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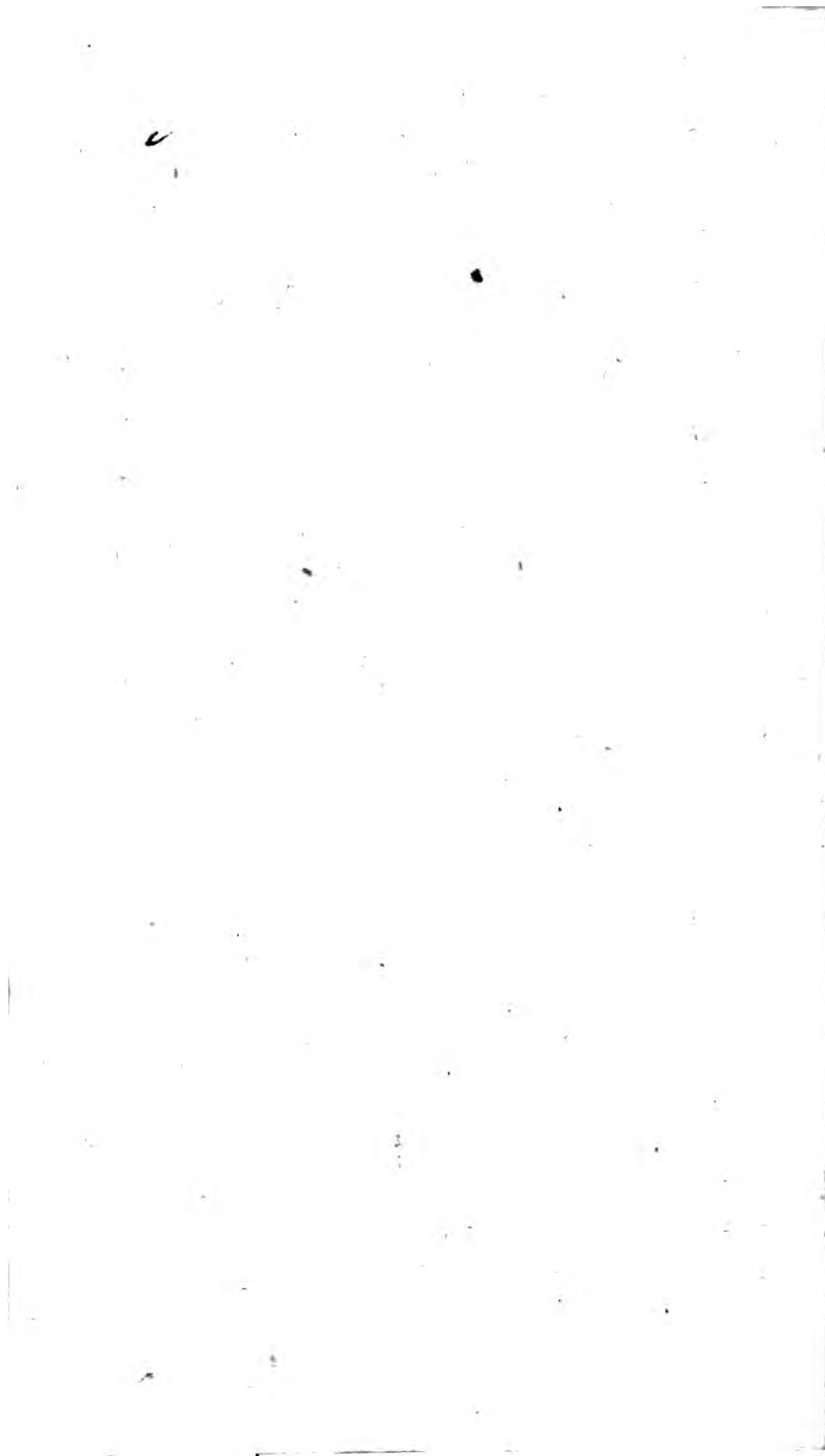


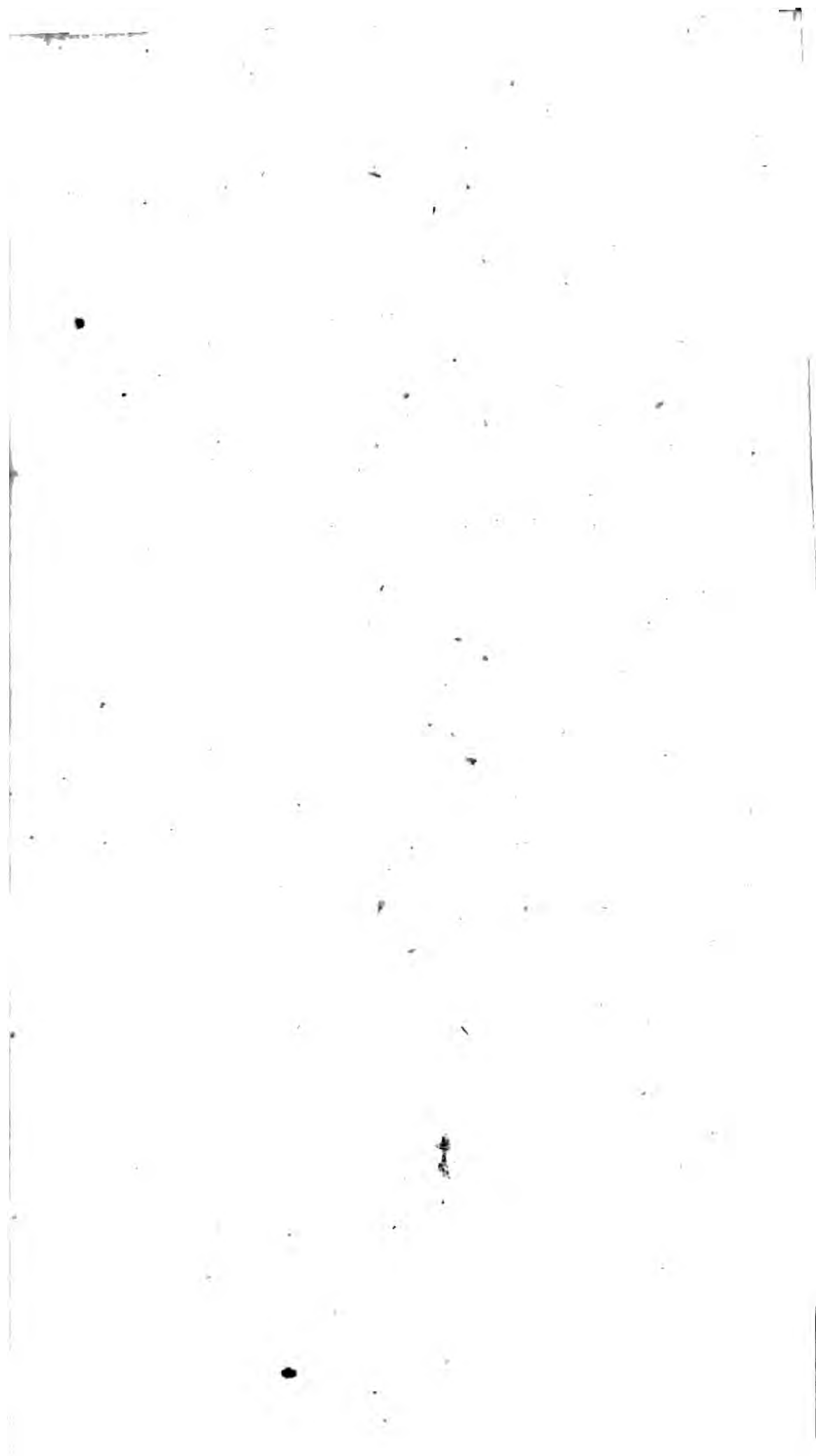
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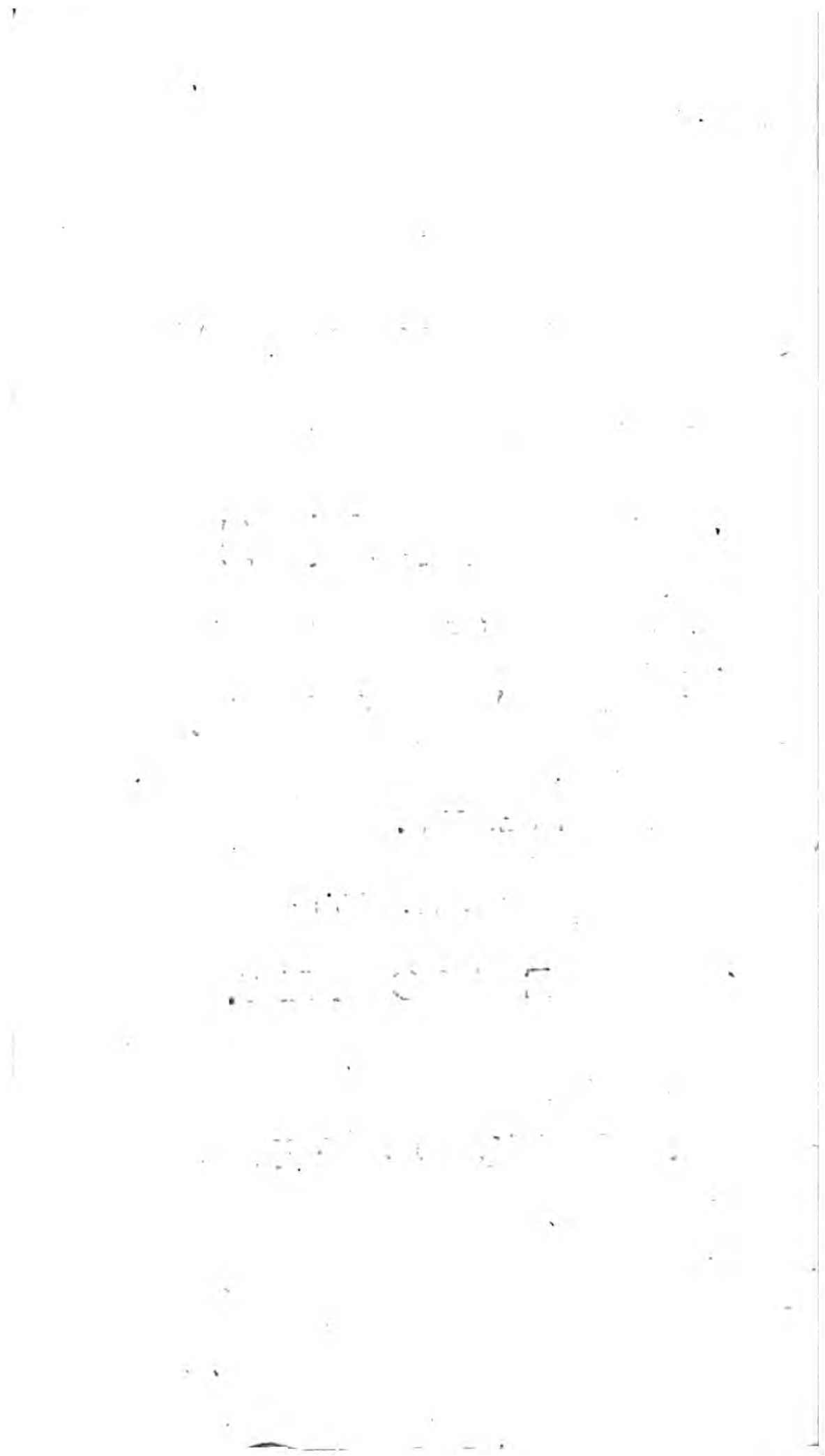
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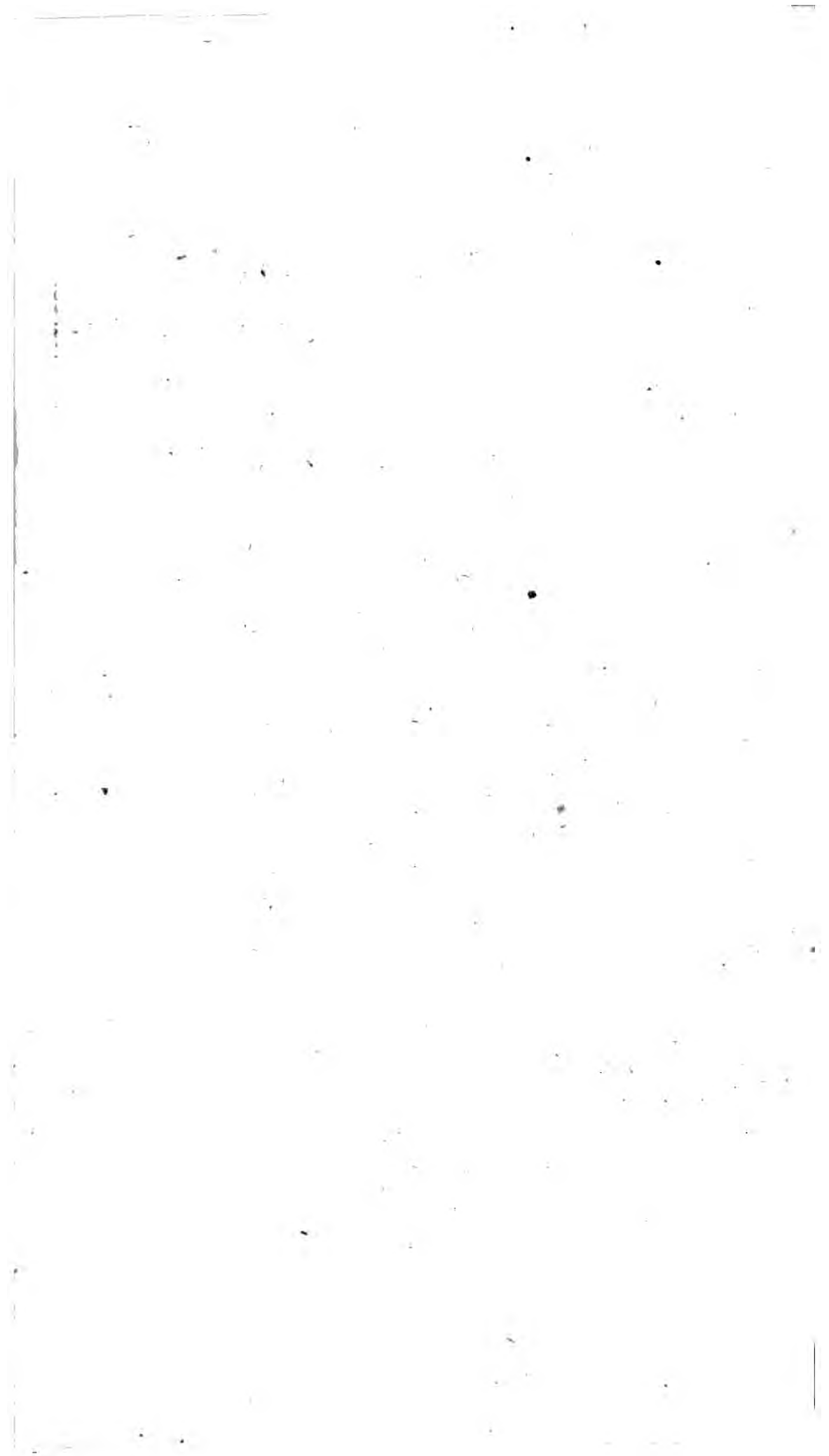
VOL. XXI.

Being VOL. XVI. of his

PROSE WORKS.









OTHO the GREAT.

Gravin delin.

Hall sculp.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

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THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

F REDERICK II.	I
Conrad VI.	24
Rodolphus I. of Hapsbourg, first emperor of the house of Austria,	39
Adolphus	

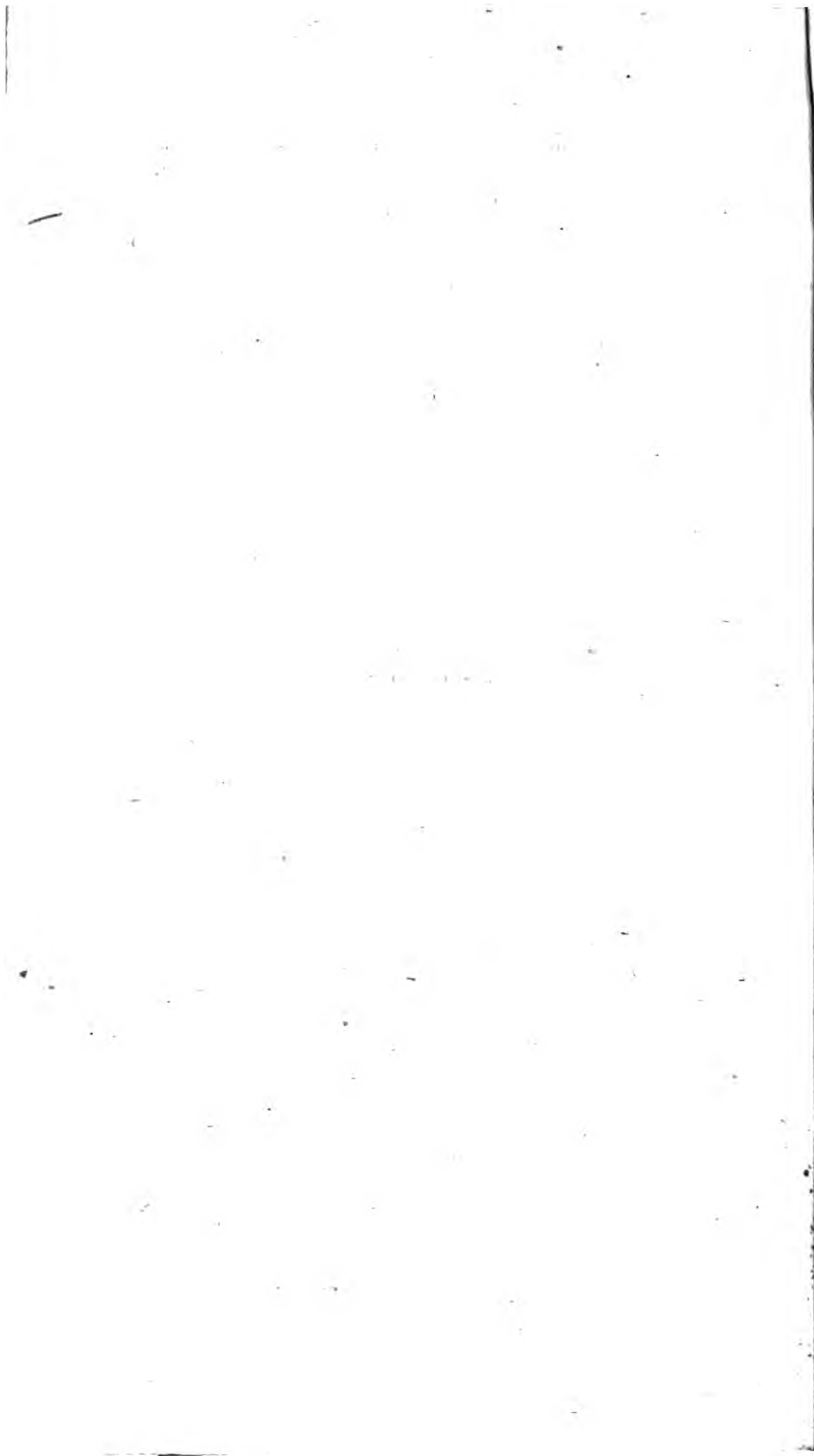
C O N T E N T S.

<i>Adolphus of Nassau,</i>	53
<i>Albert of Austria,</i>	56
<i>Henry VII. of the house of Luxemburg,</i>	64
<i>Lewis V. or Lewis of Bavaria,</i>	74
<i>Charles IV.</i>	102
<i>The Golden Bull,</i>	110
<i>Wenceslaus,</i>	129
<i>Robert, Count Palatine of the Rhine,</i>	138
<i>Joshua,</i>	145
<i>Sigismund, King of Bohemia and of Hungary,</i> <i>Margrave of Brandenburg,</i>	146
<i>Albert II. of Austria,</i>	164
<i>Frederick of Austria,</i>	168
<i>Maximilian.</i>	196
	<i>As</i>

CONTENTS.

<i>An Interregnum, to the first day of October,</i>	
1520,	224
<i>Charles V.</i>	225





A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

F R E D E R I C K II.

TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1214.

OTHO being vanquished, and totally abandoned, retires to Brunswick, where he is left in peace, because he is no longer formidable. He is not deposed, but forgot. He is said to have become a devotee: the resource of the unhappy, and the passion of weak minds. His penance is said to have consisted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turnspit could expiate the faults of a prince.

1215.

Frederick II. emperor in consequence of the victory at Bovines, is every where acknowledged.

B

During

During the troubles of Germany, we have seen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eastward of the Elbe. Frederick II. began by abandoning these lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a disadvantageous treaty is renounced upon the first opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother count Palatine of the Rhine and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards restores it. A shameful beginning of an illustrious reign.

The second coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. He dispossesses the count Palatine, and the Palatinate reverts to the house of Bavaria Wittelsbach.

A new crusade. The emperor takes the cross. He must certainly have still doubted his own power, seeing he promised to pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his son as soon as he should be consecrated at Rome.

1216.

Frederick II. remains in Germany with his cross, and entertains more designs upon Italy than upon Palestine. In vain the crusade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince set out but Andrew II. king of Hungary. That people who were scarcely Christians, take the cross against the Mussulmans, whom they call infidels.

1217.

The German crusards depart, nevertheless, under various chiefs by sea and land. The fleet of the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the crusards another opportunity

tunity of employing their arms usefully in Spain. They join the Portuguese, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been pursued, and Spain wholly delivered, but pope Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, will not allow it. The Popes commanded the crusards as the soldiers of God, yet they could send them no where but to the East. Men must be ruled according to their prejudices, and those soldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elsewhere.

1218.

Frederick II. had great reason to postpone his voyage. The towns of Italy and Milan, in particular, refused to acknowledge a sovereign, who being master of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enslave all Italy. They still held for Otho IV. who lived obscurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor, was in fact declaring themselves entirely free.

Otho dies near Brunswick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219.

A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederick II. causes his son Henry, a child of nine years, by Constance of Arragon, to be elected king of the Romans. All those diets were held in the open field, as they are still in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the moveables of deceased bishops, and to the revenues of vacant sees. This is what the French call *la Regale*. He renounces the right of jurisdiction in episcopal towns, where the emperor shall happen to be, unless he there keeps his

4 F R E D E R I C K II.

court. Almost all the first acts of this prince are renunciations.

1220.

He goes to Italy in quest of that empire which Frederick Barbarossa had not been able to obtain. Milan at first shuts her gates, as to the grandson of Barbarossa, whose memory the Milanese detested. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at first demands that the emperor will confirm him in the possession of several territories of the countess Mathilda. To these Frederick adds the territory of Fendi. The Pope desires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predecessor. He likewise signalizes his coronation by bloody edicts against heretics. Not that heresy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and disorder: but the inquisition had been established on account of the Albigenes; and the emperor, to please the Pope, issued those cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the succession of their fathers.

These laws, confirmed by the Pope, were visibly dictated in order to justify the seizure of the estates taken by the church, and by force of arms, from the house of Tholouse in the war of the Albigenes. The counts of Tholouse had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederick was absolutely resolved to please the Pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they possible have been suggested

suggested by his chancellor Peter de Vineis, who is accused of having written the pretended book of the three impostors *, or at least of having harboured the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221, 1222, 1223, 1224.

During these years Frederick did things more worthy of remembrance. He embellished and aggrandized Naples, makes it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the most populous town in Italy. There was still a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourse to arms: he transports them to Lucera in Apulia; hence that town acquired the name of *Lucera*, or *Nocera de Pagani*.

The academy or university of Naples is established, and flourishes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The design of Frederick II. seems to have been to reside in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embellished; and that the most delightful country of Europe. He spends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why should he have so much flattered the Popes, and respected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of establishing at last the seat of the empire at Rome? was not that the only way of extricating himself from that equivocal situation in which all the emperors reigned? a situation become still more perplexing, since the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vassal of the holy see, and had promised to dismember Naples and Sicily from the

* Namely, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet.

6 F R E D E R I C K II.

empire. All this confusion would have been at last unravelled, had the emperor been master of Italy; but destiny otherwise ordained.

It likewise appears that the Pope's great design was to rid his hands of Frederick, by sending him to the Holy Land. In order to accomplish this design, he had, after the death of Constance of Arragon, persuaded him to marry one of the pretended heires of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been long lost. John of Brienne, who assumed the empty title of king of Jerusalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter Jolanda or Violante in marriage to Frederick, with Jerusalem as her dower; in other words, almost nothing at all: and Frederick married her because she was handsome, and he chose to please the Pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jerusalem. Frederick was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which consisted only of a claim to a small maritime territory, still possessed by the Christians in Syria.

1225.

During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's son, resided constantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Danish king Waldemar had made himself master of those provinces which were inhabited by the western Slaves and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Schwerin in Mecklenburg, who had become vassal to that king, forms the design

F R E D E R I C K II. 7

sign of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince his son: and this design he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being prisoner, implores the assistance of pope Honorius III. who commands the count of Schwerin, and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprize, to set the king and his son at liberty. The popes pretended to have bestowed the crown of Denmark, as well as those of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewise pretended to have bestowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not masters in Rome, always disputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the bishop of Riga in Livonia, and make themselves masters of part of the coast of the Baltic.

Lubeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his son, after having been stripped of almost all they had in that country, are set at liberty, in consequence of giving a very large ransom.

Here we find a new power insensibly established: that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand master, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying upon the Baltic.

1226.

This grand master of the Teutonic order solicits in Germany new succours for Palestine. Pope Honorius presses the emperor to leave Italy as soon as possible, and go and accomplish his vow in Syria. It must be observed, that there was at this time a truce of nine years subsisting

B 4

between

8 F R E D E R I C K II.

between the sultan of Ægypt and the crusards. Frederick II. therefore had no vow to accomplish. He promises to maintain knights in Palestine, and is not excommunicated. He ought to have established himself in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Palestine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an association; they were called the confederate towns; Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer considered as subjects, but as vassals of the empire. Frederick II. was desirous of attaching them to him at least; and this was a difficult task. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and summons all the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The Pope, fearing the emperor would assume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs at Naples. He appoints bishops to five vacant sees in that kingdom, without consulting Frederick; he forbids several towns and noblemen to go to the assembly at Cremona; he supports the rights of the associated towns, and makes himself defender of the Italic liberty.

1227.

A fine triumph for Honorius III. the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the university of Bologna, admits the Pope as judge. All the towns submit to his decision. The Pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces sentence: "We decree that the emperor shall forget his resentment against all the towns, and we decree that the towns shall furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the assistance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years."

This

This was a declaration worthy at once of a sovereign and pontiff.

Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he sits as judge of Waldemar king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the rest of his ransom to the German lords, and sworn that he would never re-take what he had yielded. The Pope absolves him of an oath taken in prison and upon compulsion. Waldemar re-enters Holstein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lunenburg and Brunswick, who fights for him, is taken prisoner; nor is he released until he hath yielded up some territories. All these expeditions are still civil wars. Germany is for some time quiet.

1228.

Honorius III. dying, and Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. succeeding, the politics of the pontificate continued the same; but the humour of the new pontiff was more haughty: he hastens the crusade, and presses the so often promised departure of Frederick II. He thought he must send that prince to Jerusalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This spirit of the times made people look upon that prince's vow as an indispensable duty. Upon the first delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the Pope. Frederick still dissembles his resentment, excuses himself, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the ecclesiastics supply him with money, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope. At length he embarks at Brindisi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

1229.

What step does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his absolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication; and joins with the Milanese, and the other confederate towns, in order to wrest from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Renaldo duke of Spoleto, and vicar of the kingdom, takes the marche of Ancona from the Pope: then his Holiness preaches a crusade in Italy, even against Frederick II. whom he had sent upon a crusade to the Holy Land.

He sends an order to the titular patriarch of Jerusalem, residing at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor.

Frederick, still dissembling, concludes with Melescala, whom we call Meledin, sultan of Egypt and master of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his crusade seems to have been fulfilled. The sultan cedes Jerusalem to him, with some small maritime towns of which the Christians were still in possession; but upon condition that he shall not reside at Jerusalem; that the mosques built in those holy places shall subsist; and that there shall be always an emir in the city. Frederick is supposed to have had some collusion with the sultan, in order to deceive the Pope: he goes to Jerusalem with a very small escorte, and there crowns himself; for no prelate would crown a person who was excommunicated: he soon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his presence was much wanted.

1230.

1230.

He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal crusade.

The Pope's crusaders, who were called Guelphs, bore the sign of the cross-keys on the shoulder; whereas the emperor's crusaders, who were called Ghibelins, wore the cross. The keys fled before the cross.

All Italy was in combustion; and peace, being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San-Germano. All that the emperor got was absolution. He consents, that, for the future, all benefices shall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, shall be brought before a lay-judge; that all ecclesiastical estates shall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the Pope.

1231.

Hitherto Frederick II. who is painted as the most dangerous, seems to have been the most patient of men; but it is pretended that his son was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this consideration made the father so flexible in Italy.

1232, 1233, 1234.

It is very clear that the emperor's sole design in staying so long in Italy, was to found a true Roman empire. Master as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had assumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy, he must have been master also in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes; and those popes who persecuted him with such violence, were always regarded by part of Italy as the supports of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of

B 6. liberty.

liberty. In such circumstances, Frederick ought to have had large treasures, and a great and well-disciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV. much less powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field against the king of France; but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a transient effort of vassals and allies united for a moment.

Frederick might have caused his vassals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is said to have prevented this scheme, by exciting Henry king of the Romans to revolt against his father, as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paschal II. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at first engages in his party several towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Austria declares in his favour. Milan, Bologna, and other towns of Italy, engage in that party against the emperor.

1235.

Frederick II. at length returns to Germany, after an absence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himself at his father's feet in the great diet at Mentz. It is in these famous diets, these parliaments of princes, where the emperors preside in person, that the greatest affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmost solemnity. The emperor, in this memorable diet at Mentz, deposes his son Henry king of the Romans; and dreading the fate of Lewis the Weak, surnamed The Debonnaire, as well as that of the courageous and too easy Henry IV. he condemns his rebel-
lious

ious son to perpetual imprisonment: he in that diet secures the duchy of Brunswick to the house of Guelph, in whose possession it still remains: he solemnly receives the canon law published by Gregory IX. and orders the decrees of the empire, for the first time, to be published in the German language, though he himself did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian succeeded.

1236.

He gives it in charge to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and some bishops, who were enemies to the duke of Austria, to make war upon that duke, as vassals of the empire, who maintain its rights against rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, consequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237.

He comes to Austria, which was defended by the Hungarians: he subdues it; founds an university at Vienna; confirms the privileges of some imperial towns, such as Ratisbon and Strasbourg; causes his son Conrad to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry; and at length, after this success in Germany, thinks himself strong enough to accomplish his grand scheme of subduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The Pope, who now saw him making long strides towards the execution of his great design, makes a diversion by the affairs of the church; and,

and, under pretence that the emperor had caused clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy against him, and the church excites the people.

1238, 1239.

Frederick II. had a bastard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy see.

This was still pope Gregory IX. The different names of the popes never make any alteration in the state of affairs; it is always the same quarrel and the same spirit. Gregory IX. solemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in Passion Week. They write bitterly against each other. The Pope accuses the emperor of having affirmed, that mankind had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. Frederick calls Gregory Antichrist, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkness.

The emperor's patience was at length exhausted, and he believed himself powerful. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the spiritual militia of the pope, lately established, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Cassini share the same fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the Pope's letters are forbid to be received in the two kingdoms, on pain of death.

All these proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches against them, and is defeated by the Milanese. This is the third signal victory, by which the Milanese have supported their liberty against the emperors.

1240.

There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done: he augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a strong party of Ghibelins.

Gregory IX. exposes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by that moment of enthusiasm to make a crusade against the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome, goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of Crusade was become so sacred, that the Pope obtains a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a fifth in England, for his crusade against the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Lewis: he says, in his letter to the king and baronage of France, "We have condemned Frederick, who calls himself Emperor, and deprived him of the empire: we have elected, in his room, prince Robert the king's brother, whom we will support with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiscreet offer was refused. Some historians say, in quoting Matthew Paris, the barons of France answered, that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambassadors of Lewis said the same thing, in the same terms, to Frederick. But it is by no means probable that they would make such an indecent, rude answer, so little founded

founded on truth, and which could be of no signification.

The answer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of those barons were all the bishops of the kingdom. Now is it very probable, that all the barons, and all the bishops, in the time of St. Lewis, should make this reply to the Pope? *Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promovisse, & Deo militantem protexisse, eum conatus est absentem confundere & nequiter supplantare.* “We do not find so much religion in the Pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a soldier of God; whereas he hath endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence.”

A reader endowed with the least share of common sense, will see that a nation in a body could not return such an insolent answer to the Pope who offered them the empire. How could the bishops write to the Pope, that the unbelieving Frederick II. had more religion than his Holiness. This particular should teach us to distrust those historians, who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241.

About this time the people of Great Tartary threatened the rest of the world. That vast reservoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almost our whole hemisphere from the fifth century of the Christian æra. Part of those conquerors had come and wrested Palestine from the sultan of Egypt, and the small number of Christians who still remained in that country. More considerable
hordes.

hordes of Tartars under Batou-khan, grandson of Gengis-khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly countrymen of those Tartars, had been vanquished by the new-comers. This torrent had spread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a Pope to excommunicate the emperor, and assemble a council to depose him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can scarce conceive how he could propose to the emperor to make a total cession of the empire and all his dominions to the holy see, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The Pope, nevertheless, makes this proposal. What must have been the spirit of an age in which these proposals were made?

1242.

The eastern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars, who retreat like wild beasts after they have seized their prey.

Gregory IX. and his successor Celestin IV. dying almost in the same year, and the holy see having been long vacant, it is surprising that the emperor should press the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new Pope. One would think it was for his interest that the chair of his enemies should not be filled; but the motives that influenced the politics of those times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederick II. must have been a wise prince, seeing that in those times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243.

1243.

The cardinals assembled at Agnani elect cardinal Fiesque, a Genoese of the family of the counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who says, "Fiesque was my friend; the Pope will be my enemy."

1244.

Fiesque, known by the name of Innocent IV. does not proceed so far as to demand that Frederick II. would yield the empire to him; but he demands the restitution of all the towns of the ecclesiastical state, and of the countess Mathilda, and insists upon the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245.

Innocent IV. upon the emperor's refusal, assembles at Lyons the council summoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council.

It may be asked, why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbishop was a prince; and in those provinces the emperor had nothing else than the vain title of Lord Paramount.

There were but one hundred and forty bishops at this general council, but it was adorned with the presence of several princes, especially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Constantinople, who was placed on the Pope's right hand. That monarch was come to ask succours, which he did not obtain.

Frederick did not neglect to send ambassadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accused. Innocent IV. pronounced against him two long harangues in the two first sessions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, bishop of Carniola

Carniola near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of Naples by Frederick, accuses him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accusations alledged by that monk. "The emperor, says he, believes neither in God nor in the saints." But who had told the monk so? "The emperor has several wives living at one time." But who were those wives? "He carries on a correspondence with the sultan of Babylon." But why may not the titular king of Jerusalem treat with his neighbour? "He is of opinion with Averroes, that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were impostors." But in what place has Averroes said so much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is an heretic." But what is heresy? and how can he be an heretic, if he is no Christian?

Thadeus Sessa, Frederick's ambassador, answers, that this monkish bishop has told a lie, that his master is a very good Christian, and does not tolerate simony. In these words he plainly enough accuses the court of Rome.

The ambassador of England goes farther: "You draw, says he, by your Italians, above sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England: you tax all our churches; you excommunicate those who complain: we shall not long suffer such imposition."

All these remonstrances serve only to hasten the Pope's sentence: "I pronounce, says Innocent IV. Frederick convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated, and deprived of the empire. I order the electors to choose another emperor; and save to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily."

After

After having pronounced this sentence, he thunders a Te Deum, as it is now performed after a victory.

The emperor was at Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Susa. He calls for the imperial crown which the emperors always carried about with them, and setting it upon his head, "the pope, says he, has not yet deprived me of this; and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodshed." He sends a circular letter to all the Christian princes. "I am not the first, said he, whom the clergy have treated in such an unworthy manner, and I shall not be the last. You are the cause of all this, in obeying those hypocrites whose boundless ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not discover at Rome, at which human nature must shudder? &c."

1246.

The pope writes to the duke of Austria expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brabant, to the archbishops of Cologne, Triers and Mentz, and to the bishops of Strasbourg and Spire, ordering them to elect for emperor Henry landgrave of Thuringia.

The dukes refuse to come to the diet convoked at Wurtzbourg, and the bishops crown their Thuringian, whom they call *the king of priests*.

Here are two important circumstances to be observed: first, it is plain the electors were not seven in number; secondly, Conrad, the emperor's son, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and divested of all his rights as an heretic, according

according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had published it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himself with the popes.

Conrad supports his father's cause and his own. He gives battle to the king of the priests near Frankfort, but is worsted.

The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in besieging Ulm, but the imperial schism does not end.

It was probably in this year, that Frederick II. having but too many enemies, reconciles himself to the duke of Austria; and in order to attach him to his interest, bestows on him and his descendants the title of king, by a patent still preserved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very strange that the dukes of Austria never made use of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire opposed this new title bestowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

1247.

Innocent IV. offers the empire to several princes. All refuse so tempestuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greatest part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and invests him with the order of knighthood.

1248.

Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as those of the Guelphs and Ghibelins in Italy. One sticks to Frederick and his son Conrad; the other adheres to the new king William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop

bishop of Cologne. The festivals that attended this coronation, are bloodshed on every hand, and towns reduced to ashes.

1249.

The emperor is now no more in Italy, than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His son Enzo whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a prisoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure disturbs the last days of Frederick II. provided the adventure be such as is related. His famous chancellor Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counsellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years standing, restorer of the laws in Italy, is said to have attempted to poison him by the hands of his physician. Historians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create some suspicion. Is it credible that the first magistrate in Europe, a venerable old man, should hatch such an abominable treason? and for what reason? to please the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more considerable fortune? what better post could the physician have than that of being physician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the punishment of one who poisons his master. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cause of his disgrace, and provoked Frederick II. to this cruelty; and the account is very probable.

1250.

Mean-while Frederick makes another effort in Lombardy; he even orders some troops to pass

pass the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was still at Lyons, under the protection of St. Lewis; for that king of France, while he blamed the excesses of the pope, respected his person and his council.

This was Frederick's last expedition.

1251.

He dies Dec. 17. Some believe he felt remorse for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vineis; but it appears by his will, that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important æra in history. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavoured most to establish the empire in Italy, and who succeeded least, possessing all the requisites for success.

The popes, who would have no masters, and the towns of Lombardy, which so often defended their liberty against a master, prevented the possibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but especially Naples, was his favourite kingdom. He increased and embellished Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monte Leone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila and several other towns; founded universities and cultivated the liberal arts in those climates where the fruit seems to come spontaneous; and one circumstance that endeared his native country to him was, that he himself was the legislator of it. In spite of his understanding, courage, application and labours, he was very unfortunate; and his death produced still greater misfortunes.

C O N R A D I V.

T W E N T Y - S E V E N T H E M P E R O R .

CONRAD IV. son of Frederick II. has a better title to be ranked among the emperors, than those who are placed between the descendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He succeeded a respectable father ; and William count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewise called the King of the Priests, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the suffrages of some bishops.

Conrad at first suffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but still supports himself. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to visit pope Innocent IV. who confirms him king of the Romans, and promises to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was become usual to preach crusades against Christian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany against the emperor Conrad, and another in Italy, against Manfred or Mainfroy, natural son of Frederick II. at that time faithful to his brother and the last will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope caused Naples and Mantua to revolt against him. Conrad marches thither, and seems to abandon Germany to his rival William, that
he

he might go and second his brother Mainfroy against the crusards of the pope.

1252.

During that time William of Holland establishes himself in Germany. We may here observe an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A countess of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes her son by a former marriage, for the right of succession of that very son to his mother's lands. St. Lewis is chosen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the son of the second marriage. John Davennes says to king Lewis, "You give me Hainault which does not depend upon you, it holds of the bishop of Liege, and is an under fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you withhold it from me."

