace of God I have ever come happily out of them. But I feel I may lose my life there; and this is why, before leaving you, I commend you all to the protection of the Omnipotent One. I pray him to bestow on you the divine benediction, in order that after this terrestrial life, which is so transient, we all meet each other in eternity." Having addressed himself particularly and severally to the senators, the pastors, and the representatives of the citizens, he concluded: "Finally, I send up to God most ardent prayers for all my subjects, whether present or absent. I say to you all farewell, from the depths of my heart, and perhaps forever."

These farewells, betokening a good and pious heart, and shaded by a forecast of his death, were delivered with great emotion, amidst the tears and sobs of the whole assembly.

Two hundred transports were waiting at Elfsnaben to convey his troops across the Baltic. His army had been drilled on an original plan, with a view to rapid movements. The infantry were arranged with wider intervals between the battallions, and the cavalry were massed in smaller squadrons, and the infantry were intermingled with them, to make a show of a large force. In advancing to battle, the army was drawn up in two lines, one behind the other, that in case the front rank gave way the rear rank would advance to meet the enemy, to give opportunity for the defeated troops to rally behind it. The strictest military discipline was maintained. Gambling, theft, profanity, and dueling were severely punished. Every regiment had its chaplain, and held religious services regularly, morning and evening.

All things being ready, the troops were embarked, and after a long and stormy passage reached the island of Rugen, belonging to Austria, where, on the 24th of June, 1630, just one hundred years after the Augsburg Confession of

Faith was adopted, they landed and intrenched themselves. The king was the first to step ashore; and he kneeled down and offered thanks to God for their safe arrival. It was an easy matter to drive the imperial troops from that and the neighboring islands, and to hold them as mediums of communication with Sweden.

He then advanced to Stettin, the capital of Pomerania. Bogislaus XIV was Duke of Pomerania, an aged man, an ally of the emperor, who had afforded aid to Wallenstein in the siege of Stralsund, but more from motives of fear than of devotion to Ferdinand. Gustavus demanded the surrender of the town, and the reception of a Swedish garrison. The aged duke came to the camp of the Swedes, and begged to be considered a neutral. "I come to you," said the king, "not as an enemy, but as a friend. I wage no war with Pomerania, nor against the German Empire, but against the enemies of both. In my hands this duchy shall be sacred. It shall be restored to you at the conclusion of the campaign by me more certainly than by any other. Look

to the traces of the imperial force within your territories and to mine, and decide whether you will have the emperor or me as your friend. What have you to expect if the emperor should make himself master of your capital? Will he deal with you more leniently than I? Or is it your intention to stop my progress? The case is pressing. Decide at once, and do not compel me to have recourse to more violent measures."

The aged duke found himself between two fires. He dreaded the wrath of the emperor; but the army of the Swedes was yet more to be dreaded, as already in his territory. "Be it as you wish, in God's name," he said; "and let the king be to me as a father." "Nay," replied the king, "I would rather be your son."

By the possession of Stettin he secured a depot for his army, and the command of the Oder and an open door to all Pomerania. The most of his troops were encamped in tents outside of the city; and their perfect discipline, and the respect they showed the persons and property of the inhabitants, excited their good will.

Multitudes came to enlist in the king's service. The young men of the land, the disbanded troops of the King of Denmark, of Mansfield, and Duke Christian of Brunswick, and even stragglers from the armies of the emperor, flocked to his standard. Torquato Centi, the general of the imperial troops, made an attack upon the Swedes, but was defeated and followed by the victors, who captured city after city. The retreating enemy laid waste the land in revenge on the Duke of Pomerania, and many villages were laid in ashes. This only served to wed the hearts of the people to Gustavus, and they voted him a contribution of a hundred thousand florins.

As Winter approached Torquato Centi made overtures for a cessation of hostilities, that the armies might go into Winter quarters. But Gustavus, whose troops were used to the rougher Winters of a more northern latitude, and who had been provided with sheepskins for any extremity of weather, had no idea of suspending the campaign. Torquato soon after resigned his command, and his army, after being compelled to

surrender Greifenhagen, Gaster, and Piritz, retreated in haste toward Brandenburg.

In pursuing the Imperialists the king, on one occasion, came near losing his life. In making a reconnoissance of the enemy's position in view of attacking, he was surprised and surrounded by a force far superior to his staff. His horse was shot under him, and he was in imminent danger of being killed or taken prisoner, when suddenly a company of Finns, that had accompanied him part way and were halted to await his return, hearing the firing, and supposing the king was in danger, rushed into the scene and rescued him.

Arrived on the borders of Brandenburg he solicited the alliance of his brother-in-law, George William, the Elector of Brandenburg. But he held back, dreading to incur the wrath of the emperor. To the ambassador who came to announce that the elector declined to commit himself, and that he refused to open to the Swedes the fortress of Castein to facilitate their march, Gustavus used this decisive language: "It is time for his highness to open his eyes, and to rouse

himself from his ease, that his highness may no longer be in his own land a lieutenant of the emperor; nay, rather of the emperor's servant. He makes a sheep of himself to be eaten by the wolf. His highness must be my friend or enemy, when I come to his frontier. He must be hot or cold. No third course will be allowed, be you sure of that." But Gustavus had to wait for time and the events of the war to produce a change in the mind of the elector. Already the outrages and plundering of the soldiers of the emperor's army in their course through his dominions had so disgusted and offended him, that he issued an order to the people to strike and put to death any soldier detected in stealing.

The advance of the Swedes now began to alarm the emperor. He had laughed at the idea of Gustavus undertaking, with a small army, to revolutionize his empire and rescue from his iron grasp the Protestant bishoprics and principalities. He called him the "Snow King," and predicted that he would soon melt away. But now he found that an invading army that knew no Winter, and

was sweeping all before it, was no jesting matter. His great general, Tilly, now generalissimo of the army, had never a doubt that the invasion of the Swedes was a formidable thing. "The King of Sweden," he said, "is an enemy both prudent and brave, inured to war, and in the flower of his age. His plans are excellent, his resources considerable; his subjects enthusiastically attached to him; his army composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scotch, and English, by its devoted obedience to their leader, is blended into one nation; he is a gamester, in playing with whom not to have lost is to have won a great deal!"

Schiller describes Tilly as follows: "Equally stern towards his soldiers and implacable towards his enemies, and as gloomy and impenetrable as Wallenstein, he was greatly his superior in probity and disinterestedness. A bigoted zeal for religion, and a bloody spirit of persecution, co-operated with the natural ferocity of his character to make him the terror of the Protestants. A strange and terrific aspect bespoke his character; of low

stature, thin, with hollow cheeks, a long nose, a broad and wrinkled forehead, large whiskers, and a pointed chin; he was generally attired in a Spanish doublet of green satin, with slashed sleeves, with a small high-peaked hat upon his head, surmounted by a red feather, which hung down to his back."

He gathered the imperial armies into one in Brandenburg at Frankfort, on the Oder, in mid-winter. Thence, with a strong detachment, he hastened to relieve Denmin and Colberg, in Pomerania; but the Swedes were too quick for him, and had already taken both places. He then withdrew towards Magdeburg, on the Elbe, to besiege that city.

The King of Sweden now made a rapid movement upon Frankfort, where eight thousand of the imperial army, under Schaumberg, were left in defense of the town. After three days' fighting it was taken by storm. No quarter was given to the enemy, in retaliation of the treatment of a Swedish regiment who were surrounded by Tilly on his first advance and were allowed

no quarter. With the cry of "New Brandenburg Quarter," the victorious Swedes killed every man they met or threw him into the Oder, and breaking all restraint, for three hours they ravaged and plundered the town. The remnant of the enemy escaped into Silesia, leaving the artillery and stores in the hands of the victors.

Prior to this, on the 23d of January, 1631, a treaty was signed at Bärwalde, in Brandenburg, by the envoys of France and Sweden, by which France agreed to furnish large subsidies for five years, and the King of Sweden promised to keep thirty-six thousand men in the field, to respect the constitution of the empire as it was before the war, and to tolerate the Catholic religion where it was already established.

The free city of Magdeburg had, of its own accord, declared against the emperor, and a Swedish officer was admitted to conduct the defense. Gustavus would have marched from Frankfort to counteract the designs of Tilly, but while the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg refused to allow him a passage through their territories, he

could not do it. An appeal to the emperor had been made by them, and other Protestants in an assembly at Leipsic in March, 1631, to rescind or suspend the Edict of Restitution. On that condition they would maintain their allegiance to him. No answer had been received, but the electors did not feel prepared as yet to break with the emperor.

Gustavus continued his appeals to them. He took a select portion of his troops and marched to Berlin, and held a long conference outside of the city with the Elector of Brandenburg. To his appeals the elector at last gave way, and ordered the gates of Spandau to be opened to him as he had desired. But John George, of Saxony, would not accede to his wishes. The result was, that with great grief he felt obliged to resign Magdeburg to its fate.

The imperial army at the siege had been strengthened by the arrival of re-enforcements under Pappenheim, from the emperor's Italian army, which had been set free by a treaty which secured peace to Italy.

The siege went on for several months, and the defenses and walls of the city were not so far damaged as to warrant a general assault. At last it was determined to employ a stratagem to put the garrison and armed citizens off their guard. The imperialists pretended to be about to abandon the siege—the firing ceased—the batteries were withdrawn. The weary inhabitants retired to rest, and when the signal for the assault was given the walls and ramparts were almost deserted. Falkenburg, the Swedish general, was not asleep; and he hastened, with what force he could collect, to repel the invaders. The citizens, hearing the roar of musketry, rushed in a tumultuous manner to the walls, to find their governor killed, and the enemy pouring into the city. They fought until noon, when the last rampart was taken, and the gates were open to the main army of Tilly. He now swept the streets with his cannon, and the despairing inhabitants were driven into their houses to await their doom.

At the word of Tilly, the fierce soldiers broke their ranks, and rushed upon their prey. The

houses were rifled, the men murdered, the women violated, the children trodden under foot, stabbed, or thrown out of the windows.

Some humane officers remonstrated with their general for not stopping the atrocious scene. "Return in an hour," said he. "I will see what I can do; the soldier must have some reward for his danger and toil."

The soldiers had at the beginning set fires in different parts of the city, and now the rising winds were wrapping the whole city in flame and smoke. The diabolical scene of rapine, murder, and lust was suspended, while the soldiers escaped to their camp. Three churches, and here and there a house, escaped the conflagration.

No less than thirty thousand of the inhabitants were killed by the sword, burnt in the fire, or thrown into the river. Four hundred of the richest citizens were saved by the officers of the league for the sake of getting a ransom; but the savage imperialists saved none.

Tilly entered the city four days after the battle, and put an end to the slaughter and rapine which

was still going on amidst the smoldering ruins of the city. The cathedral was still standing, and sheltered one thousand wretched and starving people. Bread was given them by the orders of the general, and the cathedral was cleared for the celebration of a Mass and singing of the *Te Deum* for their victory. "That cathedral," says Gardiner, "standing out from amidst the ruins of Magdeburg was but too apt a symbol of the work which Tilly and the league had set themselves to do. That the rights of the clergy and the Church might be maintained, all the homes and dwellings of men in Germany were to be laid waste, all the social and political arrangements to which they had attached themselves were to be dashed into ruin." This author thinks that Tilly was not responsible for the destruction of the city by fire, but only for not suppressing the rapine and outrage of which the soldiers were guilty; for the destruction of such a stronghold was a great loss to him.

Chapter IX.

DESTRUCTION OF MAGDEBURG PRODUCES ALARM, FOLLOWED BY INDIGNATION—GUSTAVUS COMPELS THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG TO ABANDON HIS NEUTRALITY—SAXONY ARMS—TILLY MARCHES INTO SAXONY, AND TAKES LEIPSIK—JOHN GEORGE JOINS GUSTAVUS—THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIK—GREAT JOY FOR THE VICTORY—WALLENSTEIN GLAD OF IT—GUSTAVUS MOVES TOWARD THE RHINE—ERFURT, KOENIGSHAFEN, SCHWEINFURT, WURTZBURG, AND NUREMBERG TAKEN—TILLY RETIRES BEFORE HIM—DUKE OF LORRAINE DEFEATED—TREACHERY OF THE BISHOP OF BAMBERG—SELINGENSTADT, ASCHAFFENBURG, STEINHEIM, AND FRANKFORT TAKEN—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE GUSTAVUS BY A PRIEST—CAPTURE OF MAYENCE—GUSTAVUS NOW FLEES FROM BAMBERG, PURSUED BY TILLY—GUSTAVUS ARRESTS THE PURSUIT, AND DRIVES TILLY TO BAVARIA.

THE fall of Magdeburg awakened the greatest alarm in the Protestant states and cities. John George of Brandenburg, who had yielded somewhat to the claims of Gustavus, drew back, and took more firmly a neutral position. Gustavus, therefore, concluded to take more vigorous

measures to bring him to a sense of duty. He appeared with his army before Berlin, the capital city, and threatened an assault. "I will not be worse treated than the imperial generals," said he to the elector's ambassador. "Your master has received them into his territories, furnished them with all necessary supplies, ceded to them every place which they required; and yet by all these concessions he could not prevail upon them to treat his subjects with common humanity. All that I require of him is security, a moderate sum of money, and provision for my troops. In return, I promise to protect his country, and to keep war at a distance from him. On these points, however, I must insist; and my brother, the elector, must instantly determine to have me as a friend, or to see his capital plundered." The elector did not wait for the arguments which the cannon, pointed at his gates, were about to utter; but at once agreed to renounce his neutrality, to open custom as he had and hand over to the king's troops, and to furnish a monthly subsidy of thirty thousand dollars.

