XI

FURTHER WARS IN ITALY. FRANCIS I, CHARLES V AND SOULEÏMAN

The Victory of Marignano (1515). — The successor of Louis XII was Francis I. Young, ardent and warlike, he commenced his reign by an invasion of the Milanese territory. He crossed the Alps by the Neck of Argentière and at Marignano attacked 30,000 Swiss, whom he overthrew in the "Battle of the Giants." The Swiss were disgusted with these Italian wars. They returned to their mountains, where they signed the "perpetual peace" which assured their alliance with France until the French Revolution. To arrest the young conqueror, Pope Leo X made haste to sign a treaty, to the cost of the Church of France, but to the mutual profit of the Pope and the king. The Concordat of 1516 suppressed the ecclesiastical elections which had been recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and gave the king the direct appointment of the bishops and of the beneficed clergy. To the Pope it assigned the annates, or first year revenues of vacant sees. In this partition the pontiff left the spiritual share to the prince and took the temporal share for himself.

Power of Charles V. — By a series of fortunate marriages, a rival and dangerous power had been formed over against France. In 1516 Charles of Austria took possession of Spain, where Ferdinand the Catholic had just died. He found himself master of Austria, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples, Sicily, Spain and America. Francis I, still elated by the victory of Marignano, did not fear the master of so many divided states. Instead of trying to dismember this monstrous power before it could consolidate, he concluded with Charles the treaty of Noyon, which permitted his youthful antagonist at his leisure to gather together all his crowns (1516).

This friendship was broken three years later, when the imperial throne became vacant through the death of Maximilian. Charles and Francis became competitors for it. The electors deemed those candidates too powerful and chose Frederick the Wise. He declined the honor, but advised the choice of Charles, since that prince was more interested than any one else in defending Germany against the Ottomans, who were daily becoming more menacing. So Charles of Austria became the Emperor Charles V. His power aided by his astuteness threatened the independence of the other states.

France accepted the task of resisting the new Charlemagne. The forces of the two adversaries were really less unequal than they seemed. France formed a compact and in a degree a homogeneous whole which it was difficult to crush. Her resources were controlled by a royal house which encountered resistance nowhere at home. By the Concordat Francis I had just placed the clergy under his hand. The feudal aristocracy was already in his power, and he boasted of being a king free from tutelage. Charles V, on the contrary, met opposition on every side: in Spain, from the comuneros; in Flanders, from the burghers; in Germany, from the princes and later on from the Protestants. In Austria he had to combat the then terrible Ottomans. Besides, he found it very difficult to concentrate in one direction all his instruments of action, then scattered through so many countries.

First of all the rivals sought allies. Francis I at the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, only succeeded in wounding the self-love of Henry VIII, king of England, whom he eclipsed in elegant luxury and knightly accomplishments. Charles, less pretentious, gained Wolsey, the prime minister of Henry, by promising him the tiara, and thus secured the English alliance for himself. Pope Leo X also declared for the man who seemed able to arrest the fermenting reformation in Germany.

Francis began hostilities by just complaints against the emperor, for not having executed one of the principal clauses of the treaty of Noyon in the restitution of French Navarre. Six thousand men invaded that country, and the Duke of Bouillon attacked Luxemburg. But the French were defeated in Castile, and the Imperialists would have taken Mezières, had not Bayard thrown himself into the place (1521). In Italy Lautrec was left without resources, and forced to submit to his Swiss mercenaries, who demanded

money, discharge, or battle. So he was completely routed at Bicoque (1522). The loss of the Milanese entailed the defection of Venice and Genoa. In that same year, Charles V placed his preceptor, Adrian VI, on the pontifical throne.

Battle of Pavia (1525). **Treaties of Madrid** (1526) **and of Cambrai** (1529). — The very existence of France was then imperilled by the treason of the constable of Bourbon, the last of the great feudal lords, whom injustice had driven into the camp of Charles V. He vanquished the incapable Bonnivet at Biagrasso where Bayard was slain (1524), and led the Imperialists into Provence. However the peasants rose and compelled them to retreat in disorder. The French, the king at their head, rushed in pursuit and attacked them at Pavia. The artillery was accomplishing marvels, when Francis I, charging with his cavalry, placed himself in front of his own fire. The battle was lost and the king himself was captured (1525).

Europe was roused and showed herself unwilling to allow the destruction of France. Italy, menaced in her independence, and Henry VIII, who was overshadowed by the glory of Charles V, and whose minister, Wolsey, had been twice tricked by the emperor in his hopes of the promised papal tiara, formed a league against the victor. Meanwhile Francis I, impatient to escape from captivity, signed the disastrous treaty of Madrid (1526), whereby he ceded to Charles the province of Burgundy, renounced Milan, Naples and Genoa, with the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, reëstablished Bourbon in his possessions, and promised to wed the sister of the emperor, the queen dowager of Portugal.