It was not then decided, of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Alost was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordered upon the Scheld. But the rest of Flanders from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Mean while William as king of Germany, puts the countess to the ban of the empire, and confiscates all her estate for the advantage of John Davennes, in the year 1252. This affair was at last accommodated; but it shews what inconveniencies attend the feudal right. It was still worse in Italy, especially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253, 1254.

These years, which as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, tho' productive

ductive of confusion and anarchy, are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

The house of Morienne and Savoy, which espouses the party of William, receives from him the investiture of Turin, Montcalier, Ivrea, and several fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms and Spire, associate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themselves from the country gentlemen who were, so many robbers. This union of the towns upon the Rhine, was not so much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the first hans-towns, Lubec, Hamburg, and Brunswick.

In a little time the greatest part of the towns of Germany and Flanders, engage in the Hans. The principal object is to maintain vessels and barks at the common expence for the security of commerce. A bill of one of these towns passes current in all the rest. The confidence of trade is established. Merchants by means of this alliance do more service to society, than ever was done by so many emperors and popes.

The city of Lubec alone is already so powerful, that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expence.

While the trading towns procure these temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order, resolve to procure that of Christianity to the rest of the Vandals, who lived in Prussia and the neighbourhood. Ottocarus II. king of Bohemia takes the cross with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocarus, since they had espoused the party of Otho IV.

They

They defeat the Pagans, and the two Prussian chiefs receive baptism. Ottocarus rebuilds Konigsberg.

Other scenes open in Italy. The pope still maintains the war, and insists upon disposing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demesnes, nor those of the countess Mathilda. We always see the popes powerful abroad, in consequence of the excommunications, which they thunder forth, and the divisions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and especially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibelins and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and the emperors; these names had been every where, a word of banter in the time of Frederick II. Those who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibelins. The Guelphs seemed more the partizans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party at Rome was indeed for the pope, when the business was to unite against the emperor; but the same party opposed the pope, when the pontiff, freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederick II. employed these names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colours, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to serve the pope who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was

a partizan of Frederick II. called Ezzelino *, who had well nigh established a great dominion, and entirely changed the face of affairs. He is still famous for the ravages he committed: booty enabled him to raise an army; and had he been always favoured by fortune, he must have become a conqueror. But at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome which dreaded him was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not extinguished in him. They subsisted for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as a pretext for these troubles. A pope in these circumstances had a very difficult place to fill. Obligated as a bishop to preach peace in the midst of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without power to attain absolute authority, under the necessity of defending himself against the Ghibelins, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial house that possesses Naples and Sicily; every part of his situation was precarious. The popes, since Gregory VII. had always this in common with the emperors; the title of masters of the world, and a power that was very circumscribed. And if we at-

* Or Eccelino de Onara. He obtained many victories for the emperor, and afterwards set up for himself. He reduced Verona and Padua, and several other cities, where he reigned with such cruel despotism, that the people believed he was engendered by the Devil. The pope preached up a Crusade against him, and being taken in an ambuscade, he was conveyed to Soncino, where he died distracted, after having triumphed above forty years.

tentively

tentively consider the subject we shall see that from the very first successors of Charlemagne, the empire and the church are two problems of very difficult solution.

Conrad sends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederick II. had given the duchy of Austria. This young prince dies, and is suspected of having been poisoned by Conrad; for at this time, the death of every prince who did not die of old age, was imputed to poison. Conrad IV. dies soon after, and Mainfroy is accused of having dispatched him by the same means.

The emperor Conrad IV. who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian. Pope Innocent IV. persecutes in this infant, the memory of his fathers. Finding he cannot make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England: he offers it to a brother of St. Lewis, but he dies in the midst of his prospects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the last enterprizes of Innocent IV. one would think he was a warrior. No such matter. He was counted a profound divine.

1255.

After the death of Conrad IV. the last emperor, tho' not the last prince, of the house of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland who began to reign in Germany, without opposition, would raise a new imperial house. That feudal right which hath produced so many disputes and so many wars, induces him to arm against the Frieslanders. It was pretended that they were vassals of the counts of Holland, and under-vassals of the empire. He marches

marches against them, and is slain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year; and this is the æra of the great anarchy of Germany.

The same anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope Alexander IV. tho' but indifferently established in Rome, resolves like his predecessor, to wrest Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated house of Suabia, and strip at once young Conradin to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander causes a crusade to be preached in England against Conradin? and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III. king of England *, he borrows even in the name of that English king, money enough to raise an army for himself? What conduct is this for a pontiff to strip an orphan! a legate of the pope commands this army, which is said to have amounted to near fifty thousand men. The pope's army is defeated and despised.

* He sent his nuncio Albert into England, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who declined the proposal of engaging in an expensive war against Conrad, who was his own nephew. His brother Henry was not so scrupulous. The same scheme being offered to his consideration, in favour of his second son Edmund, he submitted to all the conditions imposed by the pope, engaged himself and his realm for unlimited sums, supplied him with all the money in his own exchequer, as well as with what he could extort from the Jews, who were miserably oppressed, together with large sums borrowed of his brother Richard, and the Italian merchants, at exorbitant interest.

Let us moreover observe, that pope Alexander IV. who believed himself strong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dares not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always resembled those imperial towns which dispute the rights of regality with their archbishops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious situation till the time of Alexander VI.

1256, 1257, 1258.

In Germany it is resolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Polish Palatines of these days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction choose Alphonfus X. king of Castile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England. These two send severally to the Pope, desiring their election might be confirmed: the Pope will confirm neither. Richard mean while goes to Aix-la-chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonfus of Castile acts as sovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederick III. duke of Lorraine, goes thither, and receives on his knees the investiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great Seneschal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the first dish on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the historians of Germany, as the more modern, say, that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was because they were not acquainted with the Chronicle of England,

wrote by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to understand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exercised the rights of emperor on more than one occasion; that in 1263, he gave the investiture of Austria and Stiria to one Ottocarus king of Bohemia; and that in 1269, he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then so much talked of, did not really subsist: altho' these years may be called an interregnum, because Richard was seldom in Germany *. In those times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty sovereigns.

1259.

Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his cousin the titular duke of Austria, of the old branch of Austria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, causes himself to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furnished the Pope with a just handle for seeking his destruction. Alexander IV. as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured person, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to punish an usurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himself firmly established, treats the Pope's excommunications and enterprizes with contempt.

* Richard's elevation to the imperial throne is said to have cost him seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; a sum altogether incredible.

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waste the countries of Lombardy, which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At last he is wounded in a battle against the Cremonese, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

From 1260 to 1266.

While Germany is either quite desolate, or languishes in anarchy; while Italy is divided into factions; England involved in civil wars; and St. Lewis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another crusade, which was more unfortunate, if possible, than the first; the holy see still perseveres in the design of wresting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of stripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope sits on St. Peter's chair, it is still the same genius, and the same medley of greatness and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the Pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The Popes are scarce endured in Rome, and yet they bestow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time chose one senator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his son-in-law Peter of Arragon, and Charles duke of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, all three caballed for this dignity, which was that of Patrician, under another name.

Urban IV. the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not choose to see him senator; because then he would be too powerful.

He proposes that St. Lewis should equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. St. Lewis he-

fitates. It was plainly a proposal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from so many ancestors, who had conquered those dominions from the Mussulmans. The Pope quiets his scruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the Pope, and causes himself to be elected senator of Rome, in despite of the Pope.

Urban IV. being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promise that he will in five years renounce the title of senator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the Pope reconciles these two oaths, and absolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewise obliges him to swear in the hands of his legate, that he will never possess the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes his predecessors; and this law shews how much they had been afraid of Frederick II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promises to assist the holy see in recovering the patrimony which had been usurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the countess Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thousand ounces of gold, as a yearly tribute; consenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months: he swears to abolish all the rights which the French conquerors, and the princes of the house of Suabia, had enjoyed over ecclesiastics, and in so doing renounces the singular prerogative of Sicily.

On these and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marseilles, with thirty galleys, and goes to Rome in June 1265, to re-

ceive the investiture of Naples and Sicily, which he had bought so dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole dispute. There Mainfroy is slain, and his wife, children, and treasures, fall into the hands of the victor.

The Pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Christian burial; a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed; which served only to irritate the minds of men.

1267, 1268.

Charles of Anjou no sooner mounts the throne of Sicily, than he is dreaded by the Pope, and hated by his subjects. Conspiracies are formed against him. The Gibelins who divided Italy, send to Bavaria to solicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV. successor of Urban, forbids him to come to Italy, as a sovereign transmits his order to his subject.

Conradin, at the age of sixteen, sets out with his uncle the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tirol, whose daughter he had married, and particularly with his cousin, the young duke of Austria, who was no more master in Austria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV. that he might oppose him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuscany. That illustrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own spirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Gibelins; and by this appointment the Guelphs assumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, senator of Rome, and chief of Tuscany, becomes still more formidable

ble to the Pope. But Conradin would have been more so.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very singular destiny the Romans and Mussulmans declared for him at the same time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonfus X. king of Castile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy, and there causes himself to be declared senator of Rome, in order to support the rights of Conradin ; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and gallies, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples, take arms in his favour.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His gallies anchor on the coast of Sicily, and there his troops are joyfully received by almost the whole nation. He marches from one success to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzzo. The French knights inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, composed in a hurry of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile, are made prisoners.

The historians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his last request, and he died soon after. Charles orders the sentence of death to be pronounced upon the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He sends Henry of Castile prisoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the 26th day of October 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Austria are executed in the market-

market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the first example of such an outrage against crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the stroke, threw his glove among the croud, and begged that somebody would carry it to his cousin Peter of Arragon, Mainfroy's son-in-law, who would one day revenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchses de Walbourg, who actually fulfilled his desire. Since that time the house of Walbourg bears the arms of Conradin, which are those of Suabia. The young duke of Austria being first executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly, took up his head, which he was kissing when he received the fatal stroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the same scaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining son to be put to death in prison. What is very surprising, we do not find that St. Lewis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the least reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favour of Charles that he undertook his last unfortunate crusade against the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

1269, 1270, 1271, 1272.

The petty wars still continued between the noblemen of Germany. Rodolphus, count of Habsbourg in Swisserland, had already signalized himself in these wars, and especially in that which he supported against the bishop of Basil, in favour of the abbot of St. Gal. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houses. This is a mutual

mutual deed of the lands of one house to another, in case of survivorship in the male line.

The first of these treaties had been made in the last years of Frederick II. between the houses of Saxony and Hesse.

The Hans-towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They establish consuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourse?

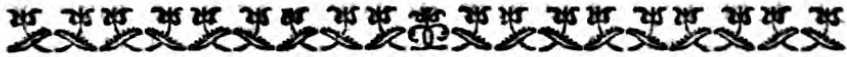
The same necessity which inspired the invention of consuls in the trading towns, was the occasion of instituting *Auftregues* for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the sword. These *Auftregues* are either from the nobility or from the towns themselves, chosen as umpires to determine without the expence of a law-suit. These two establishments, so lucky and so wise, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourse to such expedients.

Germany still remained without a chief, but was resolved to have one at last.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonfus of Castile had now no party. Ottocarus III. king of Bohemia, duke of Austria and Stiria, was proposed, and is said to have refused the empire. He was then at war with Bela king of Hungary, who disputed with him Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He might have contested Stiria, which depended upon Austria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchased.

Peace is concluded. Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, remain in the possession of Ottocarus. We cannot conceive how he who was so powerful

erful should refuse the empire: he who afterwards refused homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor, for that very reason, because he was too powerful.



RODOLPHUS I. OF HAPSBURG.

First Emperor of the House of Austria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273.

AT length they assemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor, in consequence of letters from pope Gregory X. who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumstance, that a pope should be so desirous of having an emperor.

In this assembly they proposed no prince who possessed extensive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tirol, who was of the number of the electors, names three persons, a count de Goritz, lord of a small country in the Frioul, and absolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but some pretensions upon the duchy of Carinthia; and Rodolphus de Hapsbourg, a celebrated captain and great marshal of the court of Ottocarus, king of Bohemia.

The electors, being divided between these three competitors, refer the affair to the decision of Lewis the Severe, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, the same who had educated
and

and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederick of Austria. This is the first example of such an arbitration. Lewis of Bavaria names Rodolphus of Hapsbourg emperor.

The burgrave or constable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rodolphus, who, being no longer in the service of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Basil and Strasbourg.

Alphonfus of Castile and the king of Bohemia in vain protest against this election. This protest of Ottocarus is surely no proof of his having refused the imperial crown. Rodolphus was the son of Albert count of Hapsbourg in Swisserland. His mother was Ulrica of Ribourg*, who had several lordships in Alsace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Hæneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he ascended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the service of the Milanese, and another a canon at Basil; but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbishop. It is reported that the imperial sceptre, said to be that used by Charlemagne, being missing, this defect of formality began to serve as a pretext to several noblemen who did not choose to take the oath. He seized a crucifix. "This is my sceptre," said he; and all present did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him respectable, and the rest of his conduct shewed him worthy of the empire.

* The annotator on Heifs says his mother was Itha, daughter of the count de Bregeritz;

He marries his son Albert to a daughter of the count of Tirol, sister-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert seems to acquire the right to Alface and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous emperor Frederick II. Alface was then divided among several petty lords. It was necessary to make war upon them. He by his prudence procures the troops of the empire, and subdues the whole by his valour. A prefect is appointed to govern Alface. This is one of the most important æras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The possessors of lands in Suabia and Alface held of the imperial house of Suabia; but after the extinction of that house in the person of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reason that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The emperor Rodolphus succeeds in subduing the gentlemen of Alface, and creates a prefect in that province; but after him the barons of Alface became for the most part free and immediate barons, as much sovereigns in their small demesnes, as the greatest German noblemen were in their extensive dominions. This, through the greatest part of Europe, was the aim of every person who possessed a castle or country house.

1274.

Three ambassadors of Rodolphus take the oath in his name to pope Gregory X. in the consistory. The Pope writes to Rodolphus: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans."

Alphonfus

Alphonfus X. king of Caffile, at this time renounces the empire.

1275.

Rodolphus vifits the Pope at Laufanne: he promifes to caufe the marche of Ancona, and the lands of Mathilda to be reftored: he promifes that which he could not perform. All this country was in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had feized it at the expence of the Pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like ancient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Pifa, had a greater number of fhips than the emperor could maintain of enfigns. Florence became confiderable, and was already the nurfe of the liberal arts.

Rodolphus firft of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocarus III. the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Auftria, Carinthia, and Carniola, refused to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rodolphus, faid he; I have paid him his wages." He affiliates with Bavaria.

Rodolphus fupports the majesty of his rank: he puts this powerful Ottocarus to the ban of the empire, together with Henry duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furnifhed with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German empire.

1276.

The emperor Rodolphus defeats, one after another, all thofe who espoufe the party of Ottocarus, or who attempt to take the advantage of this divifion; namely, the count de Neubourg, the count de Fribourg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Wirtemberg, and Henry duke of Bavaria.

He

He all at once finishes this war with the Bavarians, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's son, and receiving forty thousand ounces of gold, instead of giving a portion with his daughter.

From thence he marches against Ottocarus, whom he forces to a composition. The king of Bohemia cedes Austria, Stiria, and Carniola. He consents to do liege homage to the emperor in the island of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion close covered, that he might be spared a public mortification.

Ottocarus repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rodolphus, superior in his pride, receives him in the most coarse and simple dress; and, in the midst of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavilion fall back, and expose to the eyes of the people, and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocarus on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his Steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This story is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277.

The wife of Ottocarus, more haughty than her husband, reproaches him so much for the homage he had done, and the cession of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Austria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory August 26, and Ottocarus is slain in the battle. The victor uses his fortune like a legislator: he gives Bohemia to young Wenceslaus, the son

son of the vanquished, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278.

Rodolphus makes his entry into Vienna and establishes himself in Austria. Lewis duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himself of that right. Rodolphus falls upon him with his victorious troops. Nothing now is able to resist him; and we see this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279.

Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. easily gains from him that long process which so many pontiffs had supported against so many emperors. Rodolphus by a deed, dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and disavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the course of this same year. The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of Senator of Rome, and that for one year only.

The Pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of Senator from Charles of Anjou, because

because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece; saying, "Although he was called Orfini, and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rodolphus in Italy was (according to Girolamo Briani) like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

1280.

The emperor Rodolphus accommodates matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were still infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After the death of Nicholas III. they chose a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at first orders the dignity of senator to be restored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinvest him likewise with the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. Rodolphus seems to give himself very little concern about the matter: he has business enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in consequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was regent; and, besides, Rodolphus had more occasion for money than for titles.

1281,

1281, 1282.

These years are memorable for the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian vespers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who (and, notwithstanding his rank, exercised the professions of physic and the law) was the author of this conspiracy, which seemed so opposite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelin passionately attached to the memory of Frederick II. and the house of Suabia: he had been several times in Arragon with queen Constance the daughter of Mainfroy: he glowed with impatience to revenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had spilt; but finding it impracticable to do any thing in the kingdom of Naples, restrained by the presence and dread of Charles, he hatched his scheme in Sicily, which was governed by the provençals, who were more detested and less powerful than their master.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Constantinople. The great fruit of the crusades of the West had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had lost it afterwards, together with the rest of the conquests they had made upon the Mussulmans. The rage of going to fight in Palestine was abated since the misfortunes of St. Lewis; but Constantinople seemed an easy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Paleologus, who then possessed the remains of the eastern empire. John de Procida goes in disguise to Constantinople, to warn Michael Paleologus, and excite him to be before-hand with Charles. Thence he hastens to Arragon, where he has a private audience of king Peter. He received money from both these princes. He easily

easily finds people to engage in the conspiracy. Peter of Arragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Afric, and keeps himself in readiness to make a descent upon Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Easter, 1282, at the sound of the vesper bell, all the Provençals in the island are massacred, some in churches, some at their doors and in the public streets, and some in their own houses. Eight thousand persons are supposed to have been slaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men has been killed in above an hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this case the secret so long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children massacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, slain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confessors, render this event for ever famous and execrable. It is always said, that the persons murdered at those Sicilian vespers were French, because Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people massacred were really Imperialists.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Austria began. Their death was occasioned by the guilt of one man; namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thousand innocent persons.

Peter of Arragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Constance. The whole nation owns him as sovereign; and from that day Sicily remained

mained with the house of Arragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldest sons, Albert and Rodolphus, at one time the investiture of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, on the 27th day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augsburg, with the consent of all the noblemen, including that of Lewis of Bavaria, who had pretensions to Austria. But how could he at one time give the investiture of the same dominions to these two princes? Had they any thing more than the title? Was the youngest to succeed his elder brother? or had the younger any thing but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to possess those dominions in common? These are circumstances not explained. What is incontestible is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which says that the emperor Rodolphus invested his son Rodolphus with Suabia*; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rodolphus ever possessed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola: nevertheless, one historian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rodolphus is always called duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have lost that duchy?

* So it appears by Dumont's Corp-diplom. Barre mentions nothing of Rodolphus's being invested with Austria, Stiria, &c.

In the same diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the marche Trevisano to his son-in-law the count of Tirol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor, was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283, 1284.

Rodolphus governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between several noblemen and several towns.

Historians say that his labours had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the physicians advised him to take a young wife of fifteen to strengthen his constitution. These historians are bad philosophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter king of Arragon takes the prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, prisoner; but is not able to make himself master of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285.

The Cumins, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waste Hungary.

The emperor invests John Davennes with the country of Alost, the country of Vass, Zealand, and Hainault. The county of Flanders is not specified in this investiture: it was become incontestibly plain that it held of France.

1286, 1287.

To crown the glory of Rodolphus, he ought to have established himself in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was past. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himself with selling liberty to those

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towns

towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederick Barbarossa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power, and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Switzerland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they without exception took the oath; but some were reputed *free*, such as Augsburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz; others were called *imperial*, as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of *subject*, as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of *mixed*, because, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Straßbourg the citizens had the authority.

1288, 1289, 1290.

