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The history of the reign of the emperor Charles V. - Book X

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured, with such Book X.
unwearied industry, to overcome the obsti- 1549.
nacy of the Protestants, the effects of his The Pope's
steadiness in the execution of his plan were schemes
rendered less considerable by his rupture with against the
the Pope, which daily increased. The firm re- Emperor.
solution which the Emperor seemed to have
taken against restoring Placentia, together with
his repeated encroachments on the ecclesiastical
jurisdiction, not only by the regulations con-
tained in the Interim, but by his attempt to
re-assemble a council at Trent, exasperated

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Paul to the utmost, who, with the weakness incident to old age, grew more attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Pushed on by these passions, he made new efforts to draw the French King into an alliance against the Emperor¹; But finding that Monarch, notwithstanding his hereditary enmity to Charles, and dread of his growing power, as unwilling as formerly to involve himself in immediate hostilities, he was obliged to contract his views, and to think of preventing future encroachments, since it was not in his power to inflict vengeance an account of those which were past. For this purpose, he determined to recall his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the Holy See, to indemnify his grandson Octavio by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state. By this expedient, he hoped to gain two points of no small consequence. He, first of all, rendered his possession of Parma more secure; as the Emperor would be cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might seize without scruple a town belonging to the house of Farnese. In the next place, he would acquire a better chance of recovering Placentia, as his solicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with

¹ Mém. de Ribier, ii. 230.

more weight, when he was considered not as pleading the cause of his own family, but as an advocate for the interest of the church. But while Paul was priding himself in this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be spoiled of one half of his territories by the rapaciousness of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grandfather, took measures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his interest. He set out secretly from Rome, and having first endeavoured to surprize Parma, which attempt was frustrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the Pope had entrusted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the Emperor, of renouncing all connexion with the Pope, and of depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the Pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of severity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the

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Book X. sixteenth year of his administration, and the
 1549. eighty-second of his age².

Among many instances of the credulity or weakness of historians in attributing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, this is one. Almost all the historians of the sixteenth century affirm, that the death of Paul III. was occasioned by the violent passions which the behaviour of his grandson excited; that being informed, while he was refreshing himself in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negotiations with the Emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued some hours in a swoon, then became feverish, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi. 211. *Adriani Istor. de' suoi tempi*, lib. vii. 480. and by Father Paul, 280. Even cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or system, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumstances. *Pallav. b. ii. 74.* Paruta, who wrote his history by command of the senate of Venice, relates it in the same manner. *Historici Venez. vol. iv. 212.* But there was no occasion to search for any extraordinary cause to account for the death of an old man of eighty-two. There remains an authentick account of this event, in which we find none of those marvellous circumstances of which the historians are so fond. The cardinal of Ferrara, who was entrusted with the affairs of France at the court of Rome, and M. D'Urfé, Henry's ambassador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that Monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the Pope's death. By these it appears, that Octavio's attempt to surprize, Parma, was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himself in the gardens of Monte-Cavallo, the Pope received intelligence of what he had done;

As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourse of Cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their measures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French factions strove, with emu-

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that he was seized with such a transport of passion, and cried so bitterly, that his voice was heard in several apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was so well as to give an audience to the cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through business of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the Pope, not to cardinal Farnese his brother, intimating his resolution of throwing himself into the arms of the Emperor; that the Pope received this on the twenty-first without any new symptoms of emotion, and returned an answer to it; that on the twenty-second of October the day on which the cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the Pope was in his usual state of health. *Mém. de Ribier, ii. 247.* By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the Pope was in such good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniversary of his coronation with the usual solemnities. *Ibidem, 251.* By another letter from the same person, we learn, that on the sixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the Pope's lungs, with such dangerous symptoms, that his life was immediately despaired of, *Ibid. 252.* And by a third letter, we are informed, that he died November the tenth. In none of these letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cause. It appears, that more than twenty days elapsed between Octavio's attempt on Parma, and the death of his grandfather, and that the disease was the natural effect of old age, not one of those occasioned by violence of passion.

BOOK X. lation, to promote one of their own number,
 1550. and had, by turns, the prospect of success. But
 as Paul during a long Pontificate had raised
 many to the purple, and those chiefly persons
 of eminent abilities, as well as zealously devoted
 to his family, Cardinal Farnese had the com-

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The elec-
 tion of

Julius III.

mand of a powerful and united squadron, by
 whose address and firmness he exalted to the
 papal throne the Cardinal di Monte, whom
 Paul had employed as his principal legate in
 the council of Trent, and trusted with his most
 secret intentions. He assumed the name of
 Julius III. and, in order to express his gratitude
 towards his benefactor, the first act of his ad-
 ministration was to put Octavio Farnese in pos-
 session of Parma. When he was told of the
 injury which he did to the Holy See by alienat-
 ing a territory of such value, he briskly replied,
 "That he would rather be a poor Pope, with
 the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one,
 with the infamy of having forgotten the obli-
 gations conferred upon him, and the promises
 which he had made³." But all the lustre of this
 candour or generosity he quickly effaced by an
 action most shockingly indecent. According
 to an ancient and established practice, every
 Pope upon his election claims the privilege of
 bestowing, on whom he pleases, the Cardinal's

His charac-
 ter and con-
 duct.

³ Mém. de Ribier.

hat, which falls to be disposed of by his being invested with the triple crown. Julius, to the astonishment of the sacred college, conferred this mark of distinction, together with ample ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of sixteen, born of obscure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been trusted with the care of an animal of that species, in the Cardinal di Monte's family. Such a prostitution of the highest dignity in the church would have given offence, even in those dark periods, when the credulous superstition of the people emboldened ecclesiasticks to venture on the most flagrant violations of decorum. But in an enlightened age, when, by the progress of knowledge and philosophy, the obligations of duty and decency were better understood, when a blind veneration for the Pontifical character was every-where abated, and one half of Christendom in open rebellion against the Papal See, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and pasquinades, which imputed the Pope's extravagant regard for such an unworthy object to the most criminal passions. The Protestants exclaimed against the absurdity of supposing that the infallible spirit of divine truth could dwell in a breast so impure, and called more

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loudly than ever, and with greater appearance of justice, for the immediate and thorough reformation of a church, the Head of which was a disgrace to the Christian name⁴. The rest of the Pope's conduct was of a piece with this first specimen of his dispositions. Having now reached the summit of ecclesiastical ambition, he seemed eager to indemnify himself, by an unrestrained indulgence of his desires, for the self-denial or dissimulation which he had thought it prudent to practise while in a subordinate station. He became careless, to so great a degree, of all serious business, that he could seldom be brought to attend to it, but in cases of extreme necessity; and giving up himself to amusements and dissipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo, rather than the severe virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was necessary to display, in contending with a sect which derived great credit from the rigid and austere manners of its teachers⁵.

His views
and proceed-
ings with
respect to
the general
council.

THE Pope, how ready soever to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farnese, discovered no inclination to observe the oath, which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice should fall on him, he

⁴ Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan.
lib. vi. 215.

⁵ F. Paul, *ibid*.

would immediately call the council to re-assume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine such a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the interest of the church of Rome to prescribe; and how easily the zeal of some members, the rashness of others, or the suggestions of the Princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable assembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous decisions. He wished, for these reasons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous answer to the first proposals which were made to him by the Emperor, with regard to that matter. But Charles, either from his natural obstinacy in adhering to the measures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accomplishing what was held to be almost impossible, persisted obstinately in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church. Having persuaded himself, that the authoritative decisions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices, he, in consequence of that persuasion, continued to solicit earnestly that a new bull of convocation might be issued; and the Pope could not, with decency, reject that request. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endea-

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BOOK X. voured to take all the merit of having procured
 1550. the meeting of an assembly, which was the object
 of such general desire and expectation. A congregation of Cardinals, to whom he referred the consideration of what was necessary for restoring peace to the church, recommended, by his direction, the speedy convocation of a council, as the most effectual expedient for that purpose; and as the new heresies raged with the greatest violence in Germany, they proposed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inspection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater discernment and certainty of success. The Pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himself had dictated, and sent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions⁶.

A diet at
 Augsburgh to
 enforce the
 Interim.

ABOUT this time, the Emperor had summoned a new diet to meet at Augsburgh, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentick act of the Empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in person, together with his son the Prince of Spain. Few of the Electors were present, but all sent deputies in their name. Charles, notwithstanding the def-

June 25.

⁶ F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 77.

potick authority with which he had given law in the Empire during two years, knew that the spirit of independence among the Germans was not entirely subdued, and for that reason took care to over-awe the diet by a considerable body of Spanish troops which escorted him thither. The first point, submitted to the consideration of the diet, was the necessity of holding a council. All the Popish members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that assembly should be renewed at Trent, and promised an implicit acquiescence in its decrees. The Protestants, intimidated and disunited, must have followed their example, and the resolution of the diet would have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

By an artful dissimulation of his own sentiments; by address in paying court to the Emperor; and by the seeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious schemes, Maurice had raised himself to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the most powerful Prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the Emperor, had afforded him many opportunities of observing narrowly the dangerous tendency of his

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Maurice begins to form designs against the Emperor.

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schemes. He saw the yoke that was preparing for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progress of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few steps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as absolute a Monarch in Germany as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himself had been exalted, the more solicitous did he naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of descending from the rank of a Prince almost independent, to that of a vassal subject to the will of a master. At the same time, he perceived that Charles was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, instead of allowing liberty of conscience, the promise of which had allured several Protestant Princes to assist him in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde. As he himself, notwithstanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of interest, or an excess of confidence in the Emperor, was sincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame spectator of the overthrow of a system which he believed to be founded in truth.

The Political motives which influenced him.

THIS resolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was strengthened by political and interested considerations. In

that elevated station, in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extensive prospects opened to his view. His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the Protestants in the Empire. His predecessor, the degraded Elector, with inferior abilities, and territories less considerable, had acquired such an ascendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted discernment to see the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himself in a situation which rendered the attempt no less difficult, than the object of it was important. On the one hand, the connexion which he had formed with the Emperor was so intimate, that he could scarcely hope to take any step which tended to dissolve it, without alarming his jealousy, and drawing on himself the whole weight of that power, which had crushed the greatest confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand, the calamities which he had brought on the Protestant party were so recent, as well as great, that it seemed almost impossible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body of men, after himself had been the chief instrument in breaking their union and vigour. These considerations were sufficient to have discouraged any person of a spirit less adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and vastness of the enterprize were allurements; and he boldly

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BOOK X. resolved on measures, the idea of which a genius
 1550. of an inferior order could not have conceived,
 or would have trembled at the thoughts of the
 danger that attended the execution of them.

The passions
 which co-
 operated
 with these.

