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SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

GENERAL EDITOR: A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME IV

EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND
REFORMATION, 1453-1660

FOR THE HIGHER FORMS OF SCHOOLS
SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

EDITED BY A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.

Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford

With Maps. Crown 8vo.

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**EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE
AND REFORMATION
1453-1660**

BY
MARY A. HOLLINGS, M.A.

WITH TEN MAPS

NINTH EDITION

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EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER I

OUR own times are separated from the Middle Ages mainly by two differences. The boundaries, both of the geographical world and of the world of thought, have been enlarged. The globe has been explored; men no longer set limits to the knowledge they may gain. These are the great results of two movements which may be said to divide Medieval from Modern times—namely, the Renaissance, which made a re-discovery to man of the powers of the human mind; and the Age of Discovery, which meant for the medieval world the enlargement of the universe. To both these a stimulus was given by the fall of the Greek Empire in 1453. Constantinople was at last captured by the Turks, who for over a century had been pressing towards its gates.

During the early fifteenth century, Greek scholars had occasionally settled in Italy to teach their language. There was already among Italians an enthusiastic interest in Greek literature and art, when the fall of the Eastern Empire drove many

more of its subjects to seek a livelihood in Florence and other wealthy towns. Students crowded to Greek lectures; monastic libraries were ransacked for classical manuscripts; the increased demand for copies soon created a supply by means of the new German invention of printing, which was promptly taken up in Italy. The treasures of the New Learning could therefore be shared by all Europe; but it was the keen Italian mind that fell most under the spell of the deep critical thought of the Greeks, their joy in life, their worship of beauty. It was natural, too, that classical studies should first be revived in Italy, because the great traditions of ancient Rome and its Greek civilisation had never quite lost their hold on Italians. So universal among Italian scholars was the use of Latin or Greek that there was almost a danger of the disappearance of their own language. But though it produced no great Italian literature, the Renaissance found wonderful expression in the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; and the great schools of Central Italy, Florence, and Venice gave to the world mighty artists—Raphael, Michelangelo, da Vinci, and Titian. It would be interesting to trace from these beginnings how the influence of the Renaissance went on to show itself in other countries in

the form most natural to each—in Germany and the Netherlands in Painting, in England in Literature, in Spain in Painting and Literature.

The fall of Constantinople also hastened the Age of Discovery. The navigators of the time were the Portuguese; and it seems that a desire to wrest from the Moors some of the gains of African trade first started their voyages down the West Coast. In Eastern Europe the fact that the Turks now overran the trade routes made Asiatic commerce risky and expensive. Since Constantinople, the chief Oriental mart for Europe, was lost to the Christian, some other way must be found to the East. Necessity proved the mother of discovery. In looking for a track to the Far East, Columbus “stumbled upon” a new continent; ¹⁴⁹² while Vasco da Gama’s famous voyage to India by ¹⁴⁹⁷ the Cape of Good Hope finished the work of Diaz and the Portuguese mariners, and opened up the oldest continent to European trade and conquest. In 1519 Magellan’s expedition earned the proud distinction of first circumnavigating the globe. Europe “turned her face to the West,” and the Mediterranean ceased to be her commercial centre. New countries on the shores of the Atlantic took their places in the forefront of commercial enterprise. The great age of the Italian and South

German towns was past. This was realised by the Venetian Diarist, who notes on the arrival of the news of da Gama's achievement, "The whole city was distressed and astounded, and the wisest heads take it to be the worst piece of information that we could ever have had."

The great states of our own time were in this period of change being built up in Christendom, which it had been the dream of the Middle Ages to keep intact as one Church and one Empire. Of these young nations the chief were France, England, and Spain, each ruled by a strong king. In Germany and Italy, on the other hand, the weakness of the central power in the first, and its total absence in the second, left the people of each so free to go their own way that they lacked sense enough of a common life to wish to be nations at all. But the variety for which these circumstances made room gives their history special interest.

