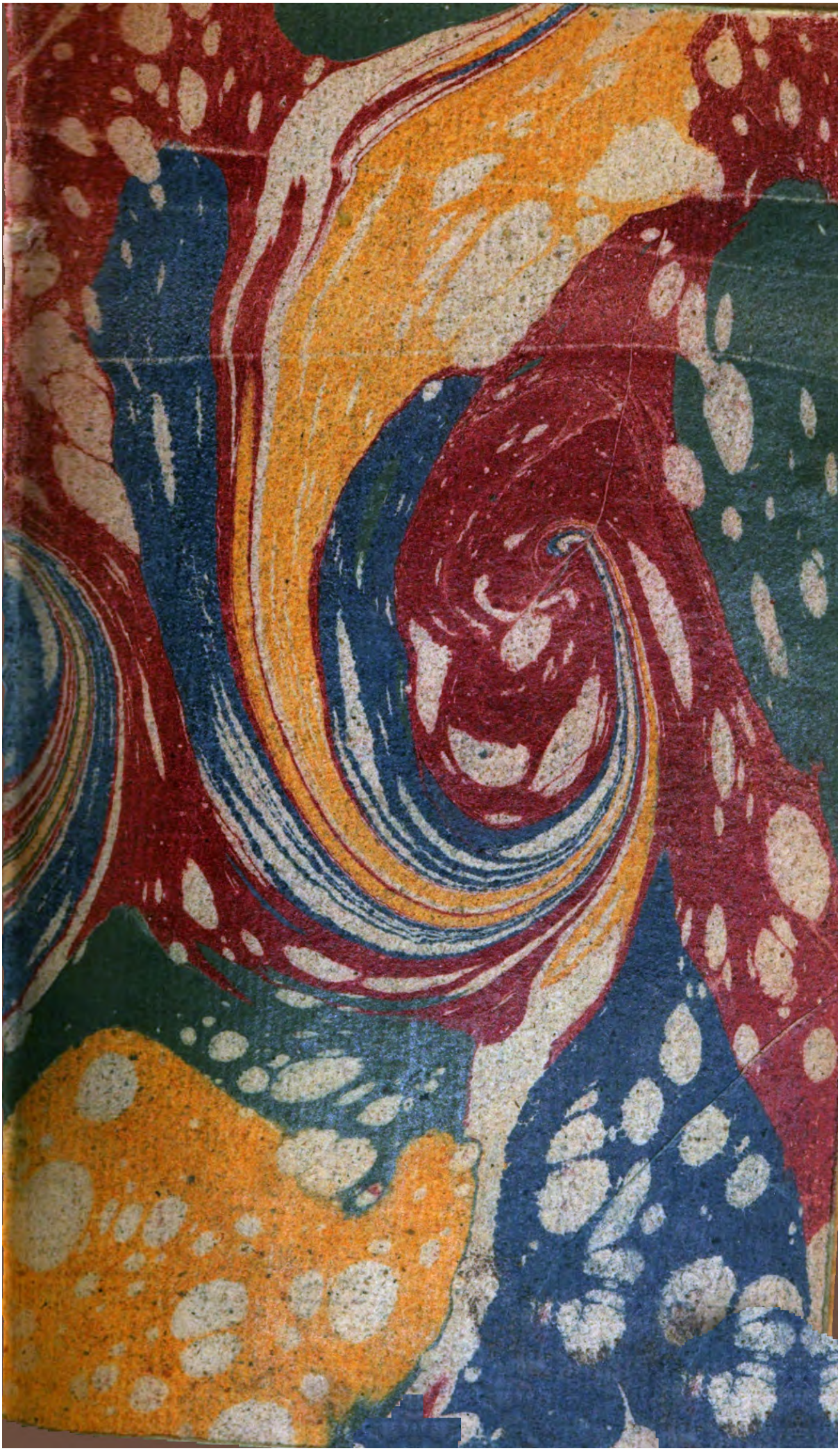

THE WORKS OF VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XXII.

Being VOL. XVII. of his

PROSE WORKS.

POPE ALEXANDER.

Miguard pinx.t *J. 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 SEVENTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY, and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH VOLUME.

CONTENTS.

MISCEL-

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANIES.

ANNALS
OF THE
EMPIRE
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

CHARLES V.

1543.

ON the 26th of August is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorrain with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the Imperial Chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the mean time, there is published a new league against Francis I. between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they re-unite. That very Henry VIII. whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcile-

able enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and poſſeſſes himſelf of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves aſks him pardon upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce the ſovereignty of the duchy of Gueldres, and gives him the inveſtiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No ſooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to bear down France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his aſſiſtance a ſecond time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with gallies to Marſeilles. He goes to the ſiege of Nice with the count d'Enguien: he takes that town, but the caſtle is ſuccoured by the Imperialiſts, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This deſcent of the Turks was not very memorable, becauſe they had been armed in the name of the moſt Chriſtian king.

At the ſame time that Charles V. makes war againſt France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Rouſſillon; while he treats with the pope and the Proteſtants; while he preſſes Germany to ſecure him from the Turkiſh invaſions; he wages war againſt the king of Denmark.

Chriſtiern II. kept in priſon by thoſe who had been formerly his ſubjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer poſſeſſed, and which were elective. Guſtavus Vaſa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holſtein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Chriſtiern III. who attacked the emperor in Holland with a fleet of forty ſhips; but

but a peace is ſoon clapt up. This Chriſtiern III. renews with his two brothers, John and Adolphus, the antient treaty, relating to the duchies of Holſtein and of Schleſwick. John and Adolphus, and their deſcendants, were to poſſeſs theſe duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles aſſembles at that time a great diet at Spire; at which Ferdinand his brother, and all the electors and princes, as well Catholic as Proteſtant, are preſent. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand ſuccour againſt the Turks and againſt the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to ſend ambaſſadors to this great diet. He diſpatches a herald to procure him a paſſport, and they put his herald in priſon.

The diet grant him ſubſidies and troops; but theſe only for ſix months. They conſiſt of but four thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot: but a feeble aſſiſtance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this ſuccour without doing much in favour of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining in this diet, that the imperial chamber of Spire ſhall be made up of one half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly, but vainly complains *.

The

* Father Barre, author of a large hiſtory of Germany, puts theſe words into the mouth of Charles V. "The pope is happy in that the princes of the league of Smalcald did not propoſe my becoming a Proteſtant. In that caſe, I know not what I ſhould have done." It is well known, that

The old admiral Barbaroſſa, who had paſſed the winter at Toulon and Marſeilles, again cruiſes on the coaſt of Italy, and carries off his gallies, loaden with plunder and ſlaves, to Conſtantinople, where he finiſhed a career that had been a long time fatal to Chriſtianity.

The king of France gathered a leſs odious and more honourable ſucceſs from the battle of Ceriſoles, which count d'Enguien gained in Piedmont over the marquis Del Vaſto, a famous general of the emperor, on the 11th of April; yet this victory could not open a paſſage to the French in the Milaneſe, while the emperor penetrates to Soiſſons, and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithſtanding the battle of Ceriſoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheleſs, by one of thoſe myſteries, which hiſtory can ſcarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the miſtruſts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England. This

that this was the emperor Joſeph's anſwer to Clement XI. when he complained of his condeſcenſions to Charles XII. Father Barre is not ſatisfied with imputing to Charles V. this diſcourſe, which he never held; but he has alſo inſerted in his book a great number of facts and diſcourſes, taken word for word from the hiſtory of Charles XII. He has copied above one hundred pages. It is not impoſſible that they may have ſaid and acted in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, exactly as in the eighteenth; but it is not at all likely. There was a neceſſity for making this note, becauſe journaliſts having perhaps ſeen, in the hiſtory of Charles XII. and that of Germany, ſo many accounts abſolutely alike, might have accuſed the writer of Charles the XIIth's Life of plagiariſm; never conſidering that the latter hiſtorian had written twenty years before the former.

peace

peace is concluded on the 18th of September, at Crepi. This treaty imports, that the duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon of the king of France, ſhall eſpouſe a daughter, either of the emperor or the king of the Romans; and that he ſhall have the Milaneſe, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milaneſe, beſtows only a fief of the empire; but in giving up the Low Countries, he ſtrips his ſon of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conqueſts are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preſerved from every attempt.

1545.

The council of Trent opens in the month of April. The Proteſtants declare, that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunſwick, ſtripped, as we have ſeen, of his poſſeſſions by the league of Smalcald, repoſſeſſes them by the aſſiſtance of his brother the archbiſhop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and ſword.

Philip the famous landgrave of Heſſe, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the laſt extremities. He ſurrenders to theſe princes at diſcretion, marching bare-headed, together with his ſon Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments theſe dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As ſoon as the council meets, Paul III. with the conſent of the emperor, gives, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldeſt ſon Peter Lewis Farneſe, whoſe ſon Octavius had already married the

widow of Alexander de Medicis, who was Charles V's baſtard. This coronation of a pope's baſtard made a ſtrange contraſt with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector Palatine made uſe of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies ſoon after at Eiſlaben on the 18th of February, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the ſatisfaction of withdrawing one half of Europe from the Roman church, and he eſteemed this glory beyond any that conqueſt can beſtow.

1546.

The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Milaneſe, removes one uneaſineſs of Charles: however he had others that were very ſufficient: the Proteſtant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was ſcarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other, they did not openly diſavow his authority; but then they reſpected it as little as if it had been entirely aboliſhed among the Proteſtant princes.

Theſe princes ſhew their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They ſend ambaſſadors to theſe two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favours the league of Smalcald.

Lutheraniſm had made ſuch a progreſs, that the elector of Cologne, Herman de Neuvid, although an archbiſhop, introduced it in his territories, and waited only a fair opportunity to ſeculariſe both himſelf and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his

his archbishopric. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased; but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions; to that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders, that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schawembourg the archbishop's coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length deposed, and Schawembourg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick, who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, joins with John of Brunswick, the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and underhand assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about 10,000 foot, and five hundred light horse, for six months, paying 200,000 Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of 500,000 crowns. He durst not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbours, and many churches would have rather secularised themselves than have submitted to pay.

The Proteſtants are already maſters of all the paſſes of the Tiroleſe, and extend themſelves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and Philip landgrave of Heſſe, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick, and his four ſons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Wirtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldemburg, of Mansfield, of Oettingen, of Henneberg, of Furſtemberg, and many other princes, are ſeen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Straſburg, of Norlinguen, and of Augſburg, ſend out their forces alſo. There are eight regiments of Swiſs Proteſtants. This army conſiſted of more than 60,000 foot and 15,000 horſe.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheleſs acts as maſter, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire, at Ratiſbon, on the 18th of July. He has ſoon an army ſtrong enough to ſupport his edict. The 10,000 Italians ſent by the pope arrive; 6000 Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milaneſe and from Naples, join themſelves to his Germans; but, though he ought to have three nations armed, he had not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the ſoldiery of the elector Palatine.

There are ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes; ſeveral poſts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preſerved by a Proteſtant prince. Maurice, marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, of the houſe of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinſman to the landgrave of Heſſe;

the

the ſame to whom the landgrave and elector of Saxony had preſerved his dominions, and whoſe tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to theſe his neighbours, and ſides with the emperor, who promiſes not to moleſt him in his religion of Lutheraniſm; and this aſſurance ſerves him as a pretext for his conduct to his ſubjects.

He aſſembles 10,000 foot and 3000 horſe; makes a diverſion in Saxony; defeats the elector's troops; and is the firſt cauſe of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France ſends them 200,000 crowns. This was enough to keep diſcord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Moſt of the towns of Franconia ſurrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector Palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himſelf at Charles's feet, and aſks his pardon. Almoſt all the country as far as Heſſe-caſſel is ſubdued.

Then pope Paul III. withdraws his 10,000 men, for whoſe ſervice he had only articled ſix months. He fears aſſiſting the emperor too much, even againſt the Proteſtants. Charles is not much weakened by this loſs. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII. happens on the 28th of January; and a diſorder, which at the ſame time haſtens the diſſolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547.

Charles eaſily ſucceeds in detaching the old duke of Wirtemberg from the league. He was ſo irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext, that he attempted eſtabliſhing

at Naples an inquiſition of the ſame ſort with that ſo long ſettled in Spain; but this tribunal is no ſooner ſet up there than it is aboliſhed, having cauſed a moſt violent ſedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing the league of Smalcald, than to perſiſt in forcing upon them an inquiſition, from whence he could reap no advantage.

The league ſeems almoſt deſtroyed by the ſubmiſſion of the Palatinate and of Wirtemberg, but acquires new ſtrength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and ſeveral of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt againſt their ſovereign Ferdinand, and go to ſuccour the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, ſurnamed Alcides, of whom we have often ſpoken, was in reality for the emperor; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken priſoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompence the loſs of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favour of the head of the empire, and aſſiſts Ferdinand againſt the Bohemians.

All things were in confuſion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor paſſes the Elbe with a very ſtrong army near Mulberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked on the 24th of April. This battle of Mulberg was deciſive; and it is affirmed, that in it there were but forty men killed on the ſide of the

the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On the 12th of May, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favour of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortress. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of 50,000 golden crowns yearly, and to advance him 100,000 at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those that had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector remains still the prisoner of Charles.

His wife Sibilla, sister to the duke of Cleves, throws herself at the emperor's feet, all bathed in tears, to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally; that he comes to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he razes all his fortresses, except Cassel or

Zingenheim; paying besides 150,000 golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children; and, in case of failure, to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to every thing. Granvel bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions, which Philip signed. We have been always assured, that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expresly stipulated, that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvel writ, that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *u* in the place of an *n* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einiger gefængniſs*, and Granvel writ *e wiger*.

The landgrave was remiss in revising the treaty: he imagined it was as it ought to have been; confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested, and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Wirtemberg. He confiscated the possessions of many of the chiefs of the party: he imposed

taxes

taxes on all thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, not excepting the towns that had only aſſiſted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raiſed 1,600,000 golden crowns.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, on his part, puniſhes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual impriſonment. The taxes and confiſcations were immenſe: theſe never fail to have a conſiderable part in the vengeance of ſovereigns.

The council of Trent was diſperſed during theſe troubles. The pope inclines to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Proteſtant religion. Thoſe of that communion demand in the diet of Augſburg, that the Proteſtant divines ſhall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more diſſatisfied with the pope than with the Proteſtant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the church in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the inveſtiture of it to his baſtard ſon, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when diſſatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milaneſe, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the inveſtiture. Pope Paul III. alarmed at the power of Charles V. negotiates againſt him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In

In these circumstances, the son of the pope, become odious for his crimes all over Italy, was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his parental tenderness for Margaret his daughter.

1548.

The emperor quarrels with the pope, and favours the Protestants a little more. He had always designed the council to be in some German town, and pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side, the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favour of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On the 15th of May the grand Interim was published in the diet of Augsburg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was very reasonable; therefore it contented no body. The people were too unsettled; both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives, that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in order to

to oblige him, in vain endeavours to have the new form received in his dominions; but the Proteſtant miniſters were ſtronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector Palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Heſſe ſubmits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheleſs deceived.

John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony, although a priſoner, refuſes to ſign it. His example is followed by many princes and ſeveral towns. The clergy in general cry out againſt the peace preſented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himſelf with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that the council ſhould return to Trent, and charges himſelf with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the care of the Germanic body: they are declared free from the taxes which the ſtates were to pay the empire, and from the juriſdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle: they are not obliged to be any way ſerviceable to the empire; but in caſe of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. Theſe rules were ſubſcribed by Charles V. on the 26th of June. The people of Valois are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are at this day exempt, becauſe they are known to have become free.

The city of Conſtance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The

The city of Strasburg prevails so far as to procure the Interim to take place in that district with respect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christiern III. king of Denmark, receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid the latter end of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is notwithstanding governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549.

The emperor retired to Brussels, causes the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois, to do homage to his eldest son Philip.

The council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest. The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio should, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese, kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III. has equal cause to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts, however,

ever, to ſeize upon Parma without ſucceſs. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor: but ought not they who advanced this, to remember adding, that he was 81 years of age?

1550.

The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, ſo that the empire was not at all diſturbed by the Turks. The Perſians preſerve Auſtria, but the Turks remain ſtill maſters of the greateſt part of Hungary.

Henry II. king of France, ſeems very eaſy. The affairs of the council, and thoſe of Placentia gave conſiderable uneaſineſs to the new pope Julius III. The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is ſtill the occaſion of vexation in Germany. What muſt people think to ſee men ſo little ſcrupulous as Paul III. Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war againſt the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns theſe two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice juſtifies the ambition which had ſtripped his tutor and his kinſman of the electorate of Saxony by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honour loſt by the impriſonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Heſſe; who, notwithſtanding his ſecurity and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was ſtill detained a captive. Theſe two princes preſs the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the ſingular reſolu-

tion

tion of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavours to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus dissatisfied with Charles V. is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotic. He does nothing against Magdeburg: he lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate: he had too much reason to be sorry for it: it was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the Protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this new-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles, he already treats with Henry II. and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551.

Charles V. whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The Protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary; and in Bohemia, almost every-body revolted against his brother Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of succeeding to the empire, in favour of his son Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design; but it is certain,

tain, that the imperial authority ſtood in need of a chief, who, being maſter of Spain and of the new world, had been alſo ſufficiently powerful to control at the ſame time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is alſo certain that the princes ſaw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and ſubmitted, not without difficulty, to the emperor's views. They contributed only to incenſe Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands his depoſition of the electors, and requires their votes in favour of his ſon. He reaps nothing from this undertaking, but the mortification of beingrefuſed, and of ſeeing the elector Palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppoſe his deſigns.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition, that though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he ſubdued it for himſelf. The ſame ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony, at the hands of Charles V. now ſpurred him on to unite againſt that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Frederick the count Palatine, Chriſtopher duke of Wirtemberg, Erneſt marquis of Baden-dourlach, and ſeveral other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II. king of France, a young enterpriſing prince, joins the league. He was to furniſh 240, 000 crowns during the three firſt months of the war, and 60, 000 each month following. He makes himſelf maſter of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a ſingular

ſort

ſort of title, which he then aſſumed for a pretext, as if he had been really one.

The king of France already laid hold of the affair of Parma, as a ſufficient cauſe for carrying the war into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things, that it was he who ſhould have protected Octavio Farneſe againſt the emperor his father in-law; but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing uneſſayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predeceſſors had always pretenſions.

Henry alſo unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I. and the admiral Dragut, a man not leſs formidable than Cheredin, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, had been, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Auguſta.

The army of Solyman at the ſame time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only perſon who took the part of Charles V. with whom they united againſt his kinſman Octavio Farneſe; though at bottom, the intereſts and pretenſions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of ſovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French alſo carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the ſame time, obliged to oppoſe a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one half of Germany leagued and armed againſt him, and a king of France, young, rich, and well ſerved, impatient to ſignalize himſelf, and to repair the misfortunes of his predeceſſors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by intereſt and danger. They have at length ſome ſucceſs in Hungary.

Ferdi-

Ferdinand was at the ſame time happy enough to get Tranſilvania. The widow of John Zapoly, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Tranſilvania, in the name of her ſon Stephen Sigiſmund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection ſo very tyrannical, that ſhe was weary of it. She is induced by Martinuſius Biſhop of Waradin, afterwards Cardinal, to exchange Tranſilvania with Ferdinand, for ſome poſſeſſions in Sileſia, ſuch as Opelen and Ratibor. Never did queen make ſo bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinuſius Vaivode of Tranſilvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himſelf at the head of the Tranſilvanians to march againſt the Turks, whom he aſſiſts the Imperialiſts to repel. But Ferdinand beginning to miſtruſt him, cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated by Palavicini in the caſtle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time, too cloſely connected with the emperor, to dare enquiring into the cauſe of this aſſaſſination; however, he excommunicated Frederick the year following. An excommunication productive of neither noiſe nor effect: It is one of thoſe which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheleſs put in practice, when ſuch men as ſpake in the name of the Divinity, imagined they have a right in his name, to ſet themſelves above ſuch ſovereigns as abuſed their power to exceſs; but thoſe who judge of kings, ought themſelves to be irreprehenſible.

1552.

Maurice the elector of Saxony, throws off his maſk, and publiſhes a manifeſto, declaring him-

himſelf allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederick, the very man whom he had diſpoſſeſſed, the enlargement of landgrave of Heſſe, and for the ſupport of his religion.

He is joined by Joachim elector of Brandenburg. William, ſon of the impriſoned landgrave of Heſſe, Henry Otho elector Palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg are up in arms, before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tirol, and drive out the few Imperialiſts who poſſeſſed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken priſoners, and ſave themſelves by a very diſorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a priſoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refuſed to accept it, * is almoſt unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheleſs about the beginning of April, the king of France ſeizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Haguenau and Wiſſemburgh. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburgh and poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral towns.

To add to the emperor's diſgraces, he is informed in his flight, that the pope had aban-

* The elector Maurice, while Ferdinand was amuſed with a negotiation, forced the paſſes of the vallies that lead to Inſpruck, took the caſtle of Eremberg by aſſault, and had well nigh ſeized the perſon of the emperor, who fled with precipitation in the night, being conveyed in a litter during a ſevere fit of the gout, having no other attendants but his brother Ferdinand and John Frederick of Saxony, to whom he granted his liberty on this occaſion.

doned

doned his interest, and declared himself neuter between France and him. It was about this time his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honour, that these censures were not passed at a time when they seemed the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles, the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times, all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Weitzberg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword, the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spire, and lay siege to Frankfort.

In the mean time, the emperor having retired to Passau, and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into measures. A peace is concluded on the 12th of August. By this renowned peace of Passau, he grants a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him, since the year 1546. The protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mulberg they had been excluded. It is some matter of surprize, that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfeld, until he should give security for his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful, that nothing was stipulated in favour of John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor nevertheless, in a short time

after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty, and permits him to return into Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels, and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads 16,000 men into Hungary; notwithstanding which assistance, Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of Upper Hungary, without submitting to the states, and paying an annual tribute of 20,000 golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma, were over-run with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans after the battle of Mulberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages and his wars, absorb them all. He borrows 200,000 golden crowns from the duke of Florence, count de Medicis, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombino and of the Island of Elbe. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Protestant prince, who still held out against him, is reconciled, and joins his forces; but the famous Francis duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on the 26th of December, to raise the siege, after having lain 65 days before the town.

Charles

Charles loſes in this undertaking, more than one third of his army.

1553.

Charles, to revenge himſelf of the inſult that had been offered him at Metz, ſends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay ſiege to Terouane, which town is taken and deſtroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who ſoon became one of the greateſt generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Heſdin, which is razed to the ground, in the ſame manner as Terouane. But the duke of Arſcot, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops, ſuffers himſelf to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a ſtand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the ſame ſituation; nor are thoſe of Germany ſettled. The reſtleſs Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, ſtill heads a body of troops that ſubſiſt only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunſwick, and of Maurice elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildeſheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himſelf killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander, and a great politician. He is ſucceeded by his brother Auguſtus.

Albert, the Alcibiades, ſtill continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceed againſt him; notwithſtanding which he continues his depredations; but at length wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor better to ſecure that prodigious power, which had received ſo many additions and diminu-

tions, concludes the marriage of his ſon Philip with Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Arragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clauſe in the marriage-contract, that the alliance between England and France ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt, Charles had nevertheleſs hopes, and thoſe not ill grounded, that this alliance would be ſoon broken. It was in reality to arm England againſt France, that he gave that kingdom to his ſon as a ſovereign; and had Mary had children, the houſe of Auſtria would have ſeen all the ſtates of Europe from the Baltic ſea, France excepted, ſubſervient, to its laws.

1554.

Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his ſon Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary his ſpouſe, in the ſame manner as king William has ſince been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is ſtill carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with various ſucceſs, but ſtill in a ſort of æquilibrium.

The troops of France ſtill remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconſiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the Milaneſe very numerous. It ſeemed as if they were drained on both ſides.

Coſmo, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Sienna, apprehenſive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medequino marquis of Marignan,

Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies, on the 2d of August. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

1555.

Ernest count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near getting possession of the town of Metz, by the intrigues of a Franciscan frier, though the emperor had not been able to subdue it with 50,000 men. This frier's name was Leonard; he was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Through his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans, entered the town disguised like Franciscan friers, under pretence of a general chapter, which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthusian; father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making eighteen Franciscan friers assist at the gibbeting him.

The ancient papal policy, revives under pope Paul IV. of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as hath been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese with the assistance of France, to procure if possible, these principalities for his ne-

phews. In caſe that Henry II. ſhall furniſh new troops, he engages to join them with 10,000 men.

The war begins to grow more ſpirited than ever. Charles ſaw it impoſſible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of ſuch a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the tranſactions of Europe. He reſolves to finiſh his courſe by the moſt ſingular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce ſo many ſovereignties that he might ſeclude himſelf in a monaſtery, he confirms the liberty of the Proteſtants in the diet of Augſburg. He gives up to them the eccleſiaſtical revenues upon which they had ſeized, and on their account, the form of oath adminiſtered to the councellors of the imperial chamber is changed to ſwearing by the goſpel, inſtead of by the ſaints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mulberg give way to neceſſity, and on the eve of aſſuming the monkiſh cowl, acts like a philoſopher.

On the 24th of November, he ſurrenders the Low-countries to his ſon Philip, in preſence of the ſtates aſſembled at Bruſſels, and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on the tenth of the enſuing January.

He pardons his kinſman Octavio Farneſe, giving up to him Placentia and the Novareſe, after which he prepares himſelf to ſurrender the empire to his brother the king of the Romans.

1556.

All things diſguſted him. The Turks were maſters

masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore impatiently their yoke. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest him of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he who certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul III. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontiff was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles V. without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on the 17th of September 1556, and in the 36th year of his reign. *

The prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial scepter to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura in the monastry of St. Justus, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion, that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely upon human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theatre, on

* He reserved to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of Spain.

which he had played ſo conſiderable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the eccleſiaſtical electors neither to accept of the diſmiſſion of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his buſineſs to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new ſtrength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were publiſhed in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any hiſtorian.

FERDINAND I.

FORTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1557.

THE abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The houſe of Auſtria, divided into two branches, is as yet the moſt conſiderable in Europe; but the Spaniſh branch, far ſuperior to the other, intirely ingroſſed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spaniſh, Italian, and Flemiſh troops to contribute to the imperial greatneſs.

Ferdinand has very large poſſeſſions in Germany; but the Upper-Hungary, which is his, ſcarcely affords him ſufficiency to maintain ſuch troops as were neceſſary to make head againſt the Turks. The Bohemians ſeemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impoſſible for Ferdi-

Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstad to Philip landgrave of Hesse, and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen, of the house of Brunswic against Friezeland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles set on foot by Frederic III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length, on the 28th of February, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother at Francfort. An embassy is sent to the pope, which he refuses to receive, still pretending Ferdinand not to be emperor. The ambassadors protest, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswic is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558.

On the 21st of September 1558, happens that great event Charles the Vth's death. It is well known, that through a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay, that he was stretch-

ed upon the bier in the middle of the church of St Juſtus, while they ſung *de profundis*. In this laſt action of his life he ſeemed to have poſſeſſed a little of the ſpirit of Johanna his mother, and yet upon a throne he had aways conducted himſelf like a politician, a hero, and a man not inſenſible to his pleaſures. How many contrarieties united in his diſpoſition! who, though poſſeſſed of more than monkiſh devotion was ſuppoſed at his death to hold ſeveral of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakneſs and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V. tho' he died a monk, yet at his death is ſuſpected of hereſy*.

Since the funeral rights of Alexander, nothing had been ſo ſuperb as the obſequies of Charles the V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Bruſſels they coſt 70,000 ducats. Expences noble as theſe, contribute to illuſtrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts: Yet more durable monuments ought to have been raiſed than a ſhow, tranſitory like this, which is certainly far from being ſufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559.

Ferdinand holds a diet at Augſburg, in which the ambaſſadors of Henry II. king of France are introduced. France had juſt made peace at Cateau-Cambreſis with Philip II. king of Spain. The French by this peace preſerved in

* In his laſt moments he received the euchariſt in both ſpecies; a circumſtance which induced many people to believe he favoured the Proteſtant religion.

Italy only Turin, and ſome other towns which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, which the enperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly ſpoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambaſſadors, that while France keeps poſſeſſion of theſe three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good underſtanding to ſubſiſt between France and Germany.

The new pope Pius IV. is not ſo inflexible as Paul IV. but ſoon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560.

On the 29th of November the council of Trent, after having been ſo long ſuſpended, is at length re-eſtabliſhed by a bull of Pius IV. he gives notice of the aſſembling this council to all ſovereigns; he even ſignifies it to the Proteſtant princes of Germany. But as the addreſs of his letters was "To our moſt dear Son," thoſe who did not chuſe to acknowledge themſelves children of the pope, ſend back his letter un-opened.

1561.

Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time maſters of this province under the imperial protection. But theſe knights, unable to reſiſt the Muſcovites, and receiving no ſuccours from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigiſmund king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler.

The meetings of the council of Trent begin.

1562.

The ambaſſador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in poſſeſſion of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the firſt things diſcuſſed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the ſeculars. The decree barely imports, that the church has very juſt reaſons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers ſhall conduct themſelves in this affair, intirely by the judgment of the pope, which ſhall be to them deciſive.

On the 24th of November, the electors at Frankfort unanimouſly declare Maximilian ſon of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors aſſiſt perſonally in their ſeveral functions at this ceremony, according to the tenure of the golden bull. This ſolemnity was rendered the more glorious by the preſence of an ambaſſador from Solyman, who ſigns a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of the Auſtrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not ſo terrible as he has been. Nevertheleſs, this peaee was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was eaſy and happy.

1563.

This year is memorable for the diſſolution of the council of Trent. This long council, which was the laſt general one, neither ſerved to ſoften nor ſubdue the enemies of the Roman church. They publiſhed ſome edicts concerning diſcipline, which were ſcarcely admitted in any

any catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The council of Basil had rent the church and set up an anti-pope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution, and was the cause of thirty years war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran stripped count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII. by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame. The 4th council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicea, under Ireneus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Monothelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a very bloody one. It is well known, that great divisions actuated the councils held on account of Arius. The council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

1564.