His passions concurred with his interest in confirming this resolution; and the resentment excited by an injury, which he sensibly felt, added new force to the motives for opposing the Emperor, which sound policy suggested. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the Landgrave of Hesse to put his person in the Emperor's power, and had obtained a promise from the Imperial ministers that he should not be detained a prisoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy Landgrave exclaimed as loudly against his son-in-law as against Charles. The Princes of Hesse required Maurice incessantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had lost his liberty by trusting to him; and all Germany suspected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was most bound to protect. Roused by these solicitations or reproaches, as well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonstrances in order to procure his release. All these Charles had disregarded; and the shame of having been first deceived, and then slighted, by a Prince whom he had

served with zeal as well as success, which merited a very different return, made such a deep impression on Maurice, that he waited with impatience for an opportunity of being revenged. BOOK X.
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THE utmost caution as well as delicacy were requisite in taking every step towards this end; as he had to guard, on the one hand, against giving a premature alarm to the Emperor; while, on the other, something considerable and explicit was necessary to be done, in order to regain the confidence of the Protestant party. Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers of address and dissimulation to attain both these points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate one moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions: But being sensible how odious it was to his subjects, instead of violently imposing it on them by the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpose, he had assembled the clergy of his country at Leipstick, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reasons which made it necessary to conform to it. He

The caution and address with which he carries on his schemes.

He enforces the Interim in Saxony.

BOOK X. 1550. had gained some of them by promises, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whose merit of every kind entitled him to the first place among the Protestant divines, being now deprived of the manly counsels of Luther, which were wont to inspire him with fortitude, and to preserve him steady amidst the storms and dangers that threatened the church, was seduced into unwarrantable concessions, by the timidity of his temper, his fond desire of peace, and his excessive complaisance towards persons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no less than by Maurice's arts, the assembly was prevailed on to declare, that, in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful superior. Founding upon this maxim, no less uncontrovertible in theory, than dangerous when carried into practice, especially in religious matters, they proceeded to class, among the number of things indifferent, several doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as gross and pernicious errors in the Romish creed; and placing in the same rank many of those rites which distinguished the Reformed from the Popish worship, they exhorted their people to comply

comply with the Emperor's injunctions concerning these particulars⁷.

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By this dexterous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of those violent convulsions in Saxony, which it occasioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons submitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed against Melancthon and his associates, as false brethren, who were either so wicked as to apostatize from the truth altogether; or so artful as to betray it by subtle distinctions; or so feeble-spirited as to give it up from pusillanimity and criminal complaisance to a Prince, capable of sacrificing to his political interest that which he himself regarded as most sacred. Maurice, being conscious what a colour of probability his past conduct gave to those accusations, as well as afraid of losing entirely the confidence of the Protestants, issued a declaration containing professions of his zealous attachment to the Reformed religion, and to his resolution to guard against all the errors or encroachments of the papal see⁸.

Makes professions of zeal for the Protestant religion.

HAVING gone so far in order to remove the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, he found

At the same time courts the Emperor.

⁷ Sleid. 481. 485. Jo. Laur. Mosheimii Institutionum Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, lib. iv. Helmst. 1755, 4to. p. 748. Jo. And. Schmidii Historia Interimistica, p. 70, &c. Helmst. 1730.

⁸ Sleid, 485.

BOOK X. it necessary to efface the impresson which such
 1550. a declaration might make on the Emperor. For that purpose, he not only renewed his profession of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburgh still persisted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and instantly set about levying troops to be employed in that service. This damped all the hopes which the Protestants began to conceive of Maurice, in consequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loss to guess at his real intentions. Their former suspicions and distrust of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburgh filled Germany with writings in which they represented him as the most formidable enemy of the Protestant religion, who treacherously assumed an appearance of zeal for its interest, that he might more effectually execute his schemes for its destruction.

Protests
 against the
 mode of pro-
 ceeding in
 the council.

THIS charge, supported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his present dubious conduct, gained such universal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous step in his own vindication. As soon as the re-assembling of the council at Trent was proposed in the diet, his ambassadors protested that their master would not acknowledge its authority,

unless all the points which had been already decided there were reviewed, and considered as entire; unless the Protestant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a decisive voice in the council; and unless the Pope renounced his pretensions to preside in the council, engaged to submit to its decrees, and absolved the bishops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. These demands, which were higher than any that the Reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmest, or their affairs most prosperous, counterbalanced, in some degree, the impression which Maurice's preparations against Magdeburgh had made upon the minds of the Protestants, and kept them in suspense with regard to his designs. At the same time, he had address enough to represent this part of his conduct in such a light to the Emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occasioned no interruption of the strict confidence which subsisted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed in order to give such a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary historians have not explained; that they imposed upon Charles is certain, for he still continued not only to prosecute his plan as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the

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BOOK X. same ardour, but to place the same confidence in
1550. Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The diet re-
solve to
make war
on the city
of Magde-
burgh.

THE Pope's resolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augsburgh, the chief business of the diet was to enforce the observation of the Interim. As the senate of Magdeburgh, notwithstanding various endeavours to frighten or to soothe them into compliance, not only persevered obstinately in their opposition to the Interim, but began to strengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required the diet to assist him in quelling this audacious rebellion against a decree of the Empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without hesitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other consideration than jealousy of the Emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburgh, as a noble stand for the liberties of their country. Even such as had not resolution to exert the same spirit, admired the gallantry of their enterprise, and wished it success. But the presence of the Spanish troops, together with the dread of the Emperor's displeasure, over-awed the

members of the diet to such a degree, that without venturing to utter their own sentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the Emperor was pleased to prescribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had issued by his own authority against the Magdeburghers, were confirmed; a resolution was taken to raise troops in order to besiege the city in form; and persons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furnished by each state. At the same time, the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entrusted with the command of that army, to which Charles gave his consent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wisdom of the choice which they had made⁹. As Maurice conducted all his schemes with profound and impenetrable secrecy, it is probable that he took no step avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foresight, nor the Emperor any dread of the consequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted without hesitation the trust committed to him, instantly discerning the important advantages which he might derive from it.

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Appoint
Maurice
general.

⁹ Sleid. 503. 512.

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The council summoned to re-assemble at Trent.
December.

MEANWHILE, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, observed all those tedious forms which the court of Rome can employ, with wonderful dexterity, to retard any disagreeable measure. At last it was published, and the council summoned to meet at Trent on the first day of the ensuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or disputed the authority and jurisdiction which the papal see claims with respect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to assert, in the strongest terms, his own right, not only to call and preside in that assembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he soften these expressions, in any degree, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the Emperor, who foresaw what offence they would give, and what construction might be put on them. They were censured, accordingly with great severity, by several members of the diet; but whatever disgust or suspicion they excited, such absolute direction of all their deliberations had the Emperor acquired; that he procured a recess in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the Princes and states of the Empire, such as had made innovations in religion, as well as those who adhered

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Feb. 13.

to the system of their forefathers, were required to send their representatives to the council; the Emperor engaged to grant a safe-conduct to such as demanded it, and to secure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promised to fix his residence in some city of the Empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his presence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to scripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a desirable issue. In this recess the observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever; and the Emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refused to conform to it, with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they persisted in their disobedience ¹⁰.

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DURING the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made in order to procure liberty to the Landgrave. That Prince, no-wise reconciled by time to his situation, grew every day more impatient of restraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, who took every occasion of soliciting the Emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform what

Another
fruitless at-
tempt to
procure the
Landgrave
liberty.

¹⁰ Sleid. § 12. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldast Constit. Imperiales, vol. ii. 340.

Book X. was contained in the bond which they had
1551. granted him, by surrendering themselves to be treated with the same rigour as the Emperor had used him. This furnished them with a fresh pretext for renewing their application to the Emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly resolved not to grant their request; though at the same time being extremely desirous to get rid of their incessant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the Landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from the two Electors. But that Prince refusing to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, the Emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a publick deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg had granted, absolving them from all their engagements to the Landgrave. No pretensions to a power so pernicious to society as that of abrogating at pleasure the most sacred laws of honour, and most formal obligations of publick faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman Pontiffs, who, in consequence of their claim of infallibility, arrogate the right of dispensing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with astonishment, when Charles assumed the same prerogative. The state of subjection, to which the Empire was reduced, appeared to be more

rigorous as well as intolerable than that of the most wretched and enslaved nations, if the Emperor by an arbitrary decree might cancel those solemn contracts, which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in social union. The Landgrave himself now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the Emperor's consent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own address. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being discovered, such of his attendants as he had gained to favour his escape were put to death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more closely than ever¹¹.

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ANOTHER transaction was carried on during this diet, with respect to an affair more nearly interesting to the Emperor, and which occasioned likewise a general alarm among the Princes of the Empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great designs, was not capable, as has been often observed, of bearing extraordinary success. Its operation on his mind was so violent and intoxicating, that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the pursuit of vast but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of

Charles's
plan of pro-
curing the
Imperial
crown for
his son
Philip.

¹¹ Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 235.

BOOK X. Smalkalde. He did not long rest satisfied with
1551. the substantial and certain advantages which
were the result of that event, but despising these,
as poor or inconsiderable fruits of such great
success, he had aimed at bringing all Germany
to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering
the Imperial power despotick. These were ob-
jects extremely splendid, indeed, and alluring
to an ambitious mind; the pursuit in them,
however, was attended with manifest danger,
and the attainment of them very precarious.
But the steps which he had already taken to-
wards them, having been accompanied with such
success, his imagination, warmed with contem-
plating this vast design, overlooked or despised
all remaining difficulties. As he conceived the
execution of his plan to be certain, he began to
be solicitous how he might render the possession
of such an important acquisition perpetual in
his family, by transmitting the German Empire,
as well as the kingdoms of Spain, and his do-
minions in Italy and the Low Countries, to
his son. Having long revolved this flattering
idea in his mind, without communicating it,
even to those ministers whom he most trusted,
he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that
his presence would facilitate the carrying for-
ward the scheme.

GREAT obstacles, however, and such as BOOK X.
 would have deterred any ambition less accus- 1551.
 tomed to overcome difficulties, were to be sur- The obsta-
 mounted. He had in the year one thousand cles that
 five hundred and thirty imprudently assisted in stood in its
 way.
 procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of
 King of the Romans, and there was no proba-
 bility that this Prince, who was still in the
 prime of life, and had a son grown up to the
 years of manhood, would relinquish, in favour
 of his nephew, the near prospect of the Im-
 perial throne, which Charles's infirmities and
 declining state of health opened to himself.
 This did not deter the Emperor from venturing
 to make the proposition; and when Ferdinand,
 notwithstanding his profound reverence for his
 brother, and obsequious submission to his will
 in other instances, rejected it in a peremptory
 tone, he was not discouraged by one repulse.
 He renewed his applications to him by his
 sister, Mary Queen of Hungary, to whom Fer-
 dinand stood indebted for the crowns both of
 Hungaria and Bohemia, and who, by her great
 abilities, tempered with extreme gentleness of
 disposition, had acquired an extraordinary in-
 fluence over both the brothers. She entered
 warmly into a measure, which tended so mani-
 festly to aggrandize the house of Austria; and
 flattering herself that she could tempt Ferdinand

BOOK X. 1551. to renounce the reverfionary poffeffion of the Imperial dignity for an immediate eftablifhment, ſhe affured him that the Emperor, by way of compensation for his giving up his chance of fucceffion, would inftantly beftow upon him territories of very confiderable value, and pointed out in particular thofe of the Duke of Wurtemberg, which might be confiscated upon different pretexts. But neither by her addrefs nor intreaties could ſhe induce Ferdinand to approve of a plan, which would have degraded him from the higheft rank among the Monarchs of Europe to that of a fubordinate and dependent Prince. He was, at the ſame time, more attached to his children, than by a rafh conceffion to fruſtrate all the high hopes in proſpect of which they had been educated.