Gustavus was at the same time cheered by the coming of William of Hesse Cassel, and Bernard of Saxe Weimar, a young and valiant prince, to offer him their services.

John George of Saxony, to whom, as a Protestant, many appeals had been made by Protestants to take sides with them, had, after the appeal to the emperor for the revocation or suspension of the Edict of Restitution had been denied, concluded to arm himself for any emergency. This was enough to give offense to Ferdinand II, and he ordered Tilly to advance into Saxony and force him to abandon his equivocal position.

Immediately Tilly dispatched messengers to the elector, to open his territories to the imperial army, and to join him in opposition to the King of Sweden, threatening to overrun and ravage the country if he refused.

The obstinacy of the emperor in maintaining the Edict of Restitution, the horrible treatment of Magdeburg, and the near approach of the Swedish army, put the elector in no mood to comply with these haughty demands. The mes-

sengers were explicitly informed that he should make no change in his policy, and would brave all consequences. "I perceive, gentlemen," he said, as they sat at his banquet, "that the Saxon confectionery, which has so long been kept back, is at length to be set on the table; but, as it is usual to mix with it nuts and garnish of all kinds, take care of your teeth."

He sent Field-marshal Arnheim to Gustavus soliciting his alliance. The king affected indifference. "I am sorry for the elector," he said. "Had he heeded my repeated remonstrances, his country would never have seen the face of an enemy, and Magdeburg would not have fallen. Now, when necessity leaves him no alternative, he has recourse to my assistance. But tell him that I can not, for the sake of the Elector of Saxony, ruin my own cause and that of my confederates. What pledge have I for the sincerity of a prince whose minister is in the pay of Austria, and who will abandon me as soon as the emperor flatters him, and withdraws his troops from the frontier? Tilly, it is true, has received a strong

re-enforcement, but this shall not prevent me from meeting him with confidence, as soon as I have covered my rear."

When Arnheim inquired what guarantees the king would expect, he replied, "I require that the elector should cede to me the fortress of Wittenberg, deliver to me his eldest sons as hostages, furnish my troops with three months' pay, and deliver up to me the traitors that are among his ministry."

"Not Wittenberg alone," said the elector when his ambassador returned, "but Torgau and all Saxony shall be open to him; my whole family shall be his hostages; and if that is not sufficient, I will place myself in his hands. I am ready to deliver to him any traitors he shall name, to furnish his army with the money he requires, and to venture my life and fortune in his cause."

The king replied, "The distrust which was shown to myself, when advancing to the relief of Magdeburg, had naturally excited mine; the elector's present confidence demands a return. I am satisfied provided he grants my army one month's

pay, and even for this advance I hope to indemnify him."

The next day the king put his army in motion, and crossed the Elbe into Saxony. Tilly advanced against Leipsic, and after some show of defense, which the condition of the fortifications made it impossible to maintain, the city capitulated.

Schiller states that "Tilly had fixed his headquarters in the house of a grave-digger, the only one still standing in the suburbs of Halle; here he signed the capitulation, and here, too, he arranged his attack on the King of Sweden. Tilly grew pale at the representation of the death's head and cross bones with which the proprietor had decorated his house, and, contrary to all expectation, Leipsic experienced moderate treatment." Was it not that shadow which had fallen upon his mind since he witnessed the horrible ruins of Magdeburg?

In the council of war held at Torgau, by the Protestant princes, Gustavus hesitated to declare for an immediate attack on Tilly. "If we

decide upon battle," he said, "the stake will be nothing less than a crown and two electorates. Fortune is changeable, and the inscrutable decrees of heaven may, for our sins, give the victory to our enemies. My kingdom, it is true, even after the loss of my life and my army, would still have a hope left. Far removed from the scene of action, defended by a powerful fleet, a well-guarded frontier, and a warlike population, it would at least be safe from the worst consequences of a defeat. But what chances of escape are there for you with an enemy so close at hand?" But John George was eager for the battle, and was willing to risk all upon it. Moreover, it was urged that large re-enforcements to Tilly's army were under way. Finally, it was concluded that the attack should be made, and the two armies of the Swedes and Saxons, under Gustavus, crossed the Mulda River, and advanced toward Leipsic. They found the imperial army drawn up on the heights overlooking the plain of Breitenfeld, with the river Loben in front. The passage of the river was guarded by Pappenheim at the head of two thou-

sand cuirassiers. The Swedes forded the shallow stream, and forced Pappenheim to retreat to the main body of the enemy. This was posted under the heights in a long line, with the artillery above them, commanding the whole plain. Their whole number was about thirty-four thousand—equal to the united armies of Saxons and Swedes. Tilly commanded the center of the line, Pappenheim the left wing, and Count Furstenberg the right. Opposed to them, on the plain, was the Swedish army in its usual order of battle, with a second line behind the front and in small battalions, with the cavalry in small squadrons, intermixed with musketeers, posted upon their wings. The king, with General Bauner under him, took his position on the right, opposite to Pappenheim; Colonel Tenfel commanded the center, and Gustavus Horn on the left wing. Beyond him, at some distance, the Saxon army was posted under its generals, the elector himself being present.

After a brisk discharge of artillery for two hours Tilly descended from his elevated position and commenced a furious attack upon the Saxons,

who were put to the rout, with the exception of six regiments. The elector was swept away with the fugitives, and fled to Eilenburg. Meantime, the two thousand cuirassiers, under Pappenheim, threw themselves upon the right wing of the Swedes. Seven times they repeated the charge, but in vain; they were routed at last, and fled from the field in disorder. Tilly having routed the Saxons advanced upon the Swedes, but was bravely resisted by Gustavus Horn, until the king, having got rid of Pappenheim, rushed to their aid and repelled the enemy. He then hastened to Tenfel, and ordered him to attack the artillery on the heights. After a fierce struggle the cannon were captured and turned upon the flank of the enemy engaged with the main body of the Swedes. An immediate retreat of the whole body of the enemy was the result. They fled in disorder from the field, all except four regiments of veterans, who maintained the contest until their numbers were reduced to but six hundred men. The flying foe were pursued by the Swedish cavalry until the darkness of night put an end to the battle.

Seeing how great a victory was gained over a grand army, led by the greatest general yet in the service of the emperor, Gustavus Adolphus threw himself upon his knees on the blood-stained ground, and offered thanksgiving to Almighty God. He encamped that night on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners was twelve thousand men. Tilly himself was wounded, and came near being taken prisoner. He followed his flying troops to Halle and Haberstadt, where he could rally only two thousand men out of the whole army.

The Elector of Saxony was left to recapture Leipsic, which he very soon accomplished, while Gustavus marched to Merseburg and Halle, which were successively surrendered. There he was joined by the elector, and plans were concerted for his future operations.

The news of the great victory at Leipsic and the annihilation of the imperial army spread joy over all Protestant Europe. Wallenstein, in his splendid retirement, exulted at the mortification which the emperor and his advisers experienced.

He even went so far as to suggest that if Gustavus would give him command of twelve thousand of his Swedes he would drive the House of Austria across the Alps. "If I had suffered such a defeat as Tilly I would kill myself," he said. "But it is a good thing for us." "The greatest folly the Bohemians had committed," he said, "had been to throw Martinitz and Slawata out of the window, instead of thrusting a sword through their bodies."

The idea of Gustavus was to break in two the empire, and to establish a North German Confederacy, a *Corpus Evangelicorum*, as he styled it, which should maintain the Protestant religion against all enemies. For this reason he did not march directly on Vienna and conquer Austria. His business was to expel the enemy from the Protestant states, and secure their independence. Consequently he turned towards the Rhine, in which direction Tilly had fled with the fragments of his army. The palatinate must be reconquered; the great Protestant commercial cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg were

waiting for him; there, too, was the "Priest's Lane," the ecclesiastical territories which had supported the league—namely, Würzburg, Bamberg, Fulda, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spires—which must now be made to supply him with money and his army with food.

Accordingly, dividing his army, he sent the Elector of Saxony to reconquer Bohemia, and with his Swedes began his march northward. He arrived at Erfurt October 2d, and found its gates open to him by the ascendancy of the Protestant party. There he established a garrison, and left his queen, who had come to him some time before with a re-enforcement of six thousand troops. Thence, crossing the Thuringian Forest, he entered Franconia, and captured the fortress of Koenigshafen. Soon after he took possession of Schweinfurt and Wurtzburg, from which the garrisons had fled in haste at his approach. Marienburg, full of all kinds of stores and wines of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, and well fortified, he carried by storm. He soon overran the whole bishopric.

Tilly had collected a considerable army, and felt strong enough to resist the progress of Gustavus. But he was commanded by his superior, the Duke of Bavaria, not to risk a pitched battle; and he was obliged to content himself with covering a few towns, and at length, crossing the Main, marched to protect the Palatinate.

The Duke of Lorraine, having raised an army of seventeen thousand men, splendidly equipped, but without experience in war, had the vanity of opposing the march of the victorious veterans of Gustavus. But the first approach of the Swedish cavalry threw them into a panic; they were soon routed, and fled across the Rhine. As the crest-fallen duke hastened through a village on the Rhine, a peasant struck his horse, exclaiming: "Haste, sir; you must go quicker to escape the great King of Sweden."

The Bishop of Bamberg saved his territories by overtures of peace; but when the King of Sweden had passed on in his triumphant course he treacherously broke the truce, and opened his fortresses to Tilly. But by this perfidy he only

made his bishopric the theater of war, with all its ravages; for a Swedish general, left in command in Franconia, very soon marched to contest the question of occupancy, and the country became the prey of spoilers from both armies.

Having secured the conquest of Franconia, and enlisted therein large bodies of men, who were drawn to him by his great fame and the forbearance and generosity he had displayed towards the inhabitants, he pressed towards the Rhine, leaving eight thousand of his troops under Gustavus Horn to hold the country. Having subjected Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, Steinheim, and the whole of the territory on both banks of the River Main, he marched to take possession of Frankfort. Deputies came to him, begging to retain its neutrality, fearing the destruction of its trade and commercial privileges from the vengeance of the emperor, if the fortunes of war should go against them. "I am astonished," said the king to them, "to learn that Frankfort prizes more highly its wealth than it does the duties which religion and patriotism impose upon

it; it is little to its honor to talk of its shops and fairs when the liberty of Germany and the Reformation are at stake. Moreover, from the Isle of Rügen to the banks of the Rhine I have found the keys of all the fortresses; I can also find those of Frankfort. It is for the well-being of Germany, and for the independence of the Protestant faith, that I do battle. No obstacle can stop me, for I am conscious of the justice and nobleness of my cause. I see plainly that the inhabitants of Frankfort think it sufficient to extend to me a finger, but I must have the entire hand; on this condition alone will I protect them."

The king dismissed them, and ordered his army to take a menacing position before the city. Their own predilections, and this appearance of compulsion, prevailed, and the gates were thrown open to him. He marched his army with flying banners through the city, and, leaving a garrison of six hundred men, he hastened that very day to Höchst, in Mentz, which before night opened its gates to him.

In Frankfort Gustavus held court for some

time, at which he had the presence of his queen, Maria Eleanor, and his chancellor, Oxenstiern. Various ambassadors and princes came to pay homage to him, and to form alliances with him. He regretted to perceive the discord which prevailed among them, and how ready they were to risk a noble cause for selfish ends.

He had good reason to suspect the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt of playing a treacherous game with him. One day he said to him: "If the emperor does not trouble me, I will not trouble him; your lordship can tell him so, for I know that you are a good subject of the emperor." The Jesuits taught the people to pray for his assassination, and one night an armed man, who proved to be a priest, was found concealed in his bed-chamber. When his friends expressed their anxiety for his safety, he said to them: "A king can not live shut up in a box. The wicked have not so much power as ill will, and confidence in God is the best safeguard. If I fall, God will raise up other instruments. His work does not depend on the life of one man." When they still urged him

to be more on his guard, he said, "Will you then that I should learn to distrust Providence?"

While his generals and allies were achieving victories in North Germany and Lower Saxony the king, re-enforced by ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the Landgrave of Casse, proceeded to the attack of Mayence, the capital of the Electorate of Mentz. The elector had repaired the fortifications and received a garrison of two thousand Spanish soldiers. He closed the mouth of the Main by piles and sunken vessels and rocks. He took good care, however, to carry away his most precious treasures to Cologne. The king was preparing to make the assault, when report came that Tilly was advancing toward Nuremberg; and he turned away to protect that city. When he reached Frankfort he heard that the city had made a resolute defense, and Tilly had withdrawn. Returning rapidly toward Mayence, he crossed the Rhine in face of a Spanish force, and laid siege to Oppenheim, a neighboring town, and in a few days took it by assault and destroyed the Spanish garrison. The crossing of

the Rhine was regarded as so great a feat, that seventy years afterwards it was commemorated by a marble lion on a lofty pedestal, holding a sword in his paw and a helmet on his head. While reconnoitering on the west bank, to which he passed in a small boat, he came near being captured by a troop of Spaniards, and saved himself by retreating rapidly to his boat.