Once free, he caused the deputies of Burgundy in the assembly of Cognac to declare that the king had no right to alienate a national province. The emperor treated Francis as a perjurer and the latter accused him of lying. The two princes challenged each other to single combat and the war again began. Italy was the first victim. Bourbon threw upon it an army of fanatical Lutherans, whose leader, George Frondsberg, wished to hang the Pope with a golden chain. Bourbon was killed under the walls of Rome, but his horde captured the city and avenged him by abominable rapine and most odious cruelty (1527). Lautrec, who had reconquered Milan, marched upon Naples. The defection of the Genoese fleet made the expedition a failure. The

general died of the pest, and the defeat at Landriano drove the French from Italy once more. Then Charles V made his appearance there as a master. He forced the dukes of Ferrara, Milan and Mantua to acknowledge themselves vassals of the empire; Savoy and Montferrat to renounce the French alliance; Pope Clement VII to crown him king of Italy and emperor (1529). France even signed the treaty of Cambrai, less harsh but hardly less humiliating than that of Madrid.

Alliances of Francis I. Successes of Souleïman. — Francis paved the way for revenge by negotiations which showed that the religious spirit, a main characteristic of the Middle Ages, was yielding to the political spirit, the sole inspiration of governments in modern times. He entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, with Souleïman, the Ottoman sultan, and later on with the Swedish and Danish reformers. Souleïman (1520–1566), as a friend of the arts, a protector of letters and the author of the code entitled the Khanounnamé, deserved his triple surname of the Conqueror, the Magnificent and the Legislator. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. In 1522 he wrested Rhodes from the Knights of Saint John, despite their heroic resistance through five months under their Grand Master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Souleïman passed the Danube with 200,000 men, and destroyed the Hungarian army on the fatal field of Mohacz (1526), where perished Louis II, the last of the Jagellons. The crown of Hungary fell to Ferdinand of Austria. Souleïman supported against this brother of Charles V, a Magyar claimant, John Zapoli. All Hungary was ravaged, Buda itself fell into his power and he marched through Austria to the very walls of Vienna, which repelled twenty assaults. To cause this reverse to be forgotten the sultan, with his own hands crowned his vassal king of Hungary in Buda.

Two years later he appeared again in Austria at the head of 300,000 men. Fortunately Gratz, a small fortress in Styria, delayed him for a month. During the siege of this town he received the first embassy of Francis I. He intended to invade Germany, but Charles V had had time to collect 150,000 combatants. Lutherans and Catholics joined hands against the crescent, and Francis I dared not aid his formidable ally by a diversion on the Rhine or in Italy. No general battle was fought. At the end of six

weeks the sultan learned that a Spanish fleet had just entered the Dardanelles and was threatening Constantinople, so he withdrew (1532). Meanwhile the Turkish navy was being developed under the celebrated Khaireddin Barbarossa. This corsair, now become the admiral of the Ottoman fleets, scoured the Mediterranean with 100 vessels. While in Asia the sultan was taking Tauris and Bagdad from the Persians, he seized Tunis, which became a lair whence pirates devastated the whole Spanish and Italian coast. Charles V sent two expeditions against them. In the first with 400 vessels commanded by Doria he took possession of La Gouletta at the entrance of the Gulf of Tunis, and freed 22,000 captives (1535). Less fortunate six years later at Algiers, he beheld his fleet dispersed by a tempest, and could scarcely save its pitiable remnants. The emperor afforded more effectual protection to the commerce of Christian peoples by ceding the island of Malta to the Knights of Rhodes, who for a long time repressed the pirates. While Charles V played the part of Defender of Christianity, Francis I seemed to be its enemy. The very year of the expedition to Tunis, he signed with Souleïman the first of those treaties called capitulations.

New War between Charles V and Francis I. — Charles V provoked a new war with France by causing an agent of the French king to be put to death in Constantinople. His second invasion of Provence was no more successful than the first. He found the country systematically devastated by Montmorency, who refused to give battle, and was forced to a disastrous retreat (1536).

Then Francis I cited him before Parliament as a traitorous vassal, since he still held the fiefs of Flanders and Artois. A desperate struggle seemed begun, but a grand victory won by Souleïman at Essek over the Austrians, and the ravages of Barbarossa rendered the emperor more pacific. Francis I was content with having conquered Piedmont, so through the mediation of the Pope, he signed at Nice, a truce of ten years with his rival (1538). The two sovereigns appeared reconciled. In 1540, Ghent revolted, and Francis offered Charles a free pass through France on his way to subjugate it. The emperor accepted and promised to restore Milan. Hardly had he arrived in Flanders when he retracted his promise, and furthermore caused the murder of two French envoys who were on their way to

Turkey. This assassination and the failure of Charles at Algiers decided Francis I to again take up arms. His fleet, united to that of Barbarossa, captured Nice, and the Duke of Enghien won the splendid victory of Cérisoles (1544). But in the north Charles V penetrated as far as Chateau Thierry, fifteen leagues from Paris, and his ally, the king of England, laid siege to Boulogne. Famine and disease stopped the Imperialists who signed the peace of Crespy (1544) on terms of mutual restitution. Henry VIII continued the war and took Boulogne, but gave it back on payment of 2,000,000 francs at the treaty of Ardres (1546).