His endeavours to ſurmount theſe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immovable firmnefs which Ferdinand diſcovered, the Emperor did not abandon his ſcheme. He flattered himſelf that he might attain the object in view by another channel, and that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the Electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond King of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceffion to his uncle. With this view he took Philip along with him to the diet,

that the Germans might have an opportunity to observe and become acquainted with the Prince, in behalf of whom he courted their interest; and he himself employed all the arts of address or insinuation to gain the Electors, and to prepare them for lending a favourable ear to the proposal. But no sooner did he venture upon mentioning it to them, than they, at once, saw and trembled at the consequences with which it would be attended. They had long felt all the inconveniences of having placed at the head of the Empire a Prince whose power and dominions were so extensive; if they should now repeat the folly and continue the Imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they foresaw that they would give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression, which the father had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabrick of the German constitution.

THE character of the Prince, in whose favour this extraordinary proposition was made, rendered it still less agreeable. Philip, though possessed with an insatiable desire of power, was a stranger to all the arts of conciliating good-will. Haughty, reserved, and severe, he, instead of gaining new friends, disgusted the ancient and

BOOK X.
1551.

Philip's
character
disagreeable
to the Ger-
mans.

BOOK X. most devoted partizans of the Austrian interest.
1551. He scorned to take the trouble of acquiring the language of the country to the government of which he aspired; nor would he condescend to pay the Germans the compliment of accommodating himself, during his residence among them, to their manners and customs. He allowed the Electors and most illustrious Princes in Germany, to remain in his presence uncovered, affecting a stately and distant demeanour, which the greatest of the German Emperors, and even Charles himself, amidst the pride of power and victory, had never assumed¹². On the other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had studied to render himself acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which seemed to flow from choice; and his son Maximilian, who was born in Germany, possessed, in an eminent degree, such amiable qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a most desirable event. Their esteem and affection for him, fortified the resolution which sound policy had suggested; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular virtues of Ferdinand and his son, to the stubborn austerity of Philip, which interest could not soften, nor

¹² Frediman Andreae Zulich Dissertatio politico-historica de Nævis politicis Caroli V. Lipf. 1706. 4to. p. 21.

ambition teach him to disguise. All the Elec- BOOK X.
 tors, the ecclesiastical as well as secular, con- 1551.
 curred in expressing such strong disapprobation Charles
 of the measure, that Charles, notwithstanding obliged to
 the reluctance with which he gave up any point, relinquish
 was obliged to drop the scheme as impracticable. this scheme.
 By his unseasonable perseverance in pushing it,
 he not only filled the Germans with new jealousy
 of his ambitious designs, but laid the founda-
 tion of rivalry and discord in the Austrian
 family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in self-
 defence, to court the Electors, particularly Mau-
 rice of Saxony, and to form such connexions
 with them, as cut off all prospect of renewing
 the proposal with success. Philip, soured by
 his disappointment, was sent back to Spain, to
 be called thence when any new scheme of am-
 bition should render his presence necessary ¹³.

HAVING relinquished this plan of domestick The Pope
 ambition which had long occupied and engrossed and Empe-
 him, Charles imagined that he would now have ror form a
 leisure to turn all his attention towards his design to re-
 grand scheme of establishing uniformity of reli- cover Parma
 gion in the Empire, by forcing all the contend- and Placen-
 ing parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the tia.
 council of Trent. But such was the extent of

¹³ Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180. 238. Mém. de Ribier, ii.
 219. 281. 314. Adriani Istor. lib. viii. 507. 520.

BOOK X. his dominions, the variety of connexions in
1551. which this entangled him, and the multiplicity
of events to which these gave rise, as seldom
allowed him to apply his whole force to any
one object. The machine which he had to con-
duct was so great and complicated, that an un-
foreseen irregularity or obstruction in one of the
inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion
of the whole, and disappointed him of the most
considerable effects which he expected. Such
an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this
juncture, and created new obstacles to the exe-
cution of his schemes with regard to religion.
Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio
Farnese in the possession of the duchy of Parma,
during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude
on his promotion to the papal throne, soon be-
gan to repent of his own generosity, and to be
apprehensive of consequences which either he
did not foresee, or had disregarded, while the
sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese
was recent. The Emperor still retained Pla-
centia in his hands, and had not relinquished
his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the Empire.
Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by
the part which he took in the murder of the
late Duke Peter Ludovico, offered an insult to
the family of Farnese, which he knew could
never be forgiven, had, for that reason, vowed
its

its destruction; and employed all the influence which his great abilities, as well as long services, gave him with the Emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his sollicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

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1551.

OCTAVIO, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary, for his own safety, to encrease the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. But as the expence of such an effort far exceeded his scanty revenues, he represented his situation to the Pope, and implored that protection and assistance which was due to him as a vassal of the church. The Imperial minister, however, had already pre-occupied the Pope's ear; and by discoursing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the Emperor, as well as the imprudence of supporting Octavio in an usurpation so detrimental to the Holy See, had totally alienated him from the family of Farnese. Octavio's remonstrance and petition met, of consequence, with a cold reception, and he, despairing of any assistance from Julius, began to look

Octavio
Farnese
courts the
assistance of
France.

BOOK X. round for protection from some other quarter.
 1551. Henry II. of France was the only Prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a situation which allowed him to undertake it. He had brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the Continent, to such an issue as he desired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms to such a degree, as rendered the councils of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the English feeble and unsteady. He had procured from the English favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiancé their young Queen to his son the Dauphin, but even to send her into France, that she might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne, together with its dependencies, which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

His league with Henry II. HAVING gained points of so much consequence to his crown, and disengaged himself with such honour from the burden of supporting the Scots, and maintaining a war against England, Henry was now at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy

of the Emperor's power naturally suggested. He listened, accordingly, to the first overtures which Octavio Farnese made him; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering footing in Italy, he instantly concluded a treaty, in which he promised to espouse his cause, and to furnish him all the assistance which he desired. This transaction could not be long kept secret from the Pope, who foreseeing the calamities which must follow if war were rekindled so near the ecclesiastical state, immediately issued monitory letters, required Octavio to relinquish his new alliance. Upon his refusal to comply with the requisition, he soon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war against him as a disobedient and rebellious vassal. But as with his own forces alone, he could not hope to subdue Octavio while supported by such a powerful ally as the King of France, he had recourse to the Emperor, who being extremely solicitous to prevent the establishment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to second Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialists as the protectors of the Holy See; and hostilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themselves still affected to give out that they would adhere inviolably to the peace of Crespy. The war of Parma was not distinguished by any memorable event. Many small rencounters hap-

Book X.

1551.

Occasions
the rent wal
of hostilities
between
Charles and
Henry.

BOOK X. 1551. pened with alternate successes; the French ravaged part of the ecclesiastical territories; the Imperialists laid waste the Parmesan: and the latter, after having begun to besiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterprize with disgrace ¹⁴.

Retards the meeting of the council.

BUT the motions and alarm which this war, or the preparations for it, occasioned in Italy, prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the first of May, the day appointed for re-assembling the council; and though the papal legate and nuncios resorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn to the first of September, hoping such a number might then assemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time, about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical state, or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened ¹⁵. The session was opened with the

Henry protests against the council.

accustomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to business, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and presenting letters of credence as ambassador from the French King, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he protested, in Henry's name, against an assembly

¹⁴ Adriani Istor. lib. viii. 505. 514. 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 220. Lettere del Caro scritte al nome del Card. Farnese, tom ii. p. 11, &c. ¹⁵ F. Paul, 268.

called at such an improper juncture, when a war, BOOK X.
 wantonly kindled by the Pope, made it impos- 1551.
 sible for the deputies from the Gallican church
 to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate con-
 cerning articles of faith and discipline with the
 requisite tranquillity; he declared, that his master
 did not acknowledge this to be a general or
 œcumenick council, but must consider, and
 would treat it, as a particular and partial con-
 vention ¹⁶. The legate affected to despise this
 protest; and the prelates proceeded, notwith-
 standing, to examine and decide the great points
 in controversy concerning the sacrament of the
 Lord's Supper, penance, and extreme unction.
 This measure of the French Monarch, however,
 gave a deep wound to the credit of the council,
 at the very commencement of its deliberations.
 The Germans could not pay much regard to
 an assembly, the authority of which the second
 Prince in Christendom had formally disclaimed,
 or feel any great reverence for the decisions of a
 few men, who arrogated to themselves all the
 rights belonging to the representatives of the
 church universal, a title to which they had such
 poor pretensions.

THE Emperor, nevertheless, was straining his
 authority to the utmost, in order to establish the

¹⁶ Sleid. 518. Thuan. 282. F. Paul, 301.

BOOK X. reputation and jurisdiction of the council. He had
1551. prevailed on the three ecclesiastical Electors,
Violence of the Empe- the prelates of greatest power and dignity in the
ror's pro- church next to the Pope, to repair thither in
ceedings person. He had obliged several German bishops
against the of inferior rank, to go to Trent themselves, or
Protestants, to send their proxies. He granted an Imperial
safe-conduct to the ambassadors nominated by
the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wur-
temberg, and other Protestant states, to attend
the council; and exhorted them to send their
divines thither, in order to propound, explain,
and defend their doctrine. At the same time,
his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council;
and as if the Protestant doctrines had already
been condemned, he took large steps towards
exterminating them. With this intention, he
called together the ministers of Augsburgh; and
after interrogating them concerning several con-
troverted points, enjoined them to teach nothing
with respect to these, contrary to the tenets of
the Romish church. Upon their declining to
comply with a requisition so contrary to the
dictates of their consciences, he commanded them
to leave the town in three days, without reveal-
ing to any person the cause of their banishment;
he prohibited them to preach for the future in
any of the countries subject to the Imperial
jurisdiction; and obliged them to take an oath

that they would punctually obey these injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Protestant clergy, in most of the cities in the circle of Swabia, were ejected with the same violence; and in many places, such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions, were dismissed with the most abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in consequence of the Emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the most bigoted of their adversaries. The Reformed worship was almost entirely suppressed throughout that extensive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates, whom they detested as usurpers ¹⁷.