In warfare the use of gunpowder and the invention of artillery gradually destroyed feudalism and put into the hands of governments a weapon against which rebellion was at first powerless. But the rise of the people was beginning as wealth and education increased, though it did not keep pace at first with that of the kings. To

society at large men were beginning to have an importance in themselves—in the Middle Ages their importance was generally swallowed up in the class or institution or order to which they belonged.

CHAPTER I

THE EMPIRE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

OWING to the weakness of the Crown, Germany was still the most feudal of all countries, and lagged far behind the rest in national growth. The Holy Roman Empire, to give it the full and proper title, was at this time ruled by the Habsburg Emperor Frederick III. It consisted of a collection of states, including the seven electorates—namely, the three Rhenish archbishops of Mainz (Mayence), Trier (Treves), and Köln (Cologne), and the four states of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate. Other important members of the Empire were the group of the Austrian dominions, including Austria proper, Tyrol, East Swabia, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, then divided between three branches of the Habsburg family; and the duchies of Bavaria and Würtemberg.

These territories, which were already almost independent states, had all sprung from the larger feudal fiefs. Their growth to complete independence is one of the chief features of German history of this period, for in face of their opposition it seemed impossible to provide the Empire with a strong government, and the Habsburgs in their family dominions themselves became the worst offenders against national unity. Each prince had the

Need of
Reform

2 EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

same problem to solve in his state that so sorely needed to be solved for the Empire—namely, how to provide a system of justice and of taxation, and an efficient fighting force—but he was jealous of any Imperial organisation that might interfere with his private arrangements; and Frederick and his successor, Maximilian, as Austrian princes, were the most jealous of all.

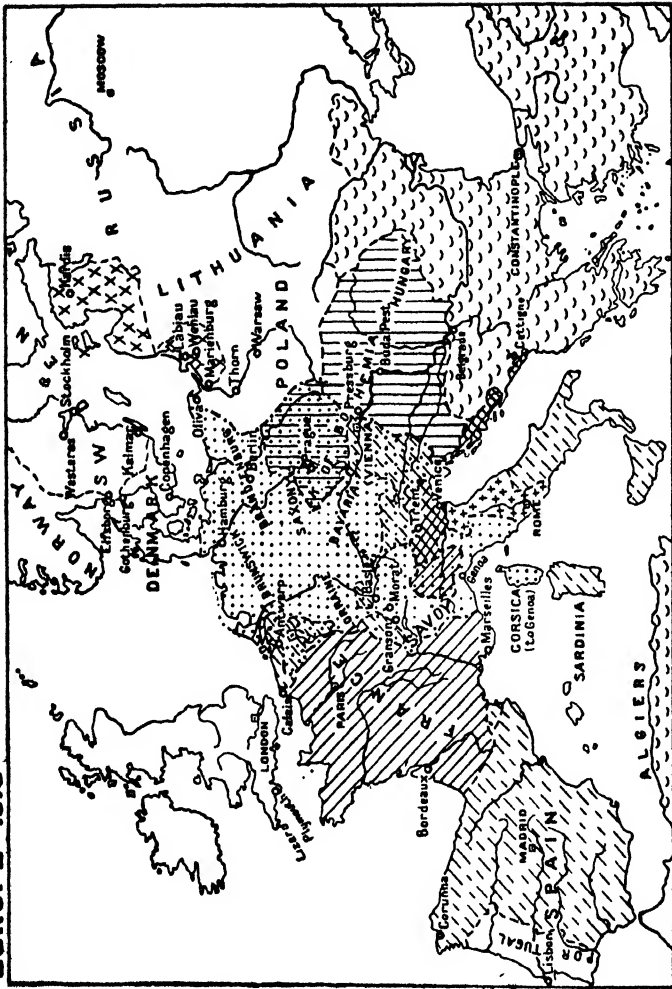
As the forest tree, for lack of proper nourishment for its roots, begins to wither and fall away at the tips of its branches, so did the extremities, or outlying states, of the Empire. Burgundy ruled Franche Comté, had annexed Guelders, and was ambitious of becoming an independent kingdom. France was turning her gaze towards the Rhine. The Swiss cantons were practically, though not yet legally, a republic. Italy was already lost; and the attitude of the eastern states of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, a cause of grave anxiety—to say nothing of the Turk, who threatened the whole of the south-eastern frontier.