Rodolphus makes all his daughters subservient to his interest: he matches a daughter he had by his first wife to young Winceslaus king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him swear he will never make any pretensions to the duchies of Austria and Stiria; but, by way of recompence, he confirms him in the office of great cup bearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's house. It seems the quality of elector was inseparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquished their right of electing, but the great officers insisted upon having this right in preference to others. It was for this reason the dukes of Bavaria disputed the office of grand master with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, tho' this last was the eldest.

A great diet at Erfort, in which the division already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The Eastern continues in the house of Misnia, which is now that of Saxony; the Western remains with the house of Brabant, which was heir of Misnia by the female line. This is the present house of Hesse.

Ladislaus III. king of Hungary, having been slain by the Cuman-Tartars, who still ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, resolves to bestow that fief upon his son Albert, to whom he had already given Austria.

Pope Nicholas IV. who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou king of Naples and Sicily : but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's son-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's son as their king, for fear of being enslaved, Rodolphus consents that his son-in-law, Charles Martel, shall endeavour to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feudal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheless, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rodolphus makes war upon him, but this is soon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded ; so that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rodolphus confers the title of Palatine of Saxony upon his son-in-law Albert II. duke of Saxony. We must take care to distinguish that house of Saxony from the present, which, as we have said, is from the house of Misnia.

1291.

The emperor Rodolphus dies at Germesheim July 15th in the 73d year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

A D O L-

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

T W E N T Y - N I N T H E M P E R O R .

After an Interregnum of nine Months.

1292.

THE German princes afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a second compromise, of which we have seen an example in the nomination of Rodolphus. The archbishop of Mentz to whom it was referred, names Adolphus of Nassau on the same principle as that on which they had chosen his predecessor. He was the most illustrious warrior, and the poorest of that time. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of German armies, without being powerful enough to enslave it. He possessed but three lordships in the county of Nassau.

Albert duke of Austria disgusted because he did not succeed his father, joins against the new emperor with that same count of Burgundy who would be no longer a vassal of Germany, and these two obtain succour from Philip the Fair king of France. The house of Austria begins by inviting against the emperor those very French whom the princes of the empire hath since so often invited against her. Albert of Austria, with the assistance of France, at first makes war in Swisserland, the sovereignty of which was claimed by his house. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

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1293.

1293.

Albert of Austria excites Strasbourg and Colmar to rebel against Adolphus. The emperor at the head of some troops, furnished by the imperial fiefs, appeases these troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favour of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambrai, Flanders held solely of the king of France.

1294.

Adolphus unites with Edward king of England against France; but as he dreaded such a powerful vassal as the duke of Austria, he undertakes nothing. We have seen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumstances.

1295.

A shameful piece of injustice in the emperor is the first origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to sovereigns. Albert of Misnia, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the ancestors of all the princes of Saxony, who make such a great figure in Germany, son-in-law of the emperor Frederick II. had three children by the princess his wife. He had repudiated her for a mistress unworthy of him, and for that reason the Germans had justly bestowed upon him the surname Depraved. Having a bastard by that concubine, he resolved to disinherit his three legitimate children in his favour. He set up his fiefs to sale in despite of the laws, and the emperor in despite of the laws purchases them with the money he has received

received from the king of England to make war upon France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights against the emperor. In vain does he take Dresden and several castles; he is driven from Misnia, and all Germany declares against such scandalous proceedings.

1296.

The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one side and France on the other, still continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce, on pain of excommunication.

1297.

The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them resented his conduct. Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, Albert duke of Austria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Mentz assemble at Prague. There were two marquises of Brandenburg; not that both possessed the same marquisate, but being brothers both took the same title. This practice began to be customary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet summoned to meet at Egra to depose him.

Albert of Austria sends to Rome to solicit the deposition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Austria pretends to have received the pope's consent, which however he had not obtained. The archbishop of Mentz solemnly deposes the emperor in the name of all the princes. These are the terms in which he expressed himself. "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's consent; others af-

firm the pope has refused it : but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been invested, we depose Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect lord Albert duke of Austria for king of the Romans.”

1298.

Boniface VIII. forbids the electors on pain of excommunication to consecrate the new king of the Romans, and they answer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Mean while Adolphus, having some bishops and noblemen in his party, was still at the head of an army. On the second day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spire; the two meet in the midst of the engagement. Albert of Austria thrusts a sword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.



ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298.

ALBERT of Austria begins by referring his right to the electors the better to secure it. He is a second time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip *the fair* of France.

1299.

1299.

The emperor Albert forthwith unites himself to Philip, and marries his eldest son Rodolphus to Blanche that king's sister. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his son Austria, Stiria, Carniola, Alsace, Fribourg in the Brisgau, and assigns Alsace and Fribourg as a jointure to his daughter in-law, referring himself for the portion of Blanche intirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert sends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other answer, but that the emperor is an usurper, and that there is no other Cæsar but the sovereign pontiff of the Christians.

1300, 1301.

The houses of France and Austria seemed at that time closely united by this marriage, by their common hatred to Boniface VIII. and by the necessity they were under to defend themselves against their vassals; for at the same time Holland and Zealand which were vassals of the empire made war upon Albert, and the Flemings who were vassals of France had taken arms against Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was still prouder than Gregory VII. and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one side he excites against Philip the Fair his own brother Charles of Valois on the other hand he foments a revolt of the princes of Germany against Albert.

No pope ever pushed farther the madness of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He makes a match be-

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tween



tween that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II. the deposed emperor of Constantinople, and boldly declares Charles Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than such enterprizes when they are well conducted and successful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in less than three years, gave away the empires of the east and west, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumstances in which Germany was involved, had well nigh insured his success against Albert of Austria. He writes to the archbishops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in six months, to clear himself if he can of the crime of treason committed against his sovereign Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans, &c."

Those three archbishops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count Palatine of the Rhine to proceed against him, as they had proceeded against his predecessor; and what shews that there were always two weights and two measures, they accuse him of being guilty of a crime, in having defeated and slain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had deposed, and against whom he had been armed by their own consent and direction.

The count Palatine actually lays informations against the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts Palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil causes between the prince and subject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

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The Palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himself in criminal cases. And it is upon this pretension that we shall see a Palatine, and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his side, answers these proceedings with war.

1302.

The judges in a very little time ask pardon, and the elector Palatine is fain to pay a large sum of money for his proceedings.

Poland, after a series of troubles, elects for its king Wenceslaus king of Bohemia. This prince establishes some sort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who instituted the senate. This Wenceslaus gives his son as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himself.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage against him, who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that station Carobert, a descendant of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accustomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Winceflaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Carobert, and lays Bohemia waste. Authors say his army was poisoned by the Bohemians, who infected the water in the neighbourhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumstance.

1303.

What effectually engages the emperor in the interest of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel
D 6 between.

between that pope and Philip the Fair. Boniface being mal-treated by Philip, and that very deservedly, at length acknowledges Albert whom he prosecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promises him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war against the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaisance with a still greater piece of condescension. He acknowledges "that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the holy see; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the regal power." It was against such a declaration as this, that the count Palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble, thus to flatter Boniface VIII. who died October 12. after he had with difficulty escaped from the prison in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Mean-while the king of France confiscates Flanders from count Gui Dampiere, and after a bloody battle remains master of Lile, Douay, Orchies, Bethune, and a very extensive country, without the emperor's giving himself any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, still divided between the Guelphs and Ghibelins.

1304, 1305.

Ladislaus, that son of the respectable Winceslaus king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father (as it is pretended) died of grief for his expulsion, if kings can actually die of that distemper.

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Otho duke of Bavaria causes himself to be elected king of Hungary, and is sent back again the very same year. Ladislaus returns to Bohemia, where he is assassinated. Thus we see three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert causes his son Rodolphus to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Carobert still supports his pretensions to Hungary, and a Polish nobleman called Uladislaus Locticus is elected or rather re-established in Poland; but the emperor has no share in the transaction.

1306.

Here follows a piece of injustice which one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau had lost his crown and life in consequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to strip the lawful heirs of Misnia and Thuringia for a sum of money.

Philip de Nassau brother of this emperor reclaimed the countries which had been so unjustly purchased. Albert declares for him, in hope of obtaining a share. The princes of Thuringia defend themselves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proscription furnishes them with partizans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable possession of their dominions. We generally find in the Germans a strong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government hath so long subsisted;

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an edifice often on the brink of tumbling, yet still firm and well founded.

1307.

Pope Clement V. sends a legate to Hungary, to give the crown to Carobert in the name of the holy see. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors ; but at this time the popes disposed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians chose to be vassals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enslave them. But it would have been still better to be vassals to no power whatsoever.

Origin of the LIBERTY of the Swifs.

Switzerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the house of Austria, as Fribourg, Lucerne, Zug and Glaris. These small towns, although subjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire ; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, such as Zurich, Basil and Scaffhousen. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the house of Austria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be despotic through the whole country. The governors and commissaries whom he sent thither, exercised a species of tyranny which at first produced abundance of misery, but in the end was productive of the blessing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walter Fust. The difficulty of pronouncing such respectable names, has in some measure injured their fame. These

three peasants, being men of sense and resolution, were the first conspirators; each of them engaged three others; and those nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald.

All the historians alledge that while they were concerting the conspiracy, a governor of Uri, whose name was Geisler, took it in his head to exercise a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, say they, one of his caps to be placed upon the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every person should bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conspirators, called William Tell, would not salute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except upon condition that the convict, who was esteemed an expert archer, should bring down with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his own son. The father shot in the utmost trepidation, and was so lucky as to hit the apple: Geisler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, asked what he intended to do with it. "It was intended for thee, said the Swiss, had I wounded my son."

The story of the apple is I own very suspicious, and what follows is no less doubtful. But, in short, it is generally believed that Tell being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow: that this was the signal for the conspirators; and that the people seized the fortresses, and demolished those instruments of their slavery.

1308.

Albert being on the eve of venturing his forces
against:

against that courage inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, loses his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conspires his death with the help of some accomplices. He himself gives the emperor the fatal stab, while he was walking with him near Rheinsfeldt upon the banks of the river Rufs in the neighbourhood of Swisserland. Few sovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever less regretted. In all probability the deed by which Austria, Stiria, and Carniola were conveyed by the emperor Rodolphus of Hapsbourg to his two sons, was the cause of this association. John, son of prince Rodolphus, having in vain demanded his share, which was detained by his uncle Albert, resolved to obtain possession by committing the crime of high treason.



H E N R Y VII.

Of the house of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308.

AFTER the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for seven months. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip the Fair, king of France; but there is no monument of the history of France, that

that makes the least mention of this circumstance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the lists of competition. He was a prince who went every where in quest of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Arragon from the hands of pope Martin IV. and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the Popes exact from the kings of Arragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promised to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertrand de Got, a Gascoon, archbishop of Bourdeaux, being raised to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip the Fair, promises the imperial crown to that prince. The Popes could do a great deal at this period, in spite of their impotence, because their refusing to acknowledge a king of the Romans elected in Germany, was often a pretext for faction and civil war.

This pope Clement V. acts in diametrical opposition to his promise. He underhand presses the electors to choose Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the first who was chosen by six electors only, all the six great officers of the crown; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the present house of Bavaria, as grand master of the household; the duke of Saxony, of the house of Ascania, as great master of the horse; and the marquis of Brandenburg, of the same house of Ascania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not present, nor did any person represent him

him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine, who, in the name of the six electors, nominated "Henry count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future-emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic church, and defender of widows and orphans."

1309.

Henry VII. begins by revenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the ban of the empire. Frederick and Leopold of Austria, his cousins, descended like him from Rodolphus of Hapsburg, execute the sentence, and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins, called Rodolphus de Warth, a considerable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the Pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his son of Luxemburg the title of duke, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by breviate, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by breviate.

The emperor, with a view to establish his family, causes his son John of Luxemburg to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity for conquering it from the duke of Carinthia.

thia; and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation was against the said duke*.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and great part of them stripped of their effects. That people, devoted to usury every since it had been known, having always exercised that profession at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had every where rendered themselves equally necessary and execrable. There was scarce a town in which the Jews were not accused of sacrificing a child on Friday, and stabbing the host. Processions are still made in several towns, in remembrance of the hosts which have been stabbed and shed blood. These ridiculous impeachments served as pretexts to strip them of their wealth.

1310.

The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the most incomprehensible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jesus Christ, are accused of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the most horrible debauches by way

* Having expelled this duke, he confirmed his son in possession of the throne, by marrying him to the princess Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Wenceslaus, late king of Bohemia, by a daughter of the emperor Rodolphus. This marriage was for some time postponed, in consequence of a report spread to the prejudice of the young lady's virtue. She no sooner understood the cause of the delay, than repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, she undressed herself to the shift, in presence of the ladies there assembled, and approaching Henry, demanded that she might be examined immediately by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the care of some ladies and midwives, who unanimously declared her an unspotted virgin; and, in consequence of their testimony, the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence.

of secret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the stake, in consequence of a bull of pope Clement V. and of their great possessions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great master of the order, and seventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the Fair, incensed against them, causes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the Pope, who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burnt in Paris. They are persecuted every where. Two years after this event the Pope abolishes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps because they were too much persecuted in France. In all probability, the debauchery of some young knights had given occasion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. resolves to re-establish the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there since Frederick II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to establish John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of The Roman expedition. Every state of the empire contributes a certain sum to furnish soldiers, horsemen, or money.

The emperor's commissaries, by whom he is preceded, take the usual oath to the Pope's commissaries at Laufanne, on the 11th of October. An oath always considered by the Popes as an act of homage and obedience; and by the emperors, as a promise of protection; but the
words

words of it were favourable to the pretensions of the Popes.

1311.

Italy is still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. But these factions had no longer the same aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor and pope: it was a word of reproach, to which there was no precise idea affixed. We have seen an example of the same kind, in the factions of the whigs and tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and settled his court at Lions, with his mistress the countess of Perigord, where he amassed money to the utmost of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini, and the Roman barons, divide the city, and this division is the cause of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the Rhone; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remained with the house of Arragon. Carobert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou.

The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from subsisting. It had been made with no other view but to oppose the emperors. But since these had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expence of one another. The Florentines and Genoese made war upon the
republic

republic of Pisa. Besides, every town was divided into factions within itself: Florence, between the blacks and the whites; and Milan between the Visconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a small iron circlet. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor * conspire against his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Most of the towns of Lombardy, such as Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Brescia, refuse to obey him; he subdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood shed.

He marches to Rome. Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the Pope, shuts the gates against him, ordering his brother John, prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately associate with Robert. In the mean time, the Pope writes from Lions to the emperor, that he wishes for nothing so much as his coronation; and the king of Naples makes the same profession, assuring him that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpose than to establish order in the city. Henry VII. presents himself at the gate of the

* Who was of the house of the Turriani, a Guelph by inclination, and had engaged in the emperor's service on purpose to betray him.

city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter; but he is obliged to besiege it before he can enter. He is defeated, instead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and desires he may be crowned in the church of St. John de Lateran. The cardinals oppose his demand, saying it cannot be done without the permission of the Pope.

The people of that district espouse the emperor's cause; and he is crowned in a tumult by some cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to discuss the question, "Whether or not the Pope can command the emperor in any case? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy see?" His lawyers fail not to decide in his favour, and the Pope takes care to have a contrary decision by the lawyers of his own party.

1313.

We have already seen, that it is the destiny of the emperors to want force sufficient to maintain their dominion at Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain besieges Florence, and as vainly summons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no less vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire, as a person guilty of treason: "Bannishing him for ever on pain of losing his head." This decree is dated April 25.

He issues decrees of the same nature against Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Winceflaus, in his madness, would not have published such rescripts. He orders his brother, the archbishop of Triers, to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty galleys from the Genoese and the Pisans. There

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is a conspiracy at Naples in his favour. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart, he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree against the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poison. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the sacrament, is said to have mixed poison in the consecrated wine. It is difficult to prove such crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his son John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence, until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained those letters at the very time when people began to accuse them of this sacrilegious murder.

AN INTERREGNUM of Fourteen Months.

In the last years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itself, and made conquests upon the idolaters and Christians who inhabited the coast of the Baltic. They even made themselves masters of Dantzick, which they afterwards gave up. They purchased the country of Prussia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whose possession it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were destroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they supported themselves some years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at last entirely abolished.

1314.

Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII. and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an
oath

oath of fidelity, consequently the act of a vassal doing homage.

He dissolves the sentence which Henry VII. had pronounced against the king of Naples, "Because, says he justly, king Robert is our vassal."

But the Pope adds very astonishing clauses to this reason: "We have, said he, the superiority of the empire, and we succeed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jesus Christ."

By virtue of that pretension the Pope created Robert king of Naples vicar of the empire in Italy. Thus the Popes, who feared nothing so much as an emperor, were themselves aiding and assisting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to vest themselves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an established opinion that the right of voting belonged solely to the great officers of the household, namely the three ecclesiastical chancellors, and the four secular princes. These officers had long possessed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes; and gradually arrogated to themselves the sole right of electing.

This is so true, that Henry duke of Carinthia, who assumed the title of king of Bohemia, disputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII. who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rodolphus, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to

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share

share the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, because both took the appellation of grand-marshal.

Lewis, duke of Bavaria, the same who was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to share the right of voting with his eldest brother, Rodolphus count palatine.

In that case, there would have been ten electors, who represented seven officers holding the seven principal posts of the empire. Of these ten electors, five name Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who adding his own vote, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four chose Frederick, duke of Austria, son of the emperor Albert; and this duke of Austria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Austria, as it did not furnish a great officer, had no right of voting.



L E W I S V.

O R,

L E W I S O F B A V A R I A.

T H I R T Y - S E C O N D E M P E R O R.

1315.

LEWIS of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, because he was elected by the majority, but chiefly, because his rival, Frederick the Fine, was unfortunate.

Frederick is consecrated at Cologne, by the archbishop of that place; and Lewis at Aix-la-chapelle,

Chapelle, by the archbishop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himself, although the archbishop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

These two consecrated competitors necessarily produce civil wars; and this is the more so, because Lewis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival Frederick. Some of the Swiss cantons already confederated take arms in favour of Lewis of Bavaria; and by these means defend their liberty against the house of Austria.

The memorable BATTLE of Mortgat.

If the Swiss had possessed the eloquence, as they did the courage of the Athenians, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Austria, at the passage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Mortgat is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316.

Pope John XXII. residing at Avignon and Lions, like his two predecessors, tho' he durst not set foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheless declares that the empire depends upon the Roman church, and summons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more singular in the mind of man, than to see the successors of the Cæsars, who were created on the banks of the Maine, submit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of bestowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and

kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317.

We must imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was still torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins. The Guelphs, with Robert king of Naples at their head, adhere to Frederick of Austria; the Ghibelins were on the side of Lewis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viscomtis of Milan. This house established its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milanese.

1318.

War between Erick, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone supports the war, unassisted by any prince of the empire. When a weak state holds out against a stronger, we may be assured it is governed by a superior man.

In the course of this short quarrel, which was soon accommodated, the duke of Lawemburg is made prisoner by the margrave, and redeems himself for sixteen thousand marks of silver. From these ransoms we may nearly guess the quantity of specie which then circulated in those countries, where the princes had every thing, and the people almost nothing.

1319.

The two emperors consent to decide their most important quarrel by thirty champions. An old custom, which chivalry hath sometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen against fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek
and

and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing *, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been spectators of the combat of thirty. Lewis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not decisive.

1320, 1321.

Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the church against the Ghibelins in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of establishing some party among so many divisions. The Viscomtis find means to make him repass the Alps, by sometimes furnishing his little army, and sometimes having recourse to negotiation.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibelins, without engaging heartily either for Frederick of Austria, or Lewis of Bavaria.

1322.

Another battle, which proved decisive, is fought between the two emperors near Muldorf †, Sept. 28, 1322. The duke of Austria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorrain. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Austria, brother of the two prisoners, in vain continues the war.

* They fought with such fury that in a little time they were all slain. The battle was fought near Muldorf.