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THE Emperor, after this discovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention to subvert the German constitution, as well as to extirpate the Protestant religion, set out for Inspruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his residence in that city, as by its situation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious station, whence he might inspect

His endeavours to support the council.

November.

¹⁷ Sleid. §16. §28. Thuan. 279.

BOOK X. the operations of the council, and observe the
 1551. progress of the war in the Parmesan, without
 losing sight of such occurrences as might happen
 in Germany ¹².

The siege of
 Magdeburgh

DURING these transactions, the siege of Magdeburgh was carried on with various success. At the time when Charles proscribed the citizens of Magdeburgh, and put them under the ban of the Empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring states to take arms against them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promises, George of Mecklenburgh, a younger brother of the reigning Duke, an active and ambitious Prince, collected a considerable number of those soldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunswick in all his wild enterprizes; and though a zealous Lutheran himself, invaded the territories of the Magdeburghers, hoping that, by the merit of this service, he might procure some part of their domains to be allotted to him as an establishment. The citizens, unaccustomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of war, could not be restrained from rallying out in order to save their lands from being laid waste. They attacked the Duke of Mecklenburgh with more resolution

¹² Sleid. 329.

than conduct, and were repulsed with great slaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable spirit, which flows from zeal for religion co-operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being disheartened by their misfortune, they prepared to defend themselves with rigour. Many of the veteran soldiers who had served in the long wars between the Emperor and King of France, crowding to their standards under able and experienced officers, they acquired military skill by degrees, and added all the advantages of that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The Duke of Mecklenburgh, notwithstanding the severe blow which he had given the Magdeburghers, not daring to invest a town strongly fortified, and defended by such a garrison, continued to ravage the open country.

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As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to the camp of this young Prince, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he possessed by being at the head of such a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburgh with his own troops, assumed the supreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indisputable title. With this united

Maurice
takes the
command
of the army
which car-
ried on the
siege.

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force he invested the town, and began the siege in form; claiming great merit with the Emperor on that account, as, from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was exposing himself once more to the censures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious sentiments. But the approaches to the town went on slowly; the garrison interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies, in one of which the Duke of Mecklenburgh was taken prisoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the soldiers in their advanced posts. While the citizens of Magdeburgh, animated by the discourses of their pastors, and the soldiers encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardships of a siege without murmuring, and defended themselves with the same ardour which they had at first discovered; the troops of the besiegers acted with extreme remissness, repining at every thing that they suffered in a service which they disliked. They broke out, more than once, into open mutiny, demanding the arrears of their pay, which, as the Germans sent in their contributions sparingly, and with great reluctance, towards defraying the expences of this war, amounted to a considerable sum¹⁹. Maurice, too, had particular motives, though such as he durst not avow at that juncture,

¹⁹ Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

which induced him not to push the siege with vigour, and made him chuse rather to continue at the head of an army exposed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conquest that might have brought him some accession of reputation, but would have rendered it necessary to disband his forces.

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At last, the inhabitants of the town beginning to suffer distress from want of provisions, and Maurice finding it impossible to protract matters any longer without filling the Emperor with such suspicions as might have disconcerted all his measures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city upon the following conditions; that the Magdeburghers should humbly implore pardon of the Emperor; that they should not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance against the house of Austria; that they should submit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they should conform to the decree of the diet at Augsburgh with respect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town should be demolished; that they should pay a fine of fifty thousand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the Emperor, and set the Duke of Mecklenburgh, together with their other prisoners, at liberty,

The city
surrenders
to Maurice.

Novemb. 3.

BOOK X. without ransom. Next day their garrison marched
1551. out, and Maurice took possession of the town
with great military pomp.

Maurice's
views at this
juncture.

BEFORE the terms of capitulation were settled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburgh. He consulted likewise with count Heideck, an officer who had served with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the Emperor had proscribed on account of his zeal for that cause, but whom Maurice had, notwithstanding, secretly engaged in his service, and admitted into the most intimate confidence. To them he communicated a scheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to his father-in-law the Landgrave, for vindicating the privileges of the Germanick body, and setting bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having deliberated with them concerning the measures which might be necessary for securing the success of such an arduous enterprize, he gave Mansfeldt secret assurances that the fortifications of Magdeburgh should not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. In order to engage Maurice

more thoroughly from considerations of interest to fulfil these engagements, the senate of Magdeburgh elected him their Burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample jurisdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies ²⁰.

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THUS the citizens of Magdeburgh, after enduring a siege of twelve months, and struggling for their liberties, religious and civil, with an invincible fortitude, worthy of the cause in which it was exerted, had at last the good fortune to conclude a treaty, which left them in a better condition than the rest of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of publick spirit had betrayed into such mean submissions to the Emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburghers, and rejoiced in their having escaped the destruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's address in the conduct of his negotiations with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They saw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburghers during many months with all the

The advantages he derived from his negotiations with the Magdeburghers.

²⁰ Sleid. §28. Thuan. 276. Obsidionis Magdeburgicæ Descriptio per Sebast. Besselmeyerum, ap. Scard. ii. §18.

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calamities of war, he was at last, by their voluntary election, vested with supreme authority in that city which he had so lately besieged; that after having been so long the object of their satirical invectives as an apostate, and an enemy to the religion which he professed, they seemed now to place unbounded confidence in his zeal and good-will²¹. At the same time, the publick articles in the treaty of capitulation were so perfectly conformable to those which the Emperor had granted to the other Protestant cities, and Maurice took such care to magnify his merit in having reduced a place which had defended itself with so much obstinacy, that Charles, far from suspecting any thing fraudulent or collusive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without hesitation, and absolved the Magdeburghers from the sentence of ban which had been denounced against them.

His expedient for keeping an army on foot.

THE only point that now remained to embarrass Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had served under him, as well as those which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with singular art and felicity. His schemes against the Emperor were not yet so fully ripened, that he durst venture to disclose

²¹ Arnoldi vita Maurit. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

them; and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter was approaching, which made it impossible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the Emperor, if he should retain such a considerable body in his pay until the season of action returned in the spring. As soon then as Magdeburgh opened its gates, he sent home his Saxon subjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-assemble on the shortest warning; and at the same time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his standard, as well as to the soldiers who had served in the garrison, he absolved them from their respective oaths of fidelity, and disbanded them. But the moment he gave them their discharge, George Duke of Mecklenburgh, who was now set at liberty, offered to take them into his service, and to become surety for the payment of what was still owing to them. As such adventurers were accustomed often to change masters, they instantly accepted the offer. Thus these troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever Maurice should call them, while the Emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that the Duke of Mecklenburgh had hired them with an intention to assert his claim to a part of his brother's territories by force of arms, suffered this trans-

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1551.

BOOK X. action to pass without observation, as if it had
1551. been a matter of no consequence ²².

His address
in conceal-
ing his in-
tentions
from the
Emperor.

HAVING ventured to take these steps which were of so much consequence towards the execution of his schemes, Maurice, that he might divert the Emperor from observing their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the suspicions which that must have excited, saw the necessity of employing some new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his present security. As he knew that the chief object of the Emperor's solicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the Protestant States of Germany to recognise the authority of the council of Trent, and to send thither ambassadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their respective churches, he took hold of this predominating passion in order to amuse and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he desired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambassadors, whom he empowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and some of the most eminent among his brethren to prepare a confession of faith, and to lay it before that assembly. After his

²² Thuan. 278. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauriti apud Menken, ii. 1227.

example,

example, and probably in consequence of his solicitations the Duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Strasburgh, and other Protestant States appointed ambassadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the Emperor for his safe-conduct, which they obtained in the most ample form. This was deemed sufficient for the security of the ambassadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a separate safe-conduct from the council itself was demanded for the Protestant divines. The fate of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, whom the council of Constance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial safe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and necessary. But as the Pope was no less unwilling that the Protestants should be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the Emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promises and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline issuing a safe-conduct in the same form with that which the council of Basil had granted to the followers of Hufs. The Protestants, on their part, insisted upon the council's copying the precise words of that instrument. The Imperial ambassadors interposed, in order to obtain what would satisfy them. Alterations in the

BOOK X.

1551.

BOOK X. form of the writ were proposed; expedients
 1551. were suggested; protests and counter-protests
 were taken: the legate, together with his associates, laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the Protestants adhered to theirs with firmness and obstinacy. An account of every thing that passed in Trent was transmitted to the Emperor at Inspruck, who, attempting, from an excess of zeal, or of confidence in his own address, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of inextricable negotiations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the Emperor's time was wholly engrossed, and his attention diverted; while he himself had leisure to mature his schemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finish his preparations, before he threw off the mask, and struck the blow which he had so long meditated²¹.

The Affairs of Hungary. BUT previous to the history of Maurice's operations, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing such extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a stratagem, which suited the base and insidious policy of a petty usurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror,

²¹ Sleid. 526. 529. F. Paul, 323. 338. Thuan. 286.

deprived the young King of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate Prince the country of Transylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young King, for he still allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the Queen and Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin, whom the late King had appointed his son's guardians and regents of his dominions, at a time when those offices were of greater importance. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young Queen, conscious of her capacity for governing, and an high-spirited prelate, fond of power, contending who should engross the greatest share in the administration. Each had their partizans among the nobles; but as Martinuzzi, by his great talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella turned his own arts against him, and courted the protection of the Turks.

THE neighbouring Bashas, jealous of the bishop's power as well as abilities, readily promised her the aid which she demanded, and would soon have obliged Martinuzzi to have

BOOK X.

1551.

given up to her the sole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not suggested to him a new measure, and one that tended not only to preserve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the Queen, by the mediation of some of the nobles, who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of a civil war, he secretly dispatched one of his confidants to Vienna, and entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to persuade Ferdinand, that the same man whose enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally instrumental in recovering them he listened eagerly to the first overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuzzi allured him by such prospects of advantage, and engaged, with so much confidence, that he would prevail on the most powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Transylvania. The command of the troops destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, was given to Castaldo Marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous Marquis de Pescara, whom he strongly resembled both in his enterprizing genius for

civil business, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the discipline of the soldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its numbers, was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkish Basbas, the Sultan himself being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Persia, could not afford the Queen such immediate or effectual assistance as the exigency of her affairs required, she quickly lost all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which she possessed as regent, and even began to despair of her son's safety.

BOOK X.

1551.

MARTINUZZI did not suffer this favourable opportunity of accomplishing his own designs to pass unimproved, and ventured, while she was in this state of dejection, to lay before her a proposal, which at any other time she would have rejected with disdain. He represented how impossible it was for her to resist Ferdinand's victorious arms; that even if the Turks should enable her to make head against them, she would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not consider them as deliverers, but as masters, to whose commands she must submit; he conjured her, therefore, as she regarded her own dignity, the safety of her son,

The success
of his mea-
sures.