To these dangers the Habsburgs were not indifferent. They made it their business to build up a great family dominion by means of marriages and a keen attention to foreign policy. Through family possessions or connexions they became guardians of the frontier on the west and south-east; they planned to recover the hold upon Italy, and at all events to prevent the French from securing a footing there; and they retained their own hold upon the Empire as long as it lasted.

Reign of
Frederick
III.,
1440-1494

The election of Frederick III. was due to his insignificance, and his reign was long and confused, resembling in some respects that of Henry III. of England. Yet it has been said of him that "he won all his objects in the end" (Ranke); he also helped to shape the destinies both of his family and of the Empire, almost as much by what

EUROPE 1519



Venice  German Military Order 
 Papal Territory  Ottoman Empire 
 Dominion of Charles V 

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he avoided doing as by what he did. The most important questions of the day were three: the relations with outlying and foreign states, the state of the Church, and domestic reform.

Hungary
and
Bohemia

1440

In the first place, Frederick was deeply interested in the fate of two important kingdoms on his eastern borders—Bohemia and Hungary. His cousin and ward, Ladislaus Postumus, King of Bohemia, was a boy. Hungary had just passed into the hands of Ladislaus III, King of Poland, and every inch of land that increased the power of the rival Slav race increased the anxiety of the German.

1444

But when Ladislaus III fell, fighting the Turks at Varna, Ladislaus Postumus was chosen King of Hungary, thus uniting these two kingdoms under a ruler of the elder Habsburg line, whose heir Frederick III, a member of a younger branch, hoped to become. The opportunity

1457

seemed to have come when Ladislaus Postumus died suddenly at the age of eighteen, leaving vacant the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia and the Duchy of Austria. Frederick eventually secured Austria, but the two kingdoms took each its own line, and respectively chose Matthias Corvinus, son of the Hungarian hero John Hunyadi, and George Podiebrad, the leader of the Hussite party in Bohemia, and regent during Ladislaus' minority. Under the rule of these two able kings Hungary and Bohemia became models to the rest of Europe of strong and tolerant government. Unfortunately neither of them left a successor. Ladislaus of Poland eventually

1490

1491

reigned in their stead, but Frederick had the satisfaction of witnessing the conclusion of the Treaty of Pressburg, by which the Habsburgs were to become the heirs of Ladislaus when the male line of his house should fail. By 1526 this had come to pass on the death at Mohacs

of his son Lewis, whose sister Anne was the wife of Frederick's great-grandson. Thus Ferdinand of Austria, by the double claim of marriage and treaty rights, became King of Hungary and Bohemia, which the emperors his descendants continued to hold as their family possessions.

During the critical years of this question, Frederick's ^{Burgund} chief attention was drawn to affairs in the west. Charles the Bold, ruler of the Netherlands and the two Burgundies, was the most headstrong and ambitious prince of his time. In his double position as French and German prince, holding his fiefs both of King Louis and of the Emperor, he was quite a match for either of his overlords. The aim of his career is best described in his own words, "Instead of one King of France, I should like to see six!" By 1472 he had, however, come to the conclusion that his purpose would be better served by uniting his dominions into a kingdom of the Rhine, with the Emperor's sanction. A powerful new state on his western frontier was the last thing Frederick III. desired to see; attracted for a moment by Charles' proposal of a marriage between his heiress, Mary of Burgundy, and the Emperor's son Maximilian, he consented to an interview at Trier. But when Charles ¹⁴⁷³ arrived with crown and sceptre for his expected coronation, Frederick III., whose habit was never to face a difficulty when it could be shirked, crept away down the Moselle one night, and the disgusted duke returned no greater a man than he came. A second chance never appeared, for Charles soon involved himself in the wars with the Swiss, in which he fell. Tyrol and Alsace, the original Habsburg inheritance in Swabia, which had been pledged for a sum of money to Charles the Bold, were recovered by their owner, Frederick III.'s cousin, who, being without an heir, presently handed them over to