† This second battle near Muldorf was fought in the plain of Vechivis, and is commonly distinguished by that name. Frederick is said to have killed fifty men with his own hand; and to have continued fighting until he was quite abandoned by his followers.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, sends his son to be educated in France, at the court of king Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumstance seems incredible. The possessor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rodolphus of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rodolphus had embraced the party of Frederick of Austria against his brother, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had made himself master of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and sold like cattle. The whole noblesse of Bohemia rise as one man against this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was of no effect; but Rodolphus was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323.

An event still more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country descended from the antient house of Ascania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There was a number of relations capable of succeeding. The antient house of Saxe-Lawemburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretensions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true possessor's pilgrimage, resolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly invests his own son Lewis.

The

The emperor takes for his second wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower these two provinces, together with Zealand and Friesland. No state near the Low Countries was looked upon as a masculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houses while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor having vanquished his competitor, has the Pope still to conquer. John XXII. from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs against the Ghibelins. He declares the Viscomtis heretics, and as the emperor favours the Viscomtis, declares the emperor a favourer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Lewis of Bavaria to resign in three months the administration of the empire, "for having assumed the title of king of the Romans, without waiting until the Pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himself with protesting against this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324.

Lewis of Bavaria supports the remainder of the war against the house of Austria while he is attacked by the Pope.

John XXII. by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor *contumacious*, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holiness by the first of October. Lewis of Bavaria publishes a rescript, inviting the church to depose the Pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John de Gent, a Franciscan, come and offer their pens to the

emperor against the Pope, pretending to prove the holy father an heretic. He actually had very singular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

1325.

When we thus see the Popes, who are not possessed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may easily guess that their sole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice, and the interests of princes. The house of Austria had still a party in Germany, although the head of it was in prison ; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alsace, for example, and the county of Meffin, held for that house. The emperor made an alliance with his prisoner, the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Triers, and the count de Bar, in order to take Metz. This city was actually taken, and paid about forty thousand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederick of Austria being still in prison, the Pope resolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a Pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne ; but long custom prevailed, and it was necessary that Germany should make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the interest of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-sur-aube. The king of France goes thither, and finds nobody but Leopold of Austria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own misconduct. Leopold of Austria, finding himself without resource,

source, sends the lance, sword, and crown of Charlemagne, to Lewis of Bavaria. Public opinion still attached to these symbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Lewis of Bavaria at length releases his prisoner, and makes him sign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Lewis. It is pretended that Frederick of Austria still preserved the title of king of the Romans.

1326.

Leopold of Austria dies. It must be observed, that, in spite of the laws, the constant custom was, that the great fiefs should still be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the same estate into thirty parts; and all of them bore the same title. All the male descendants of Rodolphus of Hapsbourg bore the name of dukes of Austria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his share, Alsace, Swisserland, Suabia, and the Brisgau. His brothers disputed this inheritance with one another; and at length chose John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for arbiter.

1327.

At length Lewis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibelins, and the Pope from afar animates the Guelphs against him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Lewis marches at the head of a small army to Milan, and is accompanied by a croud of Franciscan friars. These monks were excommunicated by pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The same Franciscans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the papal vision.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbishop, who refuses to perform the ceremony, but by the bishop of Arezzo.

As soon as that prince prepares for going to Rome, the faction of the Guelphs press the Pope to return to that city. But his holiness dares not go thither, so much is he afraid of the Ghibelin party, and the emperor.

The Pisans offer the emperor sixty thousand livres, provided he will not pass through their city in his march to Rome. Lewis of Bavaria besieges Pisa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thousand livres, to stay there no longer than two months. Historians say, they were livres of gold; but in that case the whole would have been equal to six millions of German crowns, a sum more easily produced in writing, than in actual payment.

A new bull is published by John XXII. dated at Avignon, Oct. 23. "We reprobate the said Lewis as an heretic. We strip the said Lewis of all his estate, moveable and immoveable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all persons whatever to supply the said Lewis with corn, linen, wine, wood, &c."

The emperor's heresy consisted in his going to Rome.

1328.

Lewis of Bavaria is crowned at Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Castruccio

Castruccio Castracani, tyrant of Lucca, at first created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran, and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Ursini, Savelli, and Conti.

Lewis is consecrated by a bishop of Venice, assisted by a bishop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the Pope. There was little disturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18, the emperor holds a general assembly, where he presides, cloathed with the imperial mantle, the crown upon his head, and the sceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Augustin monk, there accuses the Pope, and asks, "If any one present has a mind to defend the priest of Cahors, who calls himself pope John." The order of Augustins was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the Popes*.

Then the sentence was read, by which the emperor deposes the Pope. "We will, says he, follow the example of Otho I. who, with the clergy and people of Rome, deposed pope John XII. &c. We depose from the see of Rome James de Cahors, convicted of heresy and treason, &c."

Young Colonna, secretly attached to the Pope, publishes his opposition in Rome, by fixing it to the church-door, and betakes himself to flight.

At length Lewis pronounces sentence of death upon the Pope, and even upon the king of Naples, who had accepted of the Pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to

* Namely, Martin Luther.

be burnt alive. Extravagant resentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22, he by his own authority elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci, of the town of Corbiero, or Corbario, a Dominican, and makes the Roman people agree to his exaltation. Instead of kissing his feet, he invests him by the ring, and causes himself to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all the emperors since the Othos, happened to Lewis of Bavaria. The Romans conspire against him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329.

The emperor takes shelter in Pisa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciscans, called Michael de Cesena and William of Ockam, who wrote against the Pope. The antipope, Peter de Corbiero, sculks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome, and several cities of Italy, under the domination, or rather the protection of the Pope.

The Viscomtis, who are still powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and espouse the party of John XXII. who, though still a refugee at Avignon, seems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when these laws are executed by the strong against the weak.

Lewis of Bavaria, while at Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, son of Rodolphus, elector palatine, who died an
exile

exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is descended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine house; he restores to him the palatinate of the Rhine, and the High Palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himself. He stipulates that after the extinction of one of the houses of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the same common stock, the survivor shall enter into possession of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the mean time the vote in the election of emperors shall belong alternately to the two houses. The right of voting, thus granted to the house of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occasioned by this agreement between the two houses was of longer continuance.

1330.

Pope Peter of Corbiero, concealed in a castle of Italy, and surrounded by soldiers sent thither by the archbishop of Pisa, begs pardon of John XXII. who promises to spare his life, and give him a pension of three thousand florins of gold for his subsistence.

This pope friar Peter goes, with a rope about his neck, and presents himself before the Pope, who sends him to prison, where he dies in less than three years. It is not known whether or not he had stipulated that he should not be imprisoned.

Christopher, king of Denmark, is deposed by the states of the country, and has recourse to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, are appointed by the emperor, to try and decide this cause between that prince and his subjects.

This

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard, count of Holstein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commission. King Christopher, with the forces of those princes, and the assistance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent, and reascends the throne.

Lewis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the Pope, and sends an embassy to him for that purpose. John XXII. by way of answer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331.

John, king of Bohemia, instead of obeying the Pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himself, and with this view unites himself privately with the Pope. The Guelphs and Ghibelins, alarmed at this union, join against John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading such a dangerous vicar, excites against him Otho of Austria, brother of that very Frederick who was his rival for the empire; so much are interests varied in a little time.

He instigates the marquis of Misnia, and Carobert king of Hungary, and even Poland itself. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himself. The empire was seldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midst of all these troubles, is still respected by strangers, and still uninvaded.

The

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves his son Charles vicar in Italy, in spite of Lewis of Bavaria, and he himself marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibelins, notwithstanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy against prince Charles of Bohemia. The king his father being victor in Germany, passes the Alps to support his son. He arrives just when that prince had obtained a signal victory near Tirol, Nov. 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his son, and gives him the march, or marquisate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332.

The Pope continues to employ religion for the success of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Austria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, submits his dominions to the holy see, declaring himself a vassal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when such an action was neither punished nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himself formidable to the emperor, and endeavours to establish his credit in Germany. He and his son had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all decisive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibelins against Guelphs, and both against the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war upon one another,

another, instead of uniting to break their chains for ever.

During these troubles, the Teutonic order continues still a body of conquerors towards Russia. The Poles take some of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their assistance. He penetrates as far as Cracovia. He appeases the troubles in Silesia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

Straßburg, Fribourg in Brisgau, and Basil, unite in these troublesome times against the neighbouring tyrants; and several other towns join in the association. The neighbourhood of four Swiss Cantons become free, inspire those people with sentiments of liberty.

Otho of Austria besieges Colmar, which is supported against him by the emperor. The count of Wirtemberg, and the king of Bohemia, furnish the emperor with troops. We see on both sides an army of thirty thousand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uses his friends against his enemies. What would have been the case, if the whole had united in order to subdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is ingrossed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Austria reconciles himself to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the misery of the people continues.

1333.

We have seen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the Pope. We have seen Robert, king of Naples,

Naples, the Pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The same king of Bohemia who had besieged Cracovia, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to establish the Pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the consequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viscomtis and the Escales, princes of Verona. He is twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having lost his troops, his money, and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders dispute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. An accommodation is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334.

Mean while, the emperor Lewis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and seems to meddle no more with any affairs whatsoever.

Pope John XXII. being more restless, still solicits the German princes to rise against Lewis of Bavaria: and the Franciscans, who sided with Michael de Cesena, being condemned by the Pope, press the emperor to assemble a council to declare the Pope heretic, and depose him accordingly.

The emperor is more speedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treasury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins,

florins, eighteen millions of which were in specie. "I know it, says Villani, from my brother Romona, who was the Pope's banker." We may boldly answer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That sum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of these days. At that time such a sum would have purchased all Italy, and yet John XXII. never set foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical Tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he sold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reserves, and reversions, and set a price upon dispensations and absolutions. All these expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more scandal than money; the exactors of such tributes generally pay but a very small share to their employers.

One thing worthy of observation is, that he had some scruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be seen in Heaven: but he had none about the treasures he had amassed upon earth.

1335.

Old king John of Luxemburg marries a young princess of the house of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage settles the duchy of Luxemburg upon the son of the marriage. Almost all the clauses of contracts are so many seeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almost as soon as it is consummated. The old king of Bohemia had a second son, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young

young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, because his wife had pretensions to that duchy. That princess of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her husband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a bishop of Frisingen who dissolves the marriage without formalities, and she gives herself in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Interest has as great a share as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was son of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tirol by way of dower, together with her claim upon Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his son of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that lasts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodshed the parties come to a very singular accommodation; namely, that young John of Luxemburg shall confess his wife had reason to forsake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's son of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Strasburgers against the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Strasburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the bishop frequently put himself at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent upon the see.

1336, 1337.

Abundance of negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III. king of England, meditated against Philip de Valois. The business was to know who should be possessor of France.

True.

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at present, weakened by the divisions of the feudal government, and without any considerable maritime trade, was not the greatest theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one side, and Edward on the other, endeavour to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Englishman seems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border upon France. In particular he has the emperor on his side; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but these create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly consents to exercise that vicariate, in hope of seeing the war against France declared the war of the empire. His commission imports that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that secret respect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward strengthens himself with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the spiritual forces of the Pope, which were then of little signification.

Pope Benedict XI. still residing at Avignon, like his predecessors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It must be remembered that the emperor, who never received absolution from the Pope, continued still in a state of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of those times.

Philip

Philip de Valois, who could do any thing with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the absolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical ministry, and that ministry rouses other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Lewis the emperor, and still, according to custom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he possessed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation asks pardon of the Pope for having acknowledged his kinsman emperor. This meanness produces none of those revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338.

Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Lewis to the church. We see how almost all the popes have been no more than the instruments of a foreign power. They frequently resembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain upon their knees, but when these prayers are not heard, their godships are ducked in the river.

There is a great assembly of the princes of the empire at Rens upon the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occasion for declaring, "that he who has been chosen by the majority is the true emperor; that the Pope's confirmation is altogether unnecessary; that the Pope is still less intitled to the right of deposing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treason."

This declaration passes into a perpetual law, on the 8th day of August at Frankfort.

Albert

Albert of Austria, at first surnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederick of Austria who had disputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers, by whom the Austrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiss again without success. These people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unshaken courage. Albert miscarries in his enterprize; in abandoning which, he deserves the name of Sage.

1339.

Lewis the emperor thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war against Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all those princes go home; and Edward, assisted by the Flemings, pursues his ambitious aim.

1340.

The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariate of Italy, to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the pensioner of his vicar; and the proud Englishman acting the master and neglecting to pay the pension, Lewis deprives him of the vicariate, which was become a very useless title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Mean while the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viscomtis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpellier to be cured by the salubrity of the air, of a distemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheless he loses his eye-sight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Silesia to Charles afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Winceflaus born of Beatrice de Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he possessed in France in right of his wife.

In the mean time the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the house of Denmark. The Duke of Sleswic Holstein by this accommodation renounces his pretensions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his sister in marriage to king Waldemar III. and remains in possession of Jutland.

1341, 1342, 1343.

Lewis of Bavaria seems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope Clement VI. born a Frenchman and residing at Avignon, is at length solicited to go and re-establish the pontificate in Italy, and there compleat the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footsteps of John XXII. in his proceedings against Lewis. He solicits the archbishop of Triers to cause a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately stirs up against him the king of
Bohemia

Bohemia, John the Blind, still restless, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Austria.

Lewis the emperor, who has still reason to fear that the want of absolution may arm the princes of the empire against him, flatters the pope whom he detests, and writes to him, "that he submits his person, dominions, liberty and titles to the disposition of his holiness." What expressions are these, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burnt alive.

The princes assembled at Frankfort are not so complaisant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344, 1345.

John the Blind seems to have become more ambitious since the loss of his eye-sight. On one side he wants to pave the way to the empire for his son Charles; on the other hand he makes war upon Casimir king of Poland for the dependence of the dutchy of Schweidnitz in Silesia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal establishment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Silesia. The emperor privately supports the interest of the Pole, but in spite of the emperor, the war is successful to the house of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, son of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Silesia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The

The empress Margaret wife of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and sister of John of Brabant, finds herself heiress of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and enjoys the succession. The emperor her husband ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquisition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert count Palatine founds the university of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346.

John the Blind and his son Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length disturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibelins had troubled Italy. Clement VII. takes advantage of these disorders. He publishes a bull against Lewis of Bavaria, dated April 13. "May the curse of God, says he, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light upon him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his foes; and may his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for such bulls; they depended intirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occasion, is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbishops of Mentz, one vainly deposed by the Pope; the other elected at his instigation, by part of the canons. It was to this last that Clement VI. addresses another bull, for the election of an emperor.

F

John

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his son Charles marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV. go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Lewis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferrara and the other territories, (he meant those of the countess Mathilda) the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and Rome in particular; and that in case the emperor should go to Rome to be crowned, he should quit the city the same day, and never return without the express permission of the pope, &c.

After these promises Clement VI. recommends it to the archbishop of Cologne and Triers and to the new archbishop of Mentz to elect the marquis of Moravia as emperor. These three prelates, with John the Blind, assemble at Rens near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburgh marquis of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg positively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbishop of Cologne for eight thousand marks of silver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony, who was richer, *gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himself with two thousand marks.*

1. What father Maimbourg affirms, is related only as an hearsay by Cuspinian.

2. How could these secret bargains be discovered.

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the disinterested conduct of the duke of Saxony; to disgrace himself for the paltry consideration of

two thousand marks only, because he is rich. The circumstance of being rich is precisely the reason for a man's selling himself at a higher price, provided he is resolved to sell himself to the best bidder.

4. Will common sense allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy so dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Lewis of Bavaria is so much the stronger, that the new emperor and his old father, instead of supporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois against Edward of England.

Old king John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Creci *, won by the English, on the 25th or 26th day of August. Charles returns to Bohemia destitute of troops and money. He is the first king of Bohemia who caused himself to be crowned by the archbishop of Prague; and it was in consequence of this coronation, that the see of Prague, hitherto suffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbishopric.

1347.

Then Lewis of Bavaria and the anti-emperor, make war upon one another. Charles of Luxemburg is every where defeated.

A very singular scene was at this period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, insinuating man, seeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes, who durst not return, had been cho-

* His crest and motto, which were three Ostrich feathers and the words *ich dien*, signifying *I serve*, were adopted by Edward the Black prince, and became the bearings of all succeeding princes of Wales.

sen tribune of the people. He reigned some months with absolute power; but the people who had raised, soon destroyed this idol. A long time had elapsed since Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes. But we still see that ancient love of liberty produce divers shocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi entitled himself *the candid knight of the holy Ghost, the severe tho' merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous stickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the universe and august tribune.* These fine titles prove him to have been an enthusiast, and consequently capable of seducing the lowest class of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of spirit and understanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Crescentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, tho' very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman republic, but party and faction. All its glory consisted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harrassed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Jane queen of Naples after having strangled her husband, underwent the same fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and lastly the plague, as we shall see, destroyed a great part of those who had escaped famine and the sword.

Lewis of Bavaria dies of an apoplexy near Augsburg on the eleventh day of October. Others alledge he was poisoned by a duchess of Austria.

Austria. Andrew the priest, and others pretend this duchess of Austria was the same called Great Mouth; but Andrew the priest does not consider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very same who had quitted her husband for the emperor's son. The historians of those days must have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cause almost all of them to be poisoned. One Hocsemius expresses himself to this effect: "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poison, administered by the duchess of Ostrogotia or Austria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was said to be poisoned by the duchess of Austria, called Ann. Here then are three pretended different duchesses of Austria, accused of that death without the least probability. In this manner was history heretofore written. By reading father Barre one would believe that Lewis of Bavaria was poisoned by a fourth princess called Maultasch: but this is because in the German language Maultasch signifies great mouth or wry-mouth; and this princess is that individual Margaret who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He intitled himself Lewis IV. and not Lewis V. because he did not reckon Lewis IV. first named the Infant among the emperors.

It was he who gave occasion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his seals; and the two heads of the eagle preserved almost always since this period, suppose two bodies also, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artists hath determined almost all the armorial bearings of sovereign princes.

C H A R L E S IV.

T H I R T Y - T H I R D E M P E R O R .

1348.

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

Lewis margrave of Brandenburg disputes the crown with him.

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

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

On the refusal of Edward the electors addressed themselves to the marquis of Misnia, a relation of the deceased emperor. He also declined it. Mutius says, he preferred ten thousand marks of silver, received from the hands of Charles IV. to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price ; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thousand marks to bestow ; he who was, at the

* He was christened Winceflaus, but afterwards received the name of Charles, from Charles the Fair of France, at whose court he was educated.

same time, arrested at Worms * by his butcher; a debt which he could no otherwise pay, than by borrowing money of the bishop.

The electors refused on every side, at last offer the empire, with which no persons seem willing to meddle, to Gunther of Schwartzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to lose, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his sword.

1349.

The electors chuse Gunther of Schwartzburg near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a singular custom at Frankfort. The first of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited six weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there was no news of his competitor. Gunther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry †; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival caused him to be poisoned. The German poison of those times, was feasting to excess ‡. Gunther becomes apoplectic and incapable

* Charles met with divers affronts. The citizens of Nuremberg drove him out of the place, and opened their gates to Lewis of Brandenburg. At Rottenburg on the Neckar, he presented himself in a tournament under the name of Schlhard of Richburg, and was unhorsed by one de la Prive, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit.

† He was obliged to besiege the place with an army raised by the electors for that purpose.

‡ Father Borre says, he was poisoned by a physician whose name was Fredank, supposed to be bribed by Charles. When he presented the medicine to the emperor, he was ordered to swallow part of it, and obeyed; upon which Gunther took the remainder; but observing the Physician's

capable of the throne; and sells it for a sum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was said to be twenty-two thousand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

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

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

1350.

A plague more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now severely felt all over Europe; and swept away almost every where above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans as headstrong as ignorant accuse the Jews of having poisoned their fountains, and every where burn and destroy them*.

What

countenance beginning to change, he suspected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poison, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days.

* At Strasburg, the populace headed by a butcher, deposed the magistracy, and invested their chief with an absolute

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

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

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

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

1351.

Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Visconti rule in the mean time at Milan. John Visconti archbishop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He seizes Bologna; makes war upon the Florentines and Pisans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It

solute power. He caused two thousand Jews to be burned alive, confiscated their effects, and decreed that no individuals of that nation should be admitted into Strasburg for the term of one hundred years.