BOOK X. or the security of Christendom, rather to give
1551. up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make
over to him her son's title to the crown of
Hungary, than to allow both to be usurped by
the inveterate enemy of the Christian faith. At
the same time, he promised her, in Ferdinand's
name, a compensation for herself, as well as for
her son, suitable to their rank, and propor-
tional to the value of what they were to sacri-
fice. Isabella, deserted by some of her adhe-
rents, distrusting others, destitute of friends,
and surrounded by Castaldo's and Martinuzzi's
troops, subscribed these hard conditions, though
with a reluctant hand. Upon this, she surren-
dered such places of strength as were still in
her possession, she gave up all the ensigns of
royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as
the Hungarians believed, had descended from
heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an
undoubted right to the throne. As she could
not bear to remain a private person, in a country
where she had once enjoyed sovereign power,
she instantly set out with her son for Silesia, in
order to take possession of the principalities of
Oppelan and Ratibor, the investiture of which
Ferdinand had engaged to grant her son, and
likewise to bestow one of his daughters upon
him in marriage.

UPON the resignation of the young King, Book X.
 Martinuzzi, and after his example the rest of 1551.
 the Transylvanian grandees, swore allegiance to Appointed
 Ferdinand; who, in order to testify his grateful governor of
 sense of the zeal as well as success with which that part of
 that prelate had served him, affected to distin- Hungary
 guish him by every possible mark of favour and which was
 confidence. He appointed him governor of subject to
 Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority; Ferdinand.
 he ordered Castaldo to pay the greatest deference
 to his opinion and commands; he increased his
 revenues, which were already very great, by new
 appointments; he nominated him archbishop
 of Gran, and prevailed on the Pope to raise
 him to the dignity of a Cardinal. All this osten-
 tation, of good-will, however, was void of sin-
 cerity, and calculated to conceal sentiments the
 most perfectly its reverse. Ferdinand dreaded
 Martinuzzi's abilities; distrusted his fidelity;
 and foresaw, that as his extensive authority en-
 abled him to check any attempt towards cir-
 cumscribing or abolishing the extensive privi-
 leges which the Hungarian nobility possessed,
 he would stand forth, on every occasion, the
 guardian of the liberties of his country, rather
 than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the
 will of his sovereign.

FOR this reason, he secretly gave it in charge Ferdinand
 to Castaldo to watch his motions, to guard begins to

BOOK X. against his designs, and to thwart his measures.
 1551. But Martinuzzi, either because he did not perceive that Castaldo was placed as a spy on his actions, or because he despised Ferdinand's insidious arts, assumed the direction of the war against the Turks with his usual tone of authority, and conducted it with great magnanimity, and no less success. He recovered some places of which the Infidels had taken possession; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and established Ferdinand's authority not only in Transylvania, but in the Bannat of Temeswar, and several of the countries adjacent. In carrying on these operations, he often differed in sentiments from Castaldo and his officers, and treated the Turkish prisoners with a degree not only of humanity, but even of generosity, which Castaldo loudly condemned. This was represented at Vienna as an artful method of courting the friendship of the Infidels, that, by securing their protection, he might shake off all dependence upon the sovereign whom he now acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in justification of his own conduct, contended that it was impolitick to exasperate an enemy prone to revenge by unnecessary severities, Castaldo's accusations gained credit with Ferdinand, prepossessed already against Martinuzzi, and jealous of every thing that could endanger his own authority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew

it to be precarious and ill established. These Book X.
 suspicions Castaldo confirmed and strengthened 1551.
 by the intelligence which he transmitted con-
 tinually to his confidants at Vienna. By misre-
 presenting what was innocent, and putting the
 worst construction on what seemed dubious in
 Martinuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him de-
 signs which he never formed, and charging him
 with actions of which he was not guilty; he at
 last convinced Ferdinand, that, in order to pre-
 serve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that
 ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreseeing
 that it would be dangerous to proceed in the
 regular course of law against a subject of such
 exorbitant power, as enabled him to set his sove-
 reign at defiance, determined to employ vio-
 lence, in order to obtain that satisfaction which
 the laws were too feeble to afford him.

HE issued his orders accordingly to Castaldo, He is assassinated by his command.
 who willingly undertook that infamous service.
 Having communicated the design to some Italian
 and Spanish officers whom he could trust, and
 concerted with them the plan of executing it,
 they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one Dec. 18.
 morning, under pretence of presenting to him
 some dispatches which were to be sent off imme-
 diately to Vienna; and while he perused a paper
 with attention, one of their number struck him

BOOK X. with his poniard in the throat. The blow was
 1551. not mortal. Martinuzzi started up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the assassin, threw him to the ground. But the other conspirators rushing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, unable long to sustain such an unequal conflict, sunk under the wounds which he received from so many hands. Their dread of the foreign troops restrained the Transylvanians from rising in arms, in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as
 The effect of
 that violent
 action. veneration. They spoke of the deed, however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed against Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important services, nor reverence for a character considered as sacred and inviolable among Christians, could restrain from shedding the blood of a man, whose only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, detesting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable surmises, had given up a person, no less conspicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by assassins, either retired to their own estates, or if they continued with the Austrian army, grew cold to the service. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew

hostilities early in the spring; and instead of the security which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with less zeal, than ever²⁴.

BOOK X.
1551.

By this time, Maurice having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field against the Emperor. His first care, after he came to this resolution, was to disclaim that narrow and bigoted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to shun all connexion with foreigners. He had observed how fatal this had been to their cause; and instructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been solicitous to prevent the interposition of Francis I. Happily for him, he found Henry in a disposition to listen to the first overture on his part, and in a situation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long observed the progress of the Emperor's arms with jealousy, and wished to distinguish himself by trying his

Maurice
courts the
protection
of the
French
King.

²⁴ Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Istvanhaffi Hist. Regn. Hungarici. lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 871. Natalis Comit. Historia, lib. iv. 84, &c.

BOOK X. strength against the same enemy, whom it had
 1551. been the glory of his father's reign to oppose.
 He had laid hold on the first opportunity in
 his power of thwarting the Emperor's designs,
 by taking the Duke of Parma under his protec-
 tion; and hostilities were already begun, not
 only in that dutchy but in Piedmont. Having
 terminated the war with England by a peace,
 no less advantageous to himself than honourable
 for his allies the Scots, the restless and enter-
 prizing courage of his nobles was impatient to
 display itself on some theatre of action more
 conspicuous than the petty operations in Parma
 or Piedmont afforded them.

His treaty
 with him

JOHN DE FIESSE, bishop of Bayonne, whom
 Henry had sent into Germany, under pretence
 of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was
 empowered to conclude a treaty in form with
 Maurice and his associates. As it would have
 been very indecent in a King of France to
 have undertaken the defence of the Protestant
 church, the interests of religion, how much so-
 ever they might be affected by the treaty, were
 not once mentioned in any of the articles. Re-
 ligious concerns, they pretended to commit en-
 tirely to the disposition of divine providence;
 the only motives assigned for their present con-
 federacy against Charles, were to procure the

Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the subver- BOOK X.
 sion of the ancient constitution and laws of the 1551.
 German Empire. In order to accomplish these
 ends, it was agreed; that all the contracting
 parties should, at the same time, declare war
 against the Emperor; that neither peace nor
 truce should be made but by common consent
 nor without including each of the confederates;
 that, in order to guard against the inconveni-
 ences of anarchy, or of pretensions to joint
 command, Maurice should be acknowledged as
 head of the German confederates, with absolute
 authority in all military affairs; that Maurice
 and his associates should bring into the field
 seven thousand horse, with a proportional num-
 ber of infantry; that towards the subsistence of
 this army, during the three first months of the
 war, Henry should contribute two hundred and
 forty thousand crowns, and afterwards sixty
 thousand crowns a-month, as long as they con-
 tinued in arms; that Henry should attack the
 Emperor on the side of Lorrain with a powerful
 army; that if it were found requisite to elect a
 new Emperor, such a person should be nominat-
 ed as shall be agreeable to the King of
 France²⁵. This treaty was concluded on the
 fifth of October, some time before Magdeburgh

²⁵ Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 258. Thuan. lib. viii.
 279.

BOOK. X. surrendered, and the preparatory negotiations
 1551. were conducted with such profound secrecy, that
 of all the Princes who afterwards acceded to it,
 Maurice communicated what he was carrying
 on to two only, John Albert, the reigning Duke
 of Mecklenburgh, and William of Hesse, the
 Landgrave's eldest son. The league itself was no
 less anxiously concealed, and with such fortunate
 care, that no rumour concerning it reached the
 ears of the Emperor or his ministers; nor do
 they seem to have conceived the most distant
 suspicion of such a transaction.

Solicits
 the aid of
 Edward VI.
 of England.

AT the same time, with a solicitude which
 was careful to draw some accession of strength
 from every quarter, Maurice applied to Edward
 VI. of England, and requested a subsidy of four
 hundred thousand crowns for the support of a
 confederacy formed in defence of the Protestant
 religion. But the factions which prevailed in
 the English court during the minority of that
 Prince, and which deprived both the councils
 and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour,
 left the English ministers neither time nor inclina-
 tion to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented
 Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal
 for the Reformation would have prompted them
 to grant him²⁶.

²⁶ Burner's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. Append. 37.

MAURICE, however, having secured the protection of such a powerful Monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it necessary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the Emperor's consent that the Landgrave should be set at liberty, he sent a solemn embassy, in his own name, and in that of the Elector of Brandenburg, to Inspruck. After refusing, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and representing, in the strongest terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be so assiduous in their solicitations, they renewed the request in behalf of the unfortunate prisoner, which they had so often preferred in vain. The Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, the Duke of Deux-ponts, the Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the Marquis of Baden, by their ambassadors, concurred with them in their suit. Letters were likewise delivered to the same effect from the King of Denmark, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Lunenburgh. Even the King of the Romans joined in this application, being moved with compassion towards the Landgrave in his wretched situation, or influenced, perhaps, by a secret jealousy of his brother's power and designs, which, since his attempt to alter the order of succession in the Empire, he

BOOK X.

1551.

Demands
once more
that the
Landgrave
should be set
at liberty.

December.

BOOK X. had come to view with other eyes, and dreaded
1551. to a great degree.

BUT Charles, constant to his own system with regard to the Landgrave, eluded a demand urged by such powerful intercessors; and having declared that he would communicate his resolution concerning the matter to Maurice as soon as he arrived at Inspruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to descend into any more particular explication of his intentions²⁷. This application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable concession, which his mediation or intreaty could not obtain. It was of use, too, to confirm the Emperor in his security, as both the solemnity of the application, and the solicitude with which so many Princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude, that Maurice placed all his hopes of restoring the Landgrave to liberty, in gaining his consent to dismiss him.

1552. MAURICE employed artifices still more refined
Maurice continues to to conceal his machinations, to amuse the Em-
amuse the peror, and to gain time. He affected to be more
Emperor.