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1492 Frederick's son Maximilian; and Mary of Burgundy was glad to find a husband and protector in Maximilian amid the ruin of her father's fortunes.

Frederick had every reason to congratulate himself. By the deaths of his cousin and Ladislaus Postumus, the entire Austrian dominions were once more united under his son, while Charles the Bold's daughter brought to his descendants that great Burgundian inheritance on which his heart was set.

The
Teutonic
Order

The struggle between German and Slav for supremacy in Eastern Europe was even more marked in the fate of the Teutonic Order than in the history of Hungary and Bohemia. This society of German knights, whose original aim (since 1231) had been to convert and conquer the heathen Prussian Slavs, had become a ruling power for the promotion of German colonisation, and inevitably clashed with the interests of Slavonic Poland. At first the knights carried all before them, but in the fifteenth century the tide of success turned in favour of the Slav race. Defeat in battle, the outcome of a decline in loyalty, vigour, and self-restraint within the Order itself, at last overthrew it. By the Treaty of Thorn the whole of West Prussia was surrendered to Poland, while East Prussia was left to the Order as a Polish fief. In vain did the knights appeal to Frederick III. for help throughout this struggle, and finally, in disgust at the selfish indifference of the Habsburgs, the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, converted East Prussia into a duchy for himself and his descendants, and the Teutonic Order came to an inglorious end.

1466

1525

The
Church

In Frederick's dealings with the Church in Germany his conduct was the reverse of patriotic. Germany had kept outside the dispute between the Pope Eugenius IV.

and the last great Reforming Council at Basel. Until Eugenius could secure the support of the Empire, there seemed little chance of his recovering his authority. To this end he wished to withdraw the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz, which under Frederick's predecessor had secured considerable freedom to the German Church in the matters of elections and taxation. Frederick was anxious to be on good terms with the Pope at a time when he was surrounded by difficulties with the electors, the Swiss, and the Hungarians. For reasons of diplomacy, therefore, he consented to be bought over through his clever agent Æneas Sylvius; and by the Concordat of Vienna he ¹⁴⁴⁸ sacrificed the Pragmatic Sanction for the sake of an understanding with Rome. Papal interference in Germany was already thoroughly unpopular, and had it not been for the unlucky perpetual divisions among the German princes, a scheme to depose the Emperor and reform the Church might have been carried out. As it was, however, the Pope succeeded in raising for a so-called Turkish crusade large sums of money, which went into his own treasury, a proceeding which the victims denounced as "a papal plot to tame Germany."

Finally, Æneas Sylvius, now Pope Pius II., effectually checked all attempts at reform by condemning, in the Bull *Execrabilis*, all appeals to a General Council as ¹⁴⁶⁰ wicked and heretical. For the next fifty years German resistance to papal claims was of the feeblest.

Frederick's reign in Germany has been described as ^{State of} "the climax of imperial neglect." ^{the Emj} The general contempt for the Emperor's authority was shown by constant private wars, among which that between Albert Achilles of Hohenzollern and the town of Nuremberg may be quoted as an example. The fact was, that as long as

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Frederick had his own way as prince in his Austrian states, he cared little what indignities the Empire might suffer. Indeed, in this matter he out-princed the princes. For thirty years he hid himself in his own territories and was deaf to what passed outside. When desperate efforts were made to rouse Frederick to head a crusade for the rescue of Constantinople in 1453, it was reported that "the Emperor was planting his gardens and snaring little birds."