† The impostor had been groom to the marquis, resembled him in person, and imitated his deportment.

was he who composed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals beginning, "Your mother Pride greets you, together with your sisters Avarice and Immodesty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement between John Visconti and pope Clement, who sold him the investiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thousand golden florins a year.

1352.

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

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

1353.

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

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

Albert

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

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

1354.

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

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

1355.

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

The holy see was at this time situated at Avignon, pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor still less. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought

to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or else he ought not to have gone at all.

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

None of these ceremonies have been practised since the popes resided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of these customs; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impossible either to have his feet kissed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince should neither kiss his feet, nor guide the mule of the cardinal who represents his holiness.

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

a cardinal's mass, was insulted in every town in Italy through which he passed*.

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

1356.

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

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

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

* Nothing could be more pusillanimous than the behaviour of this emperor. He sneaked out of Rome on pretence of going a-hunting. There was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at Pisa, where part of his retinue were massacred by the populace. Many towns, attached to the interests of the empire, shut their gates against him. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the answer of the magistrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue.

THE GOLDEN BULL.

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

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

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

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

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

He does not therein establish the seven electors; he supposes them established. There is no mention in the two first chapters about the form and security of the journey of the seven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort with-

* It was so named from a little golden seal named *Bulla*.
out.

CHARLES IV. III

out declaring to the world and to Christians a temporal sovereign; that is to say, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards suppose, N^o 8. article the 2d, that this custom has been always inviolably observed; "and moreover that which is above-written has been inviolably observed." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV. himself. One of the most important points is the indivisibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right passes, in the male line, always to the eldest son.

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

A most important thing is expressed in the 7th article of N^o 7. that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire (undoubtedly the secular principalities are understood) the emperor has the disposal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. These confused words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attainted. The particular favour shewn to Bohemia is also remarkable in this bull, the emperor

peror being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the imperial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has since been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may consult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finishing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where, during the Christmas, seven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omission of making the electoral successions indivisible. That which is most clear and evident in these articles, is the respect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be seen, that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

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

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

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

1357.

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

There is a great contest in the empire on account of phalburghers or false burghers. A contest, in which it is very likely the authors have been mistaken. The golden bull ordains, that no burghers belonging to any particular prince shall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their sovereign, unless they become residents in these towns. Nothing is more just, nothing more easily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will over-rule the disobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Basil or Constance.

Why then such dissensions about these false burghers at Strasburg? why were they in arms? can Strasburgh, by any example, support a subject of Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? undoubtedly



doubtedly no. This is certainly one of the most important and most sacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their subjects of the first great right all men have, to chuse their dwelling-place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This then is the emperor's reason for commanding the people of Strasburgh to receive no strangers on the footing of citizens ; this is the reason that the citizens of Strasburgh endeavour to preserve themselves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358.

Charles IV. with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at present a law-giver, and master of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheless scarcely any credit in the empire ; because nobody wished he should.

When the emperor endeavoured to incorporate Lusatia and Bohemia, Albert of Austria, who has some demands on Lusatia, suddenly makes war on him, while no one person assists him : and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a stratagem, and that a very base one. It is pretended that he deceived the duke of Austria by spies ; and that he afterwards paid these spies in false money. This story wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He sells privileges to all the towns ; to the count of Savoy he sells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva ; he for a certain sum confirms the liberty of the town of Florence ; and he extorts considerably from Venice for the sovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viscontis pay him most dearly for having
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the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholesale, he sold by retail.

1359.

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

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

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

1360.

1360.

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

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

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

1361.

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

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

1362.

Several of the Hans-towns treat with Denmark at Lubeck, in the terms of a crowned head,

head; a glorious monument of liberty founded on respectable industry. Lubeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Wiefmar, Bremen, and several others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths, and Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom." These are the words of the treaty; which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hans-towns still more so.

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

The bishop of Strasburgh purchases, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alsatia; he is opposed by the landgraves of Alsatia, of the house of Oettingen, and purchases his peace, as he did his title, with money.

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

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

1363.

Charles IV. as sedentary now as he had been active in his youth, remains always at Prague.
Italy

Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the empire.

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

The pope, at that time, Urban V. obtains very easily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the empire. It is related, that Barnaby at length sells his possessions in Romagna for 500,000 florins of gold to the pope; but was it easy for Urban at Avignon to find such a sum?

1364.

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

1365.

A plague that broke out in France, amidst the terrible wars of Edward III. and Philip de Valois, spreads itself into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deserted from these armies, which were ill paid, and as badly disciplined, joining with other rogues, make excursions into Lorrain and Alsatia, where they find all the passes open, they are called *Malandrins**, never welcome, &c. The emperor is forced to

* *Malandron* is a Spanish word most used in romances, signifying a robber, from *mal* and *ander*, evil-going.

march against them upon the Rhine with the troops of the empire; they are driven thence, they ravage France and Holland, like locusts laying waste all before them, without any distinction.

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

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

The pope, after having proposed the crusades with proper decorum, makes a serious treaty with the emperor for the surrender of his usurped patrimony to the holy see. He grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can serve himself by going to Italy, to recover the proper dominions of the emperor, and not to serve the pope.

1366.

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

to the guilty and unfortunate Joan queen of Naples.

1367.

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

1368.

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

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

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

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

To support the faith in Italy, the pope on one side wins the duke of Austria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puissant army; it was this
fort

sort of conduct that lost the liberty of Italy, nay of the pope himself. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have still called in strangers to their aid, who would, if possible, have carried it away with them.

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

1369.

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

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

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

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viscontis with the holy see.

1370.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the
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count

count of Holstein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He asks assistance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to pope Gregory XI. who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication; writing to him as to his vassal. It is pretended Waldemar answered him thus:

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

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

1371.

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

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

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

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

The conqueror, fearing the emperor's resentment, hastens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his prisoner: "I return you, said he to the emperor, your brother; forgive me both."

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

1372.

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

1373.

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

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

Gregory XI. ordains that the king of Sicily shall henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the same time. He revives the antient law, or rather protest, disabling the

king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds, that these kingdoms shall be incompatible with those of Tuscany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himself in Germany, and establishing his house. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who possessed it, to appropriate it to himself and his family. This case was not set down in the golden bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldest son Winceflaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigismund.

1374.

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

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

1375.

The Florentines began to act in the same manner in Italy, as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before, revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines during the disturbances they created in Tuscany, had stirred up genius and courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the most respectable, and least superstitious, of any in Italy,
and

and the least inclined to obey either the pope^s or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicate^d them. It was a little strange, that these excommunications, to which they had been so often accustomed, should still make some impression.

1376.

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

All the electors are there in person. His second son Sigismund assists, as elector of Brandenburg, tho' but a child. The father having lately transferred that title from Wenceslaus to Sigismund. He had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is said, and many historians assure us of it, that he promised to each one hundred thousand florins of gold. It is not at all likely, that each received the same sum; neither is it likely, that the five princes were mean enough to receive it; indiscreet enough to talk of it; or that the emperor should boast of his having corrupted the votes.

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

1377.

Charles the IVth, aged 64, undertakes a journey to Paris; and it is added, that it was to have

the consolation of seeing the king of France, Charles the Vth, who loved him tenderly; and the reason of this tenderness for a monarch that he had never seen, was his having espoused formerly one of his aunts. Another reason alledged for this journey, is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promised *Mr. St. Maurus*, a saint in the neighbourhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horseback, for his cure. The true reason was disgust, uneasiness, and a custom in those days established for princes to visit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his son Wenceslaus king of the Romans. He scarcely sees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deserves not his curiosity. The old palace of St. Lewis, which still subsists, and the castle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuscany only they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was any thing serious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the antient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the Dauphin. It was a long time a question among the civilians, whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while since, been one among sovereigns. It is true, that the last Dauphin Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the second son of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the same right with which he possessed it. It is moreover true, that they pretend Charles IV. himself had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the less insisted upon by his successors. Maximilian the first always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny.
But

But this right must have been very little minded, since Charles V. in obliging Francis I. his prisoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the least mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the sequel of this history shews how time changes rights.

1378.

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

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

The beginning of the great SCHISM in the West.

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

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

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

France, Scotland, and Savoy, are for Clement. One may easily judge, by the side taken by each power, that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, because she had been formerly protected
by

W E N C E S L A U S. 129

by France, and because this unfortunate queen had called Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles V. to her assistance.

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

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

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



W E N C E S L A U S.

T H I R T Y - F O U R T H E M P E R O R.

1379, 1380, 1381, 1382.

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

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

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

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banditti

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

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

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

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

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

1383. 1384. 1385. 1386.

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

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

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

1387.

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

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

1388.

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

1389.

Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the queen, whom the Hungarians had called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long since, in favour of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles the VI. Mary was young, and the states had no mind her husband should govern: they had rather commit the regency to Elisabeth of Bosnia, mother of their King Mary: so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of King.

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

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

denburg, and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

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

1390.

During these horrors the great schism in the church increases: it might have been extinguished after the death of Urban, by acknowledging Clement; but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowledged Clement. He requires the annates, or first year's profit of the benefices; which Germany pays, and murmurs.

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

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

From 1391 to 1397.

The town of Strasburg is so powerful, as to support a war against the elector Palatine, and his bishop, on account of some fiefs. It incurs the

the imperial ban, and is quit for 30,000 florins paid to the emperor's profit.

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

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

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

Charles VI. of France was, in the mean time, attacked with a disorder of nearly the same nature; losing often the use of reason. The antipopes divide the church and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed?

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

They

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

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

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

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

1398.

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

1399.

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

* All the other historians say, that, far from heaping up money, he became so extravagant, that all his revenues were insufficient to defray the monstrous expence of his housekeeping.

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

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

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

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

R O B E R T,
Count Palatine of the Rhine.
THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1400.

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

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

1401.

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

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

Florence were already arming against the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tirol, he sent a challenge to Galeazzo; beginning, "To John Galeazzo, count of Verona," &c. to which was answered, "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceslaus," &c. After which he promises to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

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

1402, 1403.

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

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

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

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

where both should be present, and submit themselves to him.

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

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

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

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

1404.

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

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joshua, marquis

marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceslaus had sold it. Sigismund had disposed also of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new possessors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405.

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

1406.

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

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

1407, 1408.

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

many contradictions; excommunications demanded privately by some, and despised by others.

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

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

* Wickliff, who was principal of Baliol college, in Oxford, wrote and preached against the infallibility and supremacy of the pope, the temporal power of ecclesiastics, the order of Mendicants, auricular confession, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

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

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

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

1409.

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

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

The council of Pisa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the consent of the council, chuse Philargi, a native of Candia, on the 17th of June, 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now at Rome unanimously elect Balthazar
Cossa;

Cossa, who assumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had distinguished himself in his progress on the coast of Naples in favour of Urban. He had, some time since purchased, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a mistress named Catharine, whom he carried off from her husband. At the head of a small army he recovered Bologna from the Visconti. He was a soldier without morals; but, nevertheless, he was a pope canonically elected.

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

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

The canonical pope was John XXIII. chosen solemnly at Rome. The two others were Corrarario and Peter de Luna. Corrarario wandered about from town to town; Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, shut up in Avignon,

Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this fantom to produce upon occasion, in opposition to others in the same business.

1410.

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

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

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



J O S H U A.

THIRTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410.

WENCESLAUS was no more emperor, except at Prague among his domestics. Sigismund his brother claims the empire. Joshua, margrave of Brandenburg and Moravia, his cousin, also demands it.

Joshua not only disputes the empire with his cousin, but Brandenburg also.

The elector Palatine Lewis, eldest son to the last emperor Robert, the archbishop of Triers,

H

and

and the ambaffadors of Sigismund, name Sigismund emperor at Frankfort.

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

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



S I G I S M U N D,

King of BOHEMIA and of HUNGARY,
Margrave of BRANDENBURG.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1411.

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

Sigismund is emperor both nominally and effectually.

This election is confirmed by all the electors the 21st of July.

The towns at that time had no bishops but by the decision of battle; for in the canvassing elections, John XXIII. approving one bishop, and Corratio another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liege. The archbishop Theodoric, of the house of Mœurs,

Mœurs, does not take possession of his see till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the house of Berg, in a bloody battle.

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

1412.

The great schism of the West is in some measure an embarrassment to Sigismund: he sees himself king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor: titles he would willingly confirm to his posterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themselves much, had, in the time of a crusade, conquered part of Dalmatia: he defeats them at Frial, and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

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

1413.

John XXIII. to extirpate schism and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the council of Pisa to Rome, where he ought to have had more strength. The emperor convokes a council at Constance to destroy the pope. One sees few Italian popes that are easily duped. This one was entirely duped, both

by Sigismund and the king of Naples, Ladislaus, or Lancelot. This prince, now master of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor still more so. The emperor writes to the anti-popes, to Peter de Luna, now at Arragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both these fugitive popes protest against the council of Constance.

Launcelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his masters, ought not to have put himself into the hands of another. He goes to Constance, hoping the protection of Frederick duke of Austria, inheritor of the Austrian hatred to the house of Luxemburg. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus*, the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a pension of six thousand golden florins, as vain as his commission. The pope unites himself also to the marquis of Baden, and some other princes. At last he enters Constance the 28th of October, attended by nine cardinals, in great state.

In the mean time Sigismund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors assist at the imperial feast in their proper stations.

1414.

Sigismund arrives at Constance on Christmas-day; the duke of Saxony carrying the sword of the empire naked before him; the burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the scepter. The golden globe was born by his step-father the count de Cillei, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor assists at mass in quality of deacon, he reads the gospel; but no feet are kissed, no stirrup

stirrup is held, nor is there a horse led by the bridle. The pope presents him with a sword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope, and one for the empress; the emperor being in the middle.

1415.

John XXIII. promises to resign the papal chair, in case the anti-popes should also quit theirs, and provided, "that his resignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This last clause ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the business of a pirate had spoiled him for a pope. Sigismund kissed John's feet as soon as John had read him the particular form. And this lost him the papacy.

Sigismund is easily master of the council by surrounding it with soldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory: there were present the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector Palatine; the governor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia; 108 counts; 200 barons, who at this time were something, and twenty-seven ambassadors, who there represented their sovereigns. They vied in luxury and magnificence, as may be easily inferred by the number of jewellers, being 500, who came at this time to Constance. There were also reckoned 500 musicians; and what the customs of these times make very credible, there were 718 courtezans protected by the magistrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly, in the disguise of a postillion, to the territories of John of Austria, count of Tirol. This prince is forced

to deliver up the pope, and to ask the emperor's pardon upon his knees.

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

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

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

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

1416.

Sigismund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Hus, taken up with the glory of extirpating schism, prevails upon the kings of Castile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, at Narbonne,

bonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The popes having pretended to judge of princes, and to depose them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the same rights. Frederick of Austria, having taken some towns near Tirol, which the bishop of Trent, whom he kept prisoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the bishop and the towns, under penalty of being deprived, not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederick of Austria, sovereign of Tirol, flies from Constance; his
brother

Brother Ernest seizes on Tirol, and the emperor puts Frederick under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year, Frederick is re-instated in Tirol, and his brother Ernest keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiss, who had seized some towns belonging to the duke of Austria, refused to give them up, and strengthen'd their league.

1417.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1418.

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

1419.

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

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

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

1420.

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

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

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

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

1421.

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

A bishop of Triers marches at the head of an army of holy men against John Ziska, who
having

having with him little more than 200 men, cuts them in pieces.

The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

1422.

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

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

1423.

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

1424.

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

Sigismund

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

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

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

1425, 1426.

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

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

1427.

While the emperor Sigismund is driven out of Bohemia, and that the embers of John Hus set this country, Moravia and Austria, in a flame,

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

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

1428.

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

1429, 1430.

Procopius, the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the taborites, and the priests, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialists. Misnia, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Brandenburg, are laid waste. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes use of his baggage by way of intrenchment against the German cavalry, with
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success.

success. These entrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with these Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themselves, could not oppose these irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of priests.

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

1431.

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

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

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

The council opens at Basil the twenty-third of May.

1432.

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

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

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

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

The fathers of Basil resolved to imitate those of Constance. But their examples deceived them.

them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the same.

1433.

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

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

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

1434.

If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himself, they never neglected the public good. Lewis
of

of Bavaria, duke of Ingoldstad, having tyrannized over his vassals, being detested by his neighbours, and not sufficiently powerful to defend himself, is put under the ban of the empire; and is favoured by giving some money to Sigismund.

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

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

1435.

The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his subjects of Bohemia. The states prescribe the conditions according to which they chuse to be reconciled, and stipulate, among other things, that he shall not alter their coin any more. This is a clause to his shame; but a shame common to the princes of those times. The people submit to their sovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

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

1436, 1437.

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



ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438.

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

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

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

Ger-

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

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

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

1439.

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

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus, who had scarce any more dominions left than Constantinople,

stantinople, vainly imagines it in his power to obtain succour of the Christians; he humbles himself so far as to come to Rome, to submit the Greek church to the papal jurisdiction.

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

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

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

This union of the Greeks and Latins was soon after disavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of pope Eugenius was not for this the less glorious. While he renders this
service

service to the Latins, and finishes, to the best of his power, the schisms of the East and West, the council of Basil depose him from the papal chair, declaring him Rebellious, Simoniac, Schismatical, Heretical, and Perjured.

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

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

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

FREDERIC of AUSTRIA.

Third of that name.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1441.

A great diet at Mentz. The anti-pope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix), created by the council of Basil, sends to that diet a Legate à latere, where he was obliged to quit the cross and purple which Amadeus had bestowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimsical sort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille, in order to be pope. The fathers of the council of Basil had elected him, though he was a secular. They have in this violated all custom, and these fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a seditious faction. The diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

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

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

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

1443, 1444.

Politics, laws and customs were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was seen united with the house of Austria against the Swifs. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. marches against the Swifs, whose liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors speak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Basil ; if he had gained such a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without some difficulty, obtain leave

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to enter Basil with his domestics? This is certain, that the Swiss never lost that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional strength, in spite of their disensions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is what gave rise to the fable, that the
peace

peace had been sworn upon the eucharist, that the host had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the time of battle. The perjurers this time received the chastisement they deserved, the Christians were vanquished, after a long resistance. King Uladislaus was run through the body, his head, cut off by a Janissary, was carried, in triumph, from rank to rank through the Turkish army, and this spectacle finished the rout. Some people have affirmed, that the cardinal Julian, who assisted in this battle, endeavouring, in his flight, to pass a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others say, that the Hungarians themselves killed him. It is certain that he perished in this journey.

1445.

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

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

The ecclesiastical war between the council of Basil and pope Eugenius IV. still subsists. Eu-

genius bethinks himself of deposing the archbishops of Cologne and Triers ; because they had been partizans of the council of Basil.

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

1446.

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

1447.

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

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

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

1448.

1448.

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

1449.

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

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

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

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

1450, 1451, 1452.

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

A gentleman, named Eifinger, stirs up Austria in favour of Ladislaus. Frederic still

* But not before he had endeavoured to bribe the emperor to acknowledge him, with the offer of his daughter, a maiden of exquisite beauty, and a portion of two hundred thousand ducats. This proposal Frederic rejected with disdain; saying to one of his courtiers, by way of pleasantry, "This man would fain purchase holiness, if he could but find a seller."

excuses himself, under pretence of Ladislaus not being as yet of age. He sends his brother Albert of Austria to quell the sedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the interest of the emperor, because he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were masters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peasant's son, who was become the most powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the successor of the Visconti. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza. The holy see had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns who had mastered them. Things were in this state at the journey of Frederick III. into Italy; a journey the most useless and most mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome*. They took part of his baggage, and he ran the risk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him who came to be crowned Cæsar, and chief of the Christian world?

He made one innovation at Rome, subsisting even to this day. Frederick III. dares not to

† Does not Mr. Voltaire mean a tumult at Viterbo, excited by the populace, in order to make prize of the canopy under which the emperor rode, and the horse on which he was mounted? On this occasion he snatched a truncheon from one of his attendants, and, charging the multitude, overturned all that fell in his way. The pope's legates, by whom he was attended, followed his example, as did the gentlemen of his retinue, and, after a long scuffle, the mob was entirely routed.

go to Milan, to propose their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicolas V. himself gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

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

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

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

1453.