Abdication of Charles V (1556). — Francis died in 1547. His death left Charles V apparently free to restore the empire of Charlemagne. Souleïman was at that time chiefly absorbed in wars in Asia against the Persians, and the Hungarians seemed capable of checking the Ottomans on the Danube. The Protestants already formed a powerful body in Germany, which the emperor wished to crush before France could send them support. He defeated them at Muhlberg (1547) through the treachery of Maurice of Saxony, and dictated the Interim of Augsburg, which displeased everybody. Henry II, the new king of France, took advantage of the general discontent to declare himself the protector of German liberties. He entered Lorraine, took possession of the Three Bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1551), while the Protestants surprised the emperor and forced him to flee to Italy. By the compromise of Passau Charles accorded them freedom of conscience (1552), and turned against France, his ancient enemy, to avenge this humiliation. His good fortune deserted him before Metz. Then weary of so many fruitless struggles, he renounced the crown of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands in favor of his son Philip II (1556). Next he abdicated the imperial throne in favor of his brother Archduke Ferdinand, already king of the Romans. From that day forth the house of Austria separated into two branches, and the vast dominion of Charles V was henceforth divided (1556).

Continuation of the Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria (1558–1559). — Thus the integrity of France had not been broken, and Charles V had failed in realizing his dream of a universal monarchy. Germany also preserved her liberties, or in other words her divisions. Italy alone found herself in the hands of the Spaniards, who were

quartered at Naples and Milan. An energetic Pope, Paul IV, undertook to expel them. He counted upon the aid of France for success. So the war continued. One French army was sent towards the Netherlands and another towards Italy. They intended to leave to Philip nothing but Spain.

The Duke of Guise was already marching upon Naples when he was recalled to France by the defeat of Saint Quentin. The bold captain struck a great blow. Unexpectedly in the dead of winter he besieged Calais and captured it in a week (1558). The Spaniards were still on the Somme, and a defeat of the Marshal of Thermes at Gravelines destroyed all hope of their prompt expulsion. Moreover Italy was at their mercy, and the plan of the Pope became impossible of execution. Henry negotiated the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis by which France restored to the Duke of Savoy his states minus a few cities, Siena to the Medici, and Corsica to the Genoese; but she retained the Three Bishoprics, and on payment of 500,000 crowns, the city of Calais (1559).

Thus the Spanish domination was strengthened in northern and southern Italy. The still existing Italian princes possessed hardly more than the shadow of independence. The French kings had thrown France into these wars, hoping to conquer Naples and Milan, but instead had given them to Spain. Their royal rivalries had engrossed the attention and the forces of the sovereigns for forty years. Meanwhile the Reformation had spread over half of Europe. The peace of Chateau Cambrésis ended the Italian wars only to permit the kings of France and Spain to begin, with the aid of the Pope and the Catholic clergy, the religious wars.

XII

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

(1559–1598)

Philip II. — The rehabilitated Church could now make war with arguments. She required also an arm wherewith to do battle with the sword. For this end she possessed, in the sixteenth century, Philip II, the son of Charles V and his successor in Spain, and in the seventeenth the heir of his German possessions, Ferdinand of Austria.

Philip II, whom the Protestants call the Demon of the South, was master of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and Milan in Italy; of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Roussillon in France; of the Netherlands at the mouth of the Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine; of Tunis Oran, Cape Verd and the Canary Isles in Africa; of Mexico, Peru, Chili and the Antilles in America; and lastly of the Philippine Islands in Oceanica. He had seaports without number, a powerful fleet, the best disciplined troops and the most skilful generals in Europe, and the inexhaustible treasures of the New World. He increased this domination still further in 1581 by the acquisition of Portugal and her immense colonial empire. The sun never set upon his states. It was a common saying then, "When Spain moves, the earth trembles."

All this power did not satisfy his ambition. As a Catholic he hated the Protestants; as an absolute king he feared them. Both from self-interest and conviction he declared himself the armed leader of Catholicism, which was able out of gratitude, to raise him to the supreme power in Western Europe. This was the thought of his whole life. He recoiled before no means which might crush the hostile principle. To this struggle he consecrated rare talents. Therein he expended all his military forces. He lavished all his gold to foment assassination in Holland, conspiracy in England and civil war in France. We shall see with what success.