The city of Mayence was strongly fortified and defended by a large force of Spaniards, who threw showers of bombs into his ranks as he approached the trenches, killing many of his brave soldiers. Still they pressed on, and were just about making a grand assault, when signals were made for a truce. The Spanish troops, to save the town, agreed to capitulate, provided they might withdraw unmolested. It was granted, the greater part of the garrison left the city, but a large portion preferred to enlist in the Swedish army. The citizens saved their property from pillage by the payment of eighty thousand florins, all except the Jews and the Roman clergy, who were obliged to make special contributions of

larger amounts. The king took up his residence in the elector's palace, and it being now the depth of Winter, he put his troops into quarters in the city and neighborhood. He greatly enlarged and strengthened its fortifications, and built at the opposite angle which the Main forms with the Rhine a new citadel, which was variously called Gustavusburg or Pfafferaub—a hard name, meaning the plunder of the priests.

Leaving Mentz under the government of Chancellor Oxenstiern the king directed his march to Franconia, where Gustavus Horn was contending with Tilly for the possession of the Bishopric of Bamberg. General Horn had swept the territory and captured the capital by storm. The Duke of Bavaria, yielding to the importunities of the bishop, had authorized Tilly to put forth all his power to recover the province. He collected twenty thousand men, and made an assault upon Bamberg. A strange panic seized the garrison on the approach of the vanguard; they opened the gates and fled, the resistance of the general avail-

ing nothing but to save the baggage and artillery. They were pursued, but under their skillful general retreated in good order and placed the river Main between them and their enemy. The king now opportunely appearing, the pursuit was arrested, and Tilly, in his turn, was forced to retreat.

The entire force of the united armies under Gustavus was not less than forty thousand men. Before such a host Tilly could do nothing but retreat hastily to the borders of Bavaria, there to make his stand for the protection of that electorate.

As the king passed on through the Palatinate, leaving his army outside he made an entry into the city of Nuremberg attended by the German princes and generals and an escort of cavalry. He was received with every token of welcome as the deliverer of Protestant Germany. "The noble appearance of his person," says Schiller, "completed the impression produced by his glorious exploits, and the condescension with which

he received the congratulations of this free city wof all hearts." When he came to his lodgings he was presented by the magistrates with a large sum of money and two silver globes of rare workmanship.

Chapter X.

BATTLE OF THE RIVER LECH—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF TILLY—DELIVERANCE OF AUGSBURG—SIEGE OF INGOLSTADT—GUSTAVUS'S HORSE KILLED UNDER HIM—HE LEAVES TO INVADE THE INTERIOR OF BAVARIA—TAKES POSSESSION OF MUNICH—MEANWHILE JOHN GEORGE INVADES BOHEMIA—PRAGUE IS SURRENDERED WITHOUT A BLOW—THE EMPEROR IS NOW OBLIGED TO RECALL WALLENSTEIN—HE MAKES HIS OWN TERMS—RAISES AN ARMY.

THE King of Sweden was not made for indolence and luxury. On the 5th of April, 1632, he lay siege to Donauworth, on the north side of the Danube, opposite Bavaria, a town which had suffered much from its attachment to the reformed religion. It was garrisoned by a strong detachment of Bavarian troops, who made a strong defense, but could not resist the impetuous onset of the Swedes. It was surrendered, and on Easter-day once more celebrated

the day with Protestant worship, and rejoiced in religious freedom.

Thence it was but a few hours' march to the river Lech, the boundary of Bavaria, on the opposite side of which Tilly was intrenched in a strongly fortified camp, protected by three small rivers. The Lech was a small river, but at this time it was a raging torrent, made so by the melting of the snows upon the mountains of Tyrol. "Shall we ford this angry stream in face of the long row of cannon upon its bank, and attempt to scale the enemy's works?" was the question in the council of war. Gustavus Horn, brave as he was, thought it would be madness. But the king, who had hazarded a personal reconnoissance of the whole region, and found that the ground on his side of the river was higher than the ramparts of the enemy, and more favorable for cannonading, replied, "What! have we crossed the Baltic and so many great rivers of Germany, and shall we now be checked by a brook like the Lech?" The bridges had all been carried away or destroyed, but protecting his

workmen by the fire of seventy-two cannon, and hiding their operations by clouds of smoke from burning straw and wood, he threw a bridge across the river. The Bavarians, directed by their great general, returned his fire with spirit, but from a less advantageous position. Their ranks were thinned by the showers of balls which swept through their camp, one of which struck Tilly above the knee and shattered his leg; while another soon after struck down his leading general, Albringer. Maximilian, the elector, was present and saw his wounded generalissimo carried to the rear. He saw the day was lost, and when the night came, orders were given to the army to abandon their works and retreat to Neuberg and Ingolstadt. This they accomplished in good order, bearing their dying general with them. The next day Gustavus crossed the bridge with his infantry and artillery, while the cavalry found a safe ford some distance above. Looking around upon the intrenchments, Gustavus was impressed with their strength, and wondered that the enemy should have abandoned them so soon. "Had I

been the Bavarians," he said, "though a cannon-ball had carried away my beard and chin, never would I have abandoned a position like this."

Before pursuing the Bavarians into the heart of their country, Gustavus turned back with a detachment of his army to deliver Augsburg, the city made famous by the Lutheran Confession, above a hundred years before. He soon drove out the garrison, and restored the Protestant government and worship. Religious worship was performed in one of the restored Lutheran churches, when his chaplain, Fabricius, preached from Psalm xii, 5: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." Several days were spent in feasts and thanksgivings.

Gustavus exacted of the magistrates an oath of allegiance to himself, not for the war merely, as he had required in other cities, but indefinitely. He seemed to feel that this old Lutheran town was a part of his own kingdom.

Thence he proceeded to besiege Ingolstadt,

where Maximilian had taken refuge. "Shortly after the appearance of the Swedish king before Ingoldstadt," writes Schiller, "the wounded Tilly, after experiencing the caprice of unstable fortune, terminated his career within the walls of that town. Conquered by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus, he lost, at the close of his days, all the laurels of his earlier victories, and appeased by a series of misfortunes the demands of justice and the avenging manes of Magdeburg. In his death the imperial army and that of the league sustained an irreparable loss, the Roman Catholic religion was deprived of its most zealous defender, and Maximilian of Bavaria of the most faithful of his servants, who attested his fidelity by his death, and even in his dying moments fulfilled the duties of a general. His last message to the elector was an urgent advice to take possession of Ratisbon, in order to maintain the command of the Danube and to keep open the communication with Bohemia."

Gustavus found the capture of Ingolstadt, with its strong fortifications, manned by the flower of

the Bavarian army, a harder task than he expected; and, foiled in his first assaults, he turned away to invade the interior of the country, hoping thus to lure Maximilian from his stronghold. He came near losing his life at this siege. His horse was struck and killed by a cannon-ball, and he was thrown to the ground; but, to the joy of his troops, he rose up unhurt, and mounted another horse. The young Margrave of Baden was not so fortunate; he was killed by another shot directly afterwards.

Penetrating Bavaria without meeting any formidable resistance, but severely annoyed and tried by the fanatical ferocity of its Popish inhabitants, who seized and put to torture every soldier that, leaving the ranks, happened to become their prey, he arrived at Munich, the capital city. A panic of fear had preceded him, and the keys of the city were sent to him at a distance. He might now have avenged the massacre of the inhabitants of Magdeburg and the cruelties inflicted on the Palatinate, but he had no such disposition. He rode into the city with Frederick, the unfortu-

nate elector and ex-king of Bohemia, at his side, and took quarters in the deserted palace of Maximilian. This moment of triumph Providence allotted to the prince whose rash acceptance of the crown of Bohemia had precipitated the avalanche of war upon Germany. He might even now have had a prospect of recovering his hereditary estates, but for his Calvinistic bigotry against the Lutherans, which moved him to deny to the conqueror the occupancy during the war, by Swedish troops, of the fortresses of his lost electorate, and to the Lutherans liberty of worship. Soon after the taking of Munich he died of a fever at Bocharach.

The treasures of Maximilian were carried off, all except thirty thousand gold ducats, which were found in the mouth of a large cannon. Gustavus was informed by a workman that the elector had buried the cannons under the floor of the arsenal. "Let the dead rise up and come to judgment," cried the king; when, lo! one hundred and forty pieces of the heaviest kind of artillery were brought to light. He levied a heavy contribution on the city.

Leaving him here, we inquire what had been the fortunes of John George, to whom had been assigned the task of conquering Bohemia? The same triumph over the enemy was accorded to him. The emperor had in vain endeavored to conciliate him, by ordering his general, Rudolph von Tiefenbach, to withdraw the army he had sent to invade Saxony; and so nothing hindered him from advancing, after having retaken Leipsic, into the heart of Bohemia. Schloekenau, Tetschen, Aussig, and Lentmerith were taken as he marched to Prague. The moderation of Gustavus did not suit the Saxons, and they ravaged every Roman Catholic town and village they captured. The people of Prague were frightened at their approach, and their consternation was increased by the departure of Wallenstein and all his court, as if he despaired of their making any defense, or cared nothing for it. The Roman Catholic nobility and clergy, officers of state and of the army, and multitudes of the people, fled in the direction of Vienna. The magistrates who were left hastened to the camp of the Saxons, and nego-

tiated with Field-marshal General Arnheim for the surrender of the city. The army marched in triumph into the city, and the elector, John George himself, soon after arrived and received the homage of the magistrates and citizens. He was aware that he was in the dominions of the king and emperor to whom he owed allegiance, and he abstained from any proceeding which should too much compromise him, and on a turn of the fortunes of war subject his own capital, Dresden, to retaliation. He even declined to use the imperial palace, and he set a guard of soldiers over the establishment of Wallenstein. The Roman Catholics were undisturbed in their worship, only he took from them four churches, which they had wrested from the Protestants.

The whole country was now at his feet. Count Thurn and other Protestant nobles returned from their exile, and took possession of their forfeited estates, which had been greatly improved and enriched in their absence. The churches of the Protestants were again crowded with happy worshipers. Count Thurn busied himself in taking

down from over the bridge the ghastly skeleton heads of his murdered accomplices in the revolution; and some of the sufferers in the overthrow of the revolution took occasion to avenge themselves upon their enemies.

Arnheim left Prague to attack Tiefenbach, who had intrenched his army near Limburg, on the Elbe. In the battle which ensued both sides suffered heavy losses, but the Saxons prevailed, and drove the enemy from their works across the Elbe. They withdrew in order, and destroyed the bridge after them.

The emperor now found himself in a great dilemma. He had force enough, when concentrated, and money enough, by the assistance of Spain; but he had no general of sufficient ability to cope with the great Swede. He thought at first of taking command of the army in person, but duties of state required his presence at the capital. He then thought of his son, afterwards Ferdinand III; but he was young, and his ability to manage a large army was not yet tested.

The emissaries of Wallenstein in Vienna clamored for his restoration. "Had Wallenstein commanded, matters would never have come to this," they exclaimed. The chief minister of State, Prince Eggenberg, had always remained the friend of Wallenstein, and he was not slow to encourage the emperor to think favorably of this matter.

At length the necessities of the hour broke down the pride of the emperor, and he consented that overtures should be made to Wallenstein. At first this crafty and ambitious genius pretended reluctance to enter again the arena of war. He declined the invitation of the emperor to come to Vienna for consultation; but, to facilitate communication, he removed to Znaim, in Moravia.

The first overtures included the suggestion that the young Prince Ferdinand should be associated with him in command. "No; never," said the proud duke, "will I submit to a colleague in my office. No," he added, blasphemously, "not even if it were God himself with whom I should have to share command!"

Prince Eggenberg exerted all the powers of

his persuasive eloquence to overcome the seeming aversion of Wallenstein to leave his splendid retirement for the hardships and perils of the camp. He acknowledged that he had reason to be indignant at the treatment he had received; but he begged him to "sacrifice his just indignation to the good of his country. This victory over himself would crown his other unparalleled services to the empire, and render him the greatest man of his age." He finally yielded so far as to accept command for three months, for the purpose merely of raising an army.

The fame of this great general immediately brought to his standard crowds of mercenaries, and money flowed into his treasury from Spain, Hungary, and the Austrian provinces. No less than forty thousand troops, of all nationalities and religions were enlisted before the three months had expired. He now resigned; but what save the master spirit which had conjured up this host could keep them together. Eggenberg offered, in the name of the emperor, to agree to all the conditions on which he had insisted; and

when he still held back the minister changed his tone, and demanded his submission to the emperor's requests on pain of his severest displeasure. He always meant to comply; and now he retired to state in writing his conditions. In addition to absolute control of the whole army, he required for the ordinary payment of his expenses an imperial hereditary estate, and for the extraordinary expenses one of the conquered estates within the empire. In case of peace being made, he required that the Duchy of Mecklenburg should be guaranteed to him. These hard terms were conceded; and Wallenstein was invested with sovereignty in all but the name.

Ferdinand granted this, doubtless, with the mental reservation that, if circumstances should warrant it, he would make it null.

Chapter XI.

WALLENSTEIN FAILS TO SEDUCE THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY FROM THE SWEDISH ALLIANCE—HE TAKES PRAGUE—MAXIMILIAN UNITES WITH HIM—GUSTAVUS PROTECTS NUREMBERG—WALLENSTEIN INTRENCHES HIS CAMP, AND REFUSES BATTLE—GUSTAVUS IS RE-ENFORCED, AND ATTACKS HIS CAMP, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS—HE QUILTS THE EXHAUSTED AND INFECTED REGION—WALLENSTEIN BREAKS UP HIS CAMP ALSO, AND INVADES SAXONY—GUSTAVUS PURSUES HIM—MEETS HIS QUEEN AT ERFURT—BATTLE AT LUTZEN—HIS DEATH, AND THE VICTORY OF HIS ARMY.