This year was the memorable epocha of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly now or never was the time for crusades. But it is not astonishing that the Christian powers, who had themselves, in their antient crusades, wrested Constantinople from its lawful masters, should at length suffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time possessed of part of Greece; all the rest was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now besieged by

more than 200,000 men, and in this very town they disputed about religion. One of the points of disputation was, whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light upon mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to use unleavened bread.

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

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* We wish Mr. de Voltaire had mentioned the authority on which he contradicts the whole stream of history, in favour of Mahomet II. That this conqueror was a true Turk in cruelty, may be gathered from the following circumstances, related by Khalkondylas, After having given quarter,

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

1454.

The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II. solicits all the princes to defend Christianity. He addresses himself to the Teutonic knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much ingrossed in fighting with their subjects of Pomerania and Prussia, who shake of their yoke, and give themselves up to Poland.

1455.

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

quarter to the grand duke, and promised the duchess that he would take care of her and her family, he, in the heat of intoxication, sent his chief eunuch to demand the youngest of the grand duke's sons, a lad of fourteen, extremely beautiful, whom he had destined as the object of his unnatural lust. The duke refusing to surrender his son to such brutal prostitution, Mahomet immediately ordered the grand duke, with his whole family, and all the great men and officers to whom he had given quarter, to be put to death. Besides, all the world knows, that, as soon as he ascended the throne, he sent the captain of the Janissaries to strangle his brother, an infant in the cradle; and that, through the whole course of his life, he was notorious for brutality and breach of faith.

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

1456, 1457.

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

1458.

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

1459.

Frederick III. opposes the son of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podibrade only by artifices, which shew his weakness, and this weakness emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, the elector of Mentz, and ma-

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ny other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war against him, in favour of the king of Bohemia.

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

1460.

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

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

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

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

Schleswick, by giving some money to the other claimants, and subjects Holstein to the emperor.

1461, 1462, 1463.

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

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

1464.

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

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

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

1465, 1466.

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

1467.

The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg most of the princes side with Podibrade, in presence of the pope's legate; and duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut says, that, instead of giving Bohemia to Frederick, the imperial

crowns ought to be given to Podibrade. The diet order that a body of 20,000 men be kept up to defend Germany against the Turks. Had Germany been well governed, they had rather opposed them with 300,000. The Teutonic knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Prussia; and at length, by a solemn treaty, they acknowledge themselves feudatories of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468.

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

Matthias Huniades wastes time, troops, and negotiations, to possess himself of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildness, assumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of

* This was the famous George Castriot, sovereign of Epirus or Albania, who had been seized in his infancy, circumcised, and educated in the Mussulman religion, by order of Amurath II. who had caused his three elder brothers to be put to death. As he grew up, he dissembled so effectually as to escape suspicion, and managed matters in such a manner, that he recovered his inheritance from the Turkish dominion. Then he renounced the religion of Mahomet, embraced Christianity, and signalized his reign by a great number of glorious victories obtained over the Ottoman Porte.

Germany involve themselves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Constance forms an alliance with the Swiss cantons.

An abbot of St. Gal joins Tockemburg to his rich abbey, and it costs him no more than 40,000 florins. The inhabitants of Liege war unsuccessfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbour. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469, 1470, 1471, 1472.

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

The house of Austria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III. for a long time loses more than it gains. Sigismund of Austria, the last prince of the branch of Tirol, sells to Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, Brisgau, Suntgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for 80,000 golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for sovereignties to be sold at a very mean price. This was dismembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already possessed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreseen, that at some time or other the possessions of the house of Burgundy should revert to the house of Austria. The laws of the empire forbid these alienations; the consent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the asking of it was neglected.

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

1473, 1474.

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

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

Lewis XI. gave them 20,000 franks a year, and four florins and a half a man per month.

1475.

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

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

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

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

1476.

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

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

1477.

Charles the Rash at last perishes near Nantz: he was betrayed by Campo-Casso, a Neapolitan,

tan, and killed in his flight, after the battle, by Baufmont, a gentleman of Lorrain.

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

The best step that could be taken, was Frederick III. marrying his son Maximilian to this rich heiress. Maximilian espoused Mary in the town of Effant, on the 17th of August; and Lewis XI. who ought to have given her in marriage to his son, makes war upon him.

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

Lewis XI. at length possesses himself of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries.

tries of all that he could possibly grasp in the Artois, or in the Hainault.

1478.

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

1479.

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

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

1480.

A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. sends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two

* This is the place at which the English afterwards defeated the French in an engagement called The Battle of the Spurs, because the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords on that occasion.

years.

years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederick III? He can do nothing for his sons, neither during the war, nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481.

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

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

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

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

1482.

Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her possessions in the name of Philip the Minor, his son. These towns are all privileged.

ledged. These privileges cause almost perpetual dissensions between the people who would support, and the sovereign who would subject them to his will. Maximilian reduces Zealand, Leiden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.

1483, 1484, 1485.

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

1486.

So far are they from uniting against the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, instead of making a proper use of the death of Mahomet II. to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reason of this war of the pretended son against the pretended father? It is difficult to guess. He wants to possess himself of Austria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialists: he takes Vienna. Here is his sole right. The emperor appears insensible to the loss of Lower Austria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to secure among the electors the title of King of the Romans to his son. A man could not have less personal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his house.

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 9th of April, by the archbishop of Cologne; pope Innocent VIII. giving his consent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be necessary.

The emperor, who had credit sufficient in the diet of Frankfort to make his son king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain 50,000 florins a month, to enable him to recover Austria.

Austria. This is one of those strange contradictions often to be met with in history. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all those who attacked their neighbours under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia associated themselves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demolish the strong holds of the *Molandrins*, or robbers. They also obliged duke George of Bavaria to desist from insulting his neighbours. This was a militia for the public good. It did not last long.

1487.

The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquished man would have made. He leaves to him the Lower Austria, until he should pay him all the expences of the war, reserving to himself the right of succeeding his adopted son in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488.

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

How happened it that the ministry of the young Charles VIII. king of France, neglected so favourable a conjuncture? This ministry was then weak.

1489.

Maximilian secretly espouses by proxy the duchess Anne of Bretagne. Had he espoused her effectually, and produced children by her, he would have doubly pressed France, which was surrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alsatia, Bretagne, and the Low Countries.

1490.

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

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

1491.

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

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

The emperor does a bold action in these times of prosperity. He puts his kinsman Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is astonishing to think

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what a number of princes of this house have been thus treated. What was the occasion of it? Tirol was given solemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigismund of Austria, and this donation, or secret sale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederick III.

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

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

Ratisbon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his estate, establishing his title upon antient right: it had been newly declared an imperial town: there scarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one half of the rights of custom.

1492.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might establish the grandeur of his house upon a peaceable foundation, by marrying his daughter Margaret of Austria to Charles VIII. king of France, with whom she was brought up; and soon after, by marrying Anne of Bretagne by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII. on the 6th of December, 1491; and that they are about to send back his daughter Margaret to him. Wo-
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men are no longer the subjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Matilda had so long troubled the peace of Italy, so does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual discord.

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

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

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

1493.

Frederick III. dies the 19th of August, aged seventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the most glorious*.

* He was undoubtedly a weak prince, a devotee, and a pedant. He chose for his device the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which he thus explained : *Austriae est imperare orbi universo* ; and this some of his successors have interpreted into a prophecy, which it is to be hoped will never be fulfilled.

M A X I M I L I A N.

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

ABOUT the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire Europe began to wear a very different aspect. The Venetians at length opposed themselves as a bulwark against the Turks, who already possessed a very large territory. The Venetians still kept Cyprus, Candy, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia: they extended their sovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

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

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

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The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condescended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The states of Savoy, as yet very much oppressed, standing in need of both money and commerce, were then much less considerable than the Swiss.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we shall find it begin again to flourish. Its members, that had been so long divided, reunite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Charles VIII. completed the strengthening of this kingdom, which had received some considerable improvements under Lewis XI. by the acquisition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, she had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

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

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

1494.

The Turks under Bajazet cease not as yet to be terrible, though less so than under Mahomet. They make incursions into Hungary and some

part of the Austrian dominions; but these are only a few scattered billows, that after the mighty storm contend upon the surface. Maximilian goes to secure Croatia and Carniola.

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

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

He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conquest of Naples with Charles VIII. and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor shall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepest intrigues and the blackest treacheries. It was the crisis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavoured to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495.

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

Wirtemberg.

Wirtemberg erected into a duchy.

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

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

1496.

Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always seen there, a strong hatred against the French and Germans, defiance and divisions between the several powers: but what is most to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thousand horse with him, and four or five thousand infantry: he looked rather like the pensioner of Lewis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluce, and to the duke of Modena, by their presence to assist at his coronation at Pavia, which all these lords refuse. Every thing concurs to shew him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itself independent.

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

1497.

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

1498.

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

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

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

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

1499.

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

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

1500.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1501.

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

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

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

Lewis

Lewis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milanese as a feminine fief in effect, because he had no other pretensions to it, than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Visconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milanese and Bretagne should one day pass to his grandson, in which case Lewis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the house of Austria.

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

1503.

He endeavours ineffectually to make Austria an electorate.

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

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

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

Urbino, Camarino, and some other territories are forced from their new masters by one of pope Alexander the Sixth's bastards. That is the famous Cæsar Borgia, a deacon, an archbishop, and a secular prince. He employs more art in getting possession of seven or eight small towns, than the Alexanders, the Gengis, and the Tamerlanes had shewn, in the conquest

K 6.



quest of Asia. His father the pope and himself thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Lewis XII. had been a long time in alliance with these two blood-stained men, because he stood in need of them. As for the emperor, he seemed intirely to have forgotten Italy.

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

1504.

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

This king John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithstanding which, there was a necessity for an emperor whose power was very weak, to approve and confirm his sentence. This very king John, tho' with three crowns, had very little power himself, especially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we see examples, marks sufficiently the respect always paid to the Empire. It was always addressed when there seemed to be a necessity for it, as the holy see was often solicited to strengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheless fail-
ed

ed not to procure a proper respect to be paid to the rescripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the states of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwise proceed against them according to the rights of the empire.

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

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

This treaty confirms the alliance with the house of Austria, by which Lewis XII. should be in reality invested with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Lewis XII. should break the marriage of madam Claudia, with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince should have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Asti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, should the treaty be broken on the side of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the house of Austria should not only quit his pretensions upon the duchy of Burgundy, but also on the Artois, the Charolois, and other territories. It is scarce credible that such a treaty was serious. If Lewis XII. should

should marry the princess, he must lose Bretagne; if he broke the marriage, he was to lose Burgundy. Nothing else can be said in excuse of such promises, than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505.

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

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johannah, daughter of Isabella, heiress of Castile, was, as it is well known, called Johannah the Foolish. She well deserved the title. An ambassador of Arragon comes to Bruffels, and engages her to sign her mother's will.

1506.

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

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

While so many treaties were making on this side the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were
gone

gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all sides, at the same time not letting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes pursued their new design of establishing a great sovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much used. Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finished it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio's, and Lewis XII. or rather the Cardinal d'Amboise, assist him therein.

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

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Lewis XII. guardian of his son Charles. This will was formed on the hatred which he had for his step-father Ferdinand. And, in spite of their disagreement, on account of madam Claudia's marriage, he looked upon Lewis XII. to be a much honest man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religionist, but a most perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinsman.

1507.

A strange affair! the Low-countries refuse to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent, during the minority of Charles. They say that Charles was a Frenchman, because he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the seventeen provinces governed themselves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's being able to remedy the insult. There was no conquered country

country more free than the Low-countries at this day; England had not obtained near so much liberty.

1508.

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

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

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

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

Maximilian then, as a last resource, sends a circular letter to all the states of the empire, injoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his successors have ever since taken at their accession. Custom

tom heretofore had given the name of emperor to those only who were crowned at Rome.

1509.

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

Her dominions upon Terra Firma began to be something. She had seized upon Faenza, Rimini, Ceseno, some territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They possessed Ravenna, and justified most of these acquisitions, because, that having assisted the houses dispossessed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, these territories were awarded to them as their recompence. The Venetians had for a long time possessed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquisate of Trevisa, and Frionia. They had near the Milanese Bressia, and Bergamas. Francis Sforza had given them Crema,
Lewis

Lewis XII. had ceded to them Cremona, and Guiara d'Adda.

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

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

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

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

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

Lewis

Lewis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians compleatly, in the battle of Guiaro d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary soldiers of Venice could hold out against the other sovereigns of Italy, but not against the French gens d'armes. The misfortune of Lewis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he laboured for the emperor. Master as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

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

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

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

The

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

The principal design of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in these nations to support him, one against the other, and vice versa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predecessors, by delivering Italy, and strengthening himself, sought an immortal name. Maximilian refuses to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510.

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

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

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

Maximilian and Lewis XII. are again united, that is to say, Lewis XII. assists the emperor

ror in pursuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the least contribute to preserve to Lewis Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavours to drive him out.

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

1511.

Julius II. declares war against the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conquest of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonso d'Este, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the house of Mirandola, but as fiefs of the holy see. These are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predecessors; since he found the art of making them in some measure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little service to them, since they could not enable them to curb the enterprises of the pope.

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

1512.

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

bray, and so much money given to the emperor.

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

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

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

The emperor and the pope incessantly treat. And it is in this very year, that Maximilian offers himself to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He sees no other way of re-establishing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he sometimes assumes the title of *Pontifex maximus*, in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no exclusion from the papacy, it being justified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having disappointed him in his views of being coadjutor to him,

him, Maximilian begins to devise the succeeding him; for which purpose he gains some cardinals, and endeavours to borrow money to purchase the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archduchess Margaret, his daughter, is a testimony of this, the original being still to be seen.

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

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

1513.

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

Leo X. less warlike than Julius, but not less enterprising, more cunning but less capable, forms a league against Lewis XII. with the emperor, with Henry VIII. king of England, and old Ferdinand of Arragon. This league was

concluded at Mechlin on the fifth of April, by the care of that Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low-countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

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

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

The Venetians, who formerly had in Lewis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only an useless ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare against them, and beat their famous general Alvianos, as Lewis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who signed the league of Mechlin against France, that keeps
his

his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III. or an Henry V.

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

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

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

1514.

Maximilian, seconded by the Spaniards, continues the war against the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of

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Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Lewis XII. driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Arragon, beaten and abused by his subjects, vanquished by Henry VIII. of England, who revives the claims of his ancestors upon France, has no other resource than that of marrying Mary, sister of Henry VIII. for his second wife.

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

1515.

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

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

Charles

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

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

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

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milanese in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a pension of 30,000 crowns. Francis I. obliges pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promise to surrender Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swifs, whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

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

The success of Francis I. revives Maximilian: He raises troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had sent him before his death: for the states of the empire never furnished him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I. pays no regard to any of his promises; nei-

ther does he surrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; so much had the popes always at heart the great design of keeping strangers out of Italy; of making them destroy one the other; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers; glorious design, worthy of antient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accomplish.

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

He proposes to Henry VIII. king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him; a circumstance almost incredible, had it not been attested by letter under Henry's hand.

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

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is stipulated in the treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles shall do justice to the house of Navarre, stripped by Ferdinand the Catholic; and that he should engage the emperor his grand-father, to make
peace

peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it should have brought in to the emperor's treasury 200,000 ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was also to give Charles 100,000 crowns a year, until he had full possession of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimsical. One would imagine them gamesters endeavouring to deceive each other.

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

1517.

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

1518.

Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Christian princes against the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II. conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embellish Rome, and finish the basilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. and absolutely one of the finest monuments of architecture ever made by men.

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

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

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

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

This revolution was begun by the son of a black-smith, born at Eisleben. This was Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, employed by his superiors to preach against a merchandise which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at first between the Augustines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Christians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The
people,

people, once spirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederick the old elector of Saxony, surnamed The Wise. He who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuse the empire. The doctrine of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himself, in the beginning, with saying, "That the communion ought to be administered in common bread and wine : that sin remained in the infant after baptism : that auricular confession was really useless : that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith : that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books : that monastic vows were an abuse ; and that all princes ought to unite in abolishing the mendicant friars."

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

1519.

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

224 AN INTERREGNUM.

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

- AN INTERREGNUM,

To the first of October, 1520.

THE electors of Saxony and the Palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor-elect's coronation.

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

Leo X. crosses, as much as possible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the most critical juncture, to dispose of the foremost place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheless, bought. In the midst of these intrigues, and during this interregnum, the antient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and useful lesson, of not abusing their power. The league of Suabia renders itself praise-worthy,

thy, by making war upon duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who oppressed his vassals.

This league of Suabia is really established for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards sells them for a scandalous price to Charles of Austria. Then every thing is done for money! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders such a house, and purchases, for a very trifle, the estate of another.

Leo X. attempts governing despotically in Tuscany.

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

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



CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

THIS year is that of the first capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this sufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of justice,
 L. 5. opens.

opens a passage to injustice. There ought to be a stronger bulwark against the abuse of authority of a prince so powerful in himself.

By this certain contract of the sovereign with the constituents, the emperor promises, that if he has any estates to which he shall appear not properly intitled, he will give them up at the first intimation of the electors. This is promising a great deal.

Some considerable authors pretend, that they swore him also to a constant residence in Germany; but the capitulation expressly says, "that he shall reside there as long as he possibly can." To exact a piece of injustice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is just.

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

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

Spain,

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

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

Pope Leo X. is master of only a trifling territory, and already finds one half of Europe endeavouring to escape from his spiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both against the abuse of the Roman church, and against its laws.

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

* About this time Ferdinando Magalianus, a Portuguese, in the service of Charles V. discovered that passage into the South Sea, called from his name the Straights of Magellan; and Cortes made a conquest of Mexico.

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

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

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

Sciences flourished at that time in Italy more than ever. But she was never more distant from that great end proposed by Julius II. of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almost always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies,

* And even that very doubtful,

which

which were raised for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and in the midst of the most obstinate disputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the soldiers which she now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which consumes the substance of a government in always keeping on foot those numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed against the people, and may one day become fatal to their masters.

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

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

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

1521.

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

Charles

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

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

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Hus. The priests were not the strongest party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither side rightly understand the other, so that they agree upon nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to destroy the Roman religion. On the 6th of May the emperor publishes an edict against Luther in his absence, enjoining, under pain of disobedience, every prince and sovereignty of the empire to imprison him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. against

Francis I. was willing to appear as a Catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Christian II. his brother-in-law, assuring him of succour. Sentiments of horror against tyranny are always predominant in general assemblies; the enthusiasm of virtue must communicate itself, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims against an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four senators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the securing to himself the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

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

The first hostility that engages the empire against France, is this. The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, sovereign of the castle of Bouillon, solemnly declares war by a herald
against

against Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was stirred up by Francis I. who in publick denied it.

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

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

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

This pope had 12,000 Swiss at his command.

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

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

1522.

Charles again repairs to England. He receives

receives at Windsor the order of the garter, and promises to marry his cousin Mary, daughter to his aunt Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. she who was afterwards married to his son Philip. He submits, by an astonishing clause, in case he should not marry this princess, to forfeit 500,000 crowns *. This is the fifth time of his having been promised, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII. who begins to think of reviving the pretension of his ancestors upon that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting 500,000 crowns is explained. This money lent is to serve one day as a portion, and this singular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a sort of security. The emperor gives the prime minister, cardinal Wolsey, pensions, which do not recompence him for the loss of the papacy. Why is the most powerful emperor that has been seen since the days of Charlemagne obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII? He makes war on the side of the Pyrenæan mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the same time. Germany bears no part in his expence; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furnish yet no regular produce; the

* According to Sleidanus, the emperor obliged himself to espouse his cousin the princess Mary, then seven years of age, and to pay the yearly sum of 130,000 ducats to the king of England, while Henry should continue to make war upon the French king, until Charles should consummate his marriage with the princess Mary, or Henry should have acquired lands in France sufficient to yield that revenue.

expences.

expences of his coronation, and his first establishments of every kind, were immense.

Charles V. is every-where successful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milanese. Genoa, which he had hitherto possessed, is taken from him by the Imperialists. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the last prince of that race, to enter Milan.