On the 25th of July, Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments, scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost 200 years after.

This famous testament of 1543, appoints, in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V. that the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter Ann and her issue. She was the second daughter to Ferdinand, and wife to Albert II. duke of Bavaria.

This foreſeen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage-contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expreſſed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne ducheſs of Bavaria aſſumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage-contract, as well as the reſt of her ſiſters. They might indeed have called her Queen without her being one, as ſhe was called archducheſs without poſſeſſing any archduchy. However, this cuſtom was not followed.

Ferdinand, beſides, by his laſt will, left Hungary, Bohemia, and the Upper and Lower Auſtria, to his ſon Maximilian king of the Romans.

To his ſecond ſon Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tirol and the anterior Auſtria.

To Charles, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his poſſeſſions in Iſtria.

The Auſtrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which ſtill remained in that houſe, was the ſtandard to which all the princes of that houſe re-united.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor Rome. The inutility of theſe ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more eſſential for the two principal branches of the imperial houſe, Spain and Auſtria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy ſubmiſſive, and brings the holy ſee to a dependence upon that houſe.

MAXIMILIAN II.

FORTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564.

THE empire, as we have already ſeen, without ceaſing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors ſince the time of Charles V. deſiſt from croſſing the Alps, to ſeek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of moſt weight in Italy, was that of Philip II. who, though at the ſame time a vaſſal to the empire and to the holy ſee, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the firſt gleanings o which, and no more, his father had poſſeſſed, but he enjoyed its real ſweets.

The empire under Maximilian II. as under Ferdinand I. was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy being in the hands of Philip II. belonged rather to an ally than a vaſſal. Hungary became a dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, a dominion that inceſſantly oppoſed the Turks, and was as it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the firſt year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war againſt Solyman.

This Sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Tranſilvania furniſhed him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigiſmund, ſon to that queen

of

of Hungary, who had ceded her rights for ſome villages in Sileſia, had put his hereditary dominions under the ſultan's protection, chuſing rather to be a ſovereign and tributary to the Turks, than a ſimple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokai. Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who aſſiſts the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Proteſtant, were bent upon ſtrengthening themſelves. Religion at that time ingroſſed the attention of the people more than it had ever divided them. The greateſt part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Auſtria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the council of Trent, ſtipulate barely, that they ſhall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the prieſts, who, before the breaking up of the council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, deſire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers theſe two requeſts to the pope. Pope Pius IV. to whom the council had left the deciſion of the ſacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they pleaſe, but refuſes leave to the prieſts to marry; beſides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565.

A treaty is made with the Turks, who ſtill remain maſters of Buda, and the prince of Tranſilvania continues under their protection.

Solyman ſends Bacha Muſtapha to beſiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this ſiege,

ſiege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired *.

1566.

Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the imperial power ever ſince the treaty of Paſſau, the legiſlative authority was ſtill veſted in the emperor; and was pretty effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority againſt John Albert duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights upon the town of Roſtock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themſelves to be exempt, whom the two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commiſſion.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occaſion to demand in the diet of Augſburg more powerful ſuccours than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The diet orders ſoldiers to be raiſed for him, and grant him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

* Solyman himſelf expired two days before the town was taken: he had inveſted the place with an army of two hundred thouſand men, and Maximilian advanced at the head of one hundred thouſand men to its relief, but had not courage enough to give the enemy battle. Count Zerine, governor of the town, made a glorious defence, until all the fortifications were ruined; then made a deſperate ſally with three hundred men, all of whom were cut in pieces; ſo that the town ſurrendered of courſe.

Count

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand visier sends his head to Maximilian with this message: That he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command 120,000 men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame; but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his subjects liberty of conscience, and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquility at home.

1567.

This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the antient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate, given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, ought to have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman, named Groumbach, who was proscribed with many of his accomplices for divers crimes, retired to Gotha, the residence of John Frederick, son to him from whom the duchy and electorate of

Saxony

Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mulberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself upon Augustus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains, together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with these he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators being taken at Dresden, confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers resolutely determined to share his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town, but are at length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederick, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantly executed.

1568.

The troubles of the Low Countries increase. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor sends his brother Charles of Austria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to soften Philip II. but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor hinder

hinder moſt of the Proteſtant princes of Germany from aſſiſting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alba, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, preſſes the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the ſupreme juriſdiction of the Low Countries being veſted in the empire, he ought for this purpoſe to addreſs himſelf to the imperial diet. Such an anſwer ſhewed very ſufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arreſt.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war upon another party of German troops. It was however natural for him to aſſiſt his couſin Philip in this affair; the more ſo, as he had made peace that very ſame year with Selim II. ſucceſſor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months*.

Yet ſo far was he from aſſiſting his couſin the king of Spain in the reduction of his ſubjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conſcience, that he appears to diſapprove the conduct of Philip in ſoon after permitting the Auſtrians to adopt the confeſſion of Augſburg. He afterwards promiſes the pope to revoke that permiſſion. All theſe things manifeſt his authority to be weak, confined, and unſtable. It had been ſaid, that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the houſe of Brandenburg was intirely Proteſtant. A ſon of the elector John George,

George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the Protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick Julius also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector Palatine and most of his country profess Protestantism. The Catholic religion hardly subsisted any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many Protestants as well as in Bohemia; all these things authorised the liberty Maximilian gave to the Protestant religion in Austria: but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569.

In the midst of these wars of religion and politics, behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II. duke of Florence, and Alphonso duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but pope Pius V. who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word

Grand

Grand made ſome vaſt addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himſelf a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand dukes but kings. The diſpute grows more inflamed: but at length the grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570.

This year was held the diet of Spire, in which moſt of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are reſtored to his children. A peace is alſo there concluded between the emperor and John Sigiſmund prince of Tranſilvania, who is acknowledged ſovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! ſince one part of the kingdom was poſſeſſed by the French, and the reſt belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had ſo long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muſcovy, all diſputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigiſmund king of Sweden cedes all his poſſeſſions in Livonia to Maximilian; the reſt is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muſcovites. The town of Lubec is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with

Sweden,

Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became ſtill more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day deſpoiling of ſome town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuſes to come into it, fearing to bring the Ottoman forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milaneſe raiſes troops to enable him to ſeize upon the marquiſate of Final, belonging to the houſe of Caretto. The Genoeſe had alſo an eye upon this ſpot of ground, and were troubleſome to the proprietor of it. France might have aſſiſted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vaſſal of the empire, he demanded juſtice; and in the mean time Philip II. ſeizes upon his dominions, finding eaſily means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572.

After the death of Sigiſmund II. king of Poland, the laſt of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian underhand makes intereſt for the throne, which he flatters himſelf the republic of Poland will offer him by ambaſſy.

The ſecret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitleſs; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of aſking for, ſend no ambaſſy.

1573.

The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected on the firſt of May, to the great diſcontent of the Proteſtant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold ſo near them

them a man ſtained with blood in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574.

The prince of Orange, who ſupported himſelf in the Low Countries by his valour and reputation againſt all the power of Philip II. holds an aſſembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the emperor ſends an imperial commiſſary, apparently to ſupport the majeſty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575.

Maximilian cauſes his eldeſt ſon Rodolphus to be elected king of the Romans in the diet of Ratiſbon. Through long cuſtom, apprehenſion of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to ſupport the imperial dignity by his own power, the poſſeſſion of the imperial throne became neceſſarily lodged in the houſe of Auſtria.

The princes of the empire were not leſs maſters of their own rights. The elector Palatine furniſhed troops to the Calviniſts of France, while thoſe of the Low Countries were aſſiſted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou king of Poland by the death of Charles IX. he quits Poland as if he fled from a priſon; and that throne being conſequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himſelf elected king of Poland on the 15th of December.

But an oppoſing faction put a moſt atrocious affront upon Maximilian, proclaiming king, Stephen

Stephen Battori Vaivod of Transilvania, the sultan's vassal; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and an usurper. The Polanders marry him to the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John Czar of Muscovy offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Battori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavours to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the Protestants instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with solliciting in the diet free liberty for the Protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576.

Maximilian, uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on the 12th of August, aged 49.

RODOLPHUS

RODOLPHUS II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577.

RODOLPHUS, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest, and the same form of government still prevailed. Rodolphus barely promises, in the first diet held at Frankfort, to conform himself to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed the appeasing the disturbances in the Low Countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II. shewing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavour, as much as possible, to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rodolphus was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed against Philip II. so that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria, natural

natural ſon to Charles V. governing Flanders in the name of Philip II. and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neuter, while Germany furniſhes each ſide with mercenaries.

Rodolphus is not more diſturbed by the irruptions which the Muſcovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.

The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confuſion, and politics. Philip II. in having neglected to endeavour the reſtoration of order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing ſcarcely more than his name to the cauſe of the confederates, had leſs power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had not ſufficient to ſend him aſſiſtance. The prince Palatine Caſimir, tutor to the young elector Frederick IV. who had marched into France with a little army to the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, comes with the remainder of this army, and ſome new troops, to aſſiſt theirs and the cauſe of the revolters in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III. king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the aſſiſtance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavouring each to profit by theſe diſturbances; the archduke, prince Caſimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange; the whole four diſunited, and Don John of Auſtria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, ſingly oppoſed them all. It is advanced, that this ſame Don John aſpired to the ſovereignty. So many troubles ſprung from

Philip's having abuſed his power, and his not having ſupported that abuſe by his preſence.

Without any proof whatſoever, and purely from a deſire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accuſed of having haſtened the death of his brother Don John of Auſtria, who departed this life on the firſt of October.

1579.

During the deſolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farneſe prince of Parma, ſucceſſor of Don John, ſupports the cauſe of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rodolphus, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France and Elizabeth queen of England furniſh the confederates with men and money, and the emperor aſſiſts Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rodolphus was not ſufficiently efficacious for his character, nor was he ſufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. abſolutely refuſes liberty of conſcience, and the prince of Orange chuſes not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580.

The prince of Orange had found the ſecret of reſiſting Farneſe, and to rid himſelf of the archduke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a penſion from the ſtates, which they aſſign him upon the epiſcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581.

Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but ſtipulated for his pen-

ſion, one half of which they retrench. The ſtates-general, by a public edict, dated July 26, in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their ſituation, in reſpect of Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavouring to enſlave the nation that he came to defend, is diſconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582.

Pope Gregory XIII. having ſignalized his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Proteſtant princes, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppoſe the reception of this neceſſary reformation. They had no other reaſon for it, but that of its being Rome that adminiſtred this ſervice. They feared making that court appear too reſpectable, ſhould they receive inſtructions from it; and that, ſhould the people receive aſtronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuſe its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the diet of Augſburg, to appoint the imperial chamber to obſerve the Julian ſtile, made in the time of Cæſar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event diſturbs the empire this year. Gebhard de Truchſes, archbiſhop of Cologne, who was no prieſt, had embraced the confeſſion of Augſburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes de Mansfield, a nun of the monaſtery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a biſhop to marry; but this biſhop was an elector: he wanted to eſ-

pouſe his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a ſecular dignity. It might have happened very eaſily, that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbiſhopric; that the prelate had been at the ſame time a Lutheran biſhop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were the king of Bohemia, the archbiſhops of Mentz and of Triers. The empire ſeems well nigh falling into the hands of the Proteſtants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard de Truchſes endeavours, without ſucceſs, to introduce Lutheraniſm in Cologne. The chapter and ſenate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, ſharing in a great meaſure the ſovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to loſe. In effect, the elector, though a ſovereign, was far from being abſolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magiſtrates. Soldiers are raiſed on every ſide, and the archbiſhop fights for his miſtreſs with ſucceſs.

1583.

The Proteſtant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector Palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favour to the emperor, to the chapter and ſenate of Cologne; but proceeded no farther; and as they had no perſonal intereſt that ſhould induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at leaſt at preſent, they do not.

Truchſes is only aſſiſted by ſome petty princes. The archbiſhop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings ſome cavalry to his aſſiſtance. The count de Solmes and ſome Lutheran gentlemen

tlemen of Weſtphalia ſend him troops in the heat of the diſpute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, ſends in his favour to the chapter. A canon of the antient houſe of Saxony, which is the ſame as that of Brunſwick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is an holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Roſendale during this petty war. The emperor Rodolphus concerned himſelf no farther in this affair, than in exhorting the archbiſhop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preſerve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbiſhop. This bull of the pope cauſes the Proteſtant princes to rebel; but they only make ſome motions. Erneſt of Bavaria, biſhop of Liege, of Friſinguen, and Hildeſheim, is choſen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince Palatine, Caſimir, is the only perſon who at that time aſſiſts the dethroned elector, and even that was for a very ſhort time. The town of Bonn was very ſoon the only one which Truchſes could call his own. The troops which had been ſent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay ſiege to Bonn, which is ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

1584.

The old elector ſtill wreſtles with his ill fortune: he has ſome few troops left: theſe are defeated; and at length, being neither ſufficiently able nor happy to arm any conſiderable

potentates in his favour, he has no other resource but that of retiring to the Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but, in truth, at the expence of a tribute; and Rodolphus imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585.

Led by the example of Gebhard de Truchses, two other bishops renounce their bishoprics; the one is a son of William duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Munster that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden, of the house of Brunswick.

1586.

Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavoured for through a ten years war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franché-comte. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conspired against his life; and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament as preparatives to this action.

Maurice II's son succeeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greatest general in Europe. The Protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, though

though it was for the intereſt of their religion; but they ſend troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. becauſe the Calviniſt party in France were able to pay their ſoldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587.

Prince Maurice ſtill continues the war in the Low Countries againſt Alexander Farneſe. He levies ſome troops among the Proteſtants of Germany at the expence of the ſtates of Holland. This was all the ſuccour that he could poſſibly procure.

A new throne offers itſelf to the houſe of Auſtria, which honour contributes to ſhew ſtill more how very low was the credit of Rodolphus.

Stephen Batori Vaivode of Tranſilvania, and king of Poland, dying on the 13th of December 1586, Fedor, Czar of Muſcovy, enters the liſts to ſucceed him; but is unanimouſly rejected. One faction declares for Sigiſmund king of Sweden, ſon to John III. by a princeſs of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Sileſia while his competitor is crowned.

1588.

Maximilian is a ſecond time defeated by Zamoſki, the Poliſh general: he is ſhut up in a caſtle near Lublin, and his brother Rodolphus can do no more for him, than intreat Philip II. to engage pope Sixtus V. to write in favour of the priſoner.

1589.

Maximilian is at laſt ſet at liberty, having

renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has an interview with Sigismund before his departure: it is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given him, because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590.

The only event which now regards the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Westphalia. The circles of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591.

Henry IV. who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends Viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the Protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christiern elector of Saxony, influenced by viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

1592.

A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishopric of Strasburg, as had very lately happened at Cologne upon a very different account. The people of Strasburg were Protestants: their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Protestants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics chuse the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rodolphus appoints by commission one

of

of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to appeaſe the difference and conduct the adminiſtration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Proteſtants. The cardinal of Lorraine ſupports his right at the head of 10,000 men. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, and of Baſil, furniſh troops to the Proteſtant biſhop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had ſerved unſucceſsfully Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603, it was at laſt agreed, that the cardinal of Lorraine ſhould remain biſhop of Straſburg, paying 130,000 golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly poſſible to purchaſe a biſhopric at a much dearer rate.

1593.

A much more conſiderable affair rouzes the indifference of Rodolphus. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waſte Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbiſhop of Saltzburg are the only perſons who as yet furniſh the emperor with troops, joining theirs to thoſe that are ſupplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand, brother of Rodolphus, had by his firſt wife, who was daughter to a ſenator of Augſburg, a ſon named Charles of Auſtria. This ſon was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deſerved to be one. A conſiderable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which ſeemed to be ordained to fight ſucceſsfully for

the houſe of Auſtria. The Serini, the Nadaſtis, and the Palfis, headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worſted in ſeveral engagements, and the Upper Hungary at length ſecured, Buda excepted, which ſtill remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594.

The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rodolphus held a diet at Augſburg to conſult upon meaſures of oppoſition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the firſt inſtance of a war being ſupported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, ſtill fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias by his own deſire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. Theſe cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

1595.

Happily for the Imperialiſts, Sigiſmund Batori, vaivode of Tranſilvania, ſhakes off the Turkiſh for the Imperial yoke. We often ſee princes change ſides, obliged by the neceſſity of their affairs to attach themſelves to the more powerful of two protectors. Batori ſwears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Tranſilvania and ſome poſſeſſions in Hungary. He agrees, that in caſe he ſhall die without male iſſue, his dominions ſhall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he is promiſed in marriage to Chriſtina, daughter

to

to the archduke Charles, together with the title of Moſt Illuſtrious and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy; but the church-boxes ſet up for the payment of the army not being filled, the Imperial troops riſe and pillage part of that country which they had been deſtined to defend.

1596.

The archduke Maximilian commands this year againſt the Turks. The new ſultan, Mahomet III. enters Hungary in perſon, and lays ſiege to Agria, which ſurrenders upon conditions; but the garriſon is maſſacred going out of the town; and Mahomet, enraged againſt the aga of the janizaries, for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be ſtruck off.

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on the 26th of October.

While the emperor Rodolphus remains at Vienna, employed in diſtillation, chemiſtry, and ſearching after the philoſopher's ſtone, while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks, while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatneſs upon the ſluggiſhneſs of Rodolphus; one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have ſcarce heard any mention, is made governor of ſuch part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government ſucceeded the archduke Erneſt, another of his brothers, who died after having poſſeſſed it upwards of two years, without having done any one thing remarkable. Very different was the conduct of cardinal Albert of Auſtria, who made war upon Henry IV.

with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever ſince the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Ardres.

Henry IV. after much difficulty conqueror of the league, ſeeks the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant princes, which not obtaining he is forced to defend himſelf.

1597.

The Turks are ſtill in Hungary. There is a riſing of the peaſants of Auſtria, harraſſed by the Imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the deſolation of the country. There is a neceſſity for ſending ſome diſciplined troops againſt them. This was a favourable opportunity for the Turks; but by ſome ſtrange fatality the Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progreſs. The Imperial army this year owes its ſafety to a revolt of the janizaries.

1598.

The county of Simeren, by the death of the laſt incumbent, falls to the elector Palatine.

Philip II. king of Spain, dies, aged 72, after a reign of 42 years. He had long diſturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his couſin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rodolphus, ever forwarded his deſigns, neither had he in the leaſt contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death, he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Iſabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his ſon Philip III. and the crown of Spain of a moſt beautiful province. But the troubles, which had waſted it for ſome time, had rendered it a burdenſome poſſeſſion; however, it was ſtipulated,

lated, that it ſhould revert to the Spaniſh crown in caſe of the failure of male iſſue in the archduke Albert, which happened to be the caſe.

The driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary, begins to be matter of deliberation. The diet grants towards the ſupport of this war 20 Roman months.

The ſame Sigiſmund Batori, who had renounced the Turkiſh protection, and done homage to the emperor for Tranſilvania, repents of his proceedings. The ſame territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigiſmund; that is to ſay, Oppelen, and Ratibor in Sileſia, were given him in exchange for his ſovereignty and for Walachia. He was as little ſatisfied with his bargain, as that queen had been. He abandons Sileſia, and re-enters his former dominions; but always inconſtant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his couſin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Batori, immediately puts himſelf under the protection of the Turks, and receives a veſt from the Sultan, as a mark of that favour he ſollicited. Martinuſius like, he puts himſelf at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement againſt the imperialiſts.

1599.

By the death of cardinal Batori, and the flight of Sigiſmund, Tranſilvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be waſted by the Turks. Thoſe who are aſtoniſhed to ſee at this day, ſuch a fertile country ſo thinly peopled, will find it eaſily accounted for, when they conſider the numbers of inhabitants of both ſexes which the Turks carried into ſlavery.

This

This year, the emperor resolves at last to affranchise Wirtemberg, from the infeofment of Austria. Wirtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail, it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600.

The Turks advance as far as Canisa upon the Drave, on the side of Stiria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorrain, could not prevent this strong place from being taken. The people of Transilvania and Valachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601.

The fortune of Sigismund Batori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transilvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Canisa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602.

At length the arch duke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda, which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the charge of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Batori is still more unfortunate. Spurned by the Turks, who refuse him assistance, he surrenders at discretion to the inperial troops; and this prince, who was to have married an arch-dutchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603.

Some unaccountable fatality always puts a

stop

ſtop to the Turkiſh conqueſts. Mahomet III. who threatened to command a formidable army againſt Hungary in perſon, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet his ſon, a youth only 13 years old, is raiſed to the Ottoman throne. Factions diſturb the Seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The diet of Ratiſbon promiſes this time 80 Roman months. The empire had never before granted ſo powerful a ſuccour; but, alas! it was furniſhed in ſcarce any thing but words.

This year Lubec, Danzic, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hans towns of Germany, obtain in France thoſe liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of theſe towns are exempted from all right of Eſcheatage, and ſtill enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the moſt remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604.

The emperor is near loſing that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occaſioned by the exactions of a governor of Caſobia, who having extorted money from an Hungarian lord named Botſkai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares himſelf lord of Upper Hungary, without daring to take the title of king.

1605.

The Turks and the rebel Botſkai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Preſburg only excepted. The grand viſier was in the town of Peſt. Botſkai cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed prince of Tranſilvania, and receives the crown of Hungary, from the hands of the grand viſier, with

with great ſolemnity at Peſt. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if poſſible, to preſerve the remainder of that country. It was ſtipulated, that for the future the ſtates of Hungary, who had always elected their king, ſhould themſelves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to biſhopricks was a right inveſted in the crown; but the ſtates now article, that none but Hungarians ſhall be made biſhops; and that ſuch biſhops as are named by the emperor, ſhall have no ſhare in the government of the kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe and ſome other conceſſions, the archduke Matthias obtains the ceſſion of Tranſilvania from Botſkai, who alſo keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand viſier. The Hungarians expreſsly article, that Lutheraniſm and Calviniſm ſhall be freely tolerated amongſt them.

Under the weak government of Rodolphus, Germany was nevertheleſs pretty quiet. The inteſtine wars that happened in it during that reign, were very trivial; ſuch as the duke of Brunſwic endeavouring to ſubdue the town of Brunſwic, and the duke of Bavaria ſtriving to reduce Donawert. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donawert; but the duke of Brunſwic could not prevail againſt Brunſwic, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being ſupported by the Teutonic hanſe. The great trading towns could at that time eaſily defend themſelves againſt the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in caſe of war.

Theſe

Theſe occaſional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face, ſince princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other reſpects peaceable, in ſpite of the three contending religions, in ſpite of the troubles in Hungary and Tranſilvania, and the wars in the Low-countries, which inceſſantly harraſſed the frontiers. The weakneſs of Rodolphus in Germany, was of a very different nature, from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if poſſible, have been independent and powerful; they were troubleſome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aſpired.

1606.

The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Tranſilvanians, were only the ſeeds of new troubles. The Tranſilvanians after the death of Botſkai, notwithſtanding their treaties with the emperor, chuſe Sigiſmund Ragotſki as Vaivode, and the emperor permits it.

1607, 1608.

Rodolphus, who had purchaſed peace ſo dearly at home, endeavours to reſtore it to the Low-countries by treaty, which could be only done, as formerly had been in Hungary, at the expence of the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria.

The famous union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The States General of the ſeven united Provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The ſeven united Provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rodol-

phus writes to them thus: "You are ſtates holding of the Empire; your conſtitution cannot alter, without the conſent of the emperor, who is your head." The States General ſent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the mean time the peaceful and philoſophical indifference of Rodolphus, which would have ſat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias his brother, who deviſed making himſelf ſovereign of Hungary, Auſtria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rodolphus, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almoſt intirely over-run by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Auſtria expoſed, and Bohemia diſcontented. The inconſtant Batori, was by a new turn of fortune, re-eſtabliſhed in Tranſilvania, reſtored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Batori, with the Turks, and with the malecontents of Hungary. The ſtates of Auſtria had furniſhed him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the deſigns of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has ſome fears concerning his own ſafety, and raiſes a few troops in haſte. Matthias his brother throws off the maſk and marches towards Prague. The Proteſtants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to inſiſt upon new privileges from Rodolphus, whom they otherwiſe threaten to

quit.

quit. They obtain that the Catholic clergy ſhall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquiſition of lands without the conſent of the ſtates; that all places of truſt ſhall be diſpoſed of in favour of Proteſtants. This condeſcenſion of the emperor irritates the Cathclics, and he finds himſelf obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On the 11th of May he cedes Hungary, Auſtria, and Moravia, to Matthias, reſerving to himſelf, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the ſovereignty of Sileſia. Thus does he ſtrip himſelf of all that he had ſo weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. His brother only acquires in the end new embarraſſments. He was fain to agree with the Proteſtants of Auſtria, who, ſword in hand, demanded from their new maſter, a free exerciſe of their religion, to which he was obliged to conſent, at leaſt out of the towns. He was alſo compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who inſiſted that no Germans ſhould bear a public truſt among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he ſtrive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to reſiſt that of the Turks.

1609.

The more the Proteſtant religion gained ground in Auſtria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers rouſed to arms the two parties, who had as it were, ſlumbered ſince the peace of Paſſau. From hence ſprung a Proteſtant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave

riſe

rise to a Catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deuxponts, of Saxony, and at last Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, dispute about the inheritance of John William the last duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders, by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the arch-duke Leopold his cousin, to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors, John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue, from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederic IV. elector Palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues; the Protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Austria. Frederick IV. elector Palatine, although a Calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden-dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of The Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which opposed this, were Maximilian duke of Bavaria, the

the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, although a Protestant joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel, a quarrel of religion; but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes pope Paul V. and Philip III. king of Spain join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the Evangelic Union; with this difference, that the pope and king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one Catholic league already.

1610.

These words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of Pope, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV. who it is well known fell on the 14th of May in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it was everywhere said, "That he was going to make war against the Pope."

All Henry IV's great designs perished with him. However, there still remained some mastersprings of that great machine which he had set in motion. The Protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops under the command of marshal de la Châtre, support the

parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the arch-duke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common, to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611.

The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany, plainly shews what Henry IV. might have done, had he survived. Rodolphus the philosopher remains still at Prague. The arch-duke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retires into Bohemia, where he subsists it upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, won't however let any one else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to intreat the states to crown him, *thro' excess of fraternal affection.*

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, on the 21st of May, of which place there remains to Rodolphus only the title of king, as unprofitable for him as that of emperor.

1612.

Rodolphus dies on the 20th of January, according to the Gregorian Calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe, from the beginning of the 17th century, and this

was

was occaſioned by his careleſſneſs and the weakneſs of Philip III. in Spain. Rodolphus had loſt his poſſeſſions, but he had ſaved his money. It is ſaid there were 14,000,000 of crowns found in his exchequer. This diſcovered a meanneſs of ſoul. With theſe 14 millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks, and made the empire reſpectable. But his character adapted him to the living like a private man upon a throne, and he was happier than thoſe who plundered and deſpiſed him*.

MATTHIAS.

FORTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

1612.

MATTHIAS the brother of Rodolphus is unanimouſly elected, and this unanimity aſtoniſhes Europe, but he had been enriched by the treaſures of his brother, and the near neighbourhood of the Turks made it neceſſary to elect a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were ſome articles in favour of Matthias, whoſe ambition was ſufficiently manifeſt.

* He is ſaid to have become melancholy and diſtruſtful, in conſequence of ſome idle prognoſtics of judicial aſtrology, broached by the celebrated Tycho Brahe.

Hungary

Hungary and Transilvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possessions in the neighbourhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Batori, the new prince of Transilvania, was the sultan's vassal.

1613.

The two great leagues catholic and evangelical, which had once threatened the empire with a civil war, appear to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The Protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets, to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particular trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg, and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic, in hopes of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the Protestant league to his assistance.

Mean-while, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favour. The Spanish and Dutch Low-countries take part in the quarrel. Two great

great generals, the marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the States General. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution, that foreign powers are rather interested in their intestine quarrels, than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions, which in some measure founded an almost equal ballance between its members.

1614.

The case was very different in Hungary and Transilvania. The emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Battori, Vaivode of Transilvania, endeavours to keep fair as well with the Turkish as Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Battori. He is abandoned by his subjects, nor can the emperor assist him. Battori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers. The only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethleem-gabor is invested by a Pacha. This province seemed for ever lost to the house of Austria. The new Sultan Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, began to make it feared, that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rodolphus; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the

Persians. Their frontiers upon the Black Sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened, that the Turks, at the very same time that it was feared they would over-run Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615.

The emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more favourable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing the sword, for the restitution of Agria, Canisa, Alba-regalis, Pest, and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of almost all Hungary, leaving Transilvania and Bethleem-gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Protestant princes, by leaving this country still divided between the Palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616.

Negotiations and intrigues ingross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family, it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election: the spirit of party was predomi-

nant among them, but much more the ſpirit of independence: the difference of religions nouriſhed diſcord, but the Proteſtants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little diſpoſed to chooſe an Auſtrian emperor; and the Evangelical union, which ſtill ſubſiſted, left this houſe but ſmall hopes.

The firſt ſtep to be taken, was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced theſe two kingdoms from his brother, and was not at all inclined that his inheritance ſhould paſs to his remaining brothers Maximilian and Albert. There is not the leaſt gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low-countries, would have certainly been more able than another to ſupport the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that theſe crowns ſhould deſcend to his couſin Ferdinand de Gratz duke of Stiria. Right of conſanguinity was but little conſulted.

1617.

Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the ſtates of Bohemia, as ſucceſſor to Matthias; according to which rank he is crowned king, on the 29th of June. The Evangelical league begins to be frightened at ſeeing this firſt approach of Ferdinand de Gratz, towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical league, more uſeful than ever. He hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, ſides in every thing with the houſe of Auſtria; the Palatine, having very different intereſts,

continues ſtill at the head of the Proteſtants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the Palatine which enſued. This was that war of thirty years continuance which deſolated ſo many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Weſtphalia, whereby the empire aſſumed a new face.

1618.