Since Frederick would not fulfil his responsibilities, reformers arose to relieve him of them. The Diet or Parliament of the Empire consisted of the seven electors, the princes, and the Imperial towns—though the towns only made good their right to be consulted in 1489. There remained two important unrepresented classes—the Imperial knights, who, like the towns, were tenants-in-chief, and the peasants; but it was not until the reign of Frederick's great-grandson Charles that their grievances became a public danger. All the earlier attempts at reform in his reign Frederick persistently ignored. A proposal in 1461 to depose him in favour of George Podiebrad came to nothing. The scheme which had most chance of success in his later years was that of Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, who planned to provide an efficient central government somewhat after the manner of the Baronial party in Henry III.'s reign—not under the Crown, but under a committee of nobles. Its chief features were a permanent Court of Justice; the Land-peace, to supersede Faustrecht or the right of waging private war; a system of taxation called the Common Penny; and the raising of an Imperial army. The Emperor proved the worst enemy of the plan, which, as long as he lived, had not much life in it.

Frederick did not lay up for himself a peaceful old age. He was driven from his capital by the Hungarians in 1485, and wandered from one monastery to another seeking refuge. Yet even then he scored the second great triumph of his reign in persuading the electors to accept in his lifetime his son as king of the Romans. To Maximilian, indeed, he confided the chief authority during his last years.

From his own point of view, Frederick's reign was, on the whole, a success. He had come to a working understanding with the Pope; he had defeated reform; he had outlived all his worst enemies, and had built up a great family dominion. His belief in Austria's future was shown by his practice of marking his property with the five vowels, A E I O U, which stand in either German or Latin for "Austria shall rule the world." Frederick was to some extent far-sighted: he moved slowly to his ends, uninfluenced by dislike or popularity. He was undignified, miserly, and, in the opinion of contemporaries, cowardly, but that may have been because he was neither soldier nor sportsman. He had a sense of humour and unfailing cheerfulness. He was not a statesman—to the German patriot of his time he must have been past praying for; yet there is something masterly about the inactivity of his reign.

Kaiser Max, as his subjects called him, was a great contrast to his father; and, from his frank and friendly intercourse with all classes, was one of the most popular of kings. He was brave, adventurous, and dignified; a mighty hunter, and a master of all the arts of chivalry. He was very gifted, very cultivated, and so quick and resourceful that some of his failures may have been due to his inability to recognise any limits at all to his

Charact
of Fred
rick III

Maxi-
milian
1493-15

10 EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

capacity. There was a queer strain in his character which led him to carry about his own coffin with him in later life; to write that curious book, "The White King," describing his own career; and to talk, apparently seriously, of being elected pope. He was vain, restless, and fickle—as Bacon said of him, "He ended things by imagination, as an ill archer, who draws not his arrows up to the head." If it suited his purpose he could lie and cheat. Despite his popularity, he was not well served, for he never trusted his ministers with full powers. But with all his faults and eccentricities, he remains one of the most brilliant and attractive figures of his age.

The Question of Reform

The great question of reform of the Empire faced Maximilian in Germany; it had been shelved in his father's reign, but his own plans forbade that it should be any longer ignored. There seemed three possible methods of reform. The strongest measure would have been reform through a monarchy resembling those which were being built up at the moment in England, France, and Spain. The second method, though also aiming at converting the disconnected German states into a living, united nation, proposed to bind them by the looser tie of a federal union. And the third method made no appeal to national feelings at all, but contented itself with a reorganisation of each state internally. Few men were better fitted than Maximilian to play the part demanded by the first method, but unfortunately his object was not reform at all, but war, and the two aims were naturally opposed. The state of Europe interested him far more than the state of Germany, both because he built up schemes of European diplomacy, and because the extension of the Habsburg inheritance, rather than the strengthening of the Empire, was as dear to his heart as it had

been to Frederick III.'s. The European situation just after his accession was full of possibilities for Maximilian; his position in the Netherlands had at last improved; Charles VIII. had just started on his fateful Italian journey, after rejecting Maximilian's daughter Margaret and taking another bride in the person of Anne of Brittany, who had been married by proxy to Maximilian himself; the Pope was on the point of flight from Rome; and the Austrian dominions were threatened by the Turks. Maximilian soon joined the Italian league against France; and this made some concession to the Reforming party inevitable, or he could get no money for his outfit.