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

This year is pregnant with great events. The states of Denmark solemnly depose their tyrant Christian, whom they look upon as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindness in confining themselves barely to deposing him. Gustavus Vasa banishes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weser, is ready to follow this example.

1523.

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

Charles V. and Henry VIII. in order to crush Francis I. engage in their cause the constable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by a patriot love of his country, undertakes to cause a diversion in the heart of France, as soon as the enemies of Francis shall attack his frontiers. They promise him in marriage Eleonora, sister of Charles V.

V. widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is still more essential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

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

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

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

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

1524.

The first step of Clement VII. is the sending
a legate

a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany to arm against Solyman, and to answer a writing, intituled, "The Hundred Complaints against the Court of Rome." He succeeds in neither one nor the other.

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

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

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

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

At that time the antient papal policy displayed itself; and the fear which a powerful emperor inspired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I. to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himself, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himself and Rome.

1525.

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

Charles V. received the news of his excessive good fortune at Madrid, where he still was, and dissembled his joy. They send him his prisoner. He then appears absolute master of Europe; and had been so effectually, had he pursued his fortune at the head of 50,000 men, instead of remaining at Madrid. But his successes raised him enemies; and the more so, since he, who passed for one of the most active princes, did not make a proper use of them.

Cardinal

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

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

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

Storck, a native of Silesia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the sect of Anabaptists, whose apostle is Muncer. They both preach sword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Muncer established his among the people of the country, whom he soothed and spirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been destroyed by force and associations. The first fury of the peasants displayed itself in Suabia, where they were greater slaves than

than elsewhere. Muncer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilst he preaches equality, makes himself master of Mulhausen; and, whilst he preaches up disinterestedness, causes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peasants rise in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

Indeed these sort of savages draw up a manifesto which a Lycurgus would have signed. They insist "upon paying only the tithes of their corn, which shall be employed to relieve the poor; that they shall have free liberty of water and chace; that they shall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them against the cold; and that their daily labour shall be lessened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they support them like wild beasts. They massacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural son of the emperor has his throat cut.

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

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

Muncer and Storck lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, engages in a bloody battle with them near Franchusen, in the county of Mansfield. In vain do the two prophets sing canticles in the name of the Lord: these fanatics are entirely defeated. Muncer, taken after the battle, is condemned to lose his head: he abjures
his

his tenets before his death: he had been no enthusiast: he had only conducted those that were: but his disciple Fiffer, condemned along with him, dies fully persuaded of them. Storck returns to preach in Silesia, and sends disciples into Poland. The emperor, in the mean time, negotiates at his ease with the king of France, his prisoner at Madrid.

1526.

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

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois. He renounces his right to sovereignty upon the Artois and upon Flanders: he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lile, Douay, Orchies, and Hesdin: he desists from his pretensions upon the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, the county of Aste, and upon Genoa: he promises no longer to protect the duke of Gueldres, whom he had always supported against this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Wirtemberg, who claimed his duchy, which had been sold to the house of Austria: he promises to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it: he signs an offensive and defensive league with the conqueror, who had ravished from him so many territories, and promises to marry Eleonora his sister.

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

Nor was this all: the two eldest sons of this king were to be delivered up as hostages for

fulfilling the treaty, which is signed the 14th of January.

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

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

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

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

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

On the 22d of May, Francis I. whose misfortunes and necessities had procured him many friends, signs a league at Cognac with pope Clement VII. the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiss, against the emperor. This league is called Holy, be-

cause the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby stipulates, to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have stripped of it, in possession of the Milanese.

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

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

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

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

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

The young Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he shall be able alone to sustain the attacks of the Turkish empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called The Battle of Mohats, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its consequences to the Christians as the battle of Varnes. Almost all the noblesse

of Hungary perished therein. The army is entirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a morass. The writers of those times tell us, that Solyman caused 1500 Hungarian prisoners, who were of the noblesse, to be beheaded; yet that he wept at seeing the picture of the unfortunate king Lewis. It is scarcely credible, that a man, who in cold blood could strike the heads off 1500 noblemen, should weep for the death of one. These two facts are equally doubtful.

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

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

1527.

On the 24th of February Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera*

libera et bona voluntate, by the free and good will of those who had chosen him.

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

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange. However, they subsist upon rapine, to which they give the name of Contribution. The holy league was considerably disordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he sought after, and had not yet sent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians stir but little; the pope still less; and he is reduced to raise very bad troops. Bourbon leads his soldiers straight to Rome, which he storms on the 27th, but is killed in scaling the walls. However, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge, and is made prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged and destroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

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

There had been too much blood spilt in this disaster; but many soldiers, who were enriched by the spoil, remained inhabitants of the country; and in Rome and the neighbourhood round it, in some few months, were reckoned not less than 4700 young women with child. Rome,

that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans: the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of strangers under the Cæsars. At this day there is but one single family in Rome that can call itself Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this mistress of the world subsist.

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

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

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

At length Francis I. sends an army into the Milanese, under that very Lautrec who had before lost it, leaving his two children still in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milanese, which they had won and lost in so short a time. This diversion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army

at

at the same time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V. on one side, sings *Te Deum*, and makes processions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheless holds in captivity; on the other, he sells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000, and makes his escape without having paid the rest.

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

Mass is legally abolished at Strasburg, in consequence of a public dispute. Ulm, Augsburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themselves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cause of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, disciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. These sectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the Eucharist. The Zuinglians affirm, that God is in the bread only by faith; and the Lutherans affirm, that God is with the bread, in the bread, and upon the bread; but all agree, that the bread exists. Geneva and Constance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calvinists; of people of sound sense, but simple and austere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiss, are those who ravaged one half of Europe at the siege of Rome.

The Anabaptists renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the Palatinate to Wirtsburg. They are dispersed by the elector

Palatine, assisted by the generals Truchses and Fronberg.

1528.

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

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

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

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

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

hand to hand. It is true, that Francis I. had broke his word ; but it is no less true, that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

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

During all these bravadoes, Charles V. loses the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is also near losing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already seized upon Abbruzzo intirely. The Venetians had possessed themselves of most of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrew Doria, then in the French service, had with the gallies of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who six months before was master of

* This answer gives a higher idea of the French king's spirit, than of his veracity or good breeding ; and yet, when the difference became very critical, his spirit seemed to flag, as we have observed in another part of this work.

Italy, is near being driven out of it; but it is the fate of the French, to lose always in Italy what they had gained.

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

Doria, who had contributed so much to the success of France, disgusted at Francis I. and fearing an arrest, quits his service, and passes over to that of the emperor with his gallies.

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

1529.

The king of England, a slave to his passions, bends his thoughts upon nothing but being separated from his wife Chatherine of Arragon,
a very

a very virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter some years before, and marrying his mistress Ann of Bolein, or Bollen, or Boulens.

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

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greatest generals in his time, 73 years old, sick of the gout, and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milanese, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them disperse, and quit a country that has been so fatal to them. The pope still continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiation, before the French receive this last stroke. The emperor treats the pope very generously; first, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics; and in truth he had some need of it, for the scandal of sacking of Rome. Secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppose the arms of religion to the scandal that was like to fall upon his aunt at London, by making void her marriage, and bastardizing his cousin Mary, that very Mary, to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, because the French were not rooted out of Italy, when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Servia, Modena, and Reggio to pope Clement VII. leaving him at liberty to pursue his pretensions on

Ferrara. He promises him also, to give Tuscany to Alexander de Medicis. The treaty, so advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

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

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

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

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

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

Soly-

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

Charles at last quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks besiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive on his knees, the benediction of him, whom he had held captive, whose dominions he had desolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himself at his feet, and asks his pardon. He gives him the investiture of the Milanese for 100,000 golden ducats paid down, and 500,000 payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Christiern in marriage; after which he himself is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederick III. he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the Empire. The pope, in giving him the scepter, addresses him thus: "Emperor, our son, take this scepter; to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy

to command." In giving him the globe, he says to him; "This globe represents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and constancy." The ceremony of the globe recalls to mind the image of the ancient Roman empire, master of the best part of the known world, and in some measure belonging to Charles V. sovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

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

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

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

1530.

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

Alexander de Medicis is received as their
sovereign.

sovereign, and acknowledges himself a vassal of the empire.

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

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

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

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

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

Disputes run high. On the 22d of September, the emperor publishes a decree, injoining the protestants to desist from farther innovations, to leave full liberty to the catholic religion.

in their different territories, and to prepare a presentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in six months.

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

The diet makes out the process of the grand master of the Teutonic order; Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have seen, had become a Lutheran, possessed himself of ducal Prussia, and chased out the catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheless master of Prussia.

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

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

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

1531.

Francis I. who caused the Lutherans in his own
domi-

dominions to be burnt, promises to assist those of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them; the Anabaptists only are prosecuted, who had settled in Moravia. Their new apostle, Hutter, who travelled about making professytes, is taken at Tirol, and burned at In-spruck.

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

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

1532.

The emperor, made uneasy by the protestants, and threatened by the Turks, stifles for some time the rising troubles, by granting to the Protestants all they asked in the diet held at
Nurem-

Nuremberg in the month of June ; and suppressing all proceedings against them, gives them intire liberty even to the holding a council ; nay leaves even the rights of his brother Ferdinand undecided.

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

The condescension of Charles encourages the Protestants to manifest their duty. They furnish an army against Solyman, and raise, by way of common subsidy, 150,000 florins for that service. The pope also exerts himself, by furnishing 6000 men and 4000000 crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now see an army of above 100,000 men, composed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the same spirit, to march against the common enemy. The Count Palatine, Philip, destroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Stiria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Constantinople. Solyman, in spite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong steps, bringing with him near 200,000 slaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, disband their army ; the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the present danger. But few troops remained under imperial ensigns. At that time every thing was done of a sudden. There was no established fund for the maintenance

nance of an army any long time, and very few designs were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was every-thing. Charles V. then made war in person, which others had so long made for him; for till that time, he had seen none but the siege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever since which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533.

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

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

The Milanese were still nearest the heart of Francis I. This prince seeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavours to draw off the latter from the emperor's interest. He sends him secretly a minister named Maraviglia, born in the Milanese, with orders not to assume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

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

All that he can do, is to secretly assist Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, to re-enter his duchy,
and

and shake off the yoke of the house of Austria. This prince being a Protestant, expected his re-establishment from the league of Smalcalde, and the king of France's assistance.

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

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

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

1534.

Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans submits to a composition.

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

La

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

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

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

1535.

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

The dethroned African came to offer himself as a tributary to Charles, who passed over into Africa in the month of April, with about 25,000 men, 200 transports, and 115 gallies. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty considerable, of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the Austrian territories. He joined nine gallies to the Spanish fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in person, which was superior to his in number, but very ill disciplined.

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

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

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

In this zenith of glory, having repulsed Solymán, given a king to Tunis, and obliged Francis

Francis I. to abandon Italy, he presses Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman church daily increase.

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

In the mean time Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies without children; Charles V. seizes upon that duchy, as a fief devolving to him. His power and his riches increase. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more master than in Germany.

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

1536.

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

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

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

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, altho' so powerful, had yet no army of consequence in Italy. It was the custom then to have them only for the present occasion; but he at length engages the Venetians in his interests; as also the Swifs, who recal their troops from the French army. He soon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph; but not as a master, which he might formerly have done. He takes a seat at the consistory, below that of the pope. One is astonished to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cause before the pope. He pronounces a discourse against Francis I. as Cicero had done against Antony. But he does what Cicero did not; proposes fighting his antagonist in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the spirit of knight-errantry. After having spoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. published the bull of conyocation.

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

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of 50,000 men, while his fleet hovers upon the coast, consisting

sisting of 140 vessels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, exclusive of Marseilles, is subdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the antient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

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

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

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

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

The invasion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being serviceable to the emperor,

ror, out of whose power it is to take Marfeilles. Great part of his army is destroyed by sickness. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is obliged to evacuate Picardy. France, tho' on the brink of ruin, still holds out. That which had lost Naples to Francis I. loses Provence to Charles V. Enterprizes so very distant from one another, seldom succeed.

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

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

1537.

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

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

There are several trivial engagements fought, but the success of them undecisive.

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

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

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

may have fresh troops wherewith to oppose the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to pass into Italy.

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

1538.

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

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

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

them; but he rather chose to favour the pope than quarrel with him.

After all these great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguemortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his prisoner, as if he had never given him the lye, as if he had never challenged him to single combat, as if the king of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not suffered Charles V. to be treated as a poisoner.

1539.

Charles V. is informed in Spain, that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is upon the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low-countries have certain rights; no assistance was ever obtained in this flourishing country by arbitrary imposition. The states always furnished their sovereign, when it seemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own contribution. The states of Flanders having granted 120,000 florins, to the governess of the Low-countries, appoint 400,000 to be raised upon the people of Ghent, who oppose this incroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governess causes the principal citizens to be arrested; an insurrection ensues; the inhabitants take up arms: it was one of the richest and largest cities in Europe. They offer to give themselves up to the king of France, as to their sovereign; but he makes a merit of refusing their proposal; still flattering himself with hopes

of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan for one of his sons. And what ensues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a passage for himself thro' France, that he may punish the rebels of Ghent. The Dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayon. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V. enters Paris on the first of January. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Prisoners are in his name set at liberty. He presides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigisfund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honourable and useless title.

Knighthood had been in great esteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given insensibly to Lords of fiefs, distinguished for their military atchievements. By little and little these lords of fiefs had erected knighthood into a sort of imaginary order, composed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the constitution of a state; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more respected than another in some castles, but it was not upon the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the states of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but upon the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords
bannerets

bannerets in the armies were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had castles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, because they were supposed to have done some worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than history. It was little more than an honourable mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France, because that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect, the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not so. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by curtesy, out of respect to the emperor. But what is most likely is, that Charles V. by this procedure, would have insinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigismund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make another; nor could this prerogative be refused to an emperor to whom they had granted that of setting prisoners at liberty.

Those who have imagined that the detaining Charles prisoner was a subject of debate, speak without any proof*. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greatest infamy, if, thro' a mean treachery, he had detained him prisoner, whose captive he had been by force of arms.

* Thuanus says the constable Montmorency dissuaded Francis from taking any dishonourable advantage of his guest; certain it is, the constable was soon after disgraced, being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the emperor.

There are some state crimes which have the sanction of custom ; there are others which no custom can authorize, and which the chivalry of those times would have discountenanced. It is said that the king only exacted from him a promise of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans, brother to the Dauphin Henry, and that he satisfied himself with his bare word. Here he piqued himself more upon his generosity than his cunning.

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

1540.

On the 12th of May the privileges of Ghent were taken from it; twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, 300,000 ducats, and to furnish 9000 ducats yearly for the support of the garrison. There is seldom a better use made of law in the hands of the strong. When the blood of the ministers of Mary of Burgundy had been here shed before her eyes, the town escaped without punishment, while for supporting its real rights it was almost ruined.

Francis I. sends his wife Eleonora to Brussels to solicit the investiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offensive one with the pope against them. It was the emperor's design to make him lose his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new strength in Germany, by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful sovereign of Misnia and Thuringia. He was a very zealous catholic, and his brother Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his last will, disinherited his brother and his nephews, in case they did not return to the religion of their ancestors, and left his dominions to the house of Austria. This was quite a new case. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his estate on account of his religion. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Hesse, George's kinsman, preserve the succession to the natural heir, by furnishing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as those of Saxony and Hesse, become Lutherans.

Lutheranism signalizes itself by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of George, indulges her husband, whom she could not please, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, proposes the question to Luther, Melanchton, and Bucer, whether he could, in conscience, have two wives? and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Christian law? The three apostles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permission in writing. All husbands might be permitted to do the same; for, in a case of conscience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties

difficulties ensuing from keeping two wives, exceeds, greatly, the disgust arising from having only one.

The emperor does his best endeavours to overturn the league of Smalcald ; and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, surnamed Alcides. Several conferences are held between the Protestants and Catholics, the common consequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541.

On the 18th of July the emperor publishes, at Ratisbon, an Interim, an Inhalt, so it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every person is left to his own belief without molestation.

This edict was necessary now, when armies were to be levied against the Turks. We have before remarked, that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been considered as the protector of John Zapoli, who had always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkish invasion ; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his son.

The imperial army besieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda ; but the Turks come to his assistance, and give the Christians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The Sultan, at length, weary of fighting and conquering so often for Christians, seizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Transylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary

ditary right to an elective kingdom as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the Sultan, that he must renounce all claim to Hungary, and besides do him homage for Austria.

Whilst things were in this situation, and the Turkish army diminished by the plague, Solyman returns to Constantinople; and Charles passes over into Italy. Instead of projecting the rescue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Master of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been subjected to the Spanish yoke; while Germany was to defend itself against the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coast of Algiers on the 23d of October, with almost as many people as attended him at the siege of Tunis. But a violent storm having sunk fifteen of his gallies, eighty-six of his vessels, and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and storms in conjunction, Charles is forced to reembark on board the remainder of his ships, and arrives at Carthage in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation suffers considerably. He is blamed for his rashness in this undertaking; yet had he succeeded, he had been still the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of so many American nations, served as a volunteer in this expedition against Algiers. Here he saw the difference

ence between a small number of men, who know how to defend themselves, and multitudes who permit themselves to be overcome*.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conquests is inconceivable; but it is easy to see why Germany permitted it. Because the Catholic unite against the Protestant princes; it is because the league of Smalcald makes war against the duke of Brunswick, a Catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and sets at ransom all the ecclesiastics. It is, in fine, because the king of France, tired with the refusal of the investiture of the Milanese, prepares strong alliances and potent armies against the emperor.

Charles the fifth's life and empire were but one continual tempest. The Sultan, the pope, Venice, one half of Germany and France were one or other of them almost always against him; and sometimes all together. England was at one time a friend, at another an adversary. No

* Hernan Cortez had been used to fight against people who did not submit until they had made not barely a gallant, but even a desperate, defence: witness the reduction of Mexico, which was not surrendered until great part of the city was filled with the dead bodies of its inhabitants; until the survivors were oppressed by famine, and had seen their king taken prisoner on the lake. The Moors in Barbary had never made such efforts for the preservation of their independence.

It was not the army of the Moors which obliged Charles to raise the siege of Algiers; but the tempestuous weather, by which he lost one hundred ships, and fifteen galleys; and the diseases of an unhealthy climate, by which his forces were reduced from twenty-four to ten thousand men.

emperor was ever more feared ; yet less to be feared.

Francis I. sends an ambassador to Constantinople* and another to Venice, at one and the same time. He who was sent to Solyman was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone ; the other Fregose, a Genoese. Both were assassinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of colonel St. Clair, assassinated in our time, as he returned from Constantinople to Sweden : these two events were either causes of, or pretexts for, a very bloody war. Charles V. disavows the assassination of the two ambassadors of the king of France. In truth, he looked on them as men born his subjects, and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to chuse his own party, than it can possibly be, that a prince has any right to assassinate his subjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty, it is very dreadful for it. Charles, in disavowing the action committed in his name, owned it, in effect, to be a most shameful crime.

Politics and revenge equally spur the armaments of Francis I.

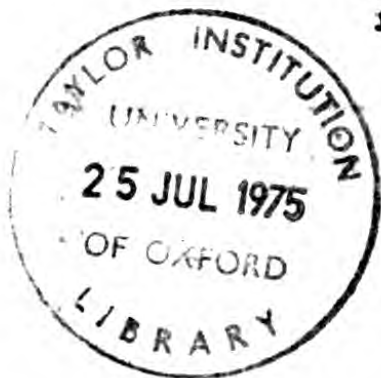
He sends the Dauphin into Rouffillon with an army of 30,000 men, and his other son, the duke of Orleans, with the like number, into Luxemburg.

* When Charles reproached Francis for having entered into an alliance with the Turks, he replied, " that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excusable to call in dogs to his assistance."

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V. was with count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans's army.

The king of France has still another army in Piedmont. The emperor is astonished to find France, which he had so often oppressed, still mistress of such force, and so many resources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous decision for either one party or the other. The council of Trent assemble during this war. The imperialists arrive there on the 28th of January. The Protestants refuse to attend, and the council is suspended.

The END of VOL. XVI.



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