Matthias engages the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, to renounce all the pretenſions which it could poſſibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III. king of Spain, gives up his rights to theſe kingdoms in favour of Ferdinand, conditionally, that in caſe of Ferdinand's dying without male iſſue, Hungary and Bohemia ſhall deſcend to his ſons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain theſe dominions might eaſily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited theſe kingdoms, and married a king of France, the eldeſt ſon of this king, would have been intitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. The diſpoſitions that men make for eſtabliſhing the peace of futurity, are too often preparatives of diſcord. In fine, this new treaty cauſes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who ſee themſelves diſpoſed of without being conſulted. The Proteſtants of Bohemia begin to aſſociate after the example of the Evangelical union. The Catholics were ſoon induced to join this party, ſince their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Seleſia, that

great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by count de Turm, otherwiſe de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageouſly; and they make progreſs even to the gates of Vienna.

1619.

In the midſt of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foreſee the deſtiny of his houſe.

His couſin, Ferdinand de Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great oppoſition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Sileſia, Moravia, and Luſatia leagued againſt him, the Proteſtants of Auſtria ready to revolt, and thoſe of Germany not at all diſpoſed to raiſe him to the empire. The houſe of Auſtria had never ſeen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian duke of Bavaria; the ſovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a diſtance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector Palatine, Frederick V. In the mean time, there is a meeting at Francfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almoſt all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the ſtates of Bohemia order their deputies at Francfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuſe to acknowledge him for king, and conſequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not

only threatened to be excluded from the imperial but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Proteſtants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in ſuch a manner, that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand de Gratz his particular intereſt; even the elector Palatine to whom the ſtates of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which had he refuſed, it would have been to no purpoſe. This election was made on the 19th of Auguſt 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle on the 19th of September; before which he ſigns a more extenſive capitulation * than any of his predeceſſors had done.

FERDINAND II.

FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619.

AT the ſame time that Ferdinand II. is veſted with the imperial dignity, the ſtates of Bohemia name the elector Palatine for king. This honour was now much more dangerous,

* Among the articles were two additional clauſes, importing, that he would never diſturb the vicars of the empire in the exerciſe of their juriſdiction, or permit any perſon whatſoever to diſpute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born

gerous, than it had formerly been, on account of Ferdinand's being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederick been assisted by his father-in-law, James I. king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederick is solemnly crowned at Prague on the 4th of November, with the princess of England his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederick. He had a few English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either through personal friendship † for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law the king. He was seconded by the Vaivode of Transilsilvania, Bethleem Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector Pa-

---

born and bred in Germany, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

† A few volunteers went over by the king's permission, that they might have opportunities of signalizing their courage, and learning the art of war.

latine's party in Bohemia are ſupported by the count of Mansfelt; even the Proteſtants of Auſtria are troubleſome to the emperor. If the houſe of Bavaria, like that of Auſtria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the ſtronger party; but, though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his houſe. Jealouſy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; ſo that what had been the fate of the houſe of Saxony under Charles V. was the ſame of that of Bavaria under Ferdinand de Gratz.

The Proteſtant and Catholic leagues were a little after, almoſt equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favour Ferdinand; furniſhing him with troops, as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgot her old intereſts, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richlieu. The court of Lewis XIII. weak and confuſed, ſeemed to have views (if we would ſuppoſe it to have had any) very different from the deſigns of Henry the great.

1620.

Lewis XIII. inſtead of marching with an army, ſends the duke d'Angouleme, at the head of a ſolemn embaſſy to offer his mediation. The princes aſſembled at Ulm liſten to him, but conclude upon nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethleem Gabor cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederick V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the ſtates of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkiſh and a Venetian ambaſ-

ſador

ſador in the town of Neuhauſel. It is unuſual to ſee the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was ſo intirely at variance with the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, that ſhe openly declared herſelf againſt all of that houſe.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better ſeconded in Germany than the elector Palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Luſatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army, whilſt the emperor's forces make a ſhift to hold out in Hungary againſt Bethleem Gabor.

The Palatine is at one and the ſame time attacked both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederick of Naſſau, the brother of, and afterwards ſucceſſor to Maurice, the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has alſo ſome Engliſh; but againſt him are the choiceſt troops of the Spaniſh Low-countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The Palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Auſtria and the elector Palatine. On the 19th of November, Frederick is intirely defeated near Prague, by his relation Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Sileſia with his wife and two of his children, and loſes in one day, all his dominions both hereditary and acquired.

1621.

James king of England mediates in favour of

his unfortunate kinſman, with as little ſucceſs as he had acted with conduct *.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January the 20th, the emperor puts the elector Palatine under the ban of the empire. He baniſhes the duke de Jagendorf into Sileſia, the prince of Anhalt, the counts de Hoenlo, de Mansfeld, de la Tour, and all thoſe who had taken arms in favour of Frederick.

This vanquiſhed prince finds ſome interceſſors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavours to perſwade the emperor to clemency; notwithſtanding which Ferdinand cauſes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he haſtens to ſecure Upper Hungary againſt Bethleem-Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this campaign, and Ferdinand ſoon enters into an accommodation with the Tranſilvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to ſecure the reſt. In the mean time the elector Palatine flies from Sileſia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria ſeizes upon the Upper Palatinate, and a body of Spaniſh troops, furniſhed by the arch-

* Had James refuſed ſuccours to his ſon-in-law, from an unwillingneſs to involve England in German quarrels, he would have acted right: but he was amuſed by Gondemar the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who aſſured him that ſuch an interpoſition would ruin the propoſed match between his ſon and the Infanta; and beſides, he was ſo bigotted to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, that he did not approve of the Palatine's revolting againſt the emperor.

duke

duke governor of the Low-countries, pours into the Palatinate under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector Palatine could obtain from either his father-in-law king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless embassies to Vienna. From France, whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke de Jagendorf in Silesia, and the count de Mansfelt in the Palatinate; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favour they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederick. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfelt particularly, still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfelt supplied them with, who made war like a very partizan; the art of doing which was pretty well known in those times, wherein it was rare to see very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favour of intestine troubles. Mansfelt rouses and encourages the neighbouring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswick, named Christiern, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of the house of Halberstadt, joins Mansfelt. This Christiern intitled himself the Friend of God, and the enemy of the Priests; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfelt and he did a

great deal of mischief to the country, without being of the least service to the Palatine.

The prince of Orange and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low-countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the Palatine any effectual assistance. His party was crushed; notwithstanding which, it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion, some Protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favour. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favoured his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector Palatine. The margrave of Baden-Dourlach joined Mansfelt, and all the Protestant princes in general, fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appear disposed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622.

It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the Palatine his cousin's party. Tilly the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswick, surnamed very properly, The enemy of the Priests, who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfelt was the only person left who could defend

defend the Palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a ſmall army which joined with the remainder of Brunſwick's forces, amounted to about 10,000 men. Mansfelt was a very extraordinary man; he was baſtard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately aſſiſted by the prince of Orange and the Proteſtants, and found himſelf general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy Palatine was weak enough, being very ill adviſed, to renounce his ſuccour, in hopes that he might obtain from the emperor favourable conditions, which it was impoſſible to do without force. He himſelf obliged Mansfelt and Brunſwick to abandon him. Theſe two wandring chiefs paſs into Lorrain and Alſace, and ſearch out new countries to ravage. All the accommodation that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine, is to ſend the victorious Tilly to take Heidelburg, Manheim, and the reſt of the country; in ſhort, all that belongs to the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the moſt numerous and beſt choſen library in Germany, particularly of manuſcripts; theſe were ſent to the duke of Bavaria, who tranſported them by water to Rome; but moſt of the cargo was loſt by ſhipwreck, and the remainder is ſtill preſerved in the Vatican. Religion, and the love of liberty, always occaſion ſome troubles in Bohemia; but they are ſuch ſeditions as to be ended by puniſhment. The emperor baniſhes the Lutheran miniſters from Prague, and ſhuts up their churches. He gives the adminiſtration of the univerſity of Prague to the Jeſuits. There

is

is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethleem-Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transilvania, and ceding to him seven countries, containing 50 leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present, of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623.

The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares, "that the elector Palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities, and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian duke of Bavaria, be in this diet invested with the Palatinate." This was speaking like a master. The Catholic princes in every-thing give way to the emperor's will. The Protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Holstein and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec and others, renew the Evangelical league. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On the 25th of February, Ferdinand upon his throne, invests the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate. The vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly, "that the emperor out of the fulness

fulness of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector Palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswick, the enemy of the Priests, and the famous general Mansfelt, secretly supported by the protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswick establishes himself in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. The count de Tilly vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfelt still remains immoveable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained to the Palatine; a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624.

The Protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I. king of England, not being able to obtain any thing by negotiation in favour of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower-Saxony, of which Christiern IV. king of Denmark was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christiern IV. king of Denmark finds troops. The famous Mansfelt increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625.

At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and

to

to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower Saxony was the seat of war.

1626.

The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Walstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northeim, in the Brunswick territories. This victory seems to deprive the Palatine of every resource. Mansfelt, who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethleem-Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms, and joins Mansfelt with 10,000 men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated, without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfelt's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his soldiers, even in the hour of death, to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswick, the other support of the elector Palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the Palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethleem-Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance,

assistance, as it was under the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Walstein repulsed him as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controuls Bethleem-Gabor by a treaty, in which Transilvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole was to fall to the house of Austria.

1627.

Every thing succeeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other steps than wishing or commanding. Count Tilly pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswick are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recals them, and breaks the treaty. The count de Tilly, and Walstein now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live everywhere at discretion.

Ferdinand, uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishopric of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswick, and the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them, together with several abbies, on one of his sons. He had caused his son Ferdinand Ernest to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbours of the Turks and of Bethleem-Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628.

1628.

Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The Protestant princes and Christiern IV. king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry, because cardinal de Richlieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the Protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richlieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark, and encourages the Protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, whose duchy he gives to Walstein.

1629.

The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christiern IV. who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Sleswick with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him monitorial letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Sleswick. The king of Denmark answers, that this duchy never was an imperial fief like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies, that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the pretensions,

pretenſions of the empire upon the North to be ſupported with more dignity.

The empire, ever ſince the time of Charles V. had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II. died without iſſue. His kinſman, Charles de Gonzaga duke de Nevers, claims the ſucceſſion in virtue of ſome matrimonial contracts. His relation Cæſar Gonzaga, duke de Guaſtalla, had received the eventual inveſtiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke de Nevers was already in poſſeſſion, and had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to ſeize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the firſt time, exerts his authority in Italy: he ſends count Naſſau, in quality of Imperial commiſſary, to put in ſequeſtration Mantua and Montferrat, whilſt the proceſs is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this ſort had not been heard of in Italy theſe ſixty years. It was very viſible, that the emperor intended at one and the ſame time to ſupport the antient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria with theſe ſpoils. The miniſtry of France, who watched every opportunity of limitting the Auſtrian power, aſſiſts the duke of Mantua. It had already intermedled with the affairs of the Valteline, and hindered the Spa-

niſh

nish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tirol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Countries. With these views cardinal de Richlieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were a people the nearest and most exposed, send into the Mantuan an army of 15,000 men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke, to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favour these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Austria, and Ferdinand who saw himself by the Imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, every-where successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the Imperial dignity despotic, and the Catholic religion universal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed since the time of the treaty of Passau signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party; for the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lubeck, Misnia, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices, must have been given up. There was not one prince, either Luthe-

ran

ran or Calviniſt, who did not ſtand poſſeſſed of ſome eccleſiaſtical ſubſtance.

The Proteſtants have now no longer any meaſures to keep. The elector of Saxony, whom the hopes of one day poſſeſſing Cleves and Juliers had ſo long reſtrained, at length breaks out. Theſe hopes had bren weakened, inaſmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themſelves. Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the firſt, and Juliers by the ſecond, without any diſturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony ſees theſe provinces loſt to him, and Magdeburg, with the revenue of ſeveral biſhoprics, going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near 150,000 men in arms: the Catholic league had about 30,000. The two houſes of Auſtria were cloſely united. The pope and all the Catholic ſtates encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly croſs him; nor was there any power in Europe that ſeemed in a condition to oppoſe him. The duke of Walſtein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Wirtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by theſe reſtitutions. Much was taken from the Proteſtants; the officers of Walſtein were inriched, and the troops lived at the expence of both parties, who equally complained.

1630.

Ferdinand ſees himſelf exactly in the ſame circumſtances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to ſubmit, or he was to be overcome.

overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the Palatine; and it was he who, conjunctly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aspires at being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while the Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son Ferdinand Ernest elected king of the Romans: he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but, in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly; but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The elector of Bavaria was the first to say, "that it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet, so long as the emperor has an army of 150,000 men on foot." The ecclesiastical electors and bishops who were present, pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put in execution without

without the ſupport of an army, and the army could not be ſupported but at the expence of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, inſiſts upon Ferdinand's diſmiſſing the duke Walſtein. Ferdinand might have aſſumed the command himſelf, and by ſo doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take ſo glorious a ſtep: he deprives Walſtein of the command, and gives it to Tilly; by theſe means intirely loſing the Bavarian: in ſhort, he has ſoldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the ſtates of Germany fear their approaching loſs, gives uneaſineſs to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richlieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Guſtavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the ſame. The elector Palatine, who a little before had been forſaken by all the world, finds himſelf ſuddenly on the point of being aſſiſted by all theſe powers. The king of Denmark, weakened by his preceding loſſes, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Guſtavus at length quits Sweden on the 13th of June, embarking with 30,000 men: he lands in Pomerania: he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of conſanguinity, ſhould have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Guſtavus ſtipulates, that on the death of this duke, he

he is to hold the province in ſequeſtration, until he ſhall be reimburſed the expences of the war.

1631.

Cardinal de Richlieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Guſtavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only coſts France 300,000 livres, paid down, and 1,200,000 livres a year. This was one of the moſt ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria, who might have been the greateſt ſupport of the emperor, was therein ſtipulated, as alſo that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Swedes; and care was taken at the ſame time to make Guſtavus promiſe to preſerve all the rights of the Roman church in every place where he ſhould find that religion ſubſiſting. By theſe means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themſelves were furniſhed with a ſpecious pretext for not aſſiſting the emperor. This league was ſigned at Brandenburg on the 23d of January.

The Proteſtant ſtates gained new courage. They aſſemble at Leipſick, where they reſolve to preſent their moſt humble remonſtrances to Ferdinand, and to ſupport their petition with 40,000 men for the eſtabliſhment of peace in the empire. Guſtavus ſtill augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent general Tilly from taking Magdeburg by aſſault on the 20th of May. The town is reduced to aſhes: the inhabitants are deſtroyed by fire and ſword; an horrible

horrible event! but now almoſt ſwallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed theſe times. Tilly being maſter of the Elbe, imagines he ſhall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy: the ſuperiority was ſtill entirely on his ſide. The elector of Saxony, who had been the firſt to call in Guſtavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embaraſſed; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himſelf equally in power to the imperial and Swediſh armies, continues very irreſolute.

Guſtavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, ſword in hand: the elector George William delivers to him the fortreſs of Spandau, during the whole time of the war; ſecures all the paſſes for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, conſtraint, as an excuſe for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Guſtavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipſick. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies conſiſted of about 30,000 fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of reſiſtance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to ſhare their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swediſh diſcipline. Guſtavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accuſtomed his army to order and to a ſort of exerciſe that never had been known be-

 fore,

fore, in consequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the best generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on the 17th of September.

The conqueror pursues the Imperialists into Franconia: all places submit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silesia. Gustavus suddenly re-establishes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the surprise of Germany; and, after taking Mentz, hastens into the Palatinate.

The deposed elector Palatine searches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alsace. The elector of Saxony, on his side, makes himself master of the capital of Bohemia, and conquers Lusatia. All the Protestant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Gustavus's victories. Tilly with the remains of his army continues in Westphalia, where he is re-inforced by some troops from the duke of Lorrain; but he takes no step towards opposing such rapid progress.

The emperor, fallen in less than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared so formidable, is obliged at last to restore the command of his troops to that duke de Walstein whom he had deprived of it, with a more absolute power than ever had been given to any general. Walstein accepts the charge; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at least to act on the defensive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector Palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times, rather like a

prince

prince with whom he would chuſe to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to aſſiſt.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain thoſe numerous armies that had rendered him ſo formidable; they had before the battle of Leipſick, ſubſiſted at the expence of the Catholic and Proteſtant ſtates, ſince which time they were deprived of theſe reſources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as poſſible, all lay upon Walſtein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to aſk both men and money from pope Urban VIII. and they are both refuſed him. He endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus; and his holineſs promiſes a jubilee inſtead of a cruſade.

1632.

Mean while the king of Sweden re-paſſes the Rhine towards Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donawert upon the Danube; reſtores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the paſſage of the Leck, in ſpite of Tilly, who mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augſburg as a conqueror, and reſtores the Proteſtant religion. It is ſcarcely poſſible to puſh the rights of victory to a greater length. The magiſtrates of Augſburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neuter, and not in arms either for the emperor or himſelf, is obliged to quit Munich, which ſurrenders to the conqueror on the 7th of May, paying to him 300,000 rixdollars, to

ſave it from being plundered. The Palatine has at leaſt the comfort to enter with Guſtavus the palace of him who had diſpoſſeſſed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany ſeem deſperate. Tilly an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but againſt Guſtavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, diſcontented with the emperor, was his victim, and ſaw himſelf driven out of his capital. Walſtein, duke of Friedland, ſtill more diſguſted with the duke of Bavaria his declared enemy, had refuſed to march to his aſſiſtance; and the emperor Ferdinand, whoſe inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Walſtein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Walſtein now employs himſelf in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons, as Guſtavus had over the Imperialiſts.

With great difficulty Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, at length obtains being joined by Walſtein. The Bavarian army partly levied at the elector's expence, and partly at the expence of the Catholic league, conſiſts of about 25,000 men. That of Walſtein amounted to 30,000 old ſoldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above 20,000, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every ſide. He is joined by the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince Palatine of Birkenfield. His general Banier always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighbourhood of Nuremberg with above 50,000 men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Walſtein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle, but it

is

is not at all decisive *. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria. Walstein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus leaving 12,000 men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipsick, at a time when Walstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lutzen on the 15th of November. The victory is a long time doubtful; but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found amond the dead, pierced by two balls and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army, † is accused of having assassinated him;

* Gustavus attacked the Imperialists in their intrenchments, and was so severely handled, that he had like to have lost his whole army. This would have been the case had not the retreat been conducted by an old Scottish colonel called Hepburn, who had quitted the Swedish service in disgust. He was standing by the king, when that monarch declared he had not one officer upon whom he could depend for this service: Hepburn immediately unsheathing his sword, "this (said he) is the only occasion in which I will ever draw a sword in your service." So saying, he rushed into the hottest part of the battle, delivered the king's orders, and conducted the retreat with such ability and deliberation, that the Imperialists durst not give them the least disturbance. Gustavus thanked Hepburn for what he had done; but he never once invited him to remain in his service; and the old veteran retired to France, where it is said, he lost his life in a duel.

† Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauemburg. What confirms

him; nay, his death is imputed to cardinal de Richlieu who had buſineſs for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who expoſed himſelf like a ſoldier, to die like one?

This loſs was fatal to the elector Palatine, who hoped to have been re-eſtabliſhed by Guſtavus. He was then ſick at Mentz, and the news of Guſtavus's death heightened his diſorder in ſuch a manner, that he died on the 19th of November.

Walſtein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lutzen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany now that Guſtavus was no longer at their head; but general Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He cauſes the body of the king to be publicly ſhewn in the army, in order to excite the ſpirit of revenge.

1633.

Guſtavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter ſix years old, and conſequently a government divided, as was the Proteſtant league by the death of him who had been its chief and ſupport. The fruits of ſo many victories were now near being loſt; yet nevertheleſs they were not. The true reaſon perhaps of ſo extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his cloſet, when he ought to have exerted himſelf at the head of his army. The ſenate of Sweden appoint their chancellor Oxenſtiern to follow exactly the

---

confirms this ſuſpicion, was his abandoning the Swedes immediately after the battle, and returning to the emperor's army, which he is ſaid to have quitted for this vile purpoſe.

deſigns

designs of Guſtavus the great in Germany. They alſo gave him abſolute power. Oxenſtiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank, than ever ſubject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Proteſtant princes of Germany.

Theſe princes meet at Heilbron, and among them are the embaſſadors of France and England, and the ſtates general. Oxenſtiern opens the conference in his own houſe, and immediately ſignalizes himſelf by reſtoring the Upper and Lower-Palatinate to Charles Lewis, ſon of the diſpoſſeſſed elector. This prince Charles Lewis had appeared in one of thoſe aſſemblies as an elector; but this ceremony had not reſtored him his dominions.

Oxenſtiern renews with cardinal Richlieu the treaty that had been made with Guſtavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year ſubſidy, inſtead of 1200000 livres which had been allowed his maſter.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Proteſtant princes, having a view of dividing them; but he does not ſucceed. The war is ſtill continued in plundering Germany with undeciſive ſucceſs. Auſtria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Guſtavus. The Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, had hitherto but feebly ſupported the imperial branch; however, it at laſt makes an effort, ſending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about 20,000 men, the greateſt part of which army he loſt in his marches and operations. The elector of Triers, biſhop of Spire, had built and fortified Philipſburg, on which the imperial troops had

ſeized in ſpite of him. Oxenſtiern, by the force of the Swediſh arms, obliges them to reſtore it to the elector, notwithſtanding the duke of Feria vainly ſtrove to force him to raiſe the ſiege. This wiſe politician ſeemed inclined to convince Europe by his conduct, that he did not want to ſubdue the Catholic religion; but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Proteſtants and Catholics. A conduct that encouraged the pope to refuſe the men, money, and a cruſade, which the emperor had demanded.

1634.

France as yet had only taken part privately in this diſpute. It had hitherto coſt her but a very trifling ſubſidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be ſhaken by the Swediſh arms; but cardinal Richlieu began now to deliberate upon making ſome uſe of their ſucceſs. He vainly endeavoured the ſequeſtration of Philipſburg; for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herſelf miſtreſs of ſome towns in Alſace, as Haguenau and Saverne, which ſhe had obliged the count de Solmes, governor of Straſburg, to part with by treaty. Lewis XIII. who had not declared war againſt Auſtria, yet declares it againſt Charles duke of Lorrain, becauſe he was a partizan of that houſe. The miniſtry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, becauſe they were able to defend themſelves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorrain. Charles II. the depoſed duke, is commonly called Charles IV. a prince well known for his extravagancies, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The

The French have an army in Lorrain, and troops in Alſace ready to act openly againſt the emperor, the firſt fair opportunity that may afford the leaſt juſtification for ſuch a proceeding. The duke de Feria, purſued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almoſt intire diſperſion of his army.

In the midſt of theſe troubles and misfortunes, duke Walſtein is ingroſſed with a deſign of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own grandeur, and thereby render himſelf independent of an emperor who ſeemed dilatory in aſſiſting even himſelf, and was always diſtruſtful of his generals. It is pretended that Walſtein treated with the Proteſtant princes, and even with Sweden and France. But thoſe intrigues of which he is accuſed were never clearly proved. The conſpiracy of Walſtein is received as an hiſtorical fact, and yet we are abſolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They gueſſed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavouring to become abſolute maſter of it. Time and opportunity had done the reſt. He had adminiſtred an oath to ſuch of the principal officers of this army as were moſt in his intereſt; the purport of which was, their binding themſelves *to defend his perſon and ſhare his fortune.* Although he might juſtify himſelf in this ſtep, by the very ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spaniſh and Bavarian parties at that court were Walſtein's profeſſed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a reſolution of taking off Walſtein and his principal

friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Walstein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Lesly and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers having received their commission in Egra, where Walstein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper; after which they assassinate himself in the castle on the 15th of February. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very odious, it ought to be reckoned amongst his misfortunes*.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians stirred not upon this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army; but the Silesians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; marshal Horn governs upon the Rhine; Bernard duke of Weimar upon the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him, that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethleem-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. employed against the Persians.

* It ought to be reckoned amongst his crimes; for no kind of necessity can justify a monarch in patronizing assassination. Walstein was put to the ban of the empire before he fell by these assassins.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand, ſecure on that ſide, drew ſome aſſiſtance from Auſtria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tirol. The king of Spain ſupplied him with ſome money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking part with the emperor. The Auſtrians and Bavarians united, ſupport the fortune of Germany upon the Danube. Ferdinand Erneſt king of Hungary ſon to the emperor, encourages the Auſtrians by putting himſelf at their head. He takes Ratiſbon in ſight of the duke of Saxe-weimar. This prince and marſhal Horn who were joined, make a ſtand upon the borders of Suabia, and on the 5th of September they give the imperialiſts battle. This was the memorable battle of Norlinguen. The king of Hungary commanded the army: the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops; the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low-countries, led ſome Spaniſh regiments. Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who had been ſtripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thouſand men, which he had ſometimes led to the ſervice of the emperor, ſometimes to that of the Spaniards, and ſubſiſted at the coſt of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army, ſeveral great generals, ſuch as Picolimini, and John de Vert. It was one of the moſt bloody battles that ever was fought, laſting above a day and a half; the army of Weimar was almoſt totally deſtroyed, and Suabia, and Franconia ſubmitted to the imperialiſts, where they quartered at diſcretion.

This misfortune, which was ſhared by the Swedes, by France, and the Proteſtants of Germany, contributed to the moſt chriſtian king's ſuperiority, and at length ſecured him the poſſeſſion of Alſace. It was not the chancellor Oxenſtiern's intention before this event, that France ſhould have much power in that country; but that the Swedes, who had all the labour of the war, ſhould reap the advantage of it. Beſides, Lewis XIII. had never openly declared againſt the emperor. But after the battle of Norlinguen the Swedes were obliged to intreat the miniſtry of France to take poſſeſſion of Alſace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Proteſtant princes nor ſtates ſhould make peace or treat with the emperor without the conſent of France and Sweden. This treaty is ſigned at Paris November the firſt.

1635.

In conſequence of this, the king of France ſends an army into Alſace, and puts garriſons into all the towns, Straſburg excepted, which appears as a conſiderable ally. The elector of Triers, being under the protection of France, is arreſted by the emperor. This elector is confined at Bruſſels under the care of the cardinal infant, and furniſhes alſo a reaſon for going to war with the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria.

France had not joined her arms to thoſe of Sweden, untill the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Norlinguen had recovered the ſpirits of the imperialiſts. Cardinal Richlieu already ſhared in imagination, the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Low-countries with the Dutch.

Dutch. He reckoned he ſhould ſoon have the chief command himſelf, and Frederic Henry, a prince of Orange, be ſubſervient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard de Weimar upon the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles IV. of Lorrain or of Mansfeld, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Higher and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the leaſt ſubſiſted by theſe circles.

This was the height of the thirty years war, in which, on the one ſide we ſee the houſes of Auſtria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Proteſtant league.

The emperor could not poſſibly neglect dividing the Proteſtant league after the victory of Norlinguen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war, which had ſhe made in the time that Guſtavus himſelf was in Germany, the French troops had entered without reſiſtance a diſcontented country, harraſſed by the government of Ferdinand; but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swediſh devaſtations, after the death of Guſtavus, and the battle of Norlinguen, when the ſuperiority again appeared in favour of the imperialiſts.

At the ſame time that France declared herſelf, the emperor did not neglect to make a very neceſſary agreement with moſt of the Proteſtant princes. The ſame elector of Saxony, who

who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by the treaty, which is distinguished by the name of Prague. Few treaties more plainly shew how religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany in a flame by the restitution of benefices; in the treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg a Calvinist. The interest of the House of the elector Palatine, which had given first rise to this long war, seemed to be the thing least regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was only obliged to subsist the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the Palatine his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor besides this, engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them; and it was likewise stipulated, that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswic, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, duke Bernard, de Saxe Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate, expecting great advantages.

The

The whole weight of the war, which had rested intirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French; and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorrain, Franche-Comté, and the borders of France. Lewis XIII. who had only paid 1,200,000 franks by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed 4,000,000 to Bernard de Weimar for the use of his troops; besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned, that had not cardinal Richlieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children, a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns? It is very probable, that cardinal Richlieu had no notion of keeping Alsace; nor had he any hope of annexing Lorrain to France, over which she had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche-Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but very feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low-countries with the Dutch, was the cardinal's principal object: and he had this so much at heart, that had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person; yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and Alsace, which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard de Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted

lotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresignt of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1636.

Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel; but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done, to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy, on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France, had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valteline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders; those of Franche-comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made the like efforts; and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms such confusion of powers which pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is defeated by general Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony and Westphalia, Ferdinand, still intirely ingrossed by politics, at last causes his son Ferdinand Ernest, to be declared king of the Ro-

mans, in the diet of Ratiſbon on the 12th of December; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Auſtria exclaim againſt this election as null and void. The elector of Triers, ſay they who advance this, was a priſoner; Charles Lewis ſon to Frederick the Palatine, king of Bohemia, is not reſtored as yet to the rights of his Palatinate: the electors of Mentz and Cologn are the emperors penſioners, all which, ſay they, is againſt the golden bull. It is very certain that none of theſe clauſes were inſerted in the golden bull; and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices, was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor; the manner of which is not ſpecified in the golden bull.

1637.

Ferdinand II. dies on the 15th of February, aged 59, after a reign of 18 years, which had been perplexed with foreign and inteſtine wars, againſt which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, becauſe in his ſucceſſes he had imagined it neceſſary to be bloody; and he had afterwards felt great changes of fortune. Germany was ſtill more unfortunate than her maſter; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbarity, the certain conſequences of a war ſo long and ſo unhappy.

FERDINAND III.

FORTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

FERDINAND III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harrassed people began to hope for some repose; but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been appointed at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give at least to the public the appearances of the approaching accommodation. But peace was not the object of either cardinal Richlieu or the Austrian council's intention; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general Banier, and the country about the Rhine by duke Bernard de Weimar: the Spaniards having taken the island of St. Margaret had entered Languedoc, and in the Low-countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low-countries against the cardinal Infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector Palatine's account; but their purpose now was the superiority of which France endeavoured to deprive the house of Austria, and the design of the Swedes was to preserve

part

part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638.