The proceedings at the Diet of Worms (1498) may be said to sum up all the difficulties of this question. Maximilian came demanding money to relieve Milan from the French, and to keep a standing army for ten years. The only available troops were raised by detachments by the electors, princes, and cities, and had no common organisation at all. In return, the Reforming party put forth its scheme, drawn up by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, who was more deeply impressed than any other man with the crying needs of the Empire. They hoped to relieve Maximilian practically of all authority except command in war. They set up the Imperial Chamber, a stationary and permanent court of sixteen members (half of whom were to be lawyers), chosen by the Diet, and responsible to it alone. Its duties were to try breaches of the peace (for the abolition of Faustrecht or private war was proclaimed throughout the Empire), to act as a Court of Appeal, and to administer the national revenue, which was to be raised in future by the system known as the Common Penny. This combined the features of both property and income taxes, being levied at the rate of one florin in every

Reform
Scheme
Worms

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thousand; while in the case of the poor, it was equivalent to a poll tax—one florin being collected from a group of twenty-four. The tax was to be collected by the princes and the towns; and here the difficulty began. The knights announced that as they did not attend diets, they were not bound by them, while the bishops objected to taking orders from a lay council such as the Chamber. Maximilian set a bad example by declining to collect the tax in Austria. He was jealous of the proposed Court, and was besides annoyed that the administration of justice by the Chamber would deprive him of his principal source of income, namely, the fees of his Austrian Court of Justice. As soon as possible he left for Italy. He made no effort to return for the annual meetings of the Diet, and in his absence any scheme of reform was doomed to failure.

War with
the Swiss,
1499

Troubles abroad, however, thickened around him, not the least of these being a war with the Swiss. The reforms of the Diet applied to Switzerland, as it was still in theory part of the Empire; but the Swiss objected to the Imperial Chamber, and saw no reason for collecting the Common Penny since they were able to maintain peace in their cantons without interference from the Diet, in which indeed they were not represented. By the death of Sigismund of Tyrol in 1496 his lands had passed to Maximilian; and certain local leagues, alarmed at this addition to his power, associated themselves with the ten cantons of the Confederation, thereby drawing the latter into their own quarrels with Tyrol.

The
Treaty of
Basel

In the war that broke out, only the Swabian League gave help; and after suffering defeats which were a great blow to his military prestige, Maximilian came to terms in the Treaty of Basel, which freed the Swiss from the tax and all Imperial jurisdiction, though they continued

to be part of the Empire in name until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Under circumstances that were not improved by the French conquest of Milan in 1500, Maximilian himself proposed, at the Diet of Augsburg, a standing committee of the Diet, known as the Council of Regency, to act as the executive in his prolonged absences from Germany. The power lay with the electors and princes; it was, as the Venetian ambassador described it, "an abdication of the Emperor." But Maximilian had only abdicated to gain help against France; and when the Council concluded on its own account a treaty with that country, thereby setting it free to recover Naples, he was furious at being outwitted, and himself sold the Duchy of Milan to Louis XII. He withheld the pay of the members of the Imperial Chamber, which broke up. When the electors assembled a meeting to discuss his deposition, Maximilian, at the lowest ebb of his fortune, set his face towards Austria: he would, in future, he said, act as an Austrian prince. The result for Austria was the establishment of a real central government such as Germany lacked. But he also applied himself to form a party among the younger princes, who soon yielded to his fascination; to win the nobles by concessions of toll; and the bishops by nominating his supporters to their Sees, with the Pope's help. Whilst the plan of deposition ended in talk, Maximilian's prospects began to clear. The death of Berthold of Mainz removed almost the only man he regarded as an enemy. The marriages of his two children with the son and eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella promised much for the House of Habsburg, and relieved his immediate needs. After the birth, in 1500, of his grandson Charles, Maximilian thought