A NEW era was now dawning upon the imperial army. A general capable of competing with the illustrious Northern king, and clothed with dictatorial powers, was now to guide its fortunes. Artfully he forebore to advance directly into Bohemia for the expulsion of the Saxons, that he might make the experiment of seducing the elector, John George, from his alliance with the Swedes. But this time the elector stood firm; he felt how much he owed to

Gustavus, and he was not ignorant of the perfidy of Wallenstein and the emperor.

Failing in this maneuver, he marched directly to Prague, and took it by surprise. He then hurried to the mountain passes in Saxony, to cut off the retreat of the Saxon army; but Arnheim was too quick for him.

He now received urgent entreaties from Maximilian to come to the rescue of Bavaria from the grasp of the victorious Swede. But he remembered the part Maximilian took in bringing about his deposition, and he chose to chastise him now by leaving him to his fate for a time. At length he moved his army to Egra, in the Upper Palatinate, where the elector, in order to form a junction with him, must leave his territories in his rear unprotected. He was further humiliated by being obliged to surrender the command of the joint army to Wallenstein. In token that their quarrel was made up, they met and formally embraced in the presence of their troops. Their united forces amounted to sixty thousand men, infantry, artillery, and cavalry.

The troops of Gustavus were scattered about Germany; and, until he could collect them and unite with his allies, he was not prepared to encounter the enemy in the field. Finding that Wallenstein was aiming at Nuremberg, he resolved to throw himself into that city, and do his utmost to protect it from the fate of Magdeburg. The citizens received him with joy, and enthusiastically united with his army to provide for the defense of the city. Gustavus responded heartily to them. "Nuremberg is the apple of my eye," he said, "and I will defend it with all my power." His whole force, when Wallenstein's vast army approached, did not amount to twenty thousand men.

Knowing this disparity, Wallenstein, nevertheless, forebore to attack the city, and intrenched his army in a strong position about three miles from the walls. "Up to this time," he said to his officers, "we have had battles enough; I will teach the king of Sweden another mode of warfare." His new method was to starve out the Swedes; but he was not aware what immense

stores of provisions the careful magistrates had collected, and he found that the Swedes were better prepared to play this game than he, with his sixty thousand men against twenty thousand.

While waiting in this position, Oxenstiern arrived with a re-enforcement of ten thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, and Gustavus resolved to change the game, and make an assault upon the fortified camp of the enemy, seeing he could not draw him into the open field. Some decisive movement was made the more necessary by the accumulation of such immense numbers of men and horses requiring food. One hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, fifty thousand horses, and thirty thousand women and retainers, besides the inhabitants of Nuremberg, could not subsist many days in that now exhausted territory.

The battle commenced with a brisk cannonade from the Swedish batteries on the banks of the river Rednitz, and was answered by the enemy from their commanding position on the heights, ranging from the Rednitz to the Biber. It was the 3d of September, the anniversary of the massacre

of St. Bartholomew. Early in the day the king gave the order to cross the river, and commence the assault. Five hundred chosen men marched on through the narrow pass between the rivers swept by the fire of a hundred cannons. The five hundred heroic Germans who braved and met death in this volcano, were followed by an equal corps of Finlanders, who shared the same fate. Another devoted corps took their place, and then a fourth and a fifth and a sixth, until a thousand men lay prostrate in this valley of death. While this was going on, the Swedish cavalry, led by the king and Prince Bernhard, of Weimar, were contending with the enemy's cavalry on another part of the field. Both the king and the prince had a horse killed beneath them; and a cannon-ball struck so near the king as to carry away the sole of his boot. Night came on and put an end to the battle. One of the heights overlooking the batteries of the enemy had been taken by the Duke of Weimar; but this sole advantage of the Swedish army was lost by the heavy rain which fell in the night, making it impossible to drag the

artillery up the steep acclivity. The king saw that it was impossible to succeed in further assaulting such impregnable fortifications, defended by such an army, and he ordered a retreat of the whole attacking force across the Rednitz. A pleasant episode is mentioned by Schiller. "While the king was seeking an officer to convey an order to retreat, he met Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scotchman, whose native courage alone had drawn him from the camp to share in the dangers of the day. Offended with the king for having preferred a younger officer for some post of danger, he had rashly vowed never again to draw his sword for the king. To him Gustavus now addressed himself, praising his courage and requesting him to order the regiments to retreat. 'Sire,' replied the brave soldier, 'it is the only service I can not refuse to your majesty, for it is a hazardous one;' and immediately hastened to convey the command."

Nothing remained now for Gustavus but to break up his camp and move off to other provinces where subsistence could be had for his army. The heat of the early September season

was breeding a pestilence from the dead bodies of men and horses, which strewed the plain in the neighborhood of both of the hostile camps. Leaving a sufficient garrison for the protection of Nuremberg against surprise, he slowly marched his army in front of the enemy, to lure him from his stronghold, and took the road toward Windheim, in Bavaria. Five days afterward, while encamped at a distance from Nuremberg, convenient to return if it were assaulted by Wallenstein, the clouds of smoke rising from his camp and from surrounding villages proclaimed that the enemy had broken up his camp, and as if to spite his disappointment of taking Nuremberg, had set on fire also the numerous hamlets in the vicinity. This "new mode of warfare" had depleted his army one-half by sickness and starvation, and the same proportion of the Swedish army had fallen in battle and by pestilence.

Gustavus had planned to lay siege again to Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, the stronghold of Maximilian; but the ravages of Wallenstein in Saxony, whither he had gone, and the appeals of John

George for protection, changed his mind, and he hastened in pursuit of Wallenstein, hoping to force him to a decisive battle. Every-where in Saxony the people come out to greet him as he marched at the head of his army. One day a little trembling lark, pursued by a bird of prey, flew down to the bosom of the king for protection. "Poor little bird," said the king, "may God protect you." A happy omen, it was thought by the people, of the salvation which God had given the king to accomplish for them.

At Erfurt the queen was waiting to greet him. In one of the public squares she met him and embraced him. The next day, as he was to be off with his army, he said to the magistrates: "I now confide to your care that which I hold most precious upon the earth, the queen, my beloved wife. You know, sirs, that every thing in this world is subject to vicissitudes, and above all war, that scourge which God uses to chastise the perversity of men. Just as to any other, some misfortune may fall to my lot, perhaps death. If such should be the will of God concerning me,

have for my cherished wife the fidelity and devotion of which you have ever given me proofs." To the queen, who was weeping, he said, as he gave her a last embrace and kiss: "Be of good courage, we shall see each other again; if it may not be in this life, it will sooner or later be in the abode of eternal blessedness."

He hurries to Naumburg, and anticipates the detachment which Wallenstein had sent from his army to capture it. The rejoicing population were ready almost to adore him. They pressed to touch his garments as he rode through the streets at the head of his troops, and cast their garments in the way. "This people," said he to his attendants, "believe me a god! I fear lest God will cloud our prosperity, and show them that I am only a weak mortal like themselves."

Strongly intrenched at Naumburg he bade defiance to Wallenstein, who brew back and went into winter-quarters near Lützen. But his great general of cavalry, the fiery Pappenheim, the Marshal Ney of that war, could not brook idleness; he sought and obtained permission to detach

his corps for the protection of Cologne. No sooner was the news of his departure known to Gustavus than he broke up his camp and hastened to offer battle to Wallenstein. He said to his escort: "I truly believe that God is giving the enemy into my hands." At the first signs of his coming messengers were dispatched by Wallenstein to recall Pappenheim, who was not two leagues off. He immediately posted his army in an advantageous position, on a wide plain between Lützen and the canal which unites the Elsten and the Saal. He sent out a body of Croats to resist the Swedes as they crossed the river Rippoch, but the impetuous advance of the Swedes swept them away; and the two armies were soon face to face across the high roads, along which Wallenstein had the evening before the battle deepened the trenches, and on which he posted a body of musketeers. In the rear of these was a battery of seven large cannons, and beyond them, on a height marked by windmills, were fourteen smaller pieces commanding the plain. The infantry were planted in solid col-

umns fronting the road; the cavalry covered their flanks, and the ammunition-wagons were in the rear. As the force of Wallenstein was depleted by the detachment of Pappenheim, the sutlers and retainers of the camp were mounted on horses and posted on the left, to make at least a show of strength.

On his side, the King of Sweden arranged his army in two lines; in the first line the infantry was in the center and the cavalry on the two wings, with the artillery in front. The second line, parallel to the first, was formed in the same manner, with the reserve corps behind, commanded by Henderson, the Scotch general. The king's position was on the right wing; and the German cavalry on the left wing was commanded by Bernard, Duke of Weimar. Thus arranged, the two armies rested during the night.

In the morning the King of Sweden, after passing a whole hour in prayer with his chaplain, met his troops in the usual religious service; the whole army bowed on their knees in prayer, and his own battle-hymn was sung. He

then rode along the ranks to hail his troops, and inspire them with the enthusiasm which animated himself.

A fog covered the armies, so dense that they could not see each other; but toward eleven o'clock it lifted, and the order was given for the attack. The battle-cry of the Protestants, uttered by the king, was, "God is with us!" of the Catholics, "Jesus, Maria!" Amidst the fire of the enemy's batteries, and in sight of the flames of Lützen, which Wallenstein had ordered to be burnt to protect his flank, the Swedes rushed into the trenches, expelled the musketeers in the road, rushed on and took the first line of cannons, turned them on the enemy, and put to flight the first, second, and third brigades. The practiced eye of Wallenstein saw that all was lost if this was not arrested. He rushed forward with three regiments of horse, and rallied his troops, broke the order of the Swedes, recaptured his artillery, and drove the foe back into and across the trenches.

While this was going on, the king, on the

right wing, heading his heavy Finnish cuirassiers, scattered at the first shock the lighter-armed Poles and Croats, and the motley crew of mounted sutlers. At the moment of victory he heard of the repulse of the infantry in the center, and also of the check given to the left wing by the fire from the windmill batteries. Followed by a squadron of his cavalry, he flew to the rescue. But his powerful horse carried him ahead of his troops, and, plunging into and over the trenches, brought him almost alone into the midst of his disordered troops. Seeking an advantageous point of attack, he came too near the enemy's ranks, being near-sighted, and not distinctly seeing who they were, when a shot from a musket struck and broke his bridle arm. A corporal, suspecting that he was a general officer from his bearing, though he had nothing to distinguish him but a white plume in his gray cap, had directed a musketeer to aim at him. "That must be a man of consequence," said he, "fire on him."

"The king is wounded; he is shot," cried his followers, who had just now come up to him.

“It is nothing,” cried the king; “follow me.” Soon faint from loss of blood, he said in French to the Duke of Lauenburg, who had kept up with him all the way, “Lead me out of the fray, so that none will see my plight.” As he was turning round to reach his right wing another shot struck him in the back. “I have enough, my brother,” he cried to the duke; “leave me, and save your life.” Saying this, he fell from his horse, struck by several more balls. His young page, Lentelfinger, still clung to him, and was mortally wounded by a sword in the hands of one of the Croats, but lived long enough after the battle to report his master’s dying words. As he strove to raise him up, the cuirassiers who rushed to the spot asked who was there. “I was the King of Sweden,” said the king; whereat one of the company shot him through the head. His blood-stained steed, flying riderless over the field, proclaimed to the army the dreadful news.

But instead of disheartening his troops, it stung them to madness, and the battle was renewed with double rage. The Duke of Weimar,

who had been before designated as leader by Adolphus, in the event of this catastrophe, took command. The left wing was rallied, and they stormed the windmill heights and took the murderous guns, which had checked the progress at the first. The defeated center again rushed across the trenches and recaptured the seven pieces of artillery. The confusion of the enemy was increased by the explosion, at this moment, of their powder-wagons, scattering grenades and bombs over the field, and impressing the struggling host with the belief that the Swedes had gained their rear. They broke their ranks in terror. But at this crisis Pappenheim, with his cuirassiers, appeared on the field, and the tide of victory was turned back. Wallenstein, amidst flying balls, rallied his troops and reformed his line. The center of the Swedes, exhausted by long fighting, could not withstand this onset of fresh forces. They were driven back to the trenches, and lost again the artillery they had taken. Whole regiments laid down their lives upon the field, contending to the last.

The cavalry on the right wing of the Imperialists was rallying under the inspiring presence of Pappenheim, when he was pierced in the breast by two bullets and was carried out of the battle. They then fell into disorder. The Swedes seeing this, crossed the trenches the third time, captured again the enemy's batteries, and continued fighting with unabated fury until the night fell upon them, and put an end to the slaughter. Not long after the infantry of Pappenheim reached the scene of conflict, but too late to do effectual service, and being without orders, they retired in the direction of Leipsic. Thither Wallenstein followed them that night, and the army on the morrow, leaving their artillery and even their colors on the field of battle, gave proof that the victory was on the side of the Swedes.