²⁷ Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

solicitous

solicitous than ever to find out some expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the safe-conduct for the Protestant divines appointed to attend the council, so that they might repair thither without any apprehension of danger. His ambassadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter with the Imperial ambassadors in that city, and laid open their sentiments to them with the appearance of the most unreserved confidence. He was willing, at last, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with respect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjusted; and in order to give credit to this opinion he commanded Melancthon, together with his brethren, to set out on their journey to Trent. At the same time, he held a close correspondence with the Imperial court at Inspruck, and renewed on every occasion his professions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the Emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inspruck in person; he ordered a house to be hired for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greatest dispatch for his reception²⁸.

Book X.

1552.

BUT, profoundly skilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be, under which he con-

The Empe-
ror con-
ceives some
suspicion
concerning
his inten-
tions.

²⁸ Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

BOOK X.

1552.

cealed his designs, there were several things in his conduct which alarmed the Emperor amidst his security, and tempted him frequently to suspect that he was meditating something extraordinary. As these suspicions took their rise from circumstances inconsiderable in themselves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's address; and the Emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once trusted and loaded with favours. One particular alone seemed to be of such consequence, that he thought it necessary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburgh had taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburgh, having fixed their quarters in Thuringia, lived at discretion on the lands of the rich ecclesiasticks in their neighbourhood. Their licence and rapaciousness were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the Emperor, and represented them as a body of men kept in readiness for some desperate enterprize. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by representing the impossibility of disbanding these troops, or of keeping them to regular discipline, unless the arrears still due to them by the Emperor were paid, either removed the apprehensions which this

had occasioned, or as Charles was not in a con- BOOK X.
 dition to satisfy the demands of these soldiers, 1552.
 obliged him to be silent with regard to the
 matter ²⁹.

THE time of action was now approaching. Maurice
 Maurice had privately dispatched Albert of Maurice
prepares for
action.
 Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his
 league with Henry, and to hasten the march of
 the French army. He had taken measures to
 bring his own subjects together on the first sum-
 mons; he had provided for the security of
 Saxony while he should be absent with the
 army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on
 which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on
 a moment's warning. All these complicated
 operations were carried on without being dis-
 covered by the court at Inspruck, and the Em-
 peror remained there in perfect tranquillity,
 busied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of
 the Pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the
 conditions on which the Protestant divines should
 be admitted into the council, as if there had
 not been any transaction of greater moment in
 agitation.

THIS credulous security in a Prince, who by
 his sagacity in observing the conduct of all round

²⁹ Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

BOOK X. him was commonly led to an excess of distrust, may seem unaccountable, and has been imputed to infatuation. But besides the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumstances contributed to the delusion. The gout had returned upon Charles soon after his arrival at Inspruck, with an increase of violence; and his constitution being broken by such frequent attacks, he was seldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to consider affairs with his usual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, bishop of Arras, his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was on this occasion the dupe of his own craft. He entertained such an high opinion of his own abilities; and held the political talents of the Germans in such contempt, that he despised all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's secret machinations, or the dangerous designs which he was carrying on. When the Duke of Alva, whose dark suspicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the Elector's sincerity, proposed calling him immediately to court to answer for his conduct, Granvelle replied with great scorn, That these apprehensions were groundless, and that a drunken German head was too gross to form any scheme which he could not easily penetrate and baffle. Nor did

1552.

Circumstances which contributed to deceive the Emperor,

and his ministers.

he assume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own discernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their master's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain access to all Maurice's counsels, and even to his thoughts, such intelligence was conveyed to him as completed his deception. Maurice fortunately discovered the correspondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, but instead of punishing them for their crime, he dexterously availed himself of their fraud, and turned his own arts against the bishop. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his consultations; he seemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what it was his interest should be known, they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity as well as good intentions³⁰. The Emperor himself, in the fulness of security, was so little moved by a memorial, in name of the ecclesiastical Electors, admonishing him to be on his guard against Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his answer to them

Book X.

1552.

³⁰ Melvil's Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12.

BOOK X. abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that Prince³¹.
1552.

Maurice
takes the
field against
the Emperor.

AT last Maurice's preparations were completed, and he had the satisfaction to find that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aside the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inspruck of which he had so often talked, and he took one of the ministers whom Granvelle had bribed, to attend him thither. After travelling post a few stages, he pretended to be indisposed by the fatigue of the journey, and dispatching the suspected minister to make his apology to the Emperor for this delay, and to assure him that he would be at Inspruck within a few days; he mounted on horseback, as soon as this spy on his actions was gone, rode full speed towards Thuringia, joined his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and put it immediately in motion³².

March 18.

³¹ Sleid. 535.

³² Melv. Mem. p. 13. These circumstances concerning the Saxon ministers whom Granvelle had bribed, are not

AT the same time he published a manifesto 1552. containing his reasons for taking arms. These were three in number: That he might secure the Protestant religion, which was threatened with immediate destruction: That he might maintain the constitution and laws of the Empire, and save Germany from being subjected to the dominion of an absolute monarch: That he might deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. By the first, he roused all the favourers of the Reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered desperate by oppression. By the second, he interested all the friends of liberty, Catholics no less than Protestants; and made it their interest to unite with him in asserting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, besides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy prisoner, was become a cause of general concern, not only from the compassion which the Landgrave's sufferings excited, but from indignation at the injustice and rigour of the Emperor's proceedings against him. Together with Maurice's manifesto, another appeared in the name of Albert, Marquis

mentioned by the German historians; but as Sir James Melvil received his information from the Elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the rest of Maurice's conduct, they may be considered as authentick.

BOOK X. of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined
 1552. him with a body of adventurers whom he had
 drawn together. The same grievances which
 Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it,
 but with an excess of virulence and animosity
 suitable to the character of the Prince in whose
 name it was published.

He is power-
 fully sup-
 ported by
 the French
 King.

THE King of France added to these a mani-
 festo in his own name; in which, after taking
 notice of the ancient alliance between the French
 and German nations, both descended from the
 same ancestors; and after mentioning the appli-
 cations, which, in consequence of this, some of
 the most illustrious among the German Princes
 had made to him for his protection; he declared
 that he now took arms to re-establish the an-
 cient constitution of the Empire, to deliver
 some of its Princes from captivity, and to secure
 the privileges and independence of all the mem-
 bers of the Germanick body. In this mani-
 festo, Henry assumed the extraordinary title of
Protector of the Liberties of Germany, and of its
captive Princes; and there was engraved on it
 a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed
 between two daggers. in order to intimate to
 the Germans, that this blessing was to be ac-
 quired and secured by force of arms ³³.

³³ Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mém. de Ribier, ii.
 371.

MAURICE had now a very different part to BOOK X, act, but his flexible genius was capable of ac- 1552. commodating itself to every situation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and enterprising in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the Emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburgh, and as the Imperial garrison, which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took possession of that great city, and made the same changes there as in the towns through which he had passed³⁴.

Maurice's operations in the field.

No words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He saw a great number of the German Princes in arms against him, and the rest either ready to join them, or wishing success to their enterprise. He beheld a powerful Monarch united with them in close league, seconding their operations in person at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which exposed him no less to scorn than

The Emperor's astonishment and distress.

³⁴ Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

BOOK X. 1552. to danger, had neither made nor was in condition to make any effectual provision either for crushing his rebellious subjects, or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks; the rest had marched back to Italy upon occasion of the war in the duchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, because he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's service after the siege of Magdeburgh; and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers hardly strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for some time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refused to lend him money, though tempted by the offer of exorbitant interest. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the most considerable potentate in Christendom, and capable of exerting the greatest strength, as his power, notwithstanding the violent attack made upon it, was still unimpaired, found himself in a situation which rendered him unable to make such a sudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was necessary to have saved him from the present danger.

IN this situation, the Emperor placed all his hopes on negotiating; the only resource of such as are conscious of their own weakness. But thinking it inconsistent with his dignity to make the first advances to subjects who were in arms against him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in such a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the first overture of accommodation, he might amuse the Emperor and tempt him to slacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himself, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Austria: and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, he repaired thither.

MEANWHILE the King of France punctually fulfilled his engagements to his allies. He took the field early with a numerous and well appointed army, and marching directly into Lorraine, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city by a fraudulent stratagem of the Constable Montmorency, who having obtained permission to pass through it with a small guard, introduced as many troops as were

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Endeavours
to gain time
by a nego-
ciation.

Progress of
the French
army.

BOOK X. sufficient to overpower the garrison, was likewise seized without bloodshed. Henry made his entry into all these towns with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him, and annexed those important conquests to the French Monarchy. He left a strong garrison in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alsace, in order to attempt new conquests, to which the success that had hitherto attended his arms invited him ³⁵.

The negotiations between the Emperor and Maurice of no effect

THE conference at Lintz did not produce any accommodation. Maurice, when he consented to it, seems to have had nothing in view but to amuse the Emperor; for he made such demands both in behalf of his confederates, and their ally the French King, as he knew would not be accepted by a Prince, too haughty to submit, at once, to conditions dictated by an enemy. But however firmly Maurice adhered during the negotiation to the interests of his associates, or how steadily soever he kept in view the objects which had induced him to take arms, he often professed a strong inclination to terminate the differences with the Emperor in an amicable manner. Encouraged by this appearance of a pacifick disposition, Ferdinand proposed a second interview at Passau on

³⁵ Thuan. 349.

the twenty-sixth of May, and that a truce BOOK X.
 should commence on that day, and continue to 1552.
 the tenth of June, in order to give them leisure
 for adjusting all the points in dispute.

UPON this, Maurice rejoined his army on the Maurice ad-
vances to-
wards In-
spruck.
 ninth of May, which had now advanced to
 Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion
 next morning; and as sixteen days yet remained
 for action before the commencement of the
 truce, he resolved, during that period, to ven-
 ture upon an enterprize, the success of which
 would be so decisive, as would render the nego-
 ciations at Passau extremely short, and entitle
 him to treat upon his own terms. He foresaw
 that the prospect of a cessation of arms, which
 was to take place so soon, together with the
 opinion of his earnestness to re-establish peace,
 with which he had artfully amused Ferdinand,
 could hardly fail of inspiring the Emperor with
 such false hopes, that he would naturally become
 remiss, and relapse into some degree of that
 security which had already been so fatal to
 him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched
 directly at the head of his army towards In-
 spruck, and advanced with the most rapid
 motion that could be given to so great a body
 of troops. On the eighteenth he arrived at
 Fieffen, a post of great consequence, at the

BOOK X. entrance into the Tyrolese. There he found
1552. a body of eight hundred men, whom the Emperor had assembled, strongly intrenched, in order to oppose his progress. He attacked them instantly with such violence and impetuosity that they abandoned their lines precipitantly, and falling back on a second body posted near Ruten, communicated the panick terror with which they themselves had been seized, to those troops, so that they likewise took to flight, after a feeble resistance.

Takes the
castle of
Ehrenberg.