Duke Bernard de Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in 15 days near Rhensfield, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master, and at the second battle, he intirely destroyed the army of John de Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner with many of his general officers. John de Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Brisac; he gains a third battle, assisted by marshal de Guebriant and viscount Turenne, against general Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who like Weimar had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, he takes the fort of Brisac on the 18th of December, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Lewis, count Palatine, who had reassembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under general Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for any thing but misfortunes.

1639.

The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard de Weimar, as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is cut

cut off by ſickneſs in the flower of his age, being only 35 years old, on the 18th of July.

The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conqueſts. This army, in truth, was ſecretly paid by France; but it belonged to Weimar. It had ſworn fidelity to no other. There was a neceſſity to negotiate with it, to preſerve it in the French ſervice, and keep it from the Swediſh.

Marſhal Guebriant purchaſes the fidelity of theſe troops, and Lewis XIII. is thus maſter of Weimar's army, of Alſace, Briſgaw, and the neighbouring country.

Money and negotiations do every-thing for him. He diſpoſes intirely of Heſſe, a province that furniſhes good ſoldiers: the celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of ſome French ſubſidies, an army of 10,000 men in that ruinated country which ſhe had reſtored; enjoying at the ſame time that reputation which all the virtues of the ſex beſtow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neuter; but then ſhe cauſed a conſiderable diverſion by employing Spain and the Low-countries.

Banier was in all his battles ſucceſsful. After making ſure of Pomerania, he had ſecured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of ſo many troubles, which had been the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of the Palatine, ſeemed to be moſt neglected, and by a ſingular fatality this prince was thrown into priſon by the French themſelves,

ſelves, who had ſo long appeared willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count Palatine, at the death of the duke de Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reaſonable deſign, that of re-entering upon his eſtates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchaſed with the money of England: he goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France; but the cardinal Richlieu, who was very willing to protect him, yet did not care to ſee him independent, cauſes him to be arreſted; nor is he ſet at liberty, until Briſac and Weimar's troops are ſecured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640.

The progreſs of the French and Swedes continue. The duke de Longueville and marſhal Guebriant join general Banier. This army is ſtill increaſed by the troops of Heſſe and Lunenburg.

They march toward Vienna without general Picolomini; but in a wary, ſkilful, and deliberate manner. It had been otherwiſe very difficult for ſo numerous an army to advance in ſight of the enemy in a country that had been ſo long ruinated, and where the ſoldiers, as well as the people, were in want of every thing.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the houſe of Auſtria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itſelf up to France. Portugal, which ever ſince the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoveriſhed Spain, ſhakes off the Auſtrian yoke, and ſoon erects herſelf into a ſeparate and flouriſhing kingdom.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand then begins ſeriouſly to treat of peace; yet at the ſame time demands of the diet of Ratiſbon an army of 90,000 men to carry on the war.

1641.

While the emperor is at the diet of Ratiſbon, general Banier is very near ſeizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen; and had he not been ſurpriſed by a thaw, he had taken Ferdinand in Ratiſbon.

The ſame fortune which had taken off Guſtavus and Weimar in the midſt of their conqueſts, at length delivers the Imperialiſts from the famous general Banier. He ſickens, and dies, on the 20th of May, at Halberſtadt, being 40 years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swediſh generals had any long career.

They negotiate ſtill. Cardinal Richlieu could have made peace, but he did not chuſe it: he knew very well what advantages France was to reap; and it was his intention to make himſelf neceſſary, during the life, and after the death of Lewis XIII. whoſe end he foreſaw approaching; but his forecaſt could not teach him that he was to die firſt. He concluded a new treaty of an offenſive alliance with Chriſtina queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they ſoothed an oppreſſed people. He augments the Swediſh ſubſidy with an addition of 200,000 livres.

Count de Torſtenſon ſucceeds general Banier in the Swediſh army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almoſt all the Swedes who had fought under Guſtavus and Banier were

 dead;

dead; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shews himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guebriant and he again defeat the Imperialists near Wolfenbuttle.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany, from the Maine, even to the Baltic sea, is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not entirely decisive: they could not at once go through so many different enterprizes, and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642.

Frederick William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jagerndorff in Silesia; a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who had been his governor, since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the Palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorrain also implores the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions, which she does, keeping only some fortified towns. This is another support taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out, notwithstanding all these losses; nor is he abandoned by either

ther Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the Imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lawemburg, and Picolomini: but this victory is attended with no consequences. He repasses the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipsick: he gains another signal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfelt the 2d of November. Torstenson enters Leipsick on the 15th of December. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany; but they had never penetrated to its center, nor to the emperor, who supports himself after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richlieu dies on the 4th of December; a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643.

The Swedes, in the course of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia; but, notwithstanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg, while the war was pursued very briskly. Lewis XIII. dies on the 14th of May. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace: he flattered himself he should be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance, during the troubles of a minority; but it happens during the minority of Lewis XIV. though

though very perplexed, as it had under that of Chriſtina, that the war is continued at the expence of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length ſtrengthened by the duke of Lorrain, who joins him after the death of Lewis XIII.

The death of marſhal Guebriant, who is killed at the ſiege of Rothuel, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who periſhed in the progreſs of his victories againſt the Imperialiſts. It was the emperor's good fortune alſo that general Mercy ſhould defeat marſhal Rantzau, Guebriant's ſucceſſor, at Dutlingen in Suabia.

Theſe viciſſitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Munſter and at Oſnabrug, where the congreſs at laſt is ſettled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of ſome Daniſh ſhips taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to breathe. This accident might have given the ſuperiority to the emperor, who ſhews what were his reſources, by marching a ſmall part of his army, with Galas at its head, to the aſſiſtance of Denmark. But this diverſion ſerves only to ruin Holſtein, the ſtage of this tranſitory war, and one of the moſt deſolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more ſurpriſed at hoſtilities between Sweden and Denmark, becauſe Denmark had offered itſelf as mediator of the general peace; but was now excluded; and Rome and Venice have at length the ſole mediation of this peace, which is yet very diſtant.

The firſt ſtep taken by count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Munſter, threw the greateſt obſtacle in the way of

it. He writes to the princes and ſtates of the empire aſſembled at Ratiſbon, to engage them to ſupport their prerogatives, and to ſhare with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and war; a right that had been always conteſted between the electors and other imperial ſtates. At the diet, theſe ſtates inſiſted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the ſtart of the French Miniſters, who in their letters uſed ſome diſreſpectful terms towards Ferdinand. This occaſions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a moſt memorable victory gained over the Spaniſh-Auſtrian army, at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enguien, afterwards the great Condé, who in this battle deſtroys the celebrated Caſtilian, and Walloon infantry, whoſe reputation had been ſo very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by ſuch victories, might write in any terms.

1644.

The emperor might ſtill flatter himſelf that Denmark would declare in his favour; but of this reſource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarine, Richlieu's ſucceſſor, is aſſiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden: nor is this all; Denmark alſo engages itſelf not to aſſiſt any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Auſtrians. The duke d'Enguien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four days,

days, between the 5th and 9th of August, in the neighbourhood of Friburg, to general Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarine and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotsky, who had been sovereign of Transilvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotsky wants neither pretexts nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of antient treaties, form Ragotsky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the mean time the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Galas flies every-where before him, and before count Konigsmark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645.

Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relation, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna.

Torstenson comes up with the Imperial army at Tabor, which was commanded by general Gœuts and John de Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John de Werth flies. In short, the rout is complete.

The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brinn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of disasters, something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brinn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching towards the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in case they had conquered, viscount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by general Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat, by a most signal victory on the very same plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more it is destructive. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotsky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantage of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set bounds to their progress.

After the famous battle of Norlinguen, it was scarcely to be expected that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himself was not, but

where

where Turenne remained. Such viciſſitudes are frequent in this war.

In the mean time, the emperor, tired with ſuch continual ſhocks, began to think ſeriouſly of peace. He at length gives the elector of Triers his liberty, whoſe impriſonment had given France a pretext for declaring war: But the French arms re-eſtabliſh this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the Imperial garriſon, and the elector of Triers allies himſelf to France as his benefactor. The elector Palatine might have had the ſame obligations; but France as yet had done nothing deciſive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's ſafety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almoſt always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All had thereby been loſt. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to ſatisfy Ragotſky. He acknowledges that prince ſovereign of Tranſilvania, a prince of the empire, and reſtores to him all that he had given to his predeceſſor Bethleem-Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loſer; and he haſtens the concluſion of the treaty of Weſtphalia, whereby he is to loſe ſtill more.

1646.

Pope Innocent X. was the firſt mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be conſiderable loſers; the republic of Venice was the ſecond. Cardinal Chigi, afterwards pope by the name of Alexander VII. was the pope's

minister at Munster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations, marshal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the archduke Leopold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor had not been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning his eldest son Ferdinand, in the month of August, at Prague, and afterwards at Presburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity; besides, the thrones which his father at that time bestowed, were very unsteady.

1647.

The emperor, in endeavouring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the same conduct; and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince daring to take part in his quarrel; nor have we, till this time, a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About

Abut this period, Wrangel, a new Swedish general who succeeded Torstenson, takes Egra; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great, that the elector of Bavaria, notwithstanding his great age, and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the empire left without succour, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places, according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favourable conditions; but on the least check, are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648.

The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians at Summarhausen and Lawingen, near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Wirtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Saltsburg.

In the mean time, count Koningsmark, at the head of the Swedes, surprises Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor; all the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Munster and Osnabrug.

'EACE *of* WESTPHALIA.

; peace of Weſtphalia, at laſt ſigned on 14th of October 1648, at Munſter and ...ıg, was made, given, and received, *as a fundamental and perpetual law*; ſuch are the exact words of the treaty. It was to ſerve as the baſis of Imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as ſacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much ſuperior to this bull, by the detail of the many intereſts comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as civil affairs.

This work had been laboured at inceſſantly, for more than ſix years, at Munſter and Oſnabrug: there had been, however, much time loſt in diſputing about ceremonials; the emperor refuſing to give the title of Majeſty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His miniſter Lutzan, in the firſt act of 1641, wherein the paſſports and conferences were ſettled, ſpoke of preliminaries *between his Moſt Sacred Cæſarian Majeſty and the Moſt Serene and Moſt Chriſtian King*. The king of France, for his part, refuſes to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty the court of France had given the title of Majeſty to the great Guſtavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no ſuperiority but that of victory. The Swediſh miniſters, at the congreſs of Weſtphalia, affected to be put upon a footing with thoſe of France. The plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain inſiſted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The new

new ſtates of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term Excellency began now firſt to be uſed. The miniſters aſſumed it to themſelves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Munſter were named his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, his Sacred Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Sacred Royal Majeſty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in theſe conferences; nor do the ambaſſadors of France give place even to the electors themſelves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to ſerve you." When the king of France addreſſed them, the ſtates-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; purſuant to which, when count d'Avaux went from Munſter to Holland, in 1644, he never addreſſed them by any title but that of Meſſieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the diſtinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux alſo refuſed it to an ambaſſador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini becauſe he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by theſe pretenſions and refuſals which the Romans call *gloriole*, and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but inſiſt on when they have eſtabliſhed one. Theſe cuſtoms, titles, ceremonies, ſuperſcriptions, and ſubſcriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a ſecretary was

ſufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, eſtabliſhed forms, which, paſſing afterwards into other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rodolphus I. ſent all their mandates in Latin, *thouing* every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This *thouing* of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which diſallows ſuch expreſſions. We find every-where ſuch examples, but they have not even to this day ſettled a particular precedent.

The mediating miniſters were rather witneſſes than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was only there to ſee the church ſacrificed. He ſees the dioceſe of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; thoſe of Magdeburg, Alberſtadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The biſhoprics of Ratſburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg.

The biſhoprics of Oſnabrug and of Lubec were not indeed intirely ſecularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic biſhop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the firſt troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticiſm was extinct.

Liberty of conſcience was eſtabliſhed all over Germany. The emperor's Lutheran ſubjects in Sileſia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Proteſtants into the Aulic council.

The commandries of Malta, the abbeys and benefices, in Proteſtant countries, were given

to

to the princes and ſovereigns who were at the expence of the war.

How very different were theſe conceſſions from the edict of Ferdinand II. who in the time of his proſperity had ordered the reſtitution of all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. Neceſſity, and the repoſe of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio proteſted and anathematiſed. That a mediator ſhould condemn the treaty over which he preſided, was before this unknown; but he knew not what other ſtep to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand, he had ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious, cauſes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in poſſeſſion of the Hither Pomerania, the moſt beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rugen, the town of Wiſmar, many neighbouring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holſtein alſo hereby gained ſome territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loſes great part of the Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquiſate. He had alſo Camin, Halberſtadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loſes Wiſmar, but he gains the territory of Ratſburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the ſeven circles were to have diſcharged; and 600,000 crowns were paid to the princeſs landgrave of Heſſe, to

be raiſed upon the archbiſhoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Munſter, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoveriſhed by this peace as it had been by the war, could ſcarcely have paid it protectors dearer.

Theſe afflictions were however healed by the uſeful regulations made both in commerce and juſtice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congreſs, as before a ſupreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itſelf for ever the poſſeſſion of three biſhoprics, and the acquiſition of Alſace, Straſburg excepted; but inſtead of being paid, like Sweden, ſhe is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tirol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alſace and Sundgaw. France paid both for war and peace; but ſhe did not purchaſe ſo fine a province dearly. Briſac and its dependencies were alſo hers, as well as the right to garriſon Philipſburg. Theſe two advantages ſhe has ſince loſt; but kept Alſace, which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Straſburg's having given herſelf up.

There are few Civilians who do not condemn the wording of the ceſſion of Alſace in this famous treaty of Munſter. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all ſorts of juriſdiction and ſovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is very probable, that the plenipotentiaries ſaw this difficulty, but did not chuſe to fathom it; well

well knowing, that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove, and power overthrow.

The houſe of the Palatine was reſtored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favour of the Palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went ſo far as to ſtipulate the payment of 20,000 crowns, which the emperor was to give to the mother of the count Palatine, Charles Lewis, and 10,000 to each of his ſiſters. Even he was well received who only came to demand the reſtitution of a few acres of land. All things were diſcuſſed and regulated. There were 140,000 reſtitutions appointed. The reſtitution of Lorrain, and the affair of Juliers, ſubmitted to an arbitration. Germany has at laſt peace, after a war of 30 years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldens Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The ſtates-general, who were to have treated at Munſter as well as Spain, make a ſeparate peace with Spain, in ſpite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the intereſts which ſeemed to bind them to their antient protectors. The Spaniſh miniſter made uſe of a very ſingular artifice to engage the ſtates to this breach of faith: he perſuaded them that he was ready to give the Infanta in marriage to Lewis XIV. with the Low Countries by way of dower. This ſoon frightened the ſtates into his meaſures. It was no more than a lye; and indeed, properly

properly ſpeaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important treaty of Weſtphalia the Roman empire had hardly any ſhare. Sweden had no buſineſs to quarrel with the ſovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had ſome points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor: theſe concerned Pignerol, the ſucceſſion of Mantua and of Montferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was ſettled that the king of France ſhould pay about 600,000 livres to "Monſieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monſieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he ſhould keep Pignerol and Caſal in full and independent ſovereignty of the empire. France has ſince loſt theſe poſſeſſions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania, have been taken from Sweden; but the treaty of Weſtphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained reſpected, and is ſtill inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION *of* GERMANY, *From the* PEACE *of* WESTPHALIA, *to the Death of* FERDINAND III.

THUS the chaos of German government was not well ſettled in leſs than 1700 years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whoſe time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been reſtrained to proper limits;

mits; moſt of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate nobleſſe, and of the towns, were not inconteſtibly fixed till after the treaty of Weſtphalia. Germany was a grand ariſtocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike thoſe of England, Sweden, and Poland, or ſuch a form of government as had been antiently received by the ſtates, founded by the people who came from the North and the Eaſt. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

Theſe imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany: they are ſtates belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor: they neither pay the ſmalleſt impoſts, nor do they contribute to the neceſſities of the empire, but in the moſt urgent caſes. Their tax is regulated by the general regiſter. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellendo*, without appeal, they are abſolutely ſovereign ſtates. Nevertheleſs, with all theſe rights, they have very little power, becauſe they are ſurrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconveniences annexed to a government ſo complicated and mixed, in ſo extended a country, ſtill ſubſiſted; as did the ſtate itſelf. The multiplicity of ſovereignties ſerved to balance each other, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itſelf ſufficiently great to ſwallow up the reſt.

This vaſt country repairs inſenſibly its loſſes after the peace of Weſtphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years theſe were the moſt remarkable things that happened to a body every-where

waſted

wasted and torn; who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said, that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks; she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his Serene Highness sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use Serene Highness instead of Majesty; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes: they had neither Swedes nor French to guaranty their privileges: they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks; and for this reason Hungary has been at length intirely subdued, in our time, after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while the

the Hungarians thought themſelves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tirol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the Holy Roman Empire always ſubſiſts. It is difficult to define what it is beſides Germany, and what Germany is beſides the empire. Charles V. had juſtly foreſeen, that if his ſon Philip II. had not, together with the imperial throne, enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, ſcarcely more had remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spaniſh branch, this branch found itſelf, at the ſame time, that it was a titulary vaſſal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuſcany and the principal towns in Italy ſecure themſelves in their antient independence of the emperors. A Cæſar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and ſtates, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We ſee, in all the courſe of this hiſtory, two great deſigns carried on for near 800 years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preſerving and increaſing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III. at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria ſtill carried on that long war with France, which was finiſhed by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the Infanta Maria Thereſa with Lewis XIV.

Theſe

Theſe events are ſo recent, and ſo very well known, as well as recited by all hiſtorians, that it would be needleſs to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this ſituation of affairs, a general idea may be formed of the empire, down from thoſe days to ours.

The STATE of the EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IT is to be remarked, that at firſt, after the death of Ferdinand III. the empire was near paſſing out of the houſe of Auſtria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themſelves obliged to chuſe Leopold Ignatius, the ſon of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the ſtate, the neighbourhood of the Turks, and private jealouſies, contributed to the election of a prince, whoſe houſe was ſufficiently powerful to ſupport, but not to inſlave the German empire. They had formerly elected Rodolphus de Hapſburg, becauſe he had ſcarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his poſterity, becauſe they had a great deal.

The Turks, ſtill maſters of Buda, the French poſſeſſors of Alſace, the Swedes of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election neceſſary; ſo natural is the idea of æquilibrium amongſt all men.

Beſides, it was in Leopold's favour that there had been ten emperors ſucceſſively of the ſame houſe;

houſe; ſo many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the miniſtry of Leopold; there was no longer any need of ſeeking a crown at Rome, and ſtill leſs of exerting the Auſtrian claims as lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turky, employed the Germans all this reign. Theſe three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulſed, or vanquiſhed, without Leopold's drawing his ſword. This prince, the leaſt warlike of his time, always attacked Lewis XIV. when France was in the moſt flouriſhing condition; at firſt, after the invaſion of Holland, when he furniſhed the United Provinces with an aſſiſtance which he had not extended to his own houſe at the invaſion of Flanders; and ſome years after, at the peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous league of Augſburg againſt Lewis XIV. and at laſt at the time when, in the moſt aſtoniſhing manner, the king of France's grandſon was raiſed to the Spaniſh throne.

Leopold, in all theſe wars, knew how to intereſt the Germanic body, and to make them declare them wars of the empire. The firſt was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by theſe wars, as they had been by the war, which laſted thirty years; but the frontiers, on the ſide of the Rhine, were damaged. Lewis XIV. had always the ſuperiority; nor could it well

happen

happen otherwise; able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom every-where united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these advantages are wanting. It is astonishing that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste, often ill-paid, and subsisted still worse; the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue. France in this war, which was ended by the treaty of Nimeguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the league of Augsburg. Lewis XIV. had then against him England joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France, abandoned her; furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the peace of Ryswick, with all their power, force Strasburg from Lewis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever; he governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low Countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Hochstedt gave things an in-

tire

tire new face. Leopold died in the following year 1705, convinced that France would be soon crushed, and Alsace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was of the greatest service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty, that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbours, more especially the English.

They impute to him his having had a notion of universal monarchy: but had Leopold inherited the Spanish succession, which he seemed for some time very likely to do, this emperor being then absolute master of Hungary, whose boundaries were very extensive, being very powerful in Germany, possessing Spain and the absolute dominion of one half of Italy, as well as sovereign of the best part of the new world; thus enabled to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, he had effectually appeared to have made the nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Lewis XIV. because, after the peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Lewis XIV. in irritating his neighbours, did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done hurt to it by his power.

Of

Of HUNGARY and the TURKS, during the Time of LEOPOLD.

LEOPOLD never risqued any thing in the wars which he waged from his closet against Lewis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions; while, on the side of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that survived the destructions of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans: they sword in hand tilled the soil which was still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavoured, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king, and their liberty against the Turk, who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march, in 1663, towards Neuhausel. It is true that they were vanquished, the year after, near St. Godarth, upon the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory, but a shameful treaty, by which Transilvania, and all the territory of Neuhausel, is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifica-

tions of the neighbouring citadels? The Turks give Tranſilvania to Abaſſi, or rather ſettle him in it, and ſtill deſtroy Hungary, notwithſtanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archducheſs, who was afterwards electreſs of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have ſome thoughts of chuſing a king of their own nation, ſhould Leopold die.

Their projects, their ſteadineſs in ſupporting their rights, and their conſpiracies, coſt Serini, Frangipani, Nadaſti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialiſts ſeize on the caſtles of all who had befriended theſe unfortunate men. The great dignities of Palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are ſuppreſſed, and the form of juſtice gives countenance to rapine. This exeſs of ſeverity drives them at firſt into conſternation, afterwards into deſpair. Emerick Tekeli puts himſelf at the head of the malecontents, and all Upper Auſtria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte; at which time the court of Vienna ſoothes the malecontents of Hungary. She re-eſtabliſhes the office of Palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promiſes to reſtore the eſtates that had been confiſcated; but this condeſcenſion, after ſo much ſeverity, wears the appearance of a ſnare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkiſh than the Imperial court. He is made prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of 40,000 ſequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, aſſiſted by ſome troops under the command of the

the bafha of Buda, ravages Silefia; and this bafha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilft the fultan Mahomet IV. prepares the moft formidable armament that the Ottoman empire had ever made againft the Chriftians.

We do not fee how the emperor could have oppofed the Turks, had they taken this ftep before the treaty of Nimeguen; feeing after that his refiftance was not very great.

The grand, vifier Kara Muftapha, traverfes Hungary with above 250,000 foot, 30,000 fpahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to fo great a multitude. He drives Charles V. duke of Lorrain, every-where before him, and lays fiege to Vienna, unrefifted.

The SIEGE of VIENNA in 1683; together with its CONSEQUENCES.

THIS fiege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of pofterity. This town had been in fome meafure the capital of the Roman empire, and the refidence of ten emperors of the houfe of Auftria fucceffively; yet it was neither ftrong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its fuburbs contained about 100,000 citizens; two thirds of which at leaft inhabited the fuburbs, which were intirely defencelefs. Kara Muftapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by 330,000 men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand vifier's defign to take Vienna

for himſelf, and make it the capital of a new kingdom independent of his maſter. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malecontents, marched on the other ſide of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was loſt, and Vienna threatened on every ſide. Duke Charles of Lorrain had not above 24000 fighting men to oppoſe the Turks, who haſten their march. A ſlight combat enſues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which ſerves only to diminiſh the prince's already weak army.

On the 7th of July, the emperor Leopold, the empreſs his mother-in-law, the empreſs his wife; the arch-dukes, the arch-dutcheſſes, and all their houſehold, quit Vienna, and retire to Lintz. Two thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in deſpair. There is nothing to be ſeen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables; which laſt fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Lintz brings with it only terror and confuſion. The court does not think itſelf ſafe there. It flies from Lintz to Paſſau. The conſternation at Vienna increaſes. The ſuburbs are burnt, with all the houſes of pleaſure, the body of the town is haſtily fortified, and ſupplied with ammunition and warlike ſtores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on the 17th of July, in the ſuburb of St. Ulric, 50 paces from the counterſcarp.

The count de Staremberg, governor of the town, had 17000 men in garriſon, of whom there were not above 8000 effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the ſtudents of the univerſity, were armed.

The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raising of 100,000 rix-dollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorrain had vainly endeavoured to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far north of the town, while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony, and the circles; but above all of John Sobiesky, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks while general of the crown, and who owed his throne to his victories. Yet these assistances could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September, they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand visier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit.

The space of ground taken up by his tents, was equal to that of the besieged town. He had baths, gardens, and fountains, and in the midst

midſt of the progreſs of ruin, wantoned in exceſs of luxury.

John Sobieſky at length paſſes the Danube, ſome leagues above Vienna; and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and the circles being alſo arrived, they make a ſignal to the beſieged from the top of the mountain of Calemberg, at a time that every thing began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Poliſh armies deſcend from mount Calemberg, of which the grand viſier had forgot to poſſeſs himſelf, extending themſelves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of 12000 horſe and 4000 foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander his ſon was very near him. The infantry of the emperor, and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorrain commanded the imperialiſts. The troops of Bavaria amounted to 10000 men, and thoſe of Saxony to near the ſame number.

Never were there ſeen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III. was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince choſe rather to ſerve near the duke of Lorrain as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor, a ſword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned, after its deliverance, to Vienna, the young prince ſaluting him with this very ſword, ſhewed him what a noble uſe he made of his preſent. It was the ſame elector who was afterwards put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, ſprung from the ancient but unhappy houſe of Aſcania. The infantry was commanded by prince Harman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of 7000, under the conduct of prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army, were three princes of the houſe of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holſtein, a prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the houſe of Wirtemberg; while a third diſtinguiſhed himſelf within the town. The emperor only was abſent.

This army amounted to 64000 men: that of the grand-vizir to double the number. So that this battle may be reckoned among thoſe which ſhew that the ſmaller number has generally the better of the greater, becauſe perhaps there is too much confuſion in large armies, and more order in the ſmaller.

On the 12th of September, Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand-vizir left 20000 men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be aſſaulted, while he marched againſt the Chriſtian army. This laſt aſſault might have ſucceeded, as the beſieged began to want powder, and moſt of their cannon was diſmounted; but the ſight of aſſiſtance gave them new ſtrength.

In the mean time, the king of Poland having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing, againſt the Ottoman army; the duke of Lorrain at the head of the other. Never was battle leſs bloody

or

or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above 200 men: the Ottomans scarcely lost a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizir's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity, arising from their long security, that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving even behind them Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizir's errors in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to the pope. The Germans and the Polanders were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter to the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand-vizir had made him his heir; and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: 'You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, 'you are not a 'man since you return without booty.'

The day following, being the 13th of September, king John Sobiesky causes Te Deum to be sung in the cathedral-church of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: "There was a man sent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiss the hands of

their deliverer; as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the 14th, amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland without the walls, and there is great difficulty to conduct ceremonials, at a time when acknowledgement ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobiesky, had like to have been eclipsed by a disaster which was scarce to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to march through Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops, under the command of a basha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorrain, who followed him, advanced near the place with his Gen d'armes. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in the flank, slaying 2000 of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly: he is pursued; and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloke in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorrain at length comes to his assistance; and, to the glory of having seconded John Sobiesky, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobiesky himself.

Hungary, on each side of the Danube, as far as Strigonia, soon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks near 550 years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria, defeat the Ottomans in those very

plains of Mohats, where Lewis II. king of Hungary had perifhed in 1526, while Soliman II. conqueror of the Chriftians, covered the plains with 25000 dead.

Divifions and feditions at Conftantinople, with the revolts of the Turkifh armies, fought alfo in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The infurrection of the Janizaries, the depofing of the weak Mahomet IV. Solyman III. advanced to the throne from a prifon in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, difheartened and flying before a fmall number of Germans, were all occurrences favouring Leopold. A warlike emperor, feconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the fiege of Conftantinople, after having been upon the point of lofing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to revenge the fear into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His minifters pretend, that it would be impoffible to confine the Turkifh infolence within bounds, unlefs Hungary was re-united under an abfolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and Lorrain, and other German princes, who are under no defpotic yoke; particularly with the Polifh allies. The Hungarians might then ferve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were two many factions in Hungary; the Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Weftphalia in favour of this kingdom; and if they were not now in a condition to oppref the Hungarians, neither could they affift them.

The only congreſs between the Hungarian male-contents and the emperor is a ſcaffold; it is erected in the market-place of Eperies, in the month of March 1687, and kept ſtanding to the end of the year.

If ſome of the cotemporary hiſtorians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of ſacrificing the victims which were without much diſtinction delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a maſſacre ſo long and ſo terrible: there have been equal ſeverities, but none of ſuch continuance. Humanity does not ſhudder at the numbers that fall in battle: it it common; they die ſword in hand, and are revenged: but for nine long months, that people ſhould ſee their countrymen dragged as it were legally to open butchery, muſt be ſhocking to human nature, and ſo barbarous a ſight as to fill the ſoul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that theſe cruelties ſometimes ſucceed; and the ſucceſs of them encourages tyrants to uſe men like wild beaſts.

Hungary was ſubdued, the Turks twice repulſed, Tranſilvania conquered, and in the hands of the imperialiſts. At length, while the ſcaffold is ſtill ſtanding at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are ſummoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary; the ſtates afterwards aſſemble at Preſburg, where they confirm the decree; and Joſeph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years old.

Leopold was, at this time, the moſt powerful emperor who had been ſince Charles V. Many happy

happy circumſtances concurred to enable him at once, to continue the war againſt France till the treaty of Ryſwick, and againſt Turky, till the peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1699. Both of theſe were of advantage to him. He treated with Lewis XIV. at Ryſwick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. Theſe ſucceſſes gave Leopold a manifeſt ſuperiority in the diets of Germany, which, tho' it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.

Of the Roman Empire under LEOPOLD.

GERMANY, under this reign, renews the bonds in which it had heretofore held Italy; for in that war which was ended at Ryſwick, while Leopold in league with the duke of Savoy, as well as with ſo many other princes againſt France, ſent troops towards the Rhine, he required contributions of all that did not belong to Spain. The ſtates of Tuſcany, of Venice on the Terra firma, the Genoeſe, and even the pope, paid more than 300000 piſtoles. In the beginning of the century, when it happened that the provinces of the Spaniſh monarchy were diſputed with Lewis XIV's grand-ſon, Leopold exerted the imperial authority in proſcribing the duke of Mantua, and giving the Mantuan Montferrat to the duke of Savoy.