The glory of the achievement was clouded by the death of their great leader. His body was found after much search, under a heap of the slain, covered with blood and dust, gashed and disfigured by horses' hoofs, and stripped of all distin-

guishing ornaments and dress. Had he worn his armor he might have escaped the fatal bullet, but a previous wound made it irksome, and when he was advised to put it on, he replied, "The Eternal One is my armorer." His hour was come, his work was done, and the God in whom he trusted took him in mercy from the sorrows of earth. The Pope pronounced his eulogy when he said, "He is the greatest king in the world." Even Ferdinand II, when the king's doublet stained with blood, was brought to him at Vienna, expressed regrets for the sad catastrophe. A large rock, near the spot where he fell, is known now as the "Rock of the Swedes." His body was conveyed to Sweden, and entombed finally in a splendid mausoleum, on the top of which, beneath the cross, a pelican nourishing her young with her own blood, is the symbol of his character.

A terrible suspicion fell upon Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, of being accessory to his death. A box on his ear for committing some impropriety in the queen's chamber had made them enemies in their youthful days. He had

just quitted the service of the Austrians without any good reason, and Oxenstiern had warned the king not to be too intimate with him; he stuck close to the king during all the battle, and he wore a green sash, which was the color of Austrian uniform—all these circumstances in an age, when the assassination of Protestant rulers was in vogue, led many to suspect him of this crime. But Schiller thinks that the perils to which the king exposed himself sufficiently accounts for his death, and that the maxim applies to this case, “that where the ordinary course of things is fully sufficient to account for the fact, the honor of human nature ought not to be stained by a suspicion of moral atrocity.” It is evident, from the reports of the catastrophe, that whatever the unprincipled duke intended to do, it was not his shot which brought the king to the ground.

The imperialists, too, had the grief of losing their greatest commander of the horse. Pappenheim was great in the charge and in the heat of the battle; but he was not adapted to the management of a great army. Two red streaks on

his forehead, like swords, marked him for war from his birth. He was wounded at the battle of Prague, where he made his first essay at the head of a regiment—he lay for hours senseless under a heap of the slain. When drawn out and revived, he said he had come back from purgatory. He was a sentimental papist. As now he lay dying, he said to his attendants, “Tell the Duke of Friedland that I die happy, since I know that the implacable enemy of my religion has fallen on the same day.”

Chapter XII.

THE ALLIES ASSEMBLE FOR CONFERENCE—THEY DECLARE THEIR UNITY AND DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE—OXENSTIERN IS APPOINTED CHIEF OF THE ARMIES—EXPLOITS OF THE SWEDISH ARMY IN 1637—WALLENSTEIN'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT—FINALLY MARCHES TO MEET THE SWEDISH ARMIES IN SILESIA—HE INVITES A CONFERENCE OF ARNHEIM AND THURN AND DISCLOSES HIS PROJECT OF SETTLEMENT—HE CAPTURES THURN WITH HIS WHOLE CORPS—LETS HIM GO—WALLENSTEIN DECLARED A TRAITOR—HIS CHIEF GARRISON OF PRAGUE DECLARE AGAINST HIM—HE MARCHES TO EGER TO JOIN THE SWEDES UNDER BERNHARD—HE IS ASSASSINATED.

THE work of Gustavus was done. The usurpations of Ferdinand II were nullified, the Edict of Restitution was made void, and the Protestant administrations recovered their bishoprics. It was not, however, the will of Divine Providence that a northern German Protestant confederation, with the King of Sweden as emperor, should be formed. "The establishment of

Protestantism in Europe, as a power safe from attack by reason of its own strength, was the cause for which he found it worth while to live, and for which, besides and beyond the greatness of his own Swedish nation, he was ready to die. It may be that, after all, he was 'happy in the opportunity of his death.'"

But what now are the allies to do? Shall they make peace or shall they continue the war? The grasping spirit of Ferdinand II and the bigotry of the League, would not allow of peace with them on any advantageous terms, under their present ill auspices, their leader and champion being dead, and they likely to quarrel among themselves. But "God buries his workmen, but carries on his work." The Swedish Council, with the sage and valiant chancellor at their head, determined to carry on the war. The young Christina was proclaimed queen under the regency of her mother. Russia, Denmark, Holland, England, and France declared themselves more than ever the friends of Sweden. One man there was fitted to take the place of Gustavus—both in coun-

cil and in war. Oxenstiern, next to the queen herself, suffered affliction from the death of his friend and sovereign; but he rose superior to the emergency, and addressed himself to the task of restoring confidence to the allies, and enlisting all their energies in consummating the enterprises of the king.

The Duke of Friedland, Wallenstein, seems to be the only man on the side of the enemy, with mind sagacious and liberal enough to see that an opportunity was now given to Ferdinand to conciliate the States of the Empire, by proclaiming a universal amnesty and toleration of religion. But his advice was disregarded, and renewed efforts were made to enlist men for a more vigorous prosecution of the war to the bitter end.

At the instance of Oxenstiern an assembly of the four Circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine met at Heilbronn for consultation. Saxony was not represented, for John George was not in a mind to be influenced by a Swedish nobleman, and he had ambitious notions of taking the head of the Protestant States, and

this would not be conceded. His defection grew apace, until he went over altogether to the emperor, and was denounced by his former confederates as a traitor to his country and his religion. There were present deputies of twelve cities—nobles, doctors, and the ambassadors of France, England, and Holland.

Oxenstiern was the presiding genius—he opened the convention and directed all its deliberations; a task which was made difficult by the diverse interests of the different States and the German prolixity of discussion. They did not second his views for a formal declaration of war, because it was superfluous; and they had warm disputes about the quota which the respective States should furnish for the maintenance of the army; but they declared their unalterable union, and with prompt unanimity devolved upon the Chancellor the supreme command of the army. Two millions and a half annually were voted for the expenses of the war. The German estates were gratified by the surrender to the heirs of the late unfortunate Elector Frederick the whole of the

Palatinate which Gustavus had recovered, except Manheim, which was to be held by the Swedes as security for the payment of war expenses. Oxenstiern also felt obliged to reaffirm the promises made by the king to the Landgrave of Hesse, to Duke Bernard of Weimar, and to the Duke of Württemberg, to make over to them certain coveted territories which he expected to conquer.

The victorious army of Lützen, under its new leader, strengthened by the troops of Saxony and Lunenburg, drove the enemy entirely out of Saxony. They then divided: the Saxons marched against the Austrian army engaged with Count Thurn; the Duke of Brunswick led a portion of the Swedish army in Westphalia and Lower Saxony; and the Duke of Weimar, a larger portion into Westphalia and Lower Saxony. He was afterward called to unite with Generals Horn and Bauner, and the Rhinegrave Otto Louis, to maintain, against the Bavarians led by Aldringer, the positions on the Danube and Lech which Gustavus had conquered. They proved more than a match for the enemy, and would have penetrated

into Bavaria; but a mutiny broke out in the army on account of the long arrears in their pay. The Duke of Weimar at length succeeded in allaying the excitement; but he took good care to feather his own nest by securing the Bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. Large estates, and five millions of dollars, were distributed among the officers.

After these disgraceful scenes the army again divided. Gustavus Horn marched to the relief of Würtemberg, threatened by the imperialists; and thence to the Danube, to meet a new force of fourteen thousand Italians under the Spanish Duke of Feria, with whom Aldringer united his Bavarian army. Horn, too, was re-enforced by the Palsgrave of Birkenfeld, and had command of thirty thousand troops. The enemy crossed the Danube into Swabia, and when Horn drew near and offered them battle they evaded it, and passed by the Black Forest towards Alsace to encounter Otto Louis, who had been achieving victories in the Palatinate, and even over the Duke of Lorraine. They were driving him before them when Horn came up; and they were forced to retreat

with great loss, aggravated by the extreme severity of the Autumnal cold and storms. The Duke of Feria is said to have died of grief at the failure of the enterprise.

The Duke of Weimar, meanwhile, finding that Aldringer had departed, crossed the Danube, and with forced marches came down upon the stronghold of Ratisbon and laid siege to it. The elector, greatly surprised and alarmed, sent immediately pressing word to Wallenstein to come to the rescue. He promised to send twelve thousand men under Gallas, but failed to do so; and the commander of the garrison, despairing at length of help, was obliged to capitulate. Bernard thence marched southward, with the view of invading Austria. He reached and crossed the Iser; and having threatened Passau and Lauturn, frightened the emperor, and even roused the purposely inert Wallenstein to come to the rescue, he prudently halted, recrossed the Iser, returned to Ratisbon, and went into Winter-quarters in the enemy's territory.

In Lower Saxony and Westphalia the Swedish

arms were also triumphant. Duke George of Lunenburg took the fortress of Hamel, and gained a splendid victory over the imperial army under General Gronsfeld, near Aldendorf, taking sixteen cannons and seventy-four banners, and taking three thousand prisoners, while as many more were slain in battle.

Such were the successes of the armies of Gustavus the first year after his death. But where all this time was his great antagonist, Wallenstein? After the battle of Lützen he remained quiet in Bohemia, careless of any measures or opportunities to retrieve the reputation lost by his defeat. He called court-martials upon the officers who had behaved badly, and had them shot, while he rewarded the brave with splendid presents and tokens of regard. At length, in the Spring of 1633, he moved his army into Silesia, where three of the Swedish divisions had held sway, under the direction of Arnheim, Count Thurn, and Bergendorf. His entire force was not less than forty thousand men. Though the allies numbered but three-fifths as many, with

greater courage than prudence, they resolved to beard the lion in his intrenched camp at Munsterburg. To let them know that he was superior in numbers, he moved out of his intrenchments and passed in review before their camp; but yet he declined battle. Further to indicate that he had other motives than fear for his strange course, he put to death the commander of a castle for presuming to hold out for a short time against his overwhelming force.

Very soon the secret was made clear to the allies by a trumpeter inviting Arnheim to a conference. He proposed an armistice of six weeks, to accomplish his plan. "He was come," he said to Arnheim, "to conclude a lasting peace with the Swedes and with the princes of the empire, to pay the soldiers, and to satisfy every one. All this was in his power; and if the Austrian Court hesitated to confirm his agreement he would unite with the allies and 'hunt the emperor to the devil.'" To Count Thurn, at a subsequent conference, he said: "All the privileges of the Bohemians should be confirmed anew, the exiles

recalled and restored to their estates; and he himself would be the first to resign his share of them. The Jesuits, as the authors of all past grievances, should be banished, the Swedish crown indemnified by stated payments, and all superfluous troops on both sides should be employed against the Turks. If he should obtain the crown of Bohemia, all the exiles would have reason to applaud his generosity; perfect toleration of all religions should be established within the kingdom, the Palatine family be reinstated in its rights, and he would accept the Margravate of Moravia as a compensation for Mecklenburg. The allied armies would then under his command advance upon Vienna, and, sword in hand, compel the emperor to ratify the treaty."

At the Court of Ferdinand the strongest suspicions were inferred, from his course of conduct, that he was meditating mischief. But what could the emperor do? He had engaged not to place any other general over him, and to dismiss him again seemed not to be so easy. It was determined to raise a Spanish army, over which he,

as a German general, could not pretend to have control. When this army was chiefly raised in Italy, he saw what it meant, and protested against it; but in vain. He had made overtures to France through the French ambassador at Dresden, to obtain the approval of that government of his scheme of pacification and settlement, which met with a cordial response. Any thing to humble Austria suited France. The ambassador, however, communicated with Oxenstiern on the subject, and they agreed that he could not be trusted; that it might be he was luring them into a snare. Even Arnheim, who at first was favorably impressed, was compelled by his contradictory conduct to agree with them.

Vexed by this show of contempt for his scheme, he changed his tactics, and sought to strike a blow which should convince them that he could execute his projects, and that they would better fall in with them. A report was started that Piccolomini, his second in command, was about to invade Saxony; and Arnheim, to thwart this movement, separated his division from the army

and pursued after him, leaving Count Thurn encamped at Steinau, on the Oder. Suddenly Wallenstein turned towards the Oder and surprised the Swedish army by his approach. The cavalry sent out to meet him were driven back, and the camp, numbering only twenty-five hundred men, was surrounded by twenty thousand. Resistance was useless; Thurn surrendered, and, with all his officers and men, was taken prisoner. Great was the rejoicing at Vienna that this arch-rebel was at last captured. But Wallenstein set him at liberty, partly to spite the Jesuits and his own personal enemies at court, but chiefly because it would not do to send to Vienna the man who had been intrusted with his designs. When it was demanded of him why he had done this, he replied: "What should I have done with this madman? Would to heaven the enemy had no generals but such as he. At the head of the Swedish army he will render us much better service than in prison."

After this he captured Leignitz, Grossglogan, and Frankfort, on the Oder. His generals cap-

tured Landsberg, the key of Pomerania, while he turned into Lusatia, captured Goerlitz and Bautzen, and threatened Saxony with invasion. But the conquests of Bernard of Weimar along the Danube constrained him at last to yield to the entreaties of the Elector of Bavaria to come to his aid. He did nothing but recapture from the Swedes the town of Cham, for, hearing that the Saxons were about to invade Bohemia, he turned aside and remained there, on the plea that Bohemia was the emperor's hereditary estate.

The emperor's patience was now exhausted, and he determined to deprive him once more of his command. The Elector of Bavaria threatened that he would make common cause with the Swedes if this was not done. Intimations of it were given to Wallenstein by positive orders from Ferdinand II to one of his subordinate generals to join Maximilian without delay, and to himself to dispatch re-enforcements to the Spanish army now approaching from Italy. Something must now be done to maintain his position and execute his purpose. He takes measures to ascertain the

views of his officers and to secure the devotion of his soldiers.