ELATED with this success, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes, Maurice pressed forward to Ehrenberg, a castle situated on an high and steep precipice, which commanded the only pass through the mountains. As this fort had been surrendered to the Protestants at the beginning of the Smalkaldick war, because the garrison was then too weak to defend it, the Emperor, sensible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops sufficient to maintain it against the greatest army. But a shepherd, in pursuing a goat which had strayed from his flock, having discovered an unknown path by which it was possible to ascend to the top of the rock, came with this seasonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A small band of chosen soldiers, under the command of

George of Mecklenburgh, was instantly ordered to follow this guide. They set out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the summit unperceived; and at an hour which had been concerted, when Maurice began the assault on the one side of the castle, they appeared on the other, ready to scale the walls, which were feeble in that place, because it had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. The garrison, struck with terror at the sight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themselves perfectly secure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almost without bloodshed, and which was of greater consequence to him, without loss of time, took possession of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill ³⁶.

MAURICE was now only two days march from Inspruck, and without losing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unserviceable in that mountainous country, at Fieffen, to guard the mouth of the pass. He proposed to advance with such rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loss of Ehrenberg. and to surprise the Emperor, together with his attendants, in an open

Book X.

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A mutiny of
his troops
retards his
march.

³⁶ Arnoldi vita Mauriti. 123.

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town incapable of defence. But just as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not stir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the custom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by assault. It was with great difficulty as well as danger, and not without some considerable loss of time, that Maurice quieted this insurrection, and prevailed on the soldiers to follow him to a place where he promised them such rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their services.

The Emperor flies in confusion from Inspruck.

To the delay, occasioned by this unforeseen accident, the Emperor owed his safety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly left Inspruck, without regarding the darkness of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almost impassable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, some of them on such horses as they could hastily procuer

procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote inaccessible corner.

MAURICE entered Inspruck a few hours after the Emperor and his attendants had left it; and enraged that the prey should escape out of his hands when he was just ready to seize it, he pursued them some miles; but finding it impossible to overtake persons, to whom their fear gave speed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the Emperor's baggage, together with that of his ministers, to be plundered by the soldiers; while he preserved untouched every thing belonging to the King of the Romans, either because he had formed some friendly connexion with that Prince, or because he wished to have it believed that such a connexion subsisted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce, (with such nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he set out for Passau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

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The Empe-
ror sets the
Elector of
Saxony at
liberty.

BEFORE Charles left Inspruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a prisoner; and set him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarrass Maurice by letting loose a rival, who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a sense of the indecency of detaining him a prisoner, while he himself ran the risk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that Prince, seeing no other way of escaping than that which the Emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinsman, whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final decision of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

The coun-
cil of Trent
breaks up in
great con-
sternation.

THESE were not the only effects which Maurice's operations produced. It was no sooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general consternation seized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the safety of their respective territories. The rest were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endea-

vours of the Imperial ambassadors to procure an audience in the council for the Protestants, laid hold with joy on such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was issued proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-established in Europe³⁷. This prorogation, however, continued no less than ten years; and the proceedings of the council, when re-assembled in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, fall not within the period prescribed to this history.

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THE convocation of this assembly had been passionately desired by all the states and Princes in Christendom, who, from the wisdom as well as piety of prelates representing the whole body of the faithful, expected some charitable and efficacious endeavours towards composing the dissensions which unhappily had arisen in the church. But the several Popes by whose authority it was called, had other objects in view. They exerted all their power or policy to attain these; and by the abilities as well as address of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the

The effect
of its de-
crees.

³⁷ F. Paul, 353.

BOOK X. prelates, and by the fervility of the indigent
 1552. Italian bishops, acquired such influence in the
 council, that they dictated all its decrees, and
 framed them, not with an intention to restore
 unity and concord to the church, but to establish
 their own dominion, or to confirm those tenets,
 upon which they imagined that dominion to be
 founded. Doctrines, which had hitherto been
 admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and
 received with some latitude of interpretation,
 were now defined with a scrupulous nicety, and
 confirmed by the sanction of authority. Rites,
 which had formerly been observed only in de-
 ference to custom supposed to be ancient, were
 established by the decrees of the church, and
 declared to be essential parts of its worship.
 The breach, instead of being closed, was wi-
 dened, and made irreparable. In place of any
 attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a
 line was drawn with such studied accuracy, as
 ascertained and marked out the distinction be-
 tween them. This still serves to keep them at
 a distance; and, without some signal interpo-
 sition of Divine Providence, must render the
 separation perpetual.

Character
 of the histo-
 rians of this
 council.

OUR knowledge of the proceedings of this
 assembly, is derived from three different authors.
 Father Paul of Venice wrote his history of the

Council of Trent, while the memory of what had passed there was recent, and some who had been members of it were still alive. He has exposed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and severity which have given a deep wound to the credit of the council. He has described its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with such perspicuity and depth of thought, with such various erudition and such force of reason, as have justly entitled his work to be placed among the most admired historical compositions. About half a century thereafter, the Jesuit Pallavicini published his history of the council, in opposition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reasonings of his antagonist, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and subtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambassadors at Trent, sent the bishop of Arras a regular account of the transactions there, explaining all the arts which the Legate employed to influence or over-awe the council. His letters have been published, in which he inveighs against the papal court with that asperity of censure, which was natural to a man whose situa-

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tion enabled him to observe its arts thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to disappoint them. But whichsoever of these authors an intelligent person takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the spirit of the council, he must discover so much ambition as well as artifice among some of the members, so much ignorance and corruption among others; he must observe such a large infusion of human policy and passions, mingled with such a scanty portion of that simplicity of heart, sanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worship is acceptable to him; that he will find it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over this assembly, and dictated its decrees.

The French
endeavour
to surprise
Strasburgh;

WHILE Maurice was employed in negotiating with the King of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the Emperor in the Tyrol, the French King had advanced into Alsace as far as Strasburgh; and having demanded leave of the Senate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the same fraud which he had practised at Metz, he might render himself master of the place, and by that means secure a passage over the Rhine into the heart of

Germany. But the Sraßburghers, instructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, shut their gates; and having assembled a garrison of five thousand soldiers, repaired their fortifications, rased the houses in their suburbs, and determined to defend themselves to the utmost. At the same time they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to the King, in order to divert him from making any hostile attempt upon them. The Electors of Treves and Cologne, the Duke of Cleves, and other Princes in the neighbourhood, interposed in their behalf; beseeching Henry that he would not forget so soon the title which he had generously assumed; and instead of being the Deliverer of Germany, become its Oppressor. The Swiss Cantons seconded them with zeal, soliciting Henry to spare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendship and alliance.

POWERFUL as this united intercession was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of so much value, if he had been in a condition to have seized it. But, in that age, the method of subsisting numerous armies at a distance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly understood, and neither the revenues of Princes, nor their experience in the

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it but without success.

BOOK X. art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which such an undertaking required. 1552. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and had no sufficient magazines collected to support them during a siege, which must necessarily have been of great length³⁸. At the same time, the Queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, had assembled a considerable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Rossem, laid waste Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. These concurring circumstances obliged the King, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire some merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiss that he had taken the resolution merely in compliance with their request³⁹; and then, after giving orders that all the horses in his army should be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having pushed his conquests so far, he marched back towards Champagne.

The operations of Albert of Brandenburg.

WHILE the French King and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entrusted with the command of a separate body of eight thousand men,

³⁸ Thuan. 351, 352.
tom. vii. 39.

³⁹ Sleid. 557. Brantome,

consisting chiefly of mercenaries who had re- Book X.
 sorted to his standard, rather from the hope of 1552.
 plunder, than the expectation of regular pay.
 That Prince, seeing himself at the head of such
 a number of desperate adventurers, ready to
 follow wherever he should lead them, soon be-
 gan to disdain a state of subordination, and to
 form such vast schemes of aggrandizing himself,
 as seldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unless
 when civil war or violent factions rouse them
 to bold exertions, by alluring them with im-
 mediate hopes of success. Full of these aspiring
 thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very
 different, from the other confederates. He en-
 deavoured to spread the terror of his arms by
 the rapidity of his motions, as well as the ex-
 tent and rigour of his devastations; he exacted
 contributions wherever he came, in order to
 amass such a sum of money, as would put it
 in his power to keep his army together; he
 laboured to get possession of Nuremberg, Ulm,
 or some other of the free cities in Upper Ger-
 many, in which, as a capital, he might fix the
 seat of his power. But, finding these cities on
 their guard, and in a condition to resist his at-
 tacks, he turned all his rage against the popish
 ecclesiasticks, whose territories he plundered
 with such wanton and merciless barbarity, as
 gave them a very unfavourable impression of

Book X. the spirit of that reformation in religion, with
 1552. zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, by their situation, lay particularly exposed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almost one half of his extensive diocese; and compelled the latter to advance an immense sum in order to save his country from ruin and desolation. During all those wild sallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whose commands as Generalissimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonstrances of the other confederates; and manifestly discovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any solicitude about the common cause, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms⁴⁰.

The negotiations of
 peace at
 Passau.

MAURICE having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having published a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and instructors of youth, to resume the exercise of their functions in all the cities, schools, and universities from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Passau on the twenty-sixth day of May. As matters of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independence of the

⁴⁰ Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

Empire were to be settled in this congress, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Book X.
1552.
 Besides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors, the Duke of Bavaria, the bishops of Saltzburgh and Aichstadt, the ministers of all the Electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable Princes and free cities, resorted to Passau. Maurice, in name of his associates, and the King of the Romans as the Emperor's representative, opened the negociation. The Princes who were present, together with the deputies of such as were absent, acted as intercessors or mediators between them.

MAURICE, in a long discourse, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the Emperor's administration, he, agreeably to the manifesto which he had published when he took arms against him, limited his demands to three articles. That the Landgrave of Hesse should be immediately set at liberty; That the grievances in the civil government of the Empire should be redressed; and that the Protestants should be allowed the publick exercise of their religion without molestation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors discovering their unwillingness to gratify him with regard to all these points, the mediators wrote a joint letter

The terms
which
Maurice
proposed.

Book X. to the Emperor, beseeching him to deliver Ger-
 1552. many from the calamities of a civil war, by
 giving such satisfaction to Maurice and his party
 as might induce them to lay down their arms;
 and at the same time they prevailed upon Mau-
 rice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a
 short time, during which they undertook to pro-
 cure the Emperor's final answer to his demands.

Powerfully
 supported by
 the Princes
 of the Em-
 pire.