It was alſo as Roman emperor, he gave the elector of Brandenburg the title of king. That the king of Germany ſhould make kings, was never agreed among nations; but ancient cuſtom had admitted princes to receive the title of king from him, whom the cuſtom aforeſaid calls the ſucceſſor of Cæſar.

Thus the chief of Germany having this name, beſtows names, and Leopold makes a king, without conſulting the three colleges. But when he created a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover, he created this German dignity with the conſent of four electors, * as chief of Germany. Yet could he not fix him in the college of electors, where the duke of Hanover did not obtain a ſeat till after Leopold's death.

It is true that in all capitulations, Germany is called the the Empire. But this is an abuſe of words authorized by time. The emperors in their capitulations ſwear, "that they will not bring any troops into the empire, without conſent of the electors, princes, and ſtates." But it is clear by this word Empire, they then underſtood Germany, and not Milan, and Mantua; for the emperor ſends troops to Milan without conſulting any body. Germany is called the empire, as the ſeat of the Roman empire; a ſtrange revolution, which Auguſtus could never have ſuſpected. An Italian lord addreſſes himſelf without difficulty to the diet of Ratiſbon; he addreſſes himſelf, du-

* The duke of Hanover had no friends in the electoral college, but the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; all the reſt, together with the college of the cities, oppoſed his advancement with great warmth.

ring

ring the vacancy of the throne, to the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria, and to the Palatine; he obtains titles and territories when there is no body to oppose him. The pope indeed does not demand a confirmation of his election of the diet, but the duke of Mantua presents him a petition, when Leopold puts him under the ban of the empire in 1700. This empire is then the right of the strongest, the right of opinion founded on the happy incursions of Charles V. and Otho into Italy.

The diet of Ratisbon is become perpetual under the same Leopold, ever since 1664. This, which one would think, should have increased its power, contributes to its weakness. Neither the princes who formerly made up this august assembly, nor the electors, assist any longer at the coronation. They send deputies to the diet, and one deputy acts for two or three princes. The treating of weighty matters is either forgot or neglected, and Germany is secretly divided under the appearance of union.

OF GERMANY,

In the times of JOSEPH and of CHARLES VI.

THE emperor Joseph was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, by all the electors, when only 12 years old, in the year 1690 an evident proof of the authority of his father Leopold; a proof of the great security the electors were in with respect to their rights, which they would not have sacrificed; a proof

of the firm agreement between all the ſtates of Germany and their chief; which the power of Lewis XIV. had cemented more ſtrongly than ever.

In this capitulation he promiſes to obſerve the treaty of Weſtphalia, in every thing but where the advantage of France is concerned.

The reign of Joſeph was ſtill happier than that of Leopold. The money of the Engliſh and Dutch, the ſucceſs of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, make him every where victorious, and his good fortune makes him almoſt abſolute. He begins by putting under the ban of the empire, in conſequence of his own authority, the electors of Bavaria and Cologn, becauſe they were the partizans of France, and he ſeizes on their dominions. He gives the higher Palatinate to that branch of the Palatine which had loſt it under Ferdinand II. and at the peace of Raſtadt and of Baden, he afterwards reſtores it to the Bavarian branch.

He acts in reality like a Roman emperor in Italy. He confiſcates the Mantuan for his own uſe; he at firſt takes the Milaneſe for himſelf, which he afterwards gives to the arch-duke his brother: but he keeps the towns and revenues of it, by dividing from this country, Alexandria, Valenza, and Lomelina in favour of the duke of Savoy, on whom, to ſecure him in his intereſt, he beſtows the inveſtiture of Montferrat. He plunders the duke of Mirandola, and gives his poſſeſſions to the duke of Modena. Charles V. had not been more abſolute in Italy; nor had Clement VII. been more alarmed, than was now Clement XI. Joſeph goes

goes to deprive him of the duchy of Ferara, in order to restore it to the house of Modena, from which the pope had taken it.

His armies possessing Naples in the name of the arch-duke his brother, and Bologna, Ferara, and part of Romagnia in his own name, already threatened Rome. It was certainly the pope's interest that there should be a balance in Italy; but this balance, victory had destroyed. All the princes were summoned, and all possessors of fiefs to produce their titles. The duke of Parma, who held at that time of the holy see, had but fifteen days allowed him to do homage to the emperor. At Rome was distributed a manifesto attacking the temporal power of the pope, and annulling all the donations which the emperors had made, without the concurrence of the empire. It is certain, that if by this manifesto they subjected the pope to the emperor, they also rendered the emperors dependent upon the imperial decrees of the Germanic body: but reasons and arms are at one time used, which at another are rejected; and all they endeavoured at present was having some title to rule in Italy as cheaply as they could.

All the princes were astonished. It was scarcely to be expected, that thirty-four cardinals should at this time have the boldness and generosity to do that, which neither Venice, Florence, Genoa, nor Parma, dared to undertake. They raised a little army at their own expence; one laying down 100,000 crowns, another 24,000, this sending 100 horse, and that 50 foot.

The peasants were armed. But the sole consequence of this undertaking was, their submitting

mitting ſword in hand, to the terms preſcribed, by Joſeph. The pope was obliged to diſband his army, to preſerve no more than 5000 men in the ecleſiaſtical ſtate; to ſubſiſt the imperial troops, to abandon to them Comacchio, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles king of Spain. In 1709 he deprives the duke of Savoy of the Vigenevaſque and the fief of Langues; nor yet does that prince dare to quit his party.

Joſeph dies, aged 33, in the year 1711, amidſt all his proſperity. Charles VI. his brother, ſucceeded him, and found himſelf maſter of all Hungary in a ſtate of ſubjection; the hereditary dominions of Germany, which were very flouriſhing; the Milaneſe, the Mantuan, Naples, Sicily, and the nine provinces of the Low Countries; and had the propoſitions made in the year 1709 by France, then very much weakened, been liſtened to, Charles VI. had been alſo maſter of Spain and the New World. It was then that there was no balance of power in Europe. The Engliſh, who had fought for this balance only, murmur againſt queen Anne for re-eſtabliſhing it by the peace of Utrecht; ſo much did hatred againſt Lewis XIV. prevail over real intereſt. Thus, after the particular peace of Raſtadt and of Baden, Charles VI. is the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

But as powerful as he was when he took poſſeſſion of the empire, the Germanic body ſupported, nay augmented, their rights more than ever. The capitulation of Charles VI. implies, that no German prince or ſtate ſhall be put under the ban of the empire, but by the conſent of the three colleges, &c. They yet recalled

recalled in this capitulation the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had always been regarded as a fundamental law.

Germany was quiet and flouriſhing under the reign of this laſt Auſtrian emperor; for the war of 1716 againſt the Turks was only waged upon the Ottoman frontiers, and nothing could have been more glorious.

Prince Eugene there increaſed the vaſt reputation which he had before acquired in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. The victory of Peterwaradin, and the taking of Temiſwaer, ſignalized the campaign in 1716. The year following he had ſtill more ſurpriſing ſucceſſes; for in beſieging Belgrade, prince Eugene found himſelf ſurrounded in his camp by 150,000 Turks. He was circumſtanced like Cæſar at the ſiege of Alexia, or of the Czar Peter near Pruth. He did not imitate the Ruſſian emperor, who demanded peace; but, Cæſar like, defeated his numerous enemies, and took the town. He returned to Vienna covered with glory, where they talked of trying him for having hazarded that ſtate which he had ſaved, and whoſe boundaries he had enlarged. An advantageous peace was the fruit of theſe victories. The ſyſtem of Germany was not at all broken in upon either by the war or the peace, which augmented the emperor's dominions, and confirmed the Germanic conſtitution. Charles XII. king of Sweden's diſgraces add to the poſſeſſions of the houſes of Brandenburg and Hanover. The Germanic body was become ſtill more conſiderable. The treaty of Weſtphalia received in reality a blow by theſe acquiſitions; but all the rights which the ſtates of Germany had acquired by

this

this treaty, were preſerved by taking ſome provinces from the Swedes, to whom they partly owed thoſe very rights which they enjoyed. The three religions eſtabliſhed in Germany maintained themſelves peaceably under the ſhade of their privileges, and ſlight inevitable differences no longer gave riſe to civil troubles.

It ought principally to be obſerved, that Germany was intirely changed under Leopold, Joſeph, and Charles VI. Their manners before this were rude, their lives unpoliſhed, the ſciences almoſt unknown, as well as convenient magnificence. There was ſcarcely one town well built, nor a houſe erected upon the regular and noble principles of architecture; neither gardens, nor manufactures of merchandize or taſte. The northern provinces were intirely uncultivated; a thirty years war had ruined them. Germany was more altered in ſixty years, than ſhe had been from Otho to Leopold.

Charles VI. was conſtantly happy to 1734. The celebrated victories gained by prince Eugene over the Turks at Temeſwaer and at Belgrade, had enlarged the frontiers of Hungary. The emperor predominated in Italy, where he poſſeſſed Naples and Sicily, the Milaneſe, and the Mantuan. The imperial and ſupreme right over Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, which had been ſo long conteſted, were confirmed to him by his giving the inveſtiture of theſe ſtates to Don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. who thereby became his vaſſal. The imperial rights exerciſed in Italy by Leopold and by Joſeph, were then in their full vigour; and certainly, if an emperor had kept ſo many poſſeſſions in Italy, ſo many rights, with ſo many pretenſions, the 700

years

years ſtruggle of the Italian liberty againſt the German power might have eaſily been finiſhed by its ſubjection.

Theſe proſperities were limited by the uſe which Charles VI. made of his credit in Europe, by procuring jointly with Ruſſia the throne of Poland to Auguſtus III.

This was a ſingular revolution, whereby he loſt for ever Naples and Sicily, and enriched the king of Sardinia at his own expence, in order to give a king to Poland. Nothing ſhews better the fatality that preſides over events, and mocks the foreſight of man. It was his good fortune twice to have conquered 150,000 Turks; yet Naples and Sicily were taken from him by only 10,000 Spaniards in one campaign.

In the year 1700, could it have been poſſibly imagined that Staniſlaus ſhould, forty-four years after, have Lorrain in exchange for loſing the crown of Poland; and that, for the very ſame reaſon, Tuſcany ſhould be given to the houſe of Lorrain? If one reflects on the many events which have diſturbed and transformed ſtates, it will appear that ſcarce any thing happens according to people's expectations, or as politicians have deſigned.

The latter years of Charles VI. were yet more unhappy: he imagined, becauſe prince Eugene had defeated the Turks with inferior German armies, much more eaſily might they be beaten by the Germans and Ruſſians joined. But alas! he had no longer a prince Eugene; and while the armies of the Czarina Anne take Crimea, enter Walachia, and propoſe penetrating to Adrianople, the Germans were defeated. A diſadvantageous peace ſucceeds. Belgrade, Temeſwaer,

Temeſwaer, Orſova, and all the country between the Danube and the Save, remain to the Ottomans. All the fruits of prince Eugene's conqueſts are thus loſt, and the emperor's only reſource is that of impriſoning the unfortunate generals; ſtriking off the heads of ſuch officers as had ſurrendered the towns, and puniſhing thoſe who, purſuant to his orders, had clapped up a neceſſary peace.

He died ſoon after. The revolutions which enſued, are matter for another hiſtory, and the wounds, which ſtill bleed, are too freſh to be probed.

A philoſophical reader, after having run thro' this long ſucceſſion of emperors, might reflect, that among them all, Frederick III. only lived 75 years, as Lewis XIV. only, among the kings of France; whilſt, among the popes, we ſee numbers of lives ſtretched beyond 84; not that the laws of nature in general make life longer in Italy than in Germany or France, but becauſe popes are commonly more abſtemious than kings, and that there are more popes than either emperors or kings of France.

The duration of the reigns of the emperors, which have paſſed in review before us, ſerves to confirm the rule which Newton has laid down for the reformation of antient chronology. He ſuppoſes the generations of the ſovereigns of old to make out, one with another, twenty-one years each; and indeed the fifty emperors from Charlemagne to Charles VII. forming a period of near a thouſand years, admits each of them to have reigned about twenty years. We can reduce this Newtonian rule ſtill more in ſtates ſubject to frequent revolutions. Without

out going higher than the Roman Empire, we ſhall find, in the ſpace of 500 years, about 90 reigns; that is, from Cæſar to Auguſtulus.

Another important reflection occurs; and that is, that there ſeems to be ſcarcely one emperor from the time of Charlemagne, who may be ſaid to have been happy. The luſtre of Charles V. eclipſes that of all his predeceſſors; yet he, wearied with continual checks in life, and tired with the plagues of ſuch a compounded adminiſtration, rather than diſguſted with the nothingneſs of grandeur, ſecludes a premature old age in an obſcure retreat.

We have not long ſince ſeen an emperor maſter of the moſt reſpectable qualities, ſuſtain the moſt violent turns of fortune, while nature conducts him to the grave, even in the prime of life, by the moſt cruel diſorders.

This hiſtory is ſcarcely any more than a vaſt ſcene of weakneſſes, faults, crimes, and misfortunes; among which we find ſome virtues and ſome ſucceſs; as fertile vallies are often ſeen among chains of rocks and precipices. This is likewiſe the caſe with other hiſtories.

OF THE

KINGS of BOHEMIA,

From the End of the 13th Century.

OTTOCARUS, ſon to king Wenceſlaus the Blind, killed in 1280 fighting againſt the emperor Rodolphus.

Wenceſlaus the Elder, after the death of his father, is placed under the guardianſhip of Otho of Brandenburgh in 1305.

Wenceſlaus the Younger dies, about a year after his father, of debauchery.

Henry, duke of Carinthia, earl of Tirol, brother-in-law of Wenceſlaus the Younger, is ſtripped twice of his kingdom; firſt by Rodolphus of Auſtria, ſon of Albert I. afterwards by John of Luxemburg, ſon of the emperor Henry VII.

John of Luxemburg, maſter of Bohemia, Sileſia, and Luſatia, killed at the battle of Creci in France, in 1346.

The emperor Charles IV.

The emperor Wenceſlaus.

The emperor Sigiſmund.

The emperor Albert of Auſtria.

Ladiſlaus, the poſthumous ſon of the emperor Albert of Auſtria, dies in 1457, at the ſame time that Magdalene, daughter to Charles VII. king of France, is on the road from Germany to be married to him.

George Podibrad, vanquiſhed by Matthias of Hungary, dies in 1471.

Ladiſlaus of Poland, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, dies in 1516.

Lewis, ſon of Ladiſlaus, alſo king of Hungary and Bohemia, is killed fighting againſt the Turks, aged only 20 years.

The emperor Ferdinand I. and after him the emperors of the houſe of Auſtria.

The ELECTORS of MENTZ.

From the End of the 13th Century.

VERNIER count de Falkenſtein, he who beſt ſupported his pretenſions to the town of Erfort, dies in 1284.

Henry Kenoderer, a Franciſcan Frier, confeſſor to the emperor Rodolphus, dies in 1288.

Gerrard, baron d'Eppenſtein, who fought at that battle in which Adolphus of Naſſau was killed, dies in 1305.

Peter Aichſpalt, a citizen of Triers, phyſician to Henry of Luxemburg, who cured pope Clement V. of a diſorder thought to be mortal, dies in 1320.

Matthias, count de Burgeck, dies in 1328.

Baldwin, brother to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, holds Triers and Mentz for three years. This is the only example of the kind.

Henry, count de Virneburg, excommunicated by Clement VI. ſupports himſelf by war, and dies in 1353.

Gerlach de Naſſau dies in 1371.

John de Luxemburg, count de St. Paul, dies in 1373.

Adolphus de Naſſau, to whom Charles IV. gave the little town of Hœhſt, dies in 1390.

Conrad of Vinſberg, who cauſes the Vaudois to be burned, dies in 1396.

John of Naſſau (this is he who depoſed the emperor Wenceſlaus,) dies in 1419.

Conrad,

Conrad, count de Rens, beaten by the landgrave of Heſſe, dies in 1431.

Theodore d'Urback, he ought to have contributed to the protection of printing, invented in his time at Mentz, dies in 1459.

Ditrich count of Iſenburg, and an Adolphus of Naſſau, long diſpute ſword in hand for the archbiſhopric. Iſenburg yields the electorate to his competitor Naſſau in 1463.

Adolphus dies in 1475.

Ditrich reaſſumes the electoral ſee, builds the caſtle of Mentz, and dies in 1482.

Albert of Saxony dies in 1484.

Bertoldus of Henneberg, the principal author of the league of Suabia, and great reformer of religious houſes, dies in 1504. Gualtieri falſely aſſerts that he died of a diſorder but little befitting an archbiſhop.

James of Libenſtein dies in 1508.

Uriel de Guimenguen dies in 1514.

Albert of Brandenburg, ſon of the elector John, at the ſame time archbiſhop of Mentz, of Magdeburg, and of Halberſtadt, who deſired much a cardinal's cap, dies in 1545.

Sebaſtian de Hovenſtein, doctor of the laws, in whoſe time Mentz is burned by a prince of Brandenburg, dies in 1555.

Daniel Brendel de Homburg dies in 1582, leaving behind him a name valued and reſpected.

Wolfgang of Dalburg: he deprives himſelf of the pleaſures of the chace, becauſe it damages the lands of his ſubjects, and dies in 1601.

John Adam of Bicken: he aſſiſts in France at the diſpute between cardinal du Perron and de Mornai: he dies in 1604.

John Schweighard de Cronberg, perſecuted a great while by the prince of Brunſwick, *the*

friend of God, and the foe to the priests, delivered by the arms of Tilli, and dies in 1626.

George Frederick de Grieffenclau, principal author of the famous edict of the restitution of benefices which caused the thirty years war, dies in 1629.

Anselmo Casimir Wambold of Umstadt, driven out by the Swedes, dies in 1647.

John Philip of Schœnbron brings the town of Erfort under his subjection by the help of the French arms and the emperor Leopold's diploma: he dies in 1673.

Lotharius Frederick, of Metternich, forced to cede his lands to the elector Palatine, dies in 1675.

Damien Hartard *von der Lien*: he builds the palace of Mentz, and dies in 1678.

Charles Henry, of Metternich, dies in 1689.

Anselmo-Francis, of Ingelheim, on whose town the French seize, dies in 1695.

Lothario Francis, of Schœnbron, coadjutor in 1694, respected by all his cotemporaries, dies in 1729.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, dies in 1732.

Philip Charles, of Eltz, dies in 1743.

John Frederick Charles, count d'Holstein.

The ELECTORS of COLOGN.

ENGELBERG count de Walkenstein, a good soldier, but an unhappy archbishop, taken in war by the inhabitants of Cologne, dies about the year 1274.

Sifroi count de Vesterbuch, not less a soldier, and more unfortunate than his predecessor, a prisoner of war for seven years, dies in 1298.

Vickbold de Holt, another warrior, but more happy, dies in 1305.

Henry, count de Vinnanbuch, disputes the electorate, and carries it from two competitors: he dies in 1338.

Valrame count de Juliers, a pacific prince, dies in 1352.

Guill de Geneppe, who heaped and left behind him great treasures, dies in 1362.

John de Virnenburg forces the chapter to elect him, and squanders all the treasures of his predecessors: dies in 1363.

Adolphus count de la March resigns the archbishopric in 1364: is made count of Cleves, and has children.

Enchelberg count de la March.

Canon of Falkenstein, coadjutor to the former, and at the same time archbishop of Triers, governs Cologn for three years, and is obliged to resign it in 1370. There was brought to Cologn, while he governed, a body quite fresh of one of the innocents massacred by Herod, which gives fresh credit to the relics preserved in that town.

Frederic count de Sarverden, a peaceable prince, dies in 1414.

Theodore count de Mœurs, disputes the archbishopric with William of Ravensberg, bishop of Paderborn; but this bishop of Paderborn being married, both dioceses fall to the count de Mœurs. He also enjoys Halberstadt, and dies in 1457.

Robert of Bavaria makes use of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to assist him in subjecting Cologn, but is at last forced to fly, and dies in 1480.

Herman

Herman, landgrave of Heſſe, who governed ſome years in the time of Robert of Bavaria, dies in 1508.

Philip, count d'Oberſtein, dies in 1515.

Herman de Veda, or Neuvid, turns Lutheran, after being biſhop thirty-two years, and dies in retirement in 1556.

Antony, brother to Adolphus biſhop of Liege, and of Utrecht, dies in 1558.

John earl of Mansfelt, born a Lutheran, dies in 1562.

Frederick de Veda abdicates in 1568, reſerving to himſelf 30,000 florins of gold yearly: it is never paid him, and he dies miſerably.

Salentinus count of Iſenburg, after having governed ten years, aſſembles the chapter and nobility, when reproaching them with the ingratitude wherewith they had repaid the pains he had taken with them, he abdicates the archbiſhopric, and weds a counteſs de la March.

Gebhard Truchſes de Walburg quits his archbiſhopric for the beautiful Agnes de Mansfelt, which father Kolbs calls his Sacrilegious Spouſe. This father Kolbs was not polite. He dies in 1612.

Ferdinand, his land having been ravaged by the great Guſtavus, dies in 1650.

Maximilian Henry ſucceeds cardinal Mazarine in his retreat, and dies in 1688.

Joſeph Clement, who carried the electorate from cardinal de Furſtemberg, dies in 1723.

Auguſtus Clement.

ELECTORS of TRIERS.

HENRY de Veſtigen ſubdues Coblentz; dies in 1286.

Bœmond de Vanſberg deſtroys the caſtles of the rebel Barons, and dies in 1299.

Ditrich de Naſſau cited to Rome to anſwer complaints made by his clergy, who afterwards refuſe him burial, dies in 1307.

Baldwin of Luxemburg, who joins Philip de Valois againſt Edward III. dies in 1354.

Bohemond de Sarbruck, who has in his old days great diſputes with the Palatine, dies in 1368.

Conrad of Falkenſtein makes great foundations, and reſigns the electorate to his nephew, in ſpite of the canons: he dies in 1388.

Vermer de Konigſten, nephew to the laſt, reduces Vezel with artillery, and is almoſt always at war: he dies in 1418.

Otho de Zeigenheim, beaten by the Huſſites, dies on that expedition in 1430.

Raban de Helmſtadt, always at war with his neighbours, pawns his poſſeſſions, and dies inſolvent in 1439.

James de Sirck: the ravaged electorate of Triers not being ſufficient to ſubſiſt him, he is made biſhop of Metz, and dies in 1456.

John de Baden (it was he who concluded the marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy) dies in 1501.

James de Baden, umpire between Cologn and the archbiſhop, dies in 1511.

Richard de Wolfrat, who for a long time takes part with Francis I. againſt Charles V. in their ſtruggle for the empire, dies in 1531.

John

John de Metzenhauſen encourages the ſciences, and improves his territory: dies in 1540.

John Lewis, of the Hague, dies in 1547.

John d'Iſemburg, under whom Triers ſuffers much from the Lutheran arms, dies in 1556.

John de Leyen (he beſieged Triers) dies in 1567.

James de Els (he ſubdues Triers) dies in 1581.

John de Schonberg, in whoſe time the garment of Jeſus Chriſt was found at Triers, but whence it came is not exactly known, dies in 1599.

Lothario de Metternick joins briſkly the Catholic league, and dies in 1623.

Philip Chriſtopher of Sotern: he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards, and furniſhed France with a ſufficient pretext to declare war againſt Spain: he was reſtored to his ſee by the victory of Conde and Turenne: he dies in 1652, aged 87 years.

Charles Gaſpar de Leyen, driven out of his capital by the arms of France, but reſtored by the defeat of marſhal Crequi, dies in 1676.

John Hugo d'Orſbeck: he ſees Triers almoſt quite deſtroyed by the French; the war was always dreadful: he dies in 1711.

Charles Joſeph of Lorrain, coadjutor in 1710, ſuffers ſtill more by the war: dies anno 1715.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, biſhop of Breſlau and Worms, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, dies anno 1729.

Francis George de Schonbron.

The ELECTORS PALATINE.

From the end of the XIIIth Century.

LEWIS dies anno 1285, his father Otho was the first count Palatine of this house.

Rodolphus, son of Lewis, and brother to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, dies in England in 1319.

Adolphus the Simple dies in 1327.

Rodolphus II. brother to Adolphus the Simple, and son to Rodolphus I. father-in-law to the emperor Charles IV. dies in 1353.

Robert the Red dies in 1390.

Robert the Stubborn dies in 1398.

Robert the emperor.

Lewis the Bearded and the Pious dies in 1436.

Lewis the Virtuous dies in 1449.

Frederic the Warlike, Philip's tutor, enjoys the electorate though his pupil is alive: he dies in 1476.

Philip, son of Lewis the Virtuous, dies in 1508.

Lewis, son of Philip, dies in 1544.

Frederic the Wise, brother to Lewis, dies in 1556.

Otho Henry, Philip's grand-son, dies in 1559.

Frederic III. of the branch of Simmeren, dies in 1576.

Lewis VI. son of Frederic, dies in 1583.

Frederic, IVth of that name, grand-son to Lewis, dies in 1610.

Frederic, Vth of that name, son of Frederic IV. allied to James I. king of Bohemia, but driven out of his dominion, dies in 1632.

Charles Lewis, re-established in the Palatine, dies anno 1680.

Charles, ſon to the preceding, dies without iſſue in 1685.

Philip William, of the branch of Neuburg, father-in-law to Leopold, to the king of Spain, and to the king of Portugal, dies anno 1690.

John William, ſon of Charles Philip, born in 1658; his country was deſtroyed by the war of 1689, and, at the peace of Ryſwick, the lands, which the houſe of Orleans diſputed with him, were adjudged by the pope's deciſive ſentence to this elector: he dies in 1716.

Charles Philip, the laſt elector of the houſe of Neuburg, dies in 1742.

Chriſtian Philip Theodore de Sultzbach.

The ELECTORS of SAXONY.

ALBERT II. great-grand-ſon of Albert the Bear, of the houſe of Anhalt ſucceeds his anceſtors in 1260, and governs Saxony thirty-ſeven year, dies in 1297.

Rodolphus I. ſon of the ſaid Albert, dies in 1356.

Rodolphus II. ſon of Rodolphus I. dies in 1370.

Wenceſlaus, a younger brother of Rodolphus II. dies in 1388.

Rodolphus III. ſon of Wenceſlaus, dies in 1419.

Albert III. brother to Rodolphus III. the laſt elector of the houſe of Anhalt, which had poſſeſſed Saxony two hundred and twenty-ſeven years, dies in 1422.]

Frederic I. of the houſe of Miſnia, ſirnamed the Warlike, dies in 1428.

Frederic the Affable dies in 1464.

Erneſt Frederic the Religious dies in 1486.

Frederic the Wiſe dies in 1525, it is he who is ſaid to have refuſed the empire.

John, ſirnamed the Conſtant, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1532.

John Frederic the Magnanimous dies in 1554, diſpoſſeſſed of his electorate by Charles V. from him the branches of Gotha and Weimar are deſcended.

Maurice, couſin in the fifth degree to John Frederic, inveſted by Charles V. dies in 1563.

Auguſtus the Pious, brother to Maurice, dies in 1586.

Chriſtian, ſon to Auguſtus the pious, dies in 1591.

Frederic William, ten years adminiſtrator, dies in 1602.

Chriſtian II. ſon to Chriſtian I. dies in 1611.

John George, brother of Chriſtian, dies in 1656.

John George II. dies in 1680.

John George III. dies in 1691.

John George IV. dies in 1694.

Auguſtus, king of Poland, diſpoſſeſſed of the kingdom by the ſucceſſes of Charles XII. and reſtored by the ſaid Charles's misfortune, dies in 1733.

Frederic Auguſtus II. elector and king of Poland.

ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG,

After divers electors of the houſes of Aſcania, Bavaria, and of Luxembourg.

FREDERIC de Hohenzollern, burggrave of Nuremberg, buys the marquiſate of Brandenburg from the emperor Sigiſmund for one hundred thouſand golden florins, repurchaſed by the ſame emperor, he dies in 1400.

John I. ſon of Frederic, abdicates in favour of his brother, anno 1464: he is not taken notice of in the Memoirs of Brandenburg, ſo that he is not to be looked upon as elector.

Frederic with the iron teeth, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1471.

Albert the Achilles, brother to the two latter; it is pretended that he abdicated in 1476, and that he died in 1486.

John, ſirnamed the Cicero, ſon of Albert the Achilles, dies in 1499.

Joachim I. Neſtor the ſon of John, dies in 1535.

Joachim II. Hector ſon of Joachim I. dies in 1571.

John George, ſon of Joachim II. dies in 1598.

Joachim Frederic, ſon of John George, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, dies in 1608.

John Sigiſmund, ſon of Joachim Frederic, divides the ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers with the hourſe of Neuberg, dies in 1619.

George William, whoſe dominions were laid waſte by the thirty years war, dies in 1640.

Frederic William, who re-eſtabliſhes his country, dies in 1688.

Frederick, who erects into a kingdom part of the province of Prussia of which he was duke, and which had formerly held of Poland, dies in 1713.

Frederic William II. king of Prussia, who repeoples the intirely ruined lands of Prussia, dies in 1740.

Frederick III. king of Prussia.

The ELECTORS of BAVARIA.

MAXIMILIAN, created in 1623, and at that time ranked among the electors, the first after the king of Bohemia, dies in 1651.

Ferdinand Maria, his son, died in 1679.

Maximilian Maria, who was of great service in delivering Vienna from the Turks; he signalised himself at the sieges of Baden and Belgrade; was put under the ban of the empire by the emperor Joseph in 1706, and restored by the peace of Baden, he dies in 1726.

Charles Albert, his son, emperor, dies in 1745.

Charles Maximilian Joseph, son of Charles Albert.

The ELECTORS of HANOVER.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS, duke of Brunswic and Hanover, &c. created by the emperor Leopold in 1692, upon condition that he should furnish six thousand men against the Turks, and three thousand against France, he dies in 1698.

George

George Lewis, ſon of the former, received in the electoral college at Ratiſbon in 1708, with the title of arch-treaſurer of the empire, made king of England in 1714, he dies in 1727.

George II. his ſon, alſo king, of England.