Colonels Knisky and Terzky, his relatives, and Colonel Illo had long been initiated into his schemes. He now tries Count Piccolomini, whom he had specially honored and loved, not only on account of his bravery, but because they were born under the same conjunction of the stars. Piccolomini dissembled the astonishment he felt at his treason, and suggested the dangers of such an enterprise. Wallenstein laughed at his fears. "In such an enterprise," he said, "nothing was difficult but the commencement. The stars were propitious to him, the opportunity the best that could be wished for, and something must be trusted to fortune. His resolution was taken, and if it could not be otherwise, he would encounter the hazard at the head of a thousand horse." Piccolomini immediately forwarded to Vienna an account of the disclosures which had been made to him.

Soon after, in January, 1634, he called a conference of his officers at Pilsau, on pretense of

consulting them on new orders of the emperor in respect to the detachments from his army, and also in regard to the siege of Ratisbon, which was ordered to take place that Winter. Three leading officers were not present, Gallas, Callerode, and Aldringer—for what reason did not appear. He intrusted to Field-marshal Illo, a man of great address, and wholly devoted to him, the difficult task of making known his designs. The point he was to gain was that they should refuse their consent to the dismissal of the general. He showed by the new orders that thus was intended, and that it was the work of the Spaniards, who were ever domineering, in concert with the Jesuits, even the mind and councils of the emperor. He declared that the great general to whom they owed so much would resign before such a second disgrace should come upon him; and this he had authority to inform them of. The result was a unanimous, spontaneous outcry against it. A committee was sent to entreat him not to do it. He showed reluctance to comply with their request. A second deputation was made with more earnest

entreaties. He finally agreed not to quit the service, provided they would adhere to him to the last extremity. A written covenant was drawn up, and as it included the proviso, "as long as *Wallenstein shall employ the army in the emperor's service,*" no one hesitated to approve of it.

The next step was to invite them all to an entertainment, where Illo arranged to have them sign it; but he had struck out of the copy the conservative clause. When they came to sign it they were so muddled with wine that many did not notice the omission. Some refused at first, but at last all signed, Piccolomini with the rest.

The next day Wallenstein met them, and complained of the conduct of those who had shown hesitation to come up to their first agreements, and had signed so obscurely that their writing was not legible. They withdrew for consultation, and returned to apologize and to sign all anew. He now sent fresh orders to the absent generals to make an appearance without delay. Aldringer pretended sickness, and Gallas came solely for the purpose of being a spy upon his proceedings.

He received from the emperor a patent commission to take command of the army, and he was ordered to convey to certain officers a positive order to seize the person of Wallenstein and hold him for trial. That was, indeed, a dangerous commission to receive in the camp of the great traitor, and in a city devoted to him. Accordingly, he offered to go after Aldringer, which so pleased Wallenstein that he dispatched him in his own carriage. Instead of executing his commission he sent Aldringer at once to Vienna to carry full information of all that had happened. As Gallas did not return, Piccolomini begged to go after him; and, strange to relate! he too was allowed to depart; and, indeed, was conveyed by the general as far as Lintz in his own carriage. The eyes of Wallenstein were soon opened by placards circulated by Gallas all over the country occupied by the imperial troops, denouncing him as a traitor.

He now issued orders to all the troops under his command to march to Prague, where he intended to proclaim his objects; and thence to

make an irruption into Austria, in concert with the Duke of Weimar, who had already agreed to support him in his conspiracy by a diversion on the Danube.

Colonel Terzky's regiment was making its advance towards Prague when he received intelligence that the garrison there had declared for the emperor, and he retreated to Pilsen. "I had peace in my hands," exclaimed Wallenstein, "but God is righteous."

With the troops that were under his immediate command, and were attached to him and his fortunes, he marched to Eger, where he would be in a position to unite with the Swedes under Bernard. Oxenstiern had now no hesitation to make alliance with him, and the Duke of Lauenburg was sent with four thousand men to make connection with him. On his way to Eger one of his attendants advised him, probably in a half serious and half jocular tone, to "take forty thousand men at arms (that is, forty thousand ducats stamped with an armed man), and advance to Vienna and make peace with the emperor, who

could not resist such a force!" "The advice is good," replied Wallenstein, in the same vein, "but let the devil trust it." He believed, that in the army of the Swedes he would find a place to punish the emperor and to secure the object of his ambition. But the decree of outlawry against him was taking its effect, on the way to Eger, in the mind of one Leslie, a Scotch officer in his army, who, immediately on their arrival, communicated the treason of the general and his outlawry to Colonel Butler, an Irish papist, who was commandant of the town, and to his lieutenant, Gordon, a Scotchman. They acknowledged their superior duty to the emperor, and determined to make Wallenstein prisoner and deliver him up to justice. In perfect confidence the general communicated to Leslie his inmost feelings of mingled grief and wrath for the course of the emperor, the intentions he had of combining with the Swedes in the war against him, and the fact that Duke Bernard was already on their march to take possession of Eger. The three conspirators, therefore, agreed that they must make haste; and,

furthermore they must not merely seize the person of Wallenstein, but take his life.

Accordingly, a banquet was prepared that evening in the castle by Butler, to which Wallenstein and his officers were invited. But Wallenstein was not in a condition of mind to enjoy such festivities; and he declined the invitation and withdrew to his private quarters for rest and sleep. The plan must be changed; the special friends of Wallenstein must be killed at the banquet, and an assassin must be sent to surprise him at his rooms. A sufficient number of the soldiers of the garrison were intrusted with the plot and admitted to the castle, six of whom were concealed in a room near the banquet-hall.

Illo, Terzky, Knisky, and Captain Newman were at the table, without any suspicion of evil intent. As the wine cup circulated, they talked glibly of their expectation of the coming of the Swedes to join them, toasted their general, and boasted that he would no longer be a servant, but a sovereign. As the dessert was brought in Leslie gave the signal; instantly armed men

rushed in, with cries of, "Long live Ferdinand!" Knisky and Terzky were instantly killed. Illo was too quick for them. Putting his back to a window, he defended himself and killed two of the assassins; but at last was cut down. Newman escaped from the room, but was seized in the court of the castle and killed.

Having taken measures to guard the town from insurrection, the three conspirators consulted what to do with Wallenstein; but, heated with the bloody strife at the banquet, they were not long in deciding to adhere to their last purpose of putting him to death. An Irish captain, Devereux, who had given his adherence to the plot, was ordered to proceed to the residence of Wallenstein and execute the deed.

That evening Seni, the astrologer, was visiting Wallenstein, and talking of the omens of the stars. "The danger is not yet over," said Seni. "It is," replied the duke; "but that thou, friend Seni, thyself, shalt soon be thrown into prison, is also written in the stars." The astrologer had not long left when Devereux, with six soldiers, ap-



Assassination of Wallenstein.

Face page 175.

peared at the door of the house. They were at once admitted by the guard, who were in the habit of seeing the captain go in and out at all times. A page on the stairs was about giving an alarm, and was pierced with a pike. At the ante-chamber a servant was just leaving the room, and locking the door after him. In an instant they rushed against the door and burst it open. Wallenstein was standing in his undress by the window, having been awakened by an accidental discharge of a musket in the street, and also by wild outcries from the wives of Terzky and Knisky. "Art thou the villain," cried Devereux, "who intends to deliver up the emperor's troops to their enemy, and to tear the crown from his majesty's head? Now thou must die." Overcome by his emotions, Wallenstein stood for a moment in silence; then, stretching out his arms, he opened his breast to the deadly thrusts of seven pikes, fell to the floor, and died without a groan.

Chapter XIII.

CHARACTER OF WALLENSTEIN — THE EMPEROR'S SON IS MADE GENERALISSIMO — BATTLE OF NORDLINGEN — ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE — DEFECTION OF SAXONY — TREATY OF PRAGUE — ITS TERMS AND EFFECTS — FRANCE PROCLAIMS WAR — SPANIARDS INVADE FRANCE FROM THE NETHERLANDS — THE NATION RISES AND DRIVES THEM BACK — VICTORIES OF BAUNER IN GERMANY OVER THE SAXONS AND IMPERIALISTS — DUKE BERNARD'S VICTORIES AND DEATH.

WALLENSTEIN was fifty years of age at his death. His history has been written by friends and enemies in opposite strains of eulogy and defamation, so that it is not easy to make a just estimate of his character. It is evident that he was excessively ambitious and self-seeking, and without those kind and gentle traits which in Gustavus Adolphus won the personal affection of all his attendants. His views of public policy were liberal and wise beyond his times. Had his ideas of unity and religious

toleration been followed, it would have been the salvation of Germany. As a military genius, he had no superiors. By strict discipline, and by generous rewards of merit, he secured instant obedience from his troops. On his making an order once that his soldiers should wear red sashes, a captain of cavalry tore off his gold embroidered sash and trampled it under his feet. Wallenstein instantly sent him the commission of a colonel. A soldier was seized by him and ordered to be hung for depredations. The soldier protested his innocence. "Hang the innocent, and the guilty will tremble all the more," exclaimed the general. The soldier sprang upon the judge giving sentence, to wreak his vengeance on him, when he was at once disarmed by the bystanders. "Now let him go," interposed the general; "it will excite sufficient terror." The Germans ever mention the name of Wallenstein with affection and reverence; and Schiller's immortal dramas, as well as his "Thirty Years' War," keep him in perpetual remembrance.

He was of large form, severe countenance,

with fiery black eyes, and a demeanor distant and imperious. He was born to be a king of men; and if the Swedes had accepted his overtures, and assisted in making him King of Bohemia, it would have been better for all concerned. His first wife died not long after marriage, and his second wife mourned his death with genuine sorrow. He was buried in the Carthusian monastery which he had founded at Gitschin. He made no pretense of personal religion. He believed more in astrology than in revelation, and the stars have shed no light upon his eternal future.

After Wallenstein's death the emperor's son, Ferdinand, King of Hungary, was put at the head of the army; and Gallas was made his lieutenant, with the practical control. Their first essay was the siege of Ratisbon, which was soon forced to capitulate; and soon after Donauwörth shared the same fate. They next laid siege to Nördlingen, in Swabia. The Swedish army, under Horn and Bernard of Weimar, marched to relieve it. Horn doubted the propriety of the attempt, as they had an inferior force, and the

enemy, he learned, was soon to be reduced by orders to the cardinal-infanta who commanded the Italian division to depart to the Netherlands; but the impetuous Bernard overruled his discretion, and battle was resolved upon. The point of attack was a hill which overlooked the imperial camp. As night set in the Swedes marched through the woods, and with great difficulty dragged the cannon to the foot of the hill; but before they could arrive the enemy had taken possession. Nevertheless, at break of day the order was given to storm the heights. The intrenchments, being in the form of a crescent, were reached from opposite sides, and in the impetuosity of the attack the separate storming parties came into collision. Confusion ensued, which was increased by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder. At this moment the cavalry of the enemy rushed upon them and drove them off the heights. Another attempt was made. Seven times the grand regiment of Bernard scaled the hill, to be rolled back again, while the fire of the cannon from the fort scattered death over

the Swedish ranks, where Horn was waiting for the signal to advance. The rush of the defeated cavalry back upon them broke their ranks; and the whole army retreated in disorder, with the loss of sixteen thousand men, killed, and taken prisoners, and nearly all their cannons, baggage-wagons, and colors. Horn himself was taken prisoner, and Bernard with difficulty escaped with the remnant of his army to Frankfort. This battle was fought September 6, 1634.

The victory of the imperialists was as great as that of Gustavus over Tilly at Leipsic, and the consequences were equally momentous. Indeed, the whole of South Germany, with the exception of a few fortified towns, before Spring, was captured by the imperial troops. Indeed, the cause was lost, unless the princes of Upper Germany could make alliance with foreign nations, and roll back the tide of conquest and invasion.

Oxenstiern now saw that the time had come to accept the overtures of Richelieu, and secure the support of France. He had hesitated to make common cause with a government which had in

France persecuted and trodden down the Huguenots; but unless the labors of a sixteen years' campaign should be utterly lost, it must be done. France had no interest in the war but to humble her old rivals, the Austrians and the Spaniards, and to enlarge her own boundaries to the Rhine. The ambassadors of the princes of North Germany now urged Richelieu to take possession of Alsace, the fortress of Breysach, and the region on the Upper Rhine. This giving up of the keys of Germany to a Catholic power would not have been necessary had the German Protestants been united, and after their long trials and sufferings in war had resolved to stand to the death or victory. But John George of Saxony, the chief of the Protestant princes, could hold out no longer, and his defection was considered a greater disaster to the cause than the battle of Nördlingen. It is true that Saxony had been worse ravaged than any other part of Germany, where all had suffered by the marches and robberies and bloodshed of the contending hosts. All sighed amidst their wasted fields and burnt villages and mur-

dered families, for a peace on almost any terms.