Improve
Position
Maxi-
milian

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seriously of taking the Imperial crown, though he contented himself with the title of Emperor Electus, without receiving the crown from the Pope's hands. Thereafter he was styled Emperor, and his successors, with the sole exception of Charles, took the same course.

Meanwhile the prospects of the Reform movement waned as the Emperor's position improved. All chance of national reform had disappeared; all that remained possible was reorganisation within each state; and in this direction Maximilian did something to set an example in Austria. To those who really cared for their country the failure of national reform must have been a heart-breaking affair; but the responsibility for it does not lie with the Emperor alone. German jealousy of Austria's predominance had something to do with it, as had also the indifference displayed by the electors to the Emperor's foreign policy. There is no doubt, too, that most of the schemes aroused the opposition of the smaller princes, because they proposed to give overwhelming influence to the greater.

Causes of
Failure of
Reform
Movement

Maximilian never even attempted to give life to any plan for welding the German states into a modern monarchy; and as that form of government contained, perhaps, the best chance of success in that age, it only remained for each state to do for itself what no one seemed able to do for the Empire, and make its prince the real centre of government.

At the same time, it must not be supposed that the Reform movement left no traces behind it. At one of the later diets the whole of the Empire except Bohemia was divided into ten circles, in each of which a captain was locally appointed to carry out, with the aid of a force of cavalry, the decisions of the Imperial Chamber—a plan

that came into working-order under Charles V. The Imperial Chamber itself, as subsequently revived, was one of the most valuable results of the movement. After the

GERMANY

March of Gustavus Adolphus ----



abandonment of the Common Penny, military forces were raised by the matricular system, which, ignoring the principle of Imperial unity, provided that a quota should be contributed by each estate. Maximilian must be credited with the success of the German Landsknecht, or

foot-soldier, whom he took great pains to make efficient in battle, and for whose equipment he borrowed ideas from the Swiss. He was also a practical pioneer in the invention of light field artillery.

Disorders
of Maxi-
milian's
Reign

Nevertheless, the political and social disorders of the reign became more marked at its end. The Swabian League of nobles, knights, and cities, which had done useful work in South Germany for the past twenty years, split up: a counter-league under the Duke of Württemberg sprang into being, and fell to blows with the League itself. The knights, "Wolves to Commerce," were once more prominent in the person of the famous Sickingen, waging private war against the city of Worms.

The roads were insecure; justice was not done; the French were carrying all before them in Italy; while Maximilian was harassed by the eternal shortness of money. The religious troubles under Luther had broken out, and the misery of the peasants manifested itself in the rise of the Bundschuh. Everything, in short, was in train for the Reformation, which in Germany was to be much more than a purely religious movement.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

RANKE : Latin and Teutonic Nations.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES VIII.

BY 1453 Calais was all that remained to the English of their dominions in France. The reign of Charles VII. is famous for a thorough reform of his kingdom, yet the King's last years were destined to pass in uneasy suspicion. He banished his eldest son Louis to his province of Dauphiné, which soon became a meeting-place for the disloyal and discontented. The Dauphin married the Duke of Savoy's daughter, and looked round for other supporters of his cause. Chief among these was his father's vassal and former foe, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. When, in 1456, the King sent an army to subdue Dauphiné, Louis took refuge at the duke's court. During his five years' stay he gained a knowledge of men and matters that was to prove of the greatest use in his later dealings with Burgundy. As Charles VII. grimly put it, "My cousin is sheltering the fox that will one day eat his chickens." This somewhat scattered flock, his territories, Philip was, in fact, busy trying to gather together. The northern group, consisting mainly of Flanders, Brabant, and Luxembourg, was separated by the independent Duchy of Lorraine from the two Burgundies in the south. By the Treaty of Arras (1425) certain strong towns on the Somme had been handed over to Philip on the understanding that they might be redeemed by France later, but Charles discovered before long that