A LET-

A LETTER

From the AUTHOR

To her SERENE HIGHNESS,

THE DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF SAXE-GOTHA.

MADAM, *Calmar, March* 8, 1754.

YOUR auguſt name has adorned the beginning of theſe annals, permit that it may crown the end; this little abridgment was begun in your palace, with the aſſiſtance of the old manuſcript of my Eſſay upon Univerſal Hiſtory, which had lain there a long time; and though this manuſcript was no more than a very indigeſted collection of materials, I nevertheleſs made it uſeful. I had already cauſed the firſt volume of the Annals of the Empire to be printed, when I was informed, that ſome looſe ſheets of this old manuſcript had fallen into the hands of a bookſeller at the Hague.

Theſe looſe ſheets, without either order or connexion, doubtleſs tranſcribed by an ignorant hand, disfigured and falſified, were, to my great concern, reprinted ſeveral times at Paris and elſewhere.

Your ſerene highneſs has ſignified your reſentment upon this account in your letters to me.

me. You know how very much the real manuſcript, which is in your poſſeſſion, differs from the fragments that have been publiſhed. It is my duty, loudly to reprove and condemn ſuch an abuſe; and above four months ſince I acquitted myſelf of this obligation in the letter to a profeſſor of hiſtory, prefixed to the Annals. And I now, Madam, repeat this juſt proteſtation, under your favourable protection.

With reſpect to this ſmall abridgment of the Annals of the Empire, undertaken by your ſerene highneſs's orders, theſe orders themſelves, and the deſire of pleaſing you, would have rendered the truth ſtill more dear and ſacred to me, were ſhe not ſo by her own intrinſick worth.

This truth, to which our illuſtrious de Thou has ſacrificed, which heaped upon him ſo much affliction, and makes his memory ſo valuable, can it hurt me, in an age much more enlightened than his?

What weak fanatick can reproach me with having reſpected the three religions authorized in the empire? what fool would have had me play the controvertiſt, inſtead of writing as an hiſtorian? I am confined to facts. Theſe facts are proved; they are authentic. A thouſand pens have been employed about them. No juſt man can complain. A great queen aptly ſpoke thus of an hiſtorian: "They point out to us our duty by ſpeaking of the faults of our predeceſſors. The truth is hid from us by thoſe who ſurround us, and revealed to us by none but hiſtorians.

There have been emperors, unjuſt and cruel; popes and biſhops, unworthy of their ſtation.

Who

Who is there doubts it? It is the consolation of the world to have faithful annals, which excite to virtue, by exposing its crimes. What is it to the wise emperor who reigns in our days, that Henry V. and Henry VI. were cruel? What is it to the enlightened, the just, the moderate pontiff, who now fills the throne of Rome, that Alexander VI. has left behind him an odious memory? The horrors of past ages are the eulogiums of the present. Unhappily those who are charged with the education of princes, hide from them these ancient truths. They accustom them in their infancy to see nothing but falsity, and thus prepare for the masters of the world, while in their cradles, the poison of illusion in which they are all their lives to be immersed.

You, Madam, who are a lover of truth, and were pleased that I should proclaim it, let me intreat you to receive this new homage, which I pay to you and to her.

I am, Madam, with the profoundest respect, and the most inviolable attachment,

Your most SERENE HIGHNESS's

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

V——

DIRECTIONS

TO THE

BINDER.

AT the end of the Annals of the Empire, place the Miſcellanies marked with ſignature B, C, D, E, from page 1, to page 75.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

MISCELLANIES

IN

HISTORY, LITERATURE,

AND

PHILOSOPHY.

ON FABLE.

SOME rigid persons, more severe than wise, have of late years endeavoured to proscribe the antient mythology, as a collection of puerile stories, unworthy the gravity of our modern manners. It would, notwithstanding, be a melancholy affair to burn Ovid, Homer, and Hesiod, together with all our fine tapestry, our pictures, and operas: after all, there are many fables, which contain more philosophy than, I fear, many of these philosophers can justly pretend to. If they grant a toleration to the familiar tales of Esop, why fall sword in hand on those sublime fables which have been revered by mankind, whom they have instructed? They are, 'tis true, mixed with some things, which

 border

border ſomewhat upon the frivolous; for what is there perfect under the ſun? Yet every age will adopt Pandora's box, in the bottom of which is found conſolation for all the human race; Jupiter's two veſſels, which are perpetually pouring forth good and evil; Ixion embracing a cloud, at once the emblem and chaſtiſement of an ambitious mind; and, laſtly, the death of Narciſſus, the puniſhment of ſelf-love. Can there be any thing more ſublime than that Minerva, the goddeſs of wiſdom, ſhould ſpring from the head of the God of Gods? Can any thing be more true, or more pleaſing, than that the goddeſs of beauty ſhould be obliged to go accompanied with graces? Do not the goddeſſes of the arts, all of them daughters of Memory, inform us as well as Locke himſelf could, that without memory we are not capable of the ſmalleſt ſpark of ſenſe? the arrows of Cupid, his blindneſs, and his youth; Flora embraced by Zephyrus, &c. what are they but ſo many ſenſible emblems of nature? Theſe fables have outlived the religions by which they were conſecrated; the temples and gods of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are now no more; and yet Ovid ſtill ſurvives. We may deſtroy the objects of credulity, but the inſtruments of pleaſure will ſtill remain; and thoſe images, at once ſo true and ſo pleaſing, will ever be the favourite delight of the mind of man. Lucretius did not believe thoſe gods of fable; yet he has celebrated nature under the name of Venus.

Alma Venus cœli ſubter labentia ſigna
Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
Concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
Concipitur; viſitque exortum lumina ſolis, &c.

Delight

Delight of human kind, and gods above,
Parent of Rome, propitious queen of love,
Whose vital pow'r air, earth, and sea supplies,
And breeds whate'er is born beneath the skies.
For every kind, by thy prolifick might,
Springs, and beholds the regions of the light.
DRYDEN.

If antiquity, plunged in darkness, had confined itself to the acknowledging a supreme Being under those images, could we with justice have loaded her with reproaches? The mind which created the world was adored by philosophers; it governed the seas under the name of Neptune, the air under the emblem of Juno, and the fields under that of Pan; it was the god of armies under the name of Mars: they gave life and body to all the attributes: Jupiter was in truth their sole deity: that golden chair, with which he lifted up gods and men, was a striking image of a supreme Being, the sovereign of the universe. The vulgar, it is true, were deceived; but of what consequence are the vulgar to us?

It is a common question, how the magistrates of Greece and Rome could suffer those very deities that were worshipped in their temples to be turned into ridicule on their stages? In this we proceed upon a false supposition: it was not the gods who were turned into ridicule on the theatre, but the follies and absurdities attributed to these gods by those who had corrupted the antient mythology. The consuls and pretors were not at all offended to see the people diverted on the theatres with the story of the two Sosias; but they could never have suffered their poets to have attacked the worship of Jupiter

and Mercury, in the preſence of the people. Thus there are a thouſand things which ſeem ridiculous to us, which are by no means ſo in themſelves. I have ſeen on the theatre of a nation juſtly celebrated for learning and good ſenſe, adventures which were drawn from the Golden Legend; ſhall we therefore ſay, that this nation permits the objects of religion to be inſulted? There is no danger the world ſhould become Pagans for having ſeen at Paris the opera of Proſerpine, or for having ſeen at Rome the marriage of Pſyche, painted by Raphael, in one of the pope's palaces. Fable ſerves to form the taſte, but, at the ſame time, without any danger of making converts to idolatry.

The beautiful fables of antiquity have this further advantage over hiſtory, which is, that they exhibit a morality which acts on the ſenſes: they are ſo many leſſons of virtue; whereas all hiſtory is but a relation of ſucceſsful crimes. In fable, Jupiter deſcends to puniſh a Lycaon and a Tantalus; but, in hiſtory, our Lycaons and our Tantalus's are the Gods who ſway all human affairs. Baucis and Philemon obtain their requeſt, and their cottage is turned into a temple: our Baucis and Philemon have their porridge-pots ſold by the tax-gatherers, which, in Ovid, are changed into gold and ſilver.

I know how capable hiſtory is of inſtructing us; I even know the neceſſity of that ſtudy; but yet it ſtands very much in needs of ſome foreign aid, to be able to furniſh us with the rules of a prudent and virtuous behaviour. I could wiſh thoſe who know nothing of politics but what they have from books, would endea-

vour to keep in their remembrance these verses of Corneille's:

Les exemples récens suffiraient pour m'instruire;
Si par l'exemple seul on dévait se conduire;
Mais souvent l'un se perd où l'autre s'est sauvé,
Et par où l'un périt un autre est conservé.

I want not for recent examples to instruct me, if we ought to direct our conduct aright by example only. But how often do we see that the step which saves one man shall ruin another.

Henry VIII. who tyrannized over his parliaments, his ministers, and his wives, and indeed over the purses and consciences of his people, lived and died in peace; whereas the good and brave Charles I. lost his life on a scaffold. Our admirable heroine Margaret of Anjou gives battle twelve different times to the English, the subjects of her husband, but in vain. William III. expels James II. out of his kingdom, in a manner, without drawing the sword. In our own days, we have seen the imperial family of Persia cut off, and aliens seat themselves on their throne. For such as look no further than events, history seems to be an accusation of providence, and those beautiful fables to be its justification. One thing is evident, which is, that in these we find the useful and the pleasing happily blended. Those who are able to contribute nothing of either are they who declaim against fables. Let us leave such folks alone to rail till they are weary; and, in the mean time, we will sometimes read Ovid, as well as Titus Livius, and Rapin Thoiras. It is good taste which gives the preference, whilst

the contrary conduct is that of a gloomy and an ill-natured fanaticism.

Tous les Arts sont amis, ainsi qu'ils sont divins :
Qui veut les séparer est loin de les connaître.
L'histoire nous apprend ce que sont les humains ;
La fable ce qu'ils doivent être.

The union of the arts is as evident as their divine original; and he who attempts to separate them knows little of them. History teaches us what mankind are; Fable what they ought to be.

RELATION

CONCERNING a WHITE NEGRO,

Brought to Paris from Africa in 1744.

I Have seen, not long since, at Paris, a little creature, as white as snow, with a nose and mouth shaped like those of the negroes, and having, like them, short curly wool on his head, but much finer, and of the most shining whiteness. His eye-lashes and eye-brows are of the same wool, but not curled; his eye-lids are so long as to hinder him from discovering the pupil of the eye when he lifts them up, which pupil is perfectly orbicular. His eyes are above all extremely singular: the iris is red, something inclined to a rose colour; the pupil, which with us, and indeed almost all others of the

the human ſpecies, is in him of a very bright yellow. And inſtead of having an aperture in the iris, as both whites, and negroes have, he has a yellow tranſparent membrane, through which he receives the light. From whence it follows, that all his countrymen muſt ſee objects in a very different manner from that in which we behold them; and if there ſhould chance to be a Newton among them, he would eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of optics entirely different from that of ours. They look exactly as the crabs go, that is, always ſide-long; and are all of them ſquint-eyed from their mother's womb: by this means they have the advantage of ſeeing on both ſides at once, and have a double axis of viſion, whilſt the fineſt eyes in this country have no more than one. But then they cannot bear the light of the ſun, and never ſee well excepting in the twilight. Nature has probably deſtined them to paſs their days in dens. They have, moreover, much longer and narrower ears than we. This creature is called a man, becauſe he is endowed with ſpeech, has memory, ſomething like what we call reaſon, and a kind of human countenance.

This race of men inhabit the interior part of Africa: the Spaniards call them Albinos. Their chief abode is near the kingdom of Loango. I cannot find out how Voſſius came to call them lepers. That which I ſaw at the Hotel de Bretagne had a very ſmooth ſkin, and exceedingly delicate, free from tetters or ſpeckles. This ſpecies is much more deſpiſed by the negroes, than the negroes are by us; and they can never find in their hearts to forgive them for having a pair of red eyes, and their little oily ſkin

that is not as black as jet. They paſs with the negroes for an inferior ſpecies, made to be their ſlaves. When a negro happens to debaſe his nature by ſtooping ſo low as to make love to one of this ſpecies, he becomes the jeſt of all the other negroes. A female negro convicted of this baſe alliance, becomes the reproach of both court and city. I have ſince learned from travellers worthy of credit, and who have been inveſted with very great truſts in the Eaſt-Indies, that ſome of this race have been tranſported to Madagaſcar, to the iſle of Bourbon, and to Pondicherry. There is no example, they told me, of their living beyond the age of five and twenty. I am at a loſs to ſay whether we ought to wiſh them joy or to condole with them on this occaſion.

It is but a few years ſince we found out that any ſuch ſpecies had a being. They had tranſported one of theſe diminutive creatures called White Moors into America. We find in the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences that Mr. Helvetius had been told of it, but nobody would give credit to the relation: for where we are apt blindly to believe every abſurdity, to make amends, we are commonly equally diſtruſtful of what is natural. The firſt time the Europeans were told of a kind of men as black as moles, it is extremely probable there was a violent fit of laughter, as there was ſince, when we were told of ſuch a thing as the antipodes. How is it poſſible, ſaid they, there ſhould be women that have not white ſkins? We have, ſince that, become familiarized to the varieties of nature. It has been diſcovered to have been the will of providence to make men with a

black

black membrane and woollyheads in temperate climates; to place white people under the line; to bronze over the inhabitants of the East and West Indies; to give a quite different figure to the Chinese than to us; and to place the pigmies of Lapland in the next country to that of the tall Swedes.

In short, we now discover a new richness in nature, a species which resembles ours no more than a pointer does a greyhound. There is probably yet another species in those parts adjacent to the Terra Australis. Hence then we see mankind are more favoured of Heaven than we at first imagined. It would have really been a melancholy affair had there been so many species of monkeys, and but one of men. It is certainly a thousand pities that so perfect an animal as man should be so little diversified, and that we are able as yet to count no more than five or six species, while there is so charming a variety amongst the brutes. It is exceeding probable some one of the species of two-legged animals without feathers may have perished, as has undoubtedly happened to many other kinds of creatures. This which we call White Moors is very far from being numerous: it would be no very difficult affair to annihilate the whole species; and were we to continue the peopling our convents in Europe, and the depopulating the globe, to be able to tell who is the king, I can hardly think our wretched species can hold out many years longer.

I am told for certain that these White Moors are a very haughty race; they imagine themselves peculiarly favoured of Heaven: that they are filled with a holy horror of such men as

have the misfortune to have black hair or black wool on their heads, ſuch as do not ſquint, or whoſe ears are curtailed of their juſt amplitude. They have an opinion the whole univerſe was created for the White Moors; that ſome time ſince there have happened to them a few ſlight misfortunes; but that all will be well again, and that one day they will become the maſters of thoſe black negroes, as well as the whites, who are curſed of God to all eternity. Poſſibly they may be deceived; but ſhould we take it into our heads to imagine ourſelves of greater conſequence than they, we are certainly altogether as egregiouſly deceived *.

ON WIT.

A Perſon who had a competent knowledge of the human heart being aſked his opinion of a tragedy that was about to be performed, made anſwer, that there was ſuch a deal of wit in the piece, that he very much doubted of its ſucceſs. "What!" ſays one, "can that be a fault in an age in which every one aims at

* It is not a very eaſy matter to diſcern the author's real deſign in this eſſay upon a white moor. If he intends it as a ſatire upon mankind in general, or any particular race, or ſect, or ſociety, we cannot pretend to explain his alluſions: but if he really thinks there is a nation of theſe white moors, he is miſtaken. A white moor is nothing but a *luſus naturæ*, which happens perhaps once in a century, in the ſame manner as an hermaphrodite, or a monſtrous birth,

being

being witty; and write only to ſhew that they are ſo; and in which the public applauds even the falſeſt thoughts, provided they are brilliant ones? moſt aſſuredly, they will applaud it one day, and condemn it the next."

What is commonly called wit is ſometimes a new ſimile, and ſometimes a delicate alluſion. In one place, it is the abuſe of a word, which is offered to the reader under one ſenſe, and which he is to underſtand in one quite different. Now it is a delicate relation between two uncommon ideas; then it is an extraordinary metaphor; a ſearch after ſomething that an object does not preſent at firſt ſight, but that yet may be found in it; the art either of uniting two things naturally very diſtant, or of dividing two things which ſeem naturally connected, or to place them in oppoſition to each other; that of ſaying only half one's thoughts, that the reader may have the pleaſure to find out the other half himſelf: in ſhort, I ſhould mention all the different ways of making our wit known, had I more of it myſelf: yet all theſe brilliants (for I do not ſpeak of mock-brilliants) are very ſeldom, if ever, ſufferable in a ſerious work, or in ſuch as ought to intereſt us. The reaſon is, that it is then the author who appears, whereas the public deſires never to ſee any perſon but the hero. Now this hero is always either in a paſſion or in danger. Neither danger nor paſſion ſeek after wit. Priam and Hecuba would not have made epigrams when Troy was in flames, and their children butchered before their faces. Dido does not vent her ſighs in madrigals, whilſt running towards the funeral pile on which ſhe is to give herſelf the fatal

blow. Demosthenes does not make use of pretty thoughts when he is stirring up the Athenians to war; had he done so, he had been a rhetorician, or a declaimer, whereas he was a statesman.

The art of the admirable Racine is infinitely beyond what is called wit; but had Pyrrhus always expressed himself in such a stile as this,

Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai,
Hélas! fus-je jamais si cruel que vous l'êtes?

A fetter'd captive, and a vanquish'd wretch,
A prey to all the pangs of heart-felt grief,
Burning with flames more fierce than those my rage
Kindled in falling Troy; say, was I e'er
So cruel, so obdurate as thou art?

Or, was Orestes continually crying,

Que les Scythes sont moins cruels qu' Hermione.

E'en savage Scythians are more gentle far
Than is Hermione:

These two characters had never produced any effect on the audience: they would have perceived that passion, which is real, very rarely amuses itself with such comparisons, and that there is very little connection between the flames which consumed Troy, and those of Pyrrhus; between the Scythians, who offered up human victims, and Hermione, who had no passion for Orestes. Cinna, speaking of Pompey, says,

Le Ciel choisit sa mort, pour servir dignement
D'une marque éternelle à ce grand changement;

Et

Et devait cet honneur aux Mânes d'un tel homme,
D'emporter avec eux la liberté de Rome.

His death was fix'd on by the righteous gods,
As the moſt glorious mark, the ſureſt monument,
To lateſt ages, of this wondrous change;
Reſolv'd, in honour to the hero's ſhade,
That Roman freedom ſhould with him expire.

This thought is certainly very ſplendid; there is a great deal of wit in it, and even a certain grandeur which dazzles at firſt ſight. I am ſure theſe verſes, pronounced with that enthuſiaſm of expreſſion, and the addreſs of an able actor, could not fail of applauſe; but I am alſo ſure, that were the tragedy of Cinna to be all written in the ſame taſte, it would not have been performed for any length of time. And, to ſpeak the truth, why ſhould Heaven reſolve to do honour to Pompey by making his countrymen ſlaves after his death? the contrary had been much more conſiſtent with probability; and the name of Pompey ought rather to have endeavoured to obtain of Heaven the perpetuating that liberty for which we ſuppoſe he both fought and died.

What muſt a work, filled with ſuch paradoxes and far-fetched thoughts, really be? how ſuperior to all theſe dazzling ideas are ſuch ſimple and natural verſes as theſe?

Cinna, tu t'en ſouviens, & veux m'aſſaſſiner!
Soyons amis, Cinna, c'eſt moi qui t'en convie.

This Cinna thou remembereſt, and would'ſt kill me!
Yet we'll be friends; it is Auguſtus aſks it.

This

This is by no means what is called wit; it is the ſublime and the ſimple, in the union of which two qualities all true beauty conſiſts.

When Antiochus in Rhodogune, ſpeaking of his miſtreſs who leaves him, after having made him the baſe propoſal to murder his mother, ſays,

Elle fuit, mais en Parthe, en nous perçant le cœur.

She flies, but, like the Parthian, flying wounds.

Antiochus is aſſuredly very witty; this is really compoſing an epigram on Rhodogune; he makes a very ingenious compariſon between the laſt words ſhe utters on her going away, and the arrows which the Parthians, in their flight, ſhot back againſt their purſuers. But it is not his miſtreſs's leaving him, but the propoſal of killing his mother, which is ſhocking: whether Rhodogune went or ſtay'd, Antiochus is equally love-ſick; but if ſhe had not gone away, there would have been no room for this wretched epigram.

I have choſen to draw theſe examples from the beſt authors, on purpoſe that they might on that account have the greater weight. I omit pointing out the trivial points, and the playing upon words, whereof we eaſily diſcover the blemiſh. There is no perſon who does not burſt out in a fit of laughter, when, in the Golden Fleece, Hipſipile ſays to Medea, alluding to her enchantments,

Je n'ai que des attraits, & vous avez des charmes.

I have but beauty, you're poſſeſs'd of charms.

Corneille found the theatre, and indeed every ſpecies of compoſition, infected with ſuch puerilities,

rilities, in which he very rarely indulges himſelf. I have no intention in this place to take notice of any ſtrokes of wit, but ſuch only as might be admitted elſewhere, and which are altogether faulty in the ſerious. We might apply to the authors who make uſe of them theſe words of Plutarch, as they are tranſlated by Amiot, with the ſimplicity peculiar to him: *Tu tien ſans propos, beaucoup de bons propos.*

I remember to have ſeen one of theſe ſplendid thoughts quoted as a model in many works of taſte, and even in the late Mr. Rollin's Treatiſe on Study. This paſſage is extracted from that beautiful funeral oration on the great Turenne, compoſed by Flechier. It is true, Flechier in this oration almoſt equals the ſublime Boſſuet, whom I have formerly called, and ſtill do call, the eloquent perſon among ſo many elegant writers; but I am of opinion the paſſage I am ſpeaking of would hardly have been made ſenſe of by the biſhop of Meaux. It is this:

> *Puiſſances ennemies de la France, vous vivez, & l'eſprit de la charité Chrêtienne m'interdit de faire ancun ſouhait pour votre mort, &c. mais vous vivez: & je plains dans cette chaire un vertueux Capitaine dont les intentions étaient pures, &c.*

Ye Powers, enemies to France, you yet ſurvive, and the ſpirit of Chriſtian charity forbids me to form a wiſh for your deaths, &c. Yes, you ſurvive, whilſt I appear in this place to perform the mournful office of lamenting a virtuous general, whoſe intentions were undefiled and pure, &c.

Such an apoſtrophe might have been ſeaſonable enough at Rome, in the time of the civil war after the murder of Pompey, or in London after that of Charles I. as the ſubject then would have related to the intereſts of Pompey and Charles I. But is it conſiſtent with decency artfully to expreſs from the pulpit a wiſh for the death of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the electors, and to put them in the ballance with the general of a king with whom they were then at war? ought the intentions of a captain, which could only be the ſerving his prince, to be compared with the political intereſts of crowned heads, againſt whom he was employed? what ſhould we have ſaid of a German who ſhould have wiſhed for the death of the king of France, becauſe count Merci, whoſe intentions were pure, happened to be killed? Why * then has this paſſage been commended on every occaſion by all the rhetoricians? The reaſon is, that this figure is naturally beautiful and pathetic; but they forget to examine the ſubſtance and fitneſs of the ſentiment it contained. Plutarch would have told Flechier, *Tu as tenu ſans propos, un très-beau propos.*

I return to the paradox I have been advancing; that all thoſe glittering thoughts to which men have given the appellation of wit, ought never to have been admitted into great works, compoſed for the inſtruction of the pub-

* Flechier copied one half of his funeral oration on marſhal Turenne from that which Lingendus, biſhop of Grenoble, had written on one of the dukes of Savoy. This paſſage, which was extremely proper for a ſovereign, is by no means ſo for a ſubject.

lic,

lic, or calculated to move the paſſions. I would not even ſtick to ſay, they ought to be baniſhed from our operas. Muſic expreſſes the paſſions, the ſentiments, and the images: but what accents are able to expreſs an epigram? Quinault has formerly been ſometimes neglected, yet he was always natural.

Of all our operas, that which is the moſt loaded with ornaments, or rather filled with this affectation of epigram, is the *Ballet du Triomphe des Arts*, compoſed by a very worthy perſon, who thought always in a very delicate and ingenious manner, and who expreſſed himſelf with equal elegance; but who, by the abuſe of this talent, has contributed ſomewhat to the downfal of letters, after thoſe happy days under Louis XIV. In this ballad, where Pygmalion gives life to his ſtatue, he tells her,

Vos premiers mouvemens ont été de m'aimer.

And your firſt movements were of love to me.

I remember to have heard this verſe admired in my youth by certain perſons. But who does not perceive that the motions of the body of the ſtatue are here confounded with the motions of the heart, and that in no ſenſe this phraſe makes good French? but is a point a mere witticiſm? How is it poſſible a perſon who had ſo much wit ſhould yet want ſenſe to retrench thoſe florid and dazzling faults? the man who deſpiſed and tranſlated Homer, and in his tranſlation thought he corrected him, and who, by abridging him, thought he had made him poſſible to be read, takes it into his head likewiſe to make Homer witty. This perſon, whilſt he makes

makes Achilles ſeemingly reconciled to the Greeks, who are now ready to revenge his quarrel, makes the whole camp cry out:

Que ne vaincra-t-il point? il s'eſt vaincu lui-même.

He ſure muſt conquer who ſubdued himſelf.

He muſt have been deeply in love with this falſe wit to cauſe an army of fifty thouſand men to expreſs themſelves by a point.

This play of the imagination, theſe pretty turns, theſe conceits, theſe gaities, theſe ſhort ſmart ſentences, theſe ingenious familiar expreſſions, men are ſo prodigal of at preſent, are only proper for trivial works, which are calculated for mere amuſement. The part of the Louvre by Perrault is at once ſimple and majeſtic. A cabinet may admit of little ornaments. Be as witty as you pleaſe, or even as you can be, in light copies of verſes, in a ſcene of a comedy, that is neither filled with paſſion, nor what we call ſimple nature, in a compliment, in ſome ſhort novel, or in a letter in which you would communicate your good humour to your friend.

Far from finding fault with Voiture for admitting wit into his letters, I am, on the contrary, of opinion, that he is not witty enough, though he was eternally ſtraining after it. Dancing-maſters are ſaid to make a bow with the worſt grace of any people, becauſe they aim at doing it better than any body elſe. I fancy this is exactly Voiture's caſe. His beſt letters are ſtudied; we perceive it has coſt him a great deal of labour to find out what offers itſelf of its own accord to count Antony Hamilton, to madam de Sévigné, and to many other

other ladies, who write ſuch trifles with the greateſt eaſe, better than Voiture could with prodigious efforts. Deſpreaux, who ventured to compare Voiture to Horace, in his firſt ſatires, changed his opinion, after his taſte had been ripened by age. I know it is of ſmall importance to mankind, whether he is, or is not, of an elevated genius; whether he has written only a few letters that can be called pretty, or whether all his pleaſantry ought to paſs for ſo many models. But perſons who love and cultivate the arts, are often particularly careful in examining what the reſt of the world is apt to look upon with the greateſt indifference. Taſte is, to the full, as neceſſary to us in the purſuit of literature, as it is to the ladies in matters of dreſs; and provided we do not make our opinions a party affair, methinks we may boldly ſay that there are few things that can be called excellent in Voiture, and that Marot might very eaſily be reduced to a few pages.

I would not, from what I have ſaid, be underſtood as deſiring to derogate from the reputation they have acquired; on the contrary, I would endeavour to let it be known exactly by what means they have acquired the reputation they enjoy, and what thoſe true beauties are which have, in ſome meaſure, made their faults paſs uncenſured. We ought to know what is worthy our imitation, and what we ought to ſhun; and this is properly what ought to be the fruit of a careful ſtudy of the belles lettres. This is the conduct Horace purſued when he examined Lucius like a true critic. Horace, by ſo doing, made himſelf enemies; but even his

his enemies were improved by the instructions he gave them.

This desire to shine, and to say what has been already said by others, after a new manner, is the source of novelty in expressions, as it is of far-fetched thoughts. An author who is incapable of shining by a thought, would make himself taken notice of by an expression. This is the reason why it has been lately attempted to substitute *amabilités* instead of *agrémens*, *négligemment* for *négligencé*, *badiner les amours* in place of *badiner avec les amours*. There are an hundred such affected expressions. Were we to continue corrupting the language in this manner, that spoken by Bossuet, Racine, Pascal, Corneille, Boileau, and Fenelon, would soon become obsolete. Why reject an expression which is in use, to make room for another signifying exactly the same thing? A new word is pardonably only when it is absolutely necessary, intelligible, and sonorous; we are under a necessity of coining such in physics: a new discovery, or a new machine, demands a new term. But are there any new discoveries made in the human heart? is there any other sublime than that of Corneille and Bossuet? are there any other passions, besides those which have been treated by Racine, or excited by Quinault? is there any Gospel-morality different from that of Bourdaloue?

Those who condemn our language as not being sufficiently copious, may be supposed to have met with something like sterility; but then it is in themselves: *Rem verba sequuntur*. When we are full of any idea, when a just and warm imagination fully possesses a thought, it

it then iſſues from the brain, ready arrayed in proper expreſſions, in the ſame manner as Minerva ſprung fully armed from that of Jupiter. I am ſenſible this ſimile might juſtly ſeem miſplaced, at leaſt in another work; but you will pardon it in a letter. In a word, the concluſion I draw from what has been ſaid is, that we muſt not ſeek after either thoughts, turns, or expreſſions; and that art, in every great work, conſiſts in reaſoning juſtly, but without making uſe of too many arguments; in painting well, but without painting every thing; in moving the paſſions, but without being always endeavouring to ſhake the ſoul. Here is certainly a world of good counſel; but have I always followed the doctrine I preach? Alas! no——

Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuere.

FRAG-

FRAGMENT of a LETTER

On a very uſeful Cuſtom which prevails in Holland.

IT is to be wiſhed that thoſe who govern nations would imitate artiſts. As ſoon as it is known in London that a new ſtuff is made in France, they are ſure to counterfeit it: Why is not a ſtateſman equally deſirous to eſtabliſh in his own country a ſalutary law taken from a foreign nation? we have arrived, at length, at the ſecret of making china-ware of an equal goodneſs to that made in China. Let us learn the ſecret of imitating the good we obſerve practiſed among our neighbours, and let our neighbours profit by what they ſee excellent among us.