Negotiations for peace were entered into by the representatives of John George and Ferdinand II at Prague, to which the German States and the Swedes were invited, but they did not accept the invitation. The Edict of Restitution came under consideration at the outset. It was not formally but virtually rescinded by the emperor, by the agreement that the bishoprics in dispute should remain for forty years in the same condition as before it was issued; and in the mean time a commission, composed of representatives of the Catholics and Protestants, should permanently fix their status. But the Bishopric of Halberstadt should remain in possession of the Catholics, and Magdeburg in the hands of Prince Augustus of Saxony. "Four estates were taken from the territories of Magdeburg and given to Saxony, for which the administrators were to be otherwise indemnified. The Dukes of Mecklenburg were to retain their territories. Donauworth received its liberties. The claims of the Palatinate were

passed over, on account of the quarrels of the Lutherans and the Calvinists. All the conquests made by the German States or by the emperor were to be restored. All which had been appropriated by France or Sweden were to be forcibly wrested from them. The troops of both parties were to form an army.*

Lusatia, by a special treaty, was to be ceded to the Elector of Saxony, and its religious freedom and that of Silesia guaranteed.

The states represented at the Conference of Heilbronn were excepted from the benefits of this treaty. The "Landgrave of Hesse Cassel was shut out as a Calvinist."

The effect of all this is described by Gardiner as follows: "The ideal of Ferdinand and Maximilian was gone. The Church was not to recover its lost property; the empire was not to recover its lost dignity. The ideal of Gustavus of a Protestant political body was equally gone. Even the ideal of Wallenstein, that unity might

* See Schiller's "Thirty Years' War," p. 302.

be founded on an army, had vanished. From henceforth French and Swedes on the one side, Austrians and Spaniards on the other, were busily engaged in riving at the corpse of the dead empire. The great quarrel of principle had merged into a mere quarrel between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, in which the shred of principle, which still remained in the question of the rights of the southern Protestants, was almost entirely disregarded."

The treaty of Prague was signed by the envoys of the emperor and the Elector of Saxony on the 30th of May, 1635. Fifteen days before this a French herald appeared in Brussels and made a declaration of war. The plan was to send an army to expel the Spaniards from Italy, while another army was to defend Lorraine, and Bernard of Saxe Weimar was to land a division across the Rhine into Germany. A junction of French troops was to be made with the Dutch army under the Prince of Orange, and invade the Spanish Netherlands. This latter movement proved ineffectual, and Bernard was compelled

to retreat. The next year, 1636, the Cardinal-Infanta, at the head of the Spanish troops from Netherlands, invaded France, captured Corbie, and threatened to advance to the capital. The nation was alarmed, the whole people, Catholic and Protestant, were roused to action, and an immense arming took place. The Spaniards deemed it prudent to retrace their steps. They were followed by the King of France, Louis XIII, at the head of an irresistible force, which, after a vigorous siege, retook Corbie and expelled the Spaniards from the French territory.

The tide of victory turned also in Germany. General Bauner, commanding the Swedish army to counteract the movements of the Saxons towards Mecklenburg to lay siege to Dömitz, suddenly threw himself in the way, and, in a pitched battle with General Badissin, gained a decisive victory. He afterwards made an invasion of the Electorate of Saxony, and severely punished John George for his base desertion of the Swedish cause. The elector finally, assisted by the imperial army under General Hatzfeld, marched to

meet him at Wittstock; and a great battle was fought. The right wing of the Swedes, under the immediate command of Bauner, was first attacked. Ten times his squadrons repelled the enemy, but were compelled, towards night, to retire from the field, when the left wing took its place in the battle, and fought until night closed in, ready to renew the fight in the morning. But the elector had withdrawn in the night, leaving five thousand dead on the field, with twenty-three pieces of artillery, which could not be carried off on account of the flight of the drivers with the horses. One hundred and fifty standards, all the baggage-wagons, the silver plate of the elector, and two thousand prisoners were captured. General Bauner then followed the enemy across the Elbe and as far as Westphalia, and then, returning, quartered his troops over the Winter in Saxony.

Let us now return to Duke Bernard. Early in the year 1638, as a general of the French, he suddenly appeared on the Rhine, and laid siege to the important town of Rheinfelden. He was

attacked by the imperialists under the Duke of Savelli, and forced to raise the siege. But in three days after, to the surprise of the enemy, he re-appeared, and a bloody battle took place, in which he gained a complete victory, capturing four generals, including Savelli himself, and two thousand other prisoners. Rheinfelden now fell into his hands, and also Röteln and Freiburg.

He now sets himself to conquer Breysach, a strongly fortified place, holding the keys of Alsace and the command of the Rhine. The place was really impregnable, and could only be subdued by starvation. The imperial army of General Goetz, consisting of twelve thousand troops, and escorting three thousand wagons, laden with provisions, hastened to its relief. The duke met them at Wittemeyer, and gained a decisive victory, capturing or killing nine thousand men, and taking possession of all their baggage-wagons. The Duke of Lorraine next advanced to break up the siege, but he too was met on the way and vanquished. Again Goetz made an abortive attempt to relieve the now starving garrison; which,

after holding out four months, was obliged to capitulate.

Elated by his amazing success, Bernard claimed Breisach as his own possession, and required the homage of its citizens to himself as sovereign, and celebrated a thanksgiving in the cathedral with Lutheran services. He was aware that this would provoke the hostility of France, which had no notion of an independent German principality in Alsace. "I will never suffer," he proudly replied, "that men can truly reproach me with being the first to dismember the empire."

Cardinal Richelieu was deeply chagrined by this conduct. Having, in vain, invited Bernard to Paris to celebrate his victories in the Notre Dame, and even offered him the hand of his niece in marriage, he now denounced him as an enemy to France. Nothing daunted, he was preparing to cross the Rhine and join Bauner, who was about advancing into Bohemia, when a pestilence broke out in his camp, and he, together with four hundred of his soldiers fell a victim to it. He died at the age of thirty-six, July, 1639. He

proved himself the greatest general of the Protestant army after Gustavus. He was never married. He had expected the hand of Amelia, the accomplished and brave widow of William, Landgrave of Hesse; but his sudden death, in the flower of his manhood, put an end to all his ambitions. French gold bought up the officers of the garrison at Breisach, and Alsace became a French province.

Chapter XIV.

FERDINAND II DIES AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON, FERDINAND III—HIS TRUSTED SECRETARY—BAUNER'S MASTERLY RETREAT—HE INVADES BOHEMIA—RETREATS—THREATENS RATISBON, WHERE FERDINAND III IS HOLDING A DIET—DESIGNS TO INVADE BOHEMIA AGAIN, BUT THE FRENCH ARMY LEAVES HIM—HIS DEATH—TORSTENSON SUCCEEDS HIM AS GENERALISSIMO—HE CHANGES THE SCENE OF WAR—INVADES SILESIA AND MORAVIA—HE IS MET BY A SUPERIOR FORCE UNDER LEOPOLD AND PICCOLOMINI AND RETREATS—WRANGEL JOINS HIM, AND THEY DRIVE THE ENEMY BEFORE THEM—DEFEATS THEM BEFORE LEIPSIK AND TAKES THE CITY.

FERDINAND II, chief cause of the thirty years' war, died February, 1637, aged fifty-eight, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Rome, under the title of Ferdinand III. The policy of the father was bequeathed with his crown to the son, and the war went on for eleven years more. He was, however, more independent of the Jesuits, and by his

observations on the miseries which war had entailed on Europe, better prepared to yield things essential to a final peace.

Soon after his accession the imperial army marched to relieve Leipsic, which was besieged by Bauner. He retired on the approach of a far superior force of the enemy, and retreated first to Torgau and thence across the Elbe, at Furstburg. His soldiers, unharnessing the reluctant horses, dragged the artillery through the river, with the water up to their chins. He now found himself hemmed in by the enemy; before him were the fortresses of Landsburg, Castrin, and the Warta, with a hostile army; behind him, across the Oder, was the imperial General Bucheim; and on his right hand Poland, where, notwithstanding the late truce, he could scarcely hope to find a safe retreat. In this emergency he employed a stratagem to get rid of his pursuers. He pretended to direct his retreat towards Poland, by sending on his baggage and an escort of his wife and the ladies of other officers. Bucheim immediately started his army off in that direction

to get ahead of him; when Bauner, waiting only for the night, recrossed the Oder and escaped, finally, into Pomerania.

In 1638 Bauner was re-enforced by fourteen thousand men from Sweden and elsewhere, and directed his march toward Bohemia. On his way he defeated a body of imperial troops under General Salis, routed a Saxon army, and took Pirna. Entering Bohemia he crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, captured Brandeis, then Leutmeritz, and defeated General Hofkirchin in a pitched battle. He ravaged the country and burnt to the ground more than a thousand hamlets and villages and castles. Thence he passed into Silesia.

The emperor was roused to meet the emergency; a large army under his brother, the Archduke Leopold, gathered from various quarters, was sent to resist the onward course of the Swedes.

Bauner was now forced to retreat across the hills of Meissen into Saxony. He made a stand at Plauen, but was defeated and driven into Thuringia. At Erfurt, being joined by the Duke of Lunenburg, who had renounced the treaty

of Prague, and was ready to fight with the Swedes again, and by the Duke of Longueville with the French troops lately under Duke Bernard, he offered battle to the imperialists under Piccolomini, intrenched in a strong position near Saalfeld. It was declined, and at length both armies went into winter-quarters.

The emperor was holding a Diet at Ratisbon, in Bavaria, and Bauner resolved to retrieve his wasted laurels by a bold stroke. It was the depth of Winter, and the roads and rivers were frozen. Taking advantage of this, of a sudden he appears with his combined army of Swedes and Frenchmen on the banks of the Danube, ready to cross the river and besiege the town. Great was the surprise and alarm in the Diet, but the emperor refused to fly; and a thaw, which made it impracticable for Bauner to lead his army across the river, saved him from being besieged, and perhaps captured in the city. Bauner fired five hundred cannon shots into the city, and then turned away to invade Bohemia again. The French General Guebriant, however, refused to go further from

France, and withdrew. The advancing troops of the enemy were now more than a match for the Swedes; and Bauner, with great haste and with much difficulty, effected his escape to Saxony. At Zwickau he was joined again by Guebriant, and together they marched to Halberstadt.

Here, in May, 1641, the great general, overcome by chagrin and by his excessive indulgence at the table, fell sick and died.

After him appeared another, and in some respects greater, general to take command of the allied armies—Bernard Torstenson—who had learned the art of war under Gustavus in Poland. “Though a martyr to the gout,” says Schiller, “and confined to a litter, he surpassed all his opponents in activity; and his enterprises had wings, while his body was held by the most frightful fetters. Under him the science of war was changed, and new maxims adopted, which necessity dictated and the issue justified.” He was born at Torstema, in Sweden, 1603, and was now but thirty-eight years of age. He was in the great but unsuccessful onslaught made by Gusta-

vus on the intrenched camp of Wallenstein at Nuremberg, and had the misfortune to be made prisoner. He was exchanged, and returned to Sweden, whence he was sent with re-enforcements of men and money to take the place of Bauner. He determined upon the plan of quitting the regions exhausted by the war, and of penetrating into Austria, on whose fertile fields he could subsist his army and retaliate the miseries inflicted by the imperial armies upon unhappy Germany.

In the year 1642 he marched through Brandenburg into Silesia; and captured Glogan and Schweidnitz, defeating and killing in battle the Duke of Lauenburg, and taking nearly all the towns on this side of the Oder. He then penetrated Moravia, took Olmutz, and approached Vienna. He was met here by a superior force under Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini, and driven out of both Moravia and Silesia.

Wrangel now joined him, and together they drove the enemy before them, overrun Lauten, took Zittau, and finally crossed the Elbe at Torgau and threatened Leipsic with siege. The

Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini hurried to the relief of the city, and a great battle took place on the very scene which was made immortal by the victory of Gustavus over Tilly. The enemy were met by the divisions of Stalhauptsch and Wallenberg, and their left wing was broken in by the irresistible onset of the Swedes, and with the cavalry covering it was dispersed. The enemy in a similar manner was about to break the left wing of the Swedish army, when the victorious right wing came to their aid. The imperialists, surrounded, still fought until their ammunition was exhausted, and they were obliged to retreat, leaving five thousand men dead on the field, and as many more prisoners in the hands of the Swedes, with all their artillery, baggage, and the plate of the archduke.

The archduke, who fought from first to last with the greatest bravery, was so incensed with the regiment of cavalry which first broke and threw the left wing into disorder, that he deprived it of its horses and standards, and decimated the entire brigade.

Torstenson lost three thousand men and two of his generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoeck; and, without attempting to pursue the enemy, he laid siege to Leipsic. In a few weeks it surrendered, and saved itself from plunder by a contribution of three hundred thousand rix dollars and a supply of clothing for the whole body of the Swedish army.

Chapter XV.

TORSTENSON'S MOVEMENTS — THE ALLIES IN COLOGNE—
RICHELIEU'S DEATH — MAZARIN SUCCEEDS HIM — THE
FRENCH UNDER GUEBRIANT CROSS THE RHINE—HE IS
WOUNDED, AND DIES — HIS ARMY IS SURPRISED AT
DUTTLINGEN, AND DESTROYED — TORSTENSON MAKES
WAR WITH DENMARK—THE KING, CHRISTIAN IV, SUES
FOR PEACE—TORSTENSON AGAIN INVADES BOHEMIA—
THE BATTLE OF JANKOWITZ—THE DEFEAT OF FERDI-
NAND III, AND HIS RETREAT TO VIENNA — TORSTENSON
SWEEPS ON TO VIENNA — RETIRES TO BOHEMIA—HE
RESIGNS, AND WRANGEL SUCCEEDS HIM.