THIS request was presented to the Emperor
 in the name of all the Princes of the Empire,
 Popish as well as Protestant, in the name of such
 as had lent an helping hand to forward his am-
 bitious schemes, as well as of those who had
 viewed the progress of his power with jealousy
 and dread. The uncommon and cordial unani-
 mity with which they concurred at this juncture
 in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in re-
 commending peace, flowed from different causes.
 Such as were most attached to the Roman catho-
 lick church could not help observing, that the
 Protestant confederates were at the head of a
 numerous army, while the Emperor was but
 just beginning to provide for his own defence.
 They foresaw that great efforts would be required
 of them, and would be necessary on their part,
 in order to cope with enemies, who had been
 allowed to get the start so far, and to attain
 such formidable power. Experience had taught

them, that the fruit of all these efforts would be reaped by the Emperor alone, and the more complete any victory proved which they should gain, the faster would they bind their own fetters, and render them the more intolerable. These reflections made them cautious how they contributed a second time, by their indiscreet zeal, to put the Emperor in possession of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithstanding the implacable fierceness of the spirit of bigotry in that age, they chose rather that the Protestants should acquire that security for their religion which they demanded, than by assisting Charles to oppress them, to give such additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the constitution of the Empire. To all these considerations, the dread of seeing Germany laid waste by a civil war, added new force. Many states of the Empire already felt the destructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wished for an accommodation between the Emperor and Maurice which they hoped would save them from that cruel scourge.

SUCH were the reasons that induced so many Princes, notwithstanding the variety of their political interests, and the opposition in their religious sentiments, to unite in recommending to the Emperor an accommodation with Maurice,

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The motives which influenced the Emperor at this juncture.

BOOK X. not only as a salutary, but as a necessary measure. The motives which prompted Charles to desire it, were not fewer or of less weight. He was perfectly sensible of the superiority which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the insufficiency of his own resources to oppose them. His Spanish subjects, disgusted at his long absence, and weary of endless wars, which were of no benefit to their country, refused to furnish him any considerable supply either of men or money; and although by his address or importunity, he might have hoped to draw from them at last more effectual aid; that, he knew, was too distant to be of any service in the present exigency of his affairs. His treasury was drained; his veteran forces were dispersed, or disbanded, and he could not depend much either on the fidelity or courage of the new levied soldiers whom he was collecting. There was no hope of repeating with success the same artifices which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldick league. As the end at which he aimed was now known, he could no longer employ the specious pretexts, which had formerly concealed his ambitious designs. Every Prince in Germany was alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to think of blinding them a second time to such a degree, as to make one part of them instruments to enslave the other. The spirit of a

confederacy, whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him, to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reason to flatter himself that its counsels would be as irrefolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he should resolve on continuing the war, he might be assured, that the most considerable states in Germany would take part in it against him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmost he could expect from the rest. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the King of France would seize the favourable opportunity, and push on his operations in another, with almost certain success. That monarch had already made conquests in the Empire, which he was no less eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent subjects. Though Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the scene of hostilities, having invaded the Low Countries with all his forces. The Turks, roused by the solicitations of the French King, as well as stimulated by resentment against Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coasts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almost defenceless, by calling thence the greatest part of the regular

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BOOK X. troops to join the army which he was now assembling.
1552.

Ferdinand
zealous to
promote an
accommodation.

FERDINAND, who went in person to Villach, in order to lay before the Emperor the result of the conferences at Passau, had likewise reasons peculiar to himself for desiring an accommodation. These prompted him to second, with the greatest earnestness, the arguments which the Princes assembled there had employed in recommending it. He had observed, not without secret satisfaction, the fatal blow that had been given to the despotick power, which his brother had usurped in the Empire. He was extremely solicitous to prevent Charles from recovering what he had lost, as he foresaw that he would immediately resume with fresh eagerness, and with a better chance of success, his favourite scheme of transmitting that power to his son by excluding him from the right of succession to the Imperial throne. On this account, he was willing to contribute towards circumscribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own possession of it certain. Besides, Solyman, exasperated at the loss of Transylvania, and still more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been seized, had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thousand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's

nand's troops, and taken several places of importance, threatened not only to complete the conquest of the province, but to drive him out of that part of Hungary which was still subject to his jurisdiction. He was unable to resist such a mighty enemy; his brother, while engaged in a domestick war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent, either of troops or money, usually furnished to repel the invasions of the Infidels. Maurice, having observed Ferdinand's perplexity with regard to this last point, had offered, if peace were re-established on a secure foundation, that he would march in person with his troops into Hungary against the Turks. Such was the effect of this well-timed proposal, that Ferdinand, destitute of every other prospect of relief, became the most zealous advocate whom the confederates could have chosen to urge their claims, and there was hardly any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have chosen to grant, rather than have retarded a pacification, to which he trusted as the only means of saving his Hungarian crown.

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WHEN so many causes conspired in rendering an accommodation eligible, it might have been expected that it would have taken place immediately. But the inflexibility of the Emperor's

Circumstances which retard it.

BOOK X. temper, together with his unwillingness at once
 1552. to relinquish objects which he had long pursued with such earnestness and assiduity, counterbalanced, for some time, the force of all the motives which disposed him to peace, and not only put that event at a distance, but seemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Passau, were presented to him, he peremptorily refused to redress the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any stipulation for the immediate security of the Protestant religion, but proposed referring both these to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required, that instant reparation should be made to all who, during the present war, had suffered either by the licentiousness of the confederate troops, or the exactions of their leaders.

Maurice's
 vigorous
 operations
 facilitate it.

MAURICE, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view by these overtures but to amuse and deceive; and therefore, without listening to Ferdinand's intreaties, he left Passau abruptly, and joining his troops which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. As three thousand men in the Emperor's pay

had thrown themselves into Frankfurt on the Maine, and might from thence infest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city and laid siege to it in form. The briskness of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the Emperor, as disposed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his willingness to make concessions on his part, if Maurice in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand, as soon as he perceived that his brother began to yield, did not desist from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmost that he would grant for the security of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he instantly dispatched a messenger to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the Emperor's final resolution, conjured him not to frustrate his endeavours for the re-establishment of peace, or, by an unreasonable obstinacy on his side, to disappoint the wishes of all Germany for that salutary event.

MAURICE, notwithstanding the prosperous situation of his affairs, was strongly inclined to listen to his advice. The Emperor, though

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July 17.

Maurice
desirous of
an accom-
modation.

BOOK X. over-reached and surpris'd, had now begun to
1552. assemble troops, and however slow his motions might be, while the first effects of his consternation remained, he was sensible that Charles must at last act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and still more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his past victories. He could scarcely hope that a confederacy composed of so many members would continue to operate with sufficient union and perseverance to resist the consistent and well-directed efforts of an army, at the absolute disposal of a leader accustomed to command and to conquer. He felt already, although he had not hitherto experienced the shock of any adverse event, that he was the head of a disjointed body. He saw, from the example of Albert of Brandenburg, how difficult it would be, with all his address and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himself from the whole, and how impossible to recal him to his proper rank and subordination. This filled him with apprehensions for the common cause. Another consideration gave him no less disquiet with regard to his own particular interests. By setting at liberty the degraded Elector, and by repealing the act depriving him of his hereditary honours

and dominions, the Emperor had it in his power Book X.
 to wound him in the most sensible part. The 1552.
 efforts of a Prince beloved by his ancient sub-
 jects, and revered by all the Protestant party,
 in order to recover what had been unjustly taken
 from him, could hardly have failed of exciting
 commotions in Saxony, which would endanger
 all that he had acquired at the expence of so
 much dissimulation and artifice. It was no less
 in the Emperor's power to render vain all the
 solicitations of the confederates in behalf of the
 Landgrave. He had only to add one act of
 violence more to the injustice and rigour with
 which he had already treated him; and he had
 accordingly threatened the sons of that unfortu-
 nate Prince, that if they persisted in their pre-
 sent enterprize, instead of seeing their father
 restored to liberty, they should hear of his having
 suffered the punishment which his rebellion had
 merited⁴¹.

HAVING deliberated upon all these points The peace
of Religion
concluded
at Passau.
 with his associates, Maurice thought it more
 prudent to accept of the conditions offered,
 though less advantageous than those which he
 had proposed, than again to commit all to the
 doubtful issue of war⁴². He repaired forthwith

⁴¹ Sleid. 571.
 lib. x. 359, &c.

⁴² Sleid. Hist. 563, &c. Thuan.

BOOK X. to Passau, and signed the treaty of peace; of
1552. which the chief articles were: That before the
Aug. 2. twelfth day of August, the confederates shall
lay down their arms, and disband their forces;
That on or before that day the Landgrave shall
be set at Liberty, and conveyed in safety to his
castle of Rheinfels; That a diet shall be held
within six months, in order to deliberate con-
cerning the most proper and effectual method of
preventing for the future all disputes and dissen-
sions about religion; That, in the mean time
neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince, shall,
upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or
violence to such as adhered to the confession of
Augsburgh, but allow them to enjoy the free
and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That
in return, the Protestants shall not molest the
Catholicks either in the exercise of their eccle-
siastical jurisdiction, or in performing their reli-
gious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber
shall administer justice impartially to persons of
both parties, and Protestants be admitted indis-
criminately with the Catholicks to sit as judges
in that court; That if the next diet should not
be able to terminate the disputes with regard to
religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in
behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever
in full force and vigour; That none of the con-
federates shall be liable to any action on account

of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the Empire, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces before the twelfth of August⁴³.

1552.

SUCH was the memorable treaty of Passau, that overturned the vast fabrick, in erecting which Charles had employed so many years, and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family; and established the Protestant church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and completed this unexpected revolution. It is a singular circumstance, that the Reformation should be indebted for its security and full establishment in Germany, to the same hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of destruction, and that both events should

Reflections
upon this
peace and
upon the
conduct of
Maurice.

⁴³ Recueil des Traités, ii. 261.

BOOK X. have been accomplished by the same arts of
 1552. dissimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at those different junctures, seem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as universally extolled for his zeal and publick spirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and interested policy. It is no less worthy of observation, that the French King, a monarch zealous for the Catholick faith, should employ his power in order to protect and maintain the Reformation in the Empire, at the very time when he was persecuting his own Protestant subjects with all the fierceness of bigotry, and that the league for this purpose, which proved so fatal to the Romish church, should be negociated and signed by a Roman Catholick bishop. So wonderful doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purposes.

Little atten- LITTLE attention was paid to the interests of
 tion paid to the French King during the negotiations at
 the French King in this Passau. Maurice and his associates, having
 treaty. gained what they had in view, discovered no great sollicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be overpaid for the assistance

which he had given them, by his acquisitions in Lorrain. A short clause which they procured to be inserted in the treaty, importing that the King of France might communicate to the confederates his particular pretensions or causes of hostility, which they would lay before the Emperor, was the only sign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their success. Henry experienced the same treatment, which every Prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war may expect. As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign, of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector. But how much soever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they hastened to make their peace with the Emperor at his expence, he was perfectly sensible that it was more his interest to keep well with the Germanick body, than to resent the indignities offered him by particular members of it. For that reason he dismissed the hostages which he had received from Maurice and his associates, and affected to talk in the same strain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the Empire.

Book X.
1552.