There are private perſons who raiſe in their gardens the fruits which nature had appointed only to ripen under the line. We have a thouſand wiſe laws, and a thouſand excellent cuſtoms at our very doors; theſe are the fruits we ought to raiſe in our country; theſe are the trees we ought to tranſplant; they will thrive in every climate, and will proſper in every ſoil. The moſt ſalutary law, the moſt excellent cuſtom, and the moſt uſeful I have ever ſeen is in Holland. When two perſons are about to enter upon a law-ſuit, they are firſt obliged to go before a tribunal of reconciling judges, called the Peace-makers. If the parties happen to bring with them a lawyer and a counſellor, the firſt thing done is to ſend thoſe gentlemen about

about their buſineſs, as we take off the wood from a fire we want to extinguiſh. The Peace-makers tell the parties, " You are certainly great fools to ſpend your money to procure your own ruin; we will bring you to an accommodation without coſting you one farthing." If the rage of chicane happens to be too violent in our parties, they put them off to another day, in order that time may ſoften and mitigate the ſymptoms of their diſorder; after the expiration of which time the judges ſummon them before them a ſecond and a third time. If their folly is of the incurable ſort, they promiſe them they will conſent to their having their cauſe tried in a court of juſtice, in the ſame manner as we abandon an incurable member to the ſurgeon; and then the law has its courſe.

There is no neceſſity to make long declamations, or to calculate how much it would be for the advantage of humanity, were this law univerſally adopted. And beſides, I am by no means deſirous to follow the traces of the abbe de St. Pierre, whoſe projects a certain miniſter, and a man of ſenſe, called *The dreams of a worthy man.* I know that if a private perſon of integrity and good ſenſe, offers a propoſal for the public good, it too often happens that he is abuſed or laughed at for his pains. " What meddling fellow is this," ſome will ſay, " who pretends to make us happier than we chuſe to be? and goes about to reform abuſes by which ſo many people get their living?"—What reply can be made to this? for my part I know of none.

A LET-

A LETTER ON THE Inconveniences attached to the Profeſſion of LETTERS *.

YOUR vocation, my dear le Fevre, is too plainly marked out by nature to be able to reſiſt it. The bee muſt needs make honey, the ſilk-worm ſpin, Mr. Réaumur muſt diſſect them, and you ſing their labours. You will be a poet and a man of letters, not ſo much by your own choice as by that of nature. But you are much deceived in thinking that tranquility will be your lot. The road of literature, and, above all, of genius, is yet more thorny than that of fortune. If you have the misfortune to be only an indifferent poet, which I am far from believing, here is nothing before you but repentance whilſt you live. If you ſucceed, you are then ſure to be ſurrounded with enemies; in a word, you walk on the brink of a precipice, with contempt on one hand, and hatred on the other.

"But what," you will tell me, "can it be poſſible I ſhould be hated and perſecuted merely

* This letter ſeems to have been written in 1732, as the author had, about that time, taken into his houſe the young man called Mr. le Fevre, to whom it is addreſſed. He is ſaid to have been of a very promiſing genius, very learned, and to have written ſome extreme pretty verſes. He died the ſame year.

for

for having written a good poem, a play that has had a run, or compiled a hiſtory with approbation, or for having ſought to improve my own mind, or to contribute to the inſtruction of others?" But, admitting you have compoſed an excellent work, are you aware that you muſt abandon the repoſe of your ſtudy, in order to make your application to the licenſer? If his way of thinking happens to differ from yours, if he chances not to be your friend's friend, if he is in the intereſt of your rival, or if he is your rival himſelf, it will be more difficult for you to obtain a privilege, than for a man who has not the protection of the women to get a place at court. At length, after a year ſpent in applications and refuſals, your work is printed; then it is you are obliged either to lay the Cerberus's of literature aſleep, or engage them to bark in your favour. There are always three or four literary gazettes in France, as many in Holland; theſe are ſo many different factions. The bookſellers, whoſe property theſe journals are, have an intereſt in their being ſatirical; and thoſe who write in them are eaſily brought to humour the avarice of the bookſeller, and the ill nature of the public. Are you deſirous to ſet theſe trumpets of fame ſounding, do you pay your court to writers, patrons, abbès, doctors, and hawkers; all your cares will not avail, but ſome journaliſt or other will mangle your reputation. You anſwer him; he replies; you have a paper-war carried on before the public, who condemns both parties alike to ridicule.

The matter is ſtill worſe if you happen to write for the ſtage; you begin with appearing

before the areopagus of a ſcore of pleaders, a body whoſe profeſſion, though both uſeful and diverting, is, notwithſtanding, ſullied by the unjuſt but irrevocable cruelty of the public. This unhappy ſtate of contempt in which they are, irritates them. In you they behold a client, and laviſh on you all that contempt with which they themſelves are covered. You await your doom from them; they ſit in judgment on your merits; and, at length, undertake to perform your piece. One fooliſh wit in the pit is enough to damn all your hopes. Does it ſucceed? That farce, called the Italian Comedy, that of the Foire, will parody you; and a ſwarm of libels are publiſhed to prove to you, that you ſhould not in juſtice have met with any ſucceſs. Some of the pretenders to learning, who neither underſtand Greek, nor read what is publiſhed in French, deſpiſe, or, at leaſt, affect to deſpiſe you.

You carry your book to ſome lady of the court, and, as you go, tremble for fear ſhe ſhould give it to her woman, who will make papers for her hair of it; and the lacquey, all bedaubed with lace, who is keeper of the book of luxury, inſults your dreſs, which is the livery of indigence.

In ſhort, I will ſuppoſe that the fame of your works may have forced envy herſelf ſometimes to acknowledge you are not without your ſhare of merit. This is the utmoſt you can expect whilſt living; but you will pay dearly for this condeſcenſion, and have nothing to look for but perpetual perſecution. You will have libels imputed to you, which you have never ſo much as read; verſes for which you entertain the

moſt

moſt ſovereign contempt; and ſentiments to which you are an utter ſtranger: you will be compelled to eſpouſe a party, or elſe have all parties unite in a body againſt you.

There are in Paris a number of thoſe little ſocieties, in which ſome woman preſides, who in the decline of her beauty begins to exhibit the firſt dawning of her wit. One or two of the men of letters are the firſt members of this little kingdom. Should you neglect getting yourſelf admitted in quality of a courtier, you are ſure of being held as a declared enemy, and are accordingly allowed no quarter. In the mean while, in ſpite of all your merit, you grow old in the midſt of ſlander and wretchedneſs; thoſe places which are deſtined for men of letters, are given to thoſe who can beſt cabal, and not to thoſe who are only recommended by their talents: and ſome pedagogue, by means of his pupil's mother, ſhall obtain a place to which you dare not ſo much as lift up your eyes; and the paraſite of ſome courtier carry an employ from you for which you are extremely well qualified.

Should chance lead you into one of thoſe companies in which ſome one of the authors who have been damned by the public happens to be, or one of thoſe half-learned, who have not even merit ſufficient to be ranked among the middling authors, but who has a place, or who may have thruſt himſelf into ſome public office; you will ſoon perceive by the ſuperiority which he affects to have over you, that you are in the very loweſt claſs of mankind.

After forty years labour, you reſolve to ſeek, by means of intriguing, after what is never

given to merit alone, and you make intereſt, as others do, to be admitted into the French academy, and to be allowed to pronounce with a heſitating voice, at your reception, a compliment, which next day will be forgotten for ever. This French academy is the ſecret object of the vows of every man of letters; it is a miſtreſs againſt whom they are perpetually making ſongs and epigrams, till they have obtained her favours, and whom they neglect the next moment after fruition.

It is no wonder they ſhould be deſirous of being admitted into a ſociety in which there are always ſome perſons of merit, and from whom they expect, though with little reaſon, to find protection. But you may perhaps aſk me, why people ſay all the ill-natured things in their power againſt this body, till ſuch time as they become members of it? and why the public, which ſhews ſufficient reſpect to the Academy of Sciences, uſes ſo little ceremony with the French Academy? The reaſon is, that the works of the French Academy are expoſed to the view of the public, whereas thoſe of the other are covered with a veil. Every Frenchman thinks he knows the language, and piques himſelf on his taſte; but they rarely value themſelves on being thought natural philoſophers. The mathematics will always be a kind of myſtery to the bulk of the nation, and conſequently will always be an object of veneration. Algebraic equations afford no matter either for an epigram, for a ſong, or for envy; but people judge with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe enormous collections of indifferent verſes, harangues, and panegyrics, which are ſometimes

as falſe as the eloquence with which they are accompanied. We are ſorry to ſee the device of *Immortality* at the head of ſo many declamations, which promiſe nothing that is likely to laſt for ever, but that oblivion to which they are condemned.

It is moſt certain that the French Academy might ſerve to fix the taſte of the nation, as will appear by reading their remarks on the Cid; the jealouſy of cardinal Richlieu has, at leaſt, had this good effect. A few works in this kind would be of very great ſervice. We have looked for ſuch theſe hundred years from the only body from whom they can proceed with any decorum or advantage. Complaints have been made that half the academicians conſiſt of noblemen who never aſſiſt at their meetings, and that, among the remaining half, there are hardly to be found above nine or ten who give conſtant attendance. The academy is often neglected by its own members; and yet no ſooner does one of the forty die, but new candidates appear; a vacant biſhopric could not occaſion more caballing; they ride poſt to Verſailles; all the women are ſet to work as well as all the buſtling people; every ſpring is put in motion; and often the only fruit of theſe negotiations is the making of enemies; the chief cauſe of thoſe horrible couplets which have for ever undone the celebrated but unfortunate Rouſſeau, were owing to his failing of the place which he ſolicited in the Academy. Are you ſo fortunate as to carry the preference over all your rivals, your felicity preſently dwindles to a mere phantom; do you meet with a diſappointment, your affliction is then

real. One might write these verses on the tomb of most men of letters:

Ci gît au bord de l'Hippocrène,
Un mortel longtems abusé.
Pour vivre pauvre & méprisé,
Il se donna bien de la peine.

Here lies, by the Castalian brook,
A victim to the love of fame,
A world of pains this poet took
To live in poverty and shame.

What then is the drift of this long sermon I have been making? Can it be to deter you from the pursuit of the road of literature? I will not so much oppose the course of destiny; all I mean by this is only to exhort you to patience.

A FRAG-

A

FRAGMENT

ON THE

Cauſes of the Corruption of STILE.

IT is a general complaint that eloquence is corrupted, though we have models in almoſt all the kinds. One of the grand defects of the preſent age, and which has moſt contributed to this decline, is the mixture of ſtiles. It would ſeem we authors do not enough imitate the painters, who make it a conſtant rule never to join the attitudes of Calot to the figures of Raphael. I have ſeen ſome hiſtories, in other reſpects well enough written, and even good dogmatical pieces, compoſed in the ſtile of the moſt familiar converſation. Some one has formerly ſaid, we ought to write as we ſpeak; the meaning of which is certainly this, that we ought to write naturally. Irregularity, licentiouſneſs, incorrectneſs, and even a hazarded ſtroke of wit, may be tolerated in a letter; becauſe a letter, which is ſuppoſed to be written without ſtudy or deſign, is of courſe an eaſy and careleſs compoſition; but when we ſpeak or write with an idea of reſpect, we are then obliged to confine ourſelves within the limits of decorum. Now, I aſk, whether there is any thing more deſerving of reſpect than the public?

Is it allowable to ſay, in a mathematical work, " that a geometrician, who would make ſure of his ſalvation, ought to mount up to Heaven in a perpendicular line; that evaneſcent quantities fall to the ground from their ambition of aſcending too high; that a ſeed that has been ſown with the wrong end in the ground is ſenſible of the trick that has been played it, and therefore riſes again in an upright poſture; that were Saturn to periſh, it would be his fifth and not his firſt ſatellite that would fill his place, becauſe kings always keep their immediate heirs at a diſtance; that there is no vacuum in nature but in the pocket of a bankrupt; that Hercules was a natural philoſopher, and that to reſiſt a philoſopher of his ſtrength was a thing impoſſible?"

There are very excellent books infected with this blemiſh; the ſource of this ſo common a fault, proceeds, in my opinion, from that reproach of pedantry that has long been made to authors, and with abundance of juſtice: *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga.* It has been ſo often rung in people's ears, that they ought to write in the language of the beſt company, that the graveſt authors are grown witty; and, in order to paſs with their readers for one accuſtomed to ſee good company, they ſay things worthy of the very worſt ſort of company.

They have attempted to treat of the ſciences, in the ſame tone as Voiture talked to mademoiſelle Paulet about gallantry, without reflecting that Voiture himſelf has not hit the true taſte of this light way of writing, in which he was thought to have excelled; for he often miſtook the

the falſe for the delicate, as he did the affected ſtile for the natural. Pleaſantry is never good in the ſerious, becauſe it glances only on that ſide of objects on which it is never viewed by the public; it turns almoſt perpetually on falſe relations, or on equivocal meanings; from whence it comes that thoſe who ſet up for profeſſed wits have commonly judgements equally falſe and ſuperficial.

I ſhould think we ought as little to mix ſtiles in poetry as in proſe. That ſtile which is called Marotic has lately corrupted our poetry a little, by that extravagant mingle of expreſſions, at the ſame time creeping and noble, obſolete and modern; we ſometimes, in pieces of morality, hear the ſqueaking of Rabelais' whiſtle blended with the ſoftneſs of Horace's flute.

Il faut parler Français: Boileau n'eut qu'un langage:
Son eſprit était juſte, & ſon ſtile était ſage.
Sers-toi de ſes leçons; laiſſe aux eſprits mal-faits
L'art de moraliſer du ton de Rabelais.

We ſhould ſpeak plain ſenſe: Boileau had but one language. His wit was juſt, his ſtile grave and decent; obſerve his rules, and leave to left-handed wits the unenvied art of moralizing in the groſs ſtile of Rabelais.

I confeſs I was ſhocked to meet with the following expreſſions in a ſerious epiſtle.

Des rimeurs diſloqués, à qui le cerveau tinte,
Plus amers qu'aloës, & jus de coloquinte,
Vices portant méchef. Gens de tel acabit,
Chifoniers, Oſtrogots, maroufles que Dieu fit.

De tous ces termes bas l'entaſſement facile
Déſhonore à la fois le génie & le ſtile.

To a certain UPPER CLERK.

June 20, 1733.

SIR,

SINCE you are in a ſituation which enables you to do ſome ſervice to the belles lettres, let me entreat you not to clip ſo cloſe the wings of our writers, nor reduce to the condition of barn-door fowls thoſe who, by uſing their beſt efforts, might one day become eagles; a decent freedom elevates the mind, whilſt a ſtate of ſlavery renders it degenerate and abject. Had there been a literary inquiſition at Rome, we had neither had a Horace, nor a Juvenal, nor even the philoſophical works of Cicero. Had Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Locke, not been free, England had been without either poets or philoſophers; there is a certain Turkiſh deſpotiſm in proſcribing the preſs; and to confine it too much is equal to a prohibition. Be ſatisfied with laying defamatory libels under the ſevereſt reſtraint, becauſe ſuch productions as theſe are real crimes. But whilſt men openly publiſh ſuch monſtruous collections of the moſt infamous ribaldry, and ſo many other pieces, equally deſerving our horror and contempt; permit Bayle, at leaſt, to make his appearance in France, and let not the works of a

perſon

perſon who has done ſo much honour to our country be rated as contraband.

You may perhaps tell me, that the magiſtrates who manage the literary cuſtom-houſe complain that there are too many books. This is much the ſame as if the provoſt of the merchants at Paris ſhould ſay there were too many commodities at market. Let him buy that wants. An immenſe library is like the city of Paris, which contains very near eight hundred thouſand ſouls: now, you do not aſſociate with all this prodigious multitude; you chooſe out ſome ſelect company, agreeable to your taſte and inclinations, and you change it whenever you grow tired of it. Books are uſed in much the ſame manner: We chuſe out ſome, by way of friends, from the multitude. There will ſtill be ſeven or eight hundred thouſand books of controverſy, and from fifteen to ſixteen thouſand romances, which you will never read; with a world of looſe periodical papers, which you may read once, and then throw into the fire. A man of taſte reads only the excellent authors; but a good ſtateſman will tolerate both kinds.

The thoughts of men are become an important object in commerce. The bookſellers in Holland gain a million yearly, becauſe Frenchmen formerly had wit. A middling romance is, as I am perfectly well aſſured, among books, what a fool, that would be thought a man of imagination, is in the world: People laugh at him, but yet they put up with him. This romance gives bread to the author who has compoſed it, to the bookſeller who vends it, toge-

ther with the type-founder, printer, bookbinder, hawker, and, laſtly, the retailer of execrable wine, with whom all thoſe gentlemen lay out their money. This work will moreover ſerve for two or three hours amuſement to a few women, with whom novelty is the moſt eſſential quality in books, as it is in every thing elſe. Thus, contemptible as it is, it has produced two things of vaſt importance, profit and pleaſure.

Shews, moreover, merit ſtill greater attention; I do not conſider them as an employment which takes young people from debauchery; this notion is fit for ſuch an one as an ignorant curate. There is time enough, both before and after ſhews, to enjoy the few moments which are commonly beſtowed on tranſitory pleaſures, immediately followed by diſguſt. Beſides, men do not go to ſhews every day; and among the vaſt multitude of citizens, there are not four thouſand perſons who attend them conſtantly.

I conſider tragedy and comedy as ſo many ſchools of virtue, reaſon, and decorum. Corneille, who may really be called an ancient Roman living in France, has founded a ſchool wherein noble ſentiments are taught; and Moliere an academy wherein are explained the duties of civil life. Thoſe geniuſes which they have formed, draw ſtrangers from the remoteſt parts of Europe, who come to receive inſtructions amongſt us, and who contribute to the opulence of Paris. Our poor are fed by the produce of theſe works, which have gained us an empire over thoſe very nations who have a natural

natural hatred to us. The whole being well conſidered, a man muſt be an enemy to his country to condemn our ſhews. A magiſtrate, in right of having bought at a high price the office of a judge, has the audaciouſneſs to think, that it is indecent in him to go to ſee Cinna: ſuch a perſon may have a great deal of gravity, but ſurely is poſſeſſed of a very ſmall ſhare of taſte.

There will always be, in this polite nation of ours, minds which naturally have a tincture of the Goth and Vandal; but I can only acknowledge thoſe who love and encourage the arts as true Frenchmen. This taſte, it is true, begins to ſink amongſt us: we are, like the Sibarites, weary of the favours of our miſtreſſes: we enjoy the vigils of theſe great men, whoſe labours ſerve for our amuſement, as well as for that of ages yet unborn, juſt as we receive the productions of nature. They will tell us they are due to us; it is but an hundred years ſince we fed on acorns; yet thoſe Triptolomus's, who have given us the fineſt wheat, are become indifferent to us; nothing awakens this ſpirit of indolence and indifference for great objects, which is an inſeparable companion of our vivacity and eagerneſs for trifles.

We diſcover every year more induſtry and invention in our ſnuff-boxes, our tweezer-caſes, and ſuch trinkets, than the Engliſh have made uſe of to obtain the empire of the ſeas, to cauſe water to aſcend by means of fire, and to calculate the aberration of light. The antient Romans raiſed wonders in architecture for their ſpectacles of wild beaſts; yet have we not for an age paſt been able to build a tolerable room

to

to repreſent the maſter-pieces of the human mind. The hundredth part of our card-money would be ſufficient to build places for our ſhows more pompous than the theatre of Pompey: but where is the man in Paris who is fired with the ſmalleſt ſpark of love for his country? We game, ſup, and like ſcandal, compoſe wretched ſongs, and fall aſleep in the hands of ſtupidity, in order to awake next day to renew the ſame circle of levity and indifference. You, Sir, who hold at leaſt a ſmall place, which gives you an opportunity of giving wholeſome counſel, do you endeavour to rouze men from this barbarous lethargy, and be a benefactor, if you can, to the commonwealth of letters, who have been ſo great benefactors to France.

DIALOGUE

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN A

CLIENT and his LAWYER.

CLIENT.

WELL, Sir! with regard to the cauſe of thoſe poor orphans!

LAWYER.

What do you mean? It is but eighteen years ſince their eſtate has been in litigation.

CLIENT.

I don't complain of that trifling matter; I know the cuſtom well enough; I reſpect it: but how, in the name of Heaven, comes it to paſs, that you have been theſe three months ſollicitiing a hearing, and have not yet obtained it?

LAWYER.

The reaſon is becauſe you have not ſollicited an audience in perſon in behalf of your pupils: you ought to have waited on the judge ſeveral different times, to intreat him to try your cauſe.

CLIENT.

It is their duty to do juſtice of their own accord, without waiting till it is aſked them. He is a very great man that has it in his power to ſit in judgment on men's lives and fortunes; but he is by no means ſo to deſire that the miſerable ſhould wait in his anti-chamber. I do not go to our parſon's levee to pray and beſeech him to

have the goodneſs to ſing high maſs: why ought I then to petition my judge to diſcharge the function of his office? In ſhort, after ſo many and ſuch tedious delays, are we at length going to be ſo happy as to have our cauſe tried today?

LAWYER.

Why, yes; and there is great likelihood of your carrying a very material point in your proceſs: you have a very deciſive article in *Charondas* on your ſide.

CLIENT.

This ſame *Charondas* was, in all probability, ſome lord-chancellor in the time of one of the kings of the firſt race, who has paſſed a law in favour of orphans?

LAWYER.

By no means: he is no more than a private perſon who has given his opinion in a great volume which no-body reads: but then your advocate quotes him; the judges take it upon his credit; ſo there's your cauſe gained in a trice.

CLIENT.

What! do you tell me the opinion of this judge Charondas paſſes current for a law?

LAWYER.

But there is one deviliſh bad circumſtance attends us. Turnet and Brodeau are both againſt us.

CLIENT.

Theſe, I ſuppoſe, are two other legiſlators, whoſe laws have much the ſame authority with thoſe of that other hard-named gentleman.

LAW-

LAWYER.

Yes, certainly; as it was impoſſible to explain the Roman law ſufficiently in the preſent caſe, the world took different ſides of the queſtion.

CLIENT.

What the devil ſignifies it to bring in the Roman law in this affair. Do we live, in the preſent age, under Theodoſius or Juſtinian?

LAWYER.

By no means; but our forefathers, you muſt know, had a prodigious paſſion for tilting and fox-hunting: they ran all, as if they were mad, to the Holy Land with their doxies. You will grant me, that men, in ſuch a hurry of buſineſs, of conſequence, could not be ſuppoſed to have time on their hands to frame a complete body of univerſal juriſprudence.

CLIENT.

Aye! aye! I underſtand you. For want of laws of your own, you are forced to beg of Charondas and Juſtinian to be ſo good as tell you how you ſhould proceed when an inheritance is to be divided.

LAWYER.

There you are miſtaken: we have more laws than all Europe beſides; almoſt every city has a body of laws of its own.

CLIENT.

Your moſt obedient. Here's another miracle.

LAWYER.

Ah! had your wards been born at Guignes-la-Putain, inſtead of being natives of Melun near Corbeil!

CLI-

CLIENT.

Very well: what had happened then, for God's ſake?

LAWYER.

You would have gained your cauſe, as ſure as two and two make four; that's all: for at this ſame Guignes-la-Putain there is a cuſtom which is wholly in your favour; but were you to go but two leagues beyond this, you would then be in a very different ſituation.

CLIENT.

But pray are not Guignes and Melun both in France? And can any thing be more abſurd or horrible, than to tell me, that what's right in one village is wrong in another? By what fatal barbarity does it happen, that people, born in the ſame country, do yet live under different laws?

LAWYER.

The reaſon is, that formerly the inhabitants of Guignes and thoſe of Melun were not inhabitants of the ſame country: theſe two fine cities formed, in the golden days of yore, two diſtinct empires; and the auguſt ſovereign of Guignes, though a vaſſal to the king of France, gave laws to his own ſubjects. Thoſe laws depended on the good-will and pleaſure of his *major domo*, who, it ſeems, could not read; ſo that they have been handed down, by a moſt venerable tradition, from father to ſon; ſo that the whole race of the barons de Guignes becoming extinct, to the irrecoverable loſs of all mankind, the conceits of their firſt lacqueys ſtill ſubſiſts, and is held for the fundamental law of the land. The caſe is exactly the ſame

in

in every ſix leagues in the whole kingdom; ſo that you change laws every time you change horſes; ſo you may judge what a taking we poor advocates are in, when we are to plead, for inſtance, for an inhabitant of Poictou againſt an inhabitant of Auvergne.

CLIENT.

But theſe ſame men of Poictou, Auvergne, with your Guignes gentry, are they not all dreſſed in the ſame manner? Is it a harder matter to uſe the ſame laws than it is to wear the ſame cloaths? And ſince it is evident the taylors and coblers underſtand one another from one end of the kingdom to the other, why cannot the judges learn of them, and follow ſo excellent an example?

LAWYER.

You deſire a thing altogether as impoſſible as it would be to bring the nation to make uſe of one ſort of weights and meaſures. Why would you have the laws every-where the ſame, when you ſee the point is different in all places? For my own part, after thinking till my head was like to ſplit, all I have been able to conclude for the ſoul of me, is this: That as the meaſure of Paris is different from that at St. Denis, it follows, that men's judgments muſt alſo be different in both. The varieties of nature are infinite, and it would be wrong in us to endeavour to render uniform what ſhe intends ſhall not be ſo.

CLIENT.

Yet, now I think on it, I have a ſtrong notion the Engliſh have but one ſort of weight and meaſures.

LAW-

LAWYER.

The Engliſh! ay. Why the Engliſh are mere Barbarians: they have, it is true, but one kind of meaſure; but, to make amends, they have a ſcore of different religions.

CLIENT.

There you mention ſomething ſtrange indeed! Is it poſſible that a nation, who live under the ſame laws, ſhould not likewiſe live under the ſame religion?

LAWYER.

It is; which makes it plain they are abandoned to their own reprobate underſtandings.

CLIENT.

But may not it alſo prove, that they think laws made for regulating the external actions of men, and religion the internal? Poſſibly the Engliſh, and other nations, were of opinion, that laws related to the concernments of man with man, and that religion regarded man's relation to God. I am ſure, I ſhould never quarrel with an Anabaptiſt who ſhould take it into his head to be chriſtened at thirty years old; but I ſhould be horridly offended with him, ſhould he fail paying his bill of exchange. They who ſin againſt God, ought to be puniſhed in the other world; they who ſin againſt man, ought to be chaſtiſed in this.

LAWYER.

I underſtand nothing of all this. I am juſt going to plead your cauſe.

CLIENT.

I wiſh to God you underſtood it better firſt.

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Madam de MAINTENON

AND

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS *.

Madam MAINTENON.

'TIS true, I did requeſt you to come to ſee me privately: perhaps you may think it was only to make a diſplay of my grandeur; by no means; I really meant it that I might receive in you a real conſolation——

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Conſolation, madam! I muſt acknowledge, that, having never been favoured with hearing of you ſince you were grown great, I concluded you muſt be perfectly happy.

Madam MAINTENON.

I have the good fortune to be thought ſo. There are people in the world who are ſatisfied

* Madame de Maintenon and mademoiſelle Ninon de l'Enclos had lived long together. This celebrated young lady, who died in her eighty-eighth year, had ſeen our author, and had even left him a legacy by her will. The author has often heard the late abbe de Chateauneuf ſay, that madam de Maintenon had uſed her utmoſt endeavours to engage Ninon to turn nun, and to come and comfort her at Verſailles under the irkſome load of grandeur and old age.

with

with this; though, to be plain with you, it is not at all my caſe; I have always exceedingly regretted your company.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I underſtand you. In the midſt of your grandeur you were ſenſible of the want of friendſhip; and I, on the other hand, who am entirely engroſſed by friendſhip, never had occaſion to wiſh for grandeur; but how then comes it to paſs you forgot me ſo long?

Madam MAINTENON.

You know the neceſſity I was under to ſeem at leaſt to forget you. Believe me, amidſt all the misfortunes attached to my elevation, I always reckoned this reſtraint the chief.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

As for my part, I neither forget my former pleaſures, nor my old friends; but if you are really unhappy, as you ſay you are, you impoſe prodigiouſly on the whole world, who believe you otherwiſe.

Madam MAINTENON.

I was the firſt perſon deceived in this manner myſelf. If, whilſt we were at ſupper together, in company with Villarſaux and Nantouillet at our little houſe the Tournelles, when the mediocrity of our fortune was ſcarce worth thinking of, ſome-body had ſaid, You will, before 'tis long, approach very near to the throne; the moſt powerful monarch in the world will ſoon make you his ſole confidant; all favours will paſs through your hands; you will be regarded as a ſovereign: if, ſaid I, any one had made me ſuch predictions, I ſhould have

anſwered,

anſwered, The accompliſhment of this ſtrange prognoſtication muſt certainly kill one with mere aſtoniſhment. The whole of it was actually accompliſhed; I felt ſome ſurprize in the firſt moments; but, in hoping for joy, I found myſelf entirely miſtaken.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

A philoſopher might poſſibly believe this; but the public will with great difficulty be brought to believe you were diſſatisfied; and ſhould they really think ſo, they would certainly blame you for it.

Madam MAINTENON.

The world muſt then be as much in the wrong as I was. This world of ours is a vaſt amphitheatre, where every one is placed on his bench by mere chance. They imagine the ſupreme degree of felicity to be on the uppermoſt benches. What an egregious miſtake!

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I take this miſtake to be neceſſary to human nature: they would never give themſelves any trouble about getting higher, were they not led by an opinion, that happineſs is placed above them. Both of us are acquainted with pleaſures infinitely leſs deceiving or fanciful: but, for Heaven's ſake, how did you contrive to be ſo exceeding wretched on your exalted ſeat?

Madam MAINTENON.

Alas! my dear Ninon! from the time I left off calling you any thing but Mademoiſelle de l'Enclos, I from that moment began to be leſs happy. It was decreed I muſt be a prude. This is telling all in one word. My heart is empty; my mind under reſtraint; I make the firſt figure

in

in France; but it is really no more than a figure, a ſhadow! I live only a kind of borrowed life. Ah! did you but know what a burden it muſt be to a drooping ſoul, to animate another ſoul, or to amuſe a mind no longer capable of amuſement*!