TORSTENSON besieged Freiburg for several weeks in the midst of Winter, but without success; but he compelled Piccolomini to abandon his Winter-quarters and come to its relief, at great sacrifice of the health of his men and the loss of three thousand horses. He next marched rapidly into Bohemia and Moravia, and relieved Olmutz, besieged by the imperialists.

He went on, ravaging the country to the very neighborhood of Vienna.

Meantime the allies of Hesse and Weimar gained a decisive victory over the troops of the Elector of Cologne, near Kempen, which opened the whole electorate to them for Winter-quarters. The French General Guebriant had some success in conflict with the Bavarian army, but at length was compelled by the superior strength of the enemy to withdraw to Alsace.

Cardinal Richelieu died in November, 1642, and the death of Louis XIII followed not long after. Cardinal Mazarin was made minister by Louis XIV, and adopted the principles and plans of his predecessor and friend. He sent a large body of troops to re-enforce Guebriant, who then crossed the Rhine and captured Rothwell; but his life was terminated here by a wound in his arm, which, through unskillful treatment, proved mortal.

The army, having taken permanent quarters in Duttlingen, was surprised on the 24th of November, 1643, by Hatzfeldt and the Duke of

Lorraine. A heavy snow-storm concealed their approach, and they speedily captured the artillery outside of the village, routed the cavalry, and precipitated themselves upon the infantry with overwhelming force. Two thousand were killed and seven thousand were taken prisoners.

We left Torstenson in the vicinity of Vienna. We next find him passing rapidly through Moravia, in Silesia. Thence he proceeds to the Elbe and crosses at Torgau, and moves down as far as Havelburg. There he surprised his troops by informing them that his object was to invade Denmark, in order to punish Christian IV for the indirect aid he had given to the enemies of Sweden by the embarrassments he had imposed in the navigation of the sound. He expected to find supplies for his army in a country not exhausted by the war as was Germany. The appearance of his troops in Holstein was the declaration of war. The whole duchy was soon in his possession. A naval battle took place at Fermern, and the Danes were defeated, while the king, who was in the fight, lost his eye by a splinter.

The emperor dispatched Gallas with an army to the aid of his ally. He was met by Torstenson and driven as far as Bamberg. Torstenson then crossed the Saal, and by a flank movement cut off the communication of the imperialists with Saxony and Bavaria. They retreated to Magdeburg, where they were almost entirely cut to pieces by the victorious Swedes. This brought the King of Denmark to sue for peace. Oxenstiern conducted the negotiations, and was created Count by the queen-regent on his return.

Torstenson again swept into Bohemia at the head of sixteen thousand troops, and sought to carry the war a second time into Austria. Ferdinand III hastens to Prague, and collects the whole of the Bavarian and Austrian forces around him. A battle took place at Jankowitz on the 24th of February, 1645. The Virgin Mary had appeared to the emperor in a dream, and assured him of victory. His superior cavalry was a better security for success. His General Goetz, in command of a division of the army, got entangled among the marshes, and at the outset his troops

were defeated and routed. The rest of the army, on the high grounds, were assaulted by the resistless legions of Torstenson and, after eight hours of fighting, were swept away. Hadsfeldt, their commander, was taken prisoner, together with three thousand of his men, while two thousand were left dead on the heights and in the low grounds. The emperor fled to Vienna to get ready for its defense. He was followed by the victorious Swedes, who swept through Moravia, took the fortresses along the Danube and the intrenchments at Wolf's Bridge, near Vienna, and encamped in sight of Vienna.

The Elector of Saxony now sued for peace to save his territory from being invaded by the Swedes, and the troops of Ragotsky, the successor of Bethlen Gabor, who had been invited by the Swedish general to make a common cause with him against a common foe. The invasion of the Austrian territories by the Transylvanian barbarians only destroyed the means of support of the Swedish army, and Ferdinand relieved himself of them by paying them their demands.

Torstenson next laid siege to Brunn, and exerted his utmost to capture it; but after spending four months in vain, he raised the siege and marched on to Bohemia. He was followed by the Archduke Leopold, and the conflict went on with victory changing from side to side. His disorder, the gout, here increased so upon him, that he was compelled to relinquish his command and return to Sweden. His great services were acknowledged by the government, and he was created Count. Gustavus Wrangel was appointed to succeed him as generalissimo, and proved himself worthy of the high position.

Chapter XVI.

THE PART OF FRANCE IN THE CLOSE OF THE WAR—DEFENSE OF ROCROY—CONFLICT WITH THE BAVARIANS—WRANGEL UNITES WITH TURENNE—THEY CROSS THE DANUBE—RAVAGE BAVARIA—MAXIMILIAN MAKES A TRUCE—BREAKS IT—WRANGEL AGAIN UNITES WITH TURENNE—THE FINAL CAMPAIGN—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA—ITS RESULTS.

A GLANCE at the relation of France to the war may now be taken. Under Cardinal Mazarin's ministry the war with Spain went on vigorously. In the Spring of 1643 a Spanish army from the Netherlands laid siege to Rocroy, a town in France, just across the border. The Duke of Enghien, afterwards Prince of Condé, a young and valiant nobleman, whose delight was war, commanded the French troops. The Spaniards took up so strong a position that it seemed madness to all but the enthusiastic and impetuous young general to attack them. A breach was first

made by his artillery in the solid squares of the Spaniards. Then his squadrons were hurled upon their broken ranks and threw them into confusion. A hand to hand fight ensued, until, after hours of the bloodiest conflict in modern warfare, the Spaniards gave way. Their leader, the old Count of Fuentes, directed the battle seated in an arm-chair, in one of the squares; and he met death, where the soldier chooses to die, in the thickest of the fight. Thionville was next conquered and annexed to French territory.

In 1643, the French army, under Turenne, was less successful in its conflict with the Bavarian army, led by Werth and Mercy. And, in 1644, Turenne was compelled to witness the loss of Freiburg; but being largely re-enforced by Eng-hien, who took the command, a battle was fought for three successive days, and the Bavarians were beaten. The next year another battle was fought at Nördlingen, where the death of Mercy, after long fighting, gave the victory to the French. They were, however, so depleted by this battle and by the departure of the Hessian auxiliaries,

that Turenne was obliged to retire across the Rhine at the approach of the Bavarians, re-enforced by Archduke Leopold.

The Swedes were now left, under their new generalissimo to take the whole brunt of the war. The whole force amounted to twenty-three thousand, horse and foot, including the flying corps of Koenigsmark, which was approaching the camp of Wrangel. The Bavarians and Austrians numbered twenty-four thousand. To avoid them, and make communication with Koenigsmark and Turenne, Wrangel hastened through Upper Saxony, took Hoeste and Paderborn, and marched into Hesse, where he was joined by Koenigsmark and afterward by Turenne at Giessen.

He now determined to follow the course of the Danube, and to pass through Bavaria into Austria. He met and defeated a Bavarian corps near Donauworth, and then crossed the Danube and the Lech. He attempted the siege of Augsburg, but was encountered by the imperialists and repulsed. He retreated to Lauringen, and when the Bavarians, to draw him away from their terri-

tory, departed towards Suabia, he recrossed the Lech, and setting a powerful guard there against the passage of the enemy, he swept over the country, inflicting upon it all the miseries of war, only aggravated by the pursuit of the imperialists, who had crossed the Lech at Thierhaupten.

The fortitude of the Elector Maximilian now gave way. He had suffered enough; and being now persuaded in his own mind that nothing but Spanish influence disposed the emperor to continue the struggle he proposed a truce.

The deputies of Sweden, France, Bavaria, and Austria held a conference at Ulm. The Austrians were so dictatorial that the Swedes were on the point of quitting in disgust; but at last, the Austrians withdrawing, a truce was made between the three remaining parties, and Bavaria was detached from the alliance of the emperor.

The emperor had left to him now only twelve thousand men, and was so destitute of competent generals that he had to place at the head of his army Melander, a Hessian and a Calvinist, who had deserted from the enemy.

The truce was not of long continuance. John de Werth formed a conspiracy with other officers of the Bavarian army to carry the whole army over to the emperor. It was discovered, and suppressed by the elector. But not having derived from the truce any substantial profit, he now renounced it, and joined his forces again with those of Ferdinand III.

Wrangel was in Bohemia, and he was now obliged to hurry away to make a junction with Turenne, before the combined forces of the imperialists should overtake him. Had he been resolutely followed by Melander he would have been cut off; but Maximilian now felt that it would only prolong the war for the emperor to gain any decisive victories, and he held back his troops.

Melander took up his quarters in Hesse; and Wrangel retreated, and recruited his troops in Lunenburg. When the Winter of 1648 opened, he marched into Hesse, and drove his antagonist to the shelter of the Danube.

Turenne, after vexatious and disgraceful de-

lays, through the policy of the government, at last joined his forces with the Swedes, and together they commenced the final campaign of this long and terrible war. They went in pursuit of Melander, drove him along the Danube, threw supplies into Agra, and, in a pitched battle at Zusmarshauzen, defeated the united army of Bavarians and Austrians. In the battle Melander received a mortal wound.

Gronsfeld, who now commanded the army of the enemy, crossed the Lech to guard Bavaria; but the allied army crossed this river at the same spot where Gustavus had crossed it, and pushed into the interior of the country. They next crossed the Iser, and were arrested in their march to Austria only by the swollen state of the River Inn.

The last great victory of the war was the surprise of the new port of Prague by the flying corps of Koenigsmark. The old town, on the other side of the Moldau, resisted effectually the attacks of the Swedes. The new King of Sweden, Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina, was

present at this siege, with the whole Swedish army in Bohemia and Silesia. They retired to Winter-quarters, where the news of peace made all glad. The work of Sweden was done.

What is called the Peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster, October 24, 1648.

By the treaty, whatever ecclesiastical benefices were possessed by the Catholics or Protestants in 1624 were to remain to them respectively. The Imperial Court was to be constituted of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. The Calvinists and Lutherans were put on an equality politically. The Upper Palatinate was united to Bavaria. The Lower Palatinate, with an eighth electorate, was assigned to the son of the Elector Frederic. Western Pomerania and the mouths of the great northern rivers were assigned to Sweden, together with the Bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun. To Brandenburg the Bishoprics of Halberstadt, Camin, Minden, and part of Magdeburg were given. To Saxony, the other part of Magdeburg and Lusatia.

France retained Alsace, Strasburg, as a free

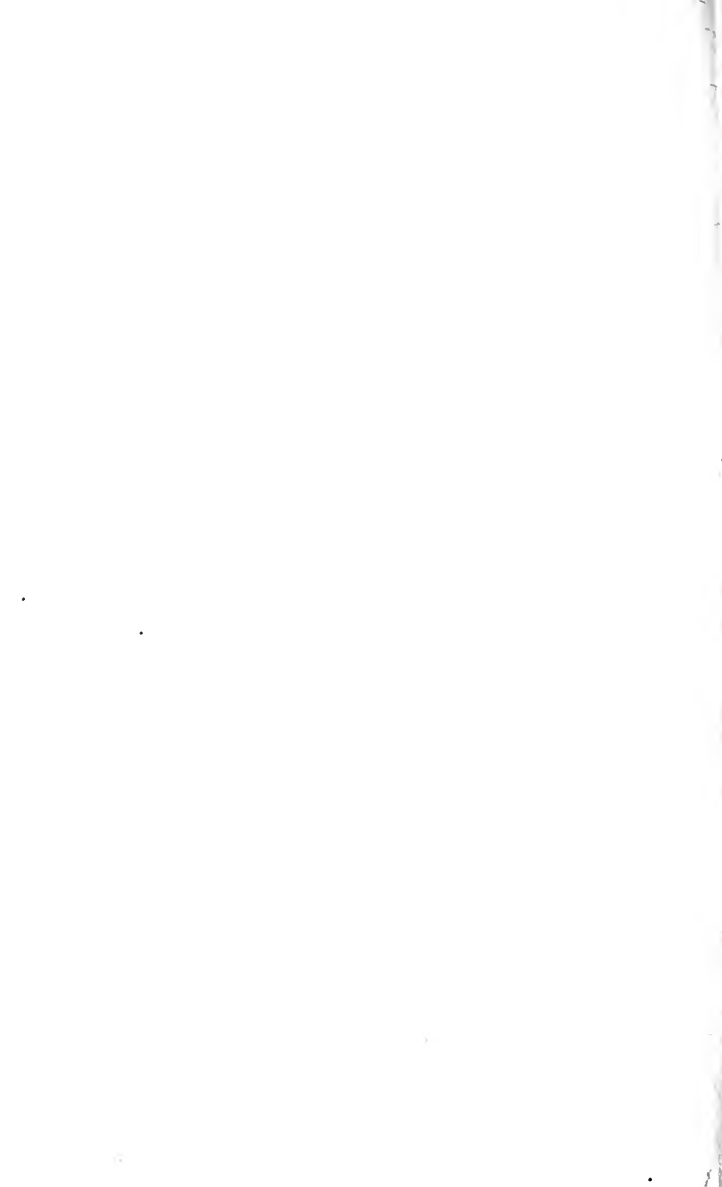
city, Philippsburg, and the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

The question of toleration was referred to the German princes, each to manage for his own dominion. But, with rare exceptions, toleration in fact has been the custom from that day to the present.

As regards the empire, it nominally remained, and the Diet met to confer on the general welfare, but without power to enforce its decisions.

The great gain of the war was the security of Protestantism. To God be all the glory! Amen.

THE END.











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