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I eaſily gueſs the uneaſineſs of your ſituation. I fear inſulting you, ſhould I mention the reflection that Ninon is happier at Paris, in her little houſe, with the abbé de Chateauneuf, and ſome friends, than you at Verſailles in the company of the moſt reſpectable perſonage in all Europe, who lays all his power at your feet. I am afraid to ſhew you the ſuperiority of my ſituation: I know it is wrong to diſcover too ſenſible a reliſh of our felicity in the preſence of the unhappy. Endeavour, madam, to bear the load of your grandeur with patience; try to forget that delightful obſcurity in which we formerly lived together, in the ſame manner you have been obliged to forget your ancient friends. The ſole remedy in your painful ſtate, is to avoid reflection as much as poſſible, crying out with the poet,

Félicité paſſée,
Qui ne peut revenir,
Tourment de ma penſée,
Que n'ai-je en te perdant, perdu le ſouvenir!

Tormenting thought of former happineſs, gone, never to return! Why, when I was bereft of the joy, did I not loſe the remembrance of it alſo!

* Theſe are madam Maintenon's own words, *Amuſer un eſprit qui n'eſt plus amuſable!*

Drink

Drink of the river Lethe, and above all comfort yourself with having before your eyes so many royal dames, whose time lies as heavy upon their hands as yours can do.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, my dear! what felicity can one find in being alone? I would fain make a proposal to you, but I am afraid to open myself.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Indeed, madam, to be plain with you, you have reason to be a little mistrustful; but take courage.

Madam MAINTENON.

I mean that you will barter, at least in appearance, your philosophy for prudery, and then you will become a truly respectable woman. You shall live with me at Versailles, you shall be more my friend than ever, and help me to support my present condition.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I still have a great affection for you, madam, but I must freely own to you, I love myself still better; and can never consent to turn hypocrite, and render myself miserable for ever, because fortune has treated you scurvily.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, cruel Ninon! you have a heart more hard than even the very courtiers themselves. Can you then abandon me without the least remorse?

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

By no means: I am still but too sensible. You really melt me; and, to convince you I have the same regard for you as ever, I now make you the last offer in my power; quit

Verſailles, and come and live with me at the rües des Tournelles.

Madam MAINTENON.

You pierce my very heart. I cannot be happy near the throne, nor can I enjoy pleaſure in a retired life. This is one of the fatal effects of living in a court.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

There is no remedy for an incurable diſorder. I ſhall take the opinion of the philoſophers who frequent my houſe concerning your malady; but I cannot promiſe you they will effect impoſſibilities.

Madam MAINTENON.

Good heavens! what a cruel ſituation! to behold myſelf on the very pinnacle of greatneſs, to be worſhipped as a deity, and yet not to be able to taſte of happineſs!

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Hold, my dear friend, I fancy there is ſome miſtake in this; you believe yourſelf unhappy merely on account of your greatneſs: but may not the misfortune proceed from another cauſe, that your eyes have no longer the ſame luſtre, your appetite no longer ſo good, nor your reliſh for pleaſures ſo lively as heretofore? You have loſt your youth, beauty, and feelings; this, this, is your real misfortune. This is the reaſon why ſo many women turn devotees at fifty, and ſo fly from one chagrin into the arms of another.

Madam MAINTENON.

But, after all, you have more years over your head than I have, and you are neither unhappy nor a devotee.

Made-

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Let us underſtand each other. We ought not to imagine that at your age and mine we can enjoy complete happineſs. It requires a ſoul glowing with the moſt exquiſite ſenſations, and the five ſenſes in their higheſt perfection, to taſte this kind of felicity. But with a few friends, a little philoſophy, and liberty, one may be as much at one's eaſe, as this age will admit of. The mind is never unhappy but when out of its ſphere. So e'en take my advice, and come and live with me, and my philoſophical friends.

Madam MAINTENON.

I ſee two miniſters of ſtate coming this way. They are very different company from philoſophers; ſo fare you well, my dear Ninon.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Adieu, illuſtrious unfortunate.

DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
A PHILOSOPHER,
AND A
COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE FINANCES.

PHILOSOPHER.

DO you know that a minister of the finances is capable of doing a greal deal of good, and consequently of being a much greater man than a marshal of France?

MINISTER.

I would readily believe that a philosopher would endeavour to soften the accusation of hard heartedness, with which the public generally load those in my office; but I could never have believed that he would have endeavoured to inspire me with vanity.

PHILOSOPHER.

Vanity is far from being such a vice as you may suppose it. Had not Lewis XIV. had a tincture of it, his reign would never have been so illustrious as it was. The great Colbert was not without his share of it; be it yours to surpass him. You are born in an age more favourable to this passion than his; and it is the business of every one to raise his views according to the times he lives in.

MINISTER.

I will allow that those who cultivate a fruit-

ful

ful ſoil have greatly the advantage over thoſe who firſt broke the land.

PHILOSOPHER.

Be perſuaded that there is nothing ſo uſefull but you may eaſily accompliſh. When Colbert came to the adminiſtration, he found, on one hand, the finances in all that diſorder, which muſt have been the inevitable conſequences of a civil war, and thirty years of rapine and licentiouſneſs. On the other, he found the nation fickle, ignorant, and enſlaved to prejudices of thirteen hundred years ſtanding. There was not a man at the council board who knew what was meant by exchange, or had the leaſt idea of trade, or the proportion between different ſpecies of coin. At preſent our knowledge is improved by mutual communication. The populace indeed ſtill remain in the very depth of ignorance, or employed in the taſk of getting their daily ſubſiſtence; and I will venture to affirm that it is the buſineſs of the government to keep them in this condition. But the middling rank of people, which is very conſiderable, are become enlightened; they govern the great, who ſometimes think, and the ſmall, who never think at all. The ſame thing has happened in relation to the finances, ſince the time of the famous Colbert, as has happened in muſick ſince that of Lulli. This great maſter could hardly meet with a perſon to play one of his ſimphonies, ſimple as they were. At preſent, the number of artiſts, capable of executing the moſt difficult pieces of muſick, have increaſed in proportion as the art itſelf has improved. It is the ſame with philoſophy, and the miniſterial office.

Colbert did greater things than the duke of Sully, and you muſt do greater than Colbert.

At theſe words, the miniſter perceiving that the philoſopher had a bundle of papers in his hand, deſired to ſee them. They contained a collection of hints capable of furniſhing ſome very uſeful reflections. The miniſter took them, and read as follows.

The wealth of a ſtate conſiſts in the number of its inhabitants and their labour.

Commerce ſerves to render one ſtate more powerful than another, in that in a certain number of years it has neceſſarily a war with its neighbours; as in like manner as in a certain number of years, there is always ſome public calamity. Then, in the calamity of war, the richer nation, *cæteris paribus*, neceſſarily gains an advantage over the others, becauſe it can purchaſe the aſſiſtance of a greater number of allies, and foreign troops. Without the calamity of war, the augmentation of the maſs of gold, and ſilver would be uſeleſs: for provided there was ſufficient of thoſe metals for the purpoſes of circulation, and that the balance of trade was only equal, it is clear we ſhould not be in want of any thing.

Suppoſing there are two milliards * in a nation. Then the price of all commodities and labour would be double of what they would be, if there was only one milliard. I am as rich with a yearly income of 50,000 livres, if I can buy a pound of meat for four ſous, as with an

* A milliard is two thouſand millions, but by this is meant ſo many millions of French livres, 24 of which go to our Engliſh pound ſterling.

100,000

100,000, if the ſame quantity of meat will coſt me eight ſous, and ſo of the reſt in proportion. The real wealth of a kingdom then conſiſts, not in gold and ſilver, but in the plenty of all kinds of commodities, in induſtry, and in labour. It is not long ſince there was a Spaniſh regiment on the borders of the river la Plata, where the officers had all hilts of maſſy gold to their ſwords, and not a ſhirt to their backs, nor a morſel of bread to put in their mouths.

I will ſuppoſe that ſince the time of Hugh Capet, the quantity of money in the kingdom has not been increaſed: but that induſtry has been augmented to one in all arts. I maintain then that we are in reality an hundred times richer than we were in the time of Hugh Capet, for enjoyment makes riches. Now, I am poſſeſſed of an houſe, which is more airy, better built, and more compleatly laid out, than any in the time in which Hugh Capet lived. We have attained to a greater perfection in cultivating the vine, ſo that I drink better wine. The woollen manufactories is greatly improved, ſo that I wear better and finer cloth. The art of flattering the taſte by the moſt delicate cookery, indulges me every day with more delicious fare than is to be met with at any royal banquet of Hugh Capet. If he was ill, and wanted to move from one houſe to another, it muſt be in a kind of cart or waggon; whereas I can roll at my eaſe in a convenient and pleaſant vehicle, where I enjoy all the advantages of light, without being expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. There certainly wanted no greater quantity of money

in the kingdom in order to ſuſpend on leathern braces, a machine of painted wood: it required only induſtry, and this holds equally good in relation to all other things of this nature. The ſame quarries furniſhed ſtones to build houſes with, in the time of Hugh Capet, as they do now, and there requires no more money to build a miſerable dungeon, than to conſtruct a pleaſant and commodious dwelling-houſe. The ſame expence will plant a well contrived garden, which is required to cut ridiculous and groteſque figures, in an abſurd imitation of different animals. Oaks were ſuffered formerly to rot in the foreſts; now they are cut into a variety of forms, that ſerve at once for uſe and ornament. Sand lay formerly in uſeleſs heaps on the ſurface of the earth, now it is applied to the purpoſe of making glaſs.

Now he, who enjoys all theſe advantages, is certainly rich. Induſtry has put us in poſſeſſion of them; therefore it is not money that conſtitutes the riches of a kingdom, but ingenuity, that kind of it I mean that directs us in our labour.

Commerce produces the ſame effects with labour; it contributes to render life more agreeable. If I ſtand in need of any manufacture of the Eaſt Indies, or of a production of nature, which is to be found only at Ceylon or Ternate, I am poor while in want of theſe; but I become rich, when theſe my wants are ſatisfied by the means of commerce: I was not in want of gold or ſilver, but of coffee and cinnamon. But thoſe, who at the hazard of their lives, go upwards of ſix thouſand leagues to ſupply me with coffee for my breakfaſt in a morning,

are

are no more than the ſupernumerary labourers of the nation. The wealth of a kingdom, then, conſiſts in the great number of labouring people.

Population and labour then are undoubtedly the true objects of attention in every wiſe government.

In our climates, the number of males born is greater than that of females, conſequently we ought not to deſtroy our females. Now it is evident, we do deſtroy them in reſpect to ſociety, by burying them alive in convents, where they are totally loſt to the preſent generation, and extinguiſhed to future. The money ſunk in endowing convents would therefore be much better employed in encouraging matrimony. I cannot but compare the young females, who are ſuffered to wither and decay in our convents to the waſte lands which we have ſtill in France. They both ſtand alike in need of cultivation. There are ſeveral ways of obliging huſbandmen to improve waſte and neglected lands; but there is one infallible way of injuring a ſtate, which is to ſuffer the continuance of two abuſes, namely, that of immuring young women, and leaving the land to be over-run with weeds. Barrenneſs of every kind is either a vice in nature, or a violation of her laws.

The king, who is the nation's ſteward, gives pe ſions to the court ladies, in which he does right; for this money is circulated amongſt different kind of trades-people, but how comes it there are no penſions allotted for the encouragement of agriculture? This money

would in like manner return into the kingdom again, and with ſtill greater profit.

The tolerating beggars is an acknowledged defect in a government. There are two ſorts of theſe, ſuch who go on crutches from one end of the kingdom to the other, and, as it were, force money from all paſſers by, by their importunities and lamentable complaints, which they ſpend afterwards in drinking houſes; the other ſort are thoſe, who clad in a particular dreſs, go from houſe to houſe, and lay the people under a religious contribution, in God's name, and then return, when the buſineſs of the day is over, to indulge themſelves in their own houſes, or at the tables of the great, where they live in eaſe and luxury. The firſt of theſe is leſs pernicious than the other, becauſe they frequently furniſh children to the ſtate, and though ſome of theſe may chance to turn out thieves, yet there are many of them alſo, who, in time, make excellent maſons and ſoldiers. But they are both of them evils, of which every one complains, and yet no one is at the trouble of endeavouring to remove them. It is very ſurpriſing, that in a kingdom, which has ſo many waſte lands and colonies, a ſet of people ſhould be ſuffered, who neither labour, nor contribute to population. Whence comes it, that there have been nations, who, though not poſſeſſed of near the quantity of gold and ſilver that we are, have notwithſtanding immortalized their memory by labours that we dare not imitate? It is plain that their government was better than ours, inaſmuch, as it gave encouragement to a greater number of labouring people.

Taxes

Taxes are neceſſary. The beſt manner of raiſing them, is that which moſt facilitates labour and commerce. Every arbitrary tax is an error. Nothing but alms can be arbitrary; but, in a well policied ſtate, there ſhould not be room left for alms-giving. The great Scha Abbas, who made ſo many uſeful eſtabliſhments in Perſia, did not found one hoſpital. Being aſked the reaſon, he replied, "Becauſe I intend there ſhall be no need of hoſpitals in my kingdom."

But what is a tax? It is a certain proportion of corn, cattle, or commodities, that the poſſeſſors of lands owe to thoſe that have none. Money is only the type or repreſentative of thoſe commodities. Taxes then in reality are raiſed upon the rich only, for you cannot demand of a poor man a part of the bread he earns by the ſweat of his brow; nor the milk, with which his wife nouriſhes his children at her breaſt. It is therefore not the poor, nor their labour, that ought to be taxed, but we ſhould, whilſt we find them employment, give them wages that they will one day be happy enough to be able to pay taxes.

In time of war, I ſuppoſe the nation pays fifty millions extraordinary yearly; of theſe fifty millions, twenty are carried out of the kingdom, and the remaining thirty employed in butchering mankind. I will ſuppoſe that in time of peace, five and twenty of theſe millions are paid off, and that none of this is carried abroad, and that as many people are employed in labouring for the good of the public, as were knocked on the head in fighting its battles. Works of all kinds are multiplied, the

fields are cultivated, and cities embellifhed; hence the people really grow rich by what they pay to the government. During the calamities of war, taxes are not intended to procure us the conveniencies of life, but to defend us in our poffeffions. The happieft people then are neceffarily thofe who pay the moft; and thefe are incontefably fuch who are the moft laborious, and the moft wealthy.

Paper money is with refpect to fpecie, what that is to commodities; a reprefentation, a pledge of barter. Money is of no further ufe than as it is more convenient to give a piece of gold or filver for a commodity than four of five pair of ftockings. In like manner, it is more eafy for the receiver of a province to remit two or three thoufand pounds to the exchequer in a letter, than to fend it, at a great expence by carriage; this fhews the utility of banks and paper money. Paper money is in a government, in commerce, and in circulation, what cranes are in a quarry; they ferve to raife weights, which a number of men could not ftir by the ftrength of their arms. A Scotchman, who was, at the fame time, a very ufeful and dangerous perfon in a ftate, was the firft who eftablifhed paper-credit in France; he was like a phyfician, who gives his fick patient a too powerful emetic, which caufes violent convulfions and diforders; but becaufe a good medicine is given in an over-dofe, is that a reafon to reject it altogether? From the ruins of his fyftem, we have ftill remaining an India company, which gives jealoufy to other nations, and may eftablifh the greatnefs of our own; therefore this fyftem, if confined within proper limits,

mits, would have been productive of more good, than it has caufed evil.

The altering the value of the coin is making counterfeit money. The circulating a greater quantity of paper money, than the ftock and circulation of fpecie and commodities, can anfwer another way of making falfe money.

The prohibiting the exportation of gold and filver is another remnant of barbarifm and indigence; it is at once refufing to pay one's debts, and deftroying trade; it is refufing to pay, becaufe if the nation is debtor fhe muft moft certainly fettle the balance with her foreign creditor. It is deftroying trade, becaufe gold and filver are not only the price of merchandize, but merchandize themfelves; the Spaniard has, like other nations, preferved this ancient law, which is only an ancient folly. The whole refource of a ftate is the conftant violation of this law.

To load the commodities of one's own country with the payment of taxes, for going from one province to another; to make Champagne an enemy to Burgundy, and Guienne to Brittany, is another abufe equally fhameful and ridiculous. It is the fame as if I was to poft fome of my fervants on the ftair-cafe to ftop and eat part of my dinner, as it comes to my table. Endeavours have been ufed to correct this error; but, to the fhame of human underftanding, we have not as yet been able to fucceed.

There were feveral other hints among the philofopher's papers, which the minifter greatly approved; and this was the firft time that the notes of a philofopher were ever feen in the pocket-book of a minifter of ftate.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN MARCUS AURELIUS AND A RECOLLET FRIAR.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

NOW I think I begin to know whereabouts I am. That's certainly the Capitol, and that Basilica the temple. The person I behold there is undoubtedly the priest of Jupiter. Hark ye, friend; one word with you, if you please.

FRIAR.

Friend! very familiar, truly: you must certainly be a stranger in Rome, to accost in this manner brother Fulgentius the recollet, an inhabitant of the Capitol, confessor to the duchess de Popoli, and who speaks sometimes to the pope, with as much familiarity as if he were a mere mortal.

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Brother Fulgentius in the Capitol! Matters are ſomewhat changed indeed. I don't underſtand one word you ſay. Is there no ſuch place here as the temple of Jupiter?

FRIAR.

Get you gone about your buſineſs, honeſt friend; you ſeem to be out of your ſenſes. Who are you, prithee, with your antique dreſs and your Jew's beard? Whence come you, and what do you want here?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

This is my ordinary apparel: I am come back to ſee Rome once more. My name is Marcus Aurelius.

FRIAR.

Marcus Aurelius! I think I remember to have heard of ſuch a name. If I don't miſtake, there was a Pagan emperor ſo called.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I am he. I longed to have another view of that Rome which I loved, and which was ſo fond of me; that Capitol in which I triumphed by my contempt of triumph; that land I formerly rendered ſo happy: but now I can hardly think it to be the ſame place. I have been to ſee the column that was erected to my honour, and have not been able to find the ſtatue of the ſage Antonine, my father. The face is quite altered from what it was.

FRIAR.

So it ought, Mr. Damned Soul. Sixtus the Fifth erected that column; but then he put on

it

it a better man than you and your father to boot.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I was always of opinion it was no difficult matter to excel me; but I thought it no ſuch eaſy affair to ſurpaſs my father. Perhaps my piety towards him has impoſed upon my judgment. All men are liable to error. But why give me the epithet of Damned Soul?

FRIAR.

Becauſe ſo you are. Was it not you (let me ſee, I don't miſtake) that ſo often perſecuted a ſet of folks, to whom you lay under very great obligations, and who procured you a ſhower of rain which enabled you to thraſh your enemies?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Alas! I was very far from perſecuting any one. I thank Heaven, by a very happy conjuncture, a ſtorm happened, juſt in the nick of time, to ſave my troops, who were dying of thirſt; but I never heard before that I owed the favour of this tempeſt to the folks you mention, though, to tell you the truth, they were very good ſoldiers. I aſſure you, in the moſt ſolemn manner, I am not damned: I have done too much good to mankind, that the Divine Being ſhould do me any evil. But, prithee tell me, where is the palace of the emperor my ſucceſſor? Is it ſtill on the Palatine hill? For really I hardly know my own country again.

FRIAR.

I believe it, truly, we have ſo improved

every

every thing. If you pleaſe, I will carry you to Monte Cavallo: you ſhall have the honour to kiſs the great toe of St. Peter; and you will, beſides, receive a handſome preſent of indulgences, which, in my humble opinion, will be very ſeaſonable; for I don't doubt you ſtand in great need of them.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Firſt of all, I deſire you would grant me your own; and tell me ingenuouſly, is there an end of the emperors and empire of Rome?

FRIAR.

No, no, by no means; there is ſtill an empire and an emperor; but then he keeps his court at the diſtance of about four hundred leagues from hence, at a ſmall city called Vienna, on the Danube. My advice is, that you go there to pay a viſit to your ſucceſſors; becauſe here you ſtand a great chance to viſit the inquiſition. I warn you that the reverend Dominican fathers are not at all diſpoſed to jeſt in ſuch matters, and that your Marcus Aurelius's, your Antonines, your Trajans, and your Titus's, and ſuch gentry as cannot ſay their catechiſm, are treated by them after a very ſcurvy manner.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

The catechiſm! the inquiſition! Dominicans! Recollets! a pope and cardinals! and the Roman empire in a little city on the Danube! I could never have dreamt of ſuch things; tho', I will allow, that in ſixteen hundred years things will change ſtrangely in this world of ours.

ours. I could like, methinks, to ſee one of theſe Roman emperors, Marcoman, Quadus, Cimber, and Teuto.

FRIAR.

You ſhall not want that pleaſure when you pleaſe, and a greater than that ſtill. You would, in all likelihood, be ſurpriſed, were I to tell you that the Scythians hold one half of your empire, and we the other: that the ſovereign of Rome is a prieſt like me: that brother Fulgentius may be that ſovereign in his turn: that I ſhall diſperſe indulgences on the very ſpot where you were wont to he drawn in your car by vanquiſhed ſovereigns: and, laſtly, that your ſucceſſor on the Danube has not a city he can call his own; but that there is a certain prieſt that lets him have the uſe of his capital, when he has occaſion for it.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

You tell me ſtrange news, indeed. All theſe great changes could never have happened without great misfortunes. I own I ſtill love the human race, and am heartily ſorry for them.

FRIAR.

You are too good. Theſe revolutions have really coſt a deluge of blood, and an hundred provinces have been ravaged; but had it not been ſo, your ſervant, brother Fulgentius, had never ſlept at his eaſe in the Capitol.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Rome, that metropolis of the univerſe, is then moſt miſerably fallen.

FRIAR.

FRIAR.

Fallen, I grant you; but as for miſerably, there I muſt ſay you nay: on the contrary, peace and the fine arts flouriſh here eternally. The antient maſters of the world are now become muſic-maſters. Inſtead of ſending colonies into England, we now ſend them eunuchs and fidlers. We have, it is true, none of your Scipios now, thoſe deſtroyers of Carthage; but then we have none of your proſcriptions neither. We have bartered glory for tranquility.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I tried what I could to become a philoſopher in my life-time, but now I am ſure I have become one indeed. I find tranquility is at the leaſt an equivalent for glory; but, by what you tell me, I ſhould be apt to ſuſpect brother Fulgentius is no adept in philoſophy.

FRIAR.

What do you mean? Not a philoſopher! I am one with a vengeance. I once taught philoſophy; nay, better ſtill, I read lectures in theology.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And, pray, what may this theology of yours be, an't pleaſe you?

FRIAR.

Why, it is—it is that which has made me be here, and the emperor elſewhere. You ſeem to grudge me the honour I enjoy, and are out of humour at the trifling revolution that has happened to your empire.

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I adore the eternal decrees of Providence: I know man ought not to repine at fate: I admire the vicissitude of human affairs; but since every thing is so liable to change, and since the Roman empire has experienced this wonderful mutability, let me hope the recollets may also experience it in their turn.

FRIAR.

I declare you anathematized: but hold, now I think on't, it is time to go to matins.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And I will go and be reunited to the Being of Beings.

DIALOGUE

DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
A BRACHMAN and a JESUIT,
ON
NECESSITY and FREEWILL,
AND THE
GENERAL CONCATENATION
OF
CAUSES and EFFECTS.

JESUIT.

IN all probability, you are indebted to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier for that long and happy life you have enjoyed an hundred and fourſcore years! Why, 'tis a life-time for a patriarch.

BRACHMAN.

My maſter Fonfouca lived till three hundred: it is the ordinary courſe of life among us Brachmans. I have a very great regard for Francis Xavier; but all his prayers would never have put nature out of her deſtined order: had he really been able to prolong the life of a gnat but for one ſingle inſtant beyond what the general concatenation of cauſes and events allows of, this globe of ours had worn a quite different ap-

appearance from that in which you now behold it.

JESUIT.

You have a ſtrange opinion of future contingents: why, you muſt be entirely ignorant that man is free, and that our free-will diſpoſes of every thing in this ſublunary world at its mere fancy and pleaſure. I can aſſure you the Jeſuits alone have contributed not a little to ſome very conſiderable revolutions.

BRACHMAN.

I have no manner of queſtion in regard to the learning and power of the reverend fathers the Jeſuits: they are a very valuable part of human ſociety; yet I cannot by any means believe them the ſovereign arbiters of human tranſactions: every ſingle perſon, every ſingle being, whether Jeſuit or Brachman, is one of the ſprings which act in the general movement of the univerſe; in which he is the ſlave, and not the maſter of deſtiny. Pray, to what cauſe do you think Gengis-kan owed the conqueſt of Aſia? To the very moment in which his father one day happened to awake as he was in bed with his wife; to a word which a Tartar chanced to let fall ſome years before. I, for example, the very perſon you behold, am one of the chief cauſes of the deplorable death of Henry IV. for which, you may ſee, I am ſtill much afflicted.

JESUIT.

Your reverence is pleaſed to be very merry upon the matter? You the cauſe of the death of Henry IV!

BRACH-

BRACHMAN.

Alas! it is too true. This happened in the nine hundred eighty-three thouſandth year of the revolution of Saturn, which makes the fifteen hundred and fiftieth of your æra. I was then young and giddy headed. I thought proper, upon a time, to take a walk, which I began with moving my left foot firſt, on the coaſt of Malabar, from whence moſt evidently followed the death of Henry IV.

JESUIT.

How ſo, prithee? For, as to our ſociety, who were accuſed with having had a large ſhare in that affair, we had not the leaſt knowledge of it.

BRACHMAN.

I'll tell ye how fate thought proper to order the matter. By moving my left foot, as I told you, I unluckily tumbled my friend Eriban, the Perſian merchant, into the water, and he was drowned. My friend, it ſeems, had a very handſome wife, that run away with an Armenian merchant: this lady had a daughter, who married a Greek; the daughter of this Greek ſettled in France, and married the father of Ravaillac. Now, had not every tittle of this happened exactly as it did, you are very ſenſible the affairs of the houſes of France and Auſtria would have turned out in a very different manner. The ſyſtem of Europe would have been entirely changed. The wars between Turky and the German empire would have had quite another iſſue; which iſſue would have had an effect on Perſia, as well as Perſia on the Eaſt-Indies; ſo you ſee it is plain to a demon-

ſtration,

ſtration, that the whole depended on my left foot, which was connected with all the other events of the univerſe, paſt, preſent, and to come.

JESUIT.

I muſt have this affair laid before ſome of our fathers, who are theologians.

BRACHMAN.

In the mean time, I will tell you, father, that the maid-ſervant of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants* (for you muſt know I have dipped into your hiſtories) was likewiſe one principal cauſe of the death of Henry IV. and of all the accidents which it produced.

JESUIT.

This ſervant-maid muſt then have been a domineering quean!

BRACHMAN.

Oh fye! no ſuch thing. She was a mere ideot, by whom her maſter had a child. Madame de la Barriere, poor ſoul, died of grief at it. She who ſucceeded her was, as your chronicles tell, the grandmother of the bleſſed John de la Barriere, who founded the order of *Feuillants*. Ravaillac was a monk of this order. With them he ſucked in a certain doctrine very faſhionable in thoſe days, as you well enough know. This doctrine taught him to believe that the moſt meritorious thing he could poſſibly do, was to aſſaſſinate the beſt king in the whole world. What followed is known to every body.

JESUIT.

In ſpite of your left foot, and the wench of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants*, I ſhall

I ſhall ever be of opinion that the horrible action committed by Ravaillac was a future contingent, which might very well not have happened: for, after all, man is certainly a free agent.

BRACHMAN.

I do not know what you mean by a free agent. I can affix no certain idea to theſe words. To be free, is to do whatever we think proper, and not to will whatever we pleaſe. All I know of the matter is, that Ravaillac voluntarily committed the crime, of which he was deſtined by fate to be the inſtrument. This crime was no more than a link of the great chain of deſtiny.

JESUIT.

You may ſay what you will, but the affairs of this world are far from having any ſuch dependence as you are pleaſed to think. What ſignifies, for example, this uſeleſs converſation of ours, here on the ſhores of the Eaſt-Indies.

BRACHMAN.

What you and I ſay in converſation is doubtleſs ſufficiently inſignificant; but, for all that, were you not here, the machine of the univerſe would be extremely changed from what it is.

JESUIT.

There your Brachmanniſh reverence is pleaſed to advance a huge paradox truly.

BRACHMAN.

Your Ignatian fatherſhip may believe me or no, as you like it. But aſſuredly, we ſhould

never had this converſation together, had you not come into the Eaſt-Indies. You had never made this voyage, had not your St. Ignatius de Loyola been wounded at the ſiege of Pampelona, or had not the king of Portugal perſiſted in diſcovering the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope. Now, prithee, did not the king of Portugal, with the help of the compaſs, entirely change the face of this world of ours? But it was firſt of all neceſſary that a certain Neapolitan ſhould make this diſcovery of the compaſs; now tell me, if you have the face, that every thing is not wholly ſubſervient to one conſtant and uniform tenour of action; which by indiſſoluble, but inviſible, concatenation, unites all that lives, or acts, or dies, or ſuffers on the ſurface of our globe?

JESUIT.

What then would become of our future contingents?

BRACHMAN.

What care I what become of them? but yet the order eſtabliſhed by the hand of an eternal and almighty God muſt certainly ſubſiſt for ever.

JESUIT.

Were one to liſten to you, we ought not to pray to God at all.

BRACHMAN.

It is our duty to adore him. But pray what mean ye by praying to God?

JESUIT.

What all the world means by it, to be ſure:

that

that he would grant our petitions, and favour us in all our wants.

BRACHMAN.

I underſtand you. You mean, that a gardiner might obtain clear ſunſhine weather, at a time which God has ordained from all eternity to produce rains; and that a pilot ſhould have an eaſterly wind, when an weſterly wind ought to refreſh the earth, as well as the ſeas? My good father, to pray as we ought is to ſubmit one's ſelf wholly to providence. So good evening to you. Deſtiny requires I ſhould now viſit my Brachmineſs.

JESUIT.

And my free-will urges me to give a leſſon to a young ſcholar.

The END of VOL. XVII.