Relation
of France
and
Burgund

this was not to be in his lifetime. Meanwhile the Croi party at the Burgundian court was friendly to France, and their influence upon Duke Philip was strong. There was a curious likeness between the two courts at this time; in each case there was a sovereign controlled by an unpopular favourite, with a hostile heir (Charles of Charolais played the Dauphin's part in Burgundy), while the arch intriguer, the Count of St Pol, hovered between them both, turning to his own account every possible advantage. Louis managed, however, to keep on good terms with both Burgundian parties until the news of his father's death in 1461 raised him to the French throne.

Louis XI.
1461-1483

The new reign began badly. The foundations of a strong kingship had been well and truly laid by Charles VII., but at first his son showed an almost reckless faculty for taking false steps. Fortunately, he was at the same time, as Commynes said, the cleverest of kings at recovering his footing; yet a little tact would have saved him this trouble.

His dismissal of his father's ministers and generals, especially Dunois, Du Châtel, and Dammartin, though probably eventually necessary, was so hasty as to drive these important public servants to the side of the discontented nobles. The outcome of this alliance was the

War of the
Public
Weal, 1465

The
Princes
of the
Lilies

War of the Public Weal. The great French nobles—the Princes of the Lilies—were of the blood royal, and their general aim was to make themselves as independent as possible. The most powerful leaders were the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy. Others were Charles of Berri, the King's brother; John of Calabria, brother of Margaret of Anjou; and the Count of St Pol. Their grievances were of a personal or class nature, but these private aims

were hidden under the patriotic title of the League of the Public Weal. For instance, the King had on his accession restricted hunting rights; he had removed Bourbon and Charolais from their respective posts as Governors of Guienne and Normandy; by the help of the Croi party in Burgundy he had persuaded Philip to let him redeem the Somme towns, with the result that the Croi were expelled from Court, where Charles of Charolais became the real ruler. Louis quarrelled with the Duke of Brittany about a question of homage, and the latter tried to bring into play that alliance between England and Burgundy which had been such an important feature in the last part of the Hundred Years' War. The Kingmaker Warwick was in favour of Louis' suggestion of a French marriage alliance for Edward IV., but the English king, without consulting anyone, chose to marry Elizabeth Woodville, St Pol's niece; and thus arose between him and Warwick a coolness which soon became open hostility, and led England to play some part in the affairs of France and Burgundy in this reign.

Meanwhile, Louis, determined to strike first at the rebels, found that most of the trained forces responded to his call, thus giving him an advantage over the feudal levies of the enemy led by Charolais. The only engagement was an indecisive skirmish at Monthéry. Louis exerted himself greatly to break up the League, whose members, recognisable by a red silk tag, numbered more than 500 lords, ladies, and knights. He won over the city of Paris by remitting taxes and inviting its representatives to his Council; he set himself to divide the nobles by redressing the special grievance of each. Their demands were set forth in the Treaty of St Maur, but Louis' design was merely to satisfy each for the time

Treaty of
St Maur,
1465

being "by giving largely and promising still more" (Commines). Nothing further was heard of the public wrongs; "the public weal became individual weal," and the King lost no time in recovering most of what he had yielded to the princes. He stirred up an insurrection in Liège, a little state in the Netherlands, ruled by its own bishop under the patronage of Burgundy. While Charolais was suppressing the rising, he recovered Normandy, which the treaty had obliged him to entrust to his brother. He decided to see what a personal interview would do for him with Charles the Bold, and, armed with a safe-conduct, visited him at Péronne. This, the second of his false steps, nearly ended in tragedy. With the King arrived news of a renewed outbreak at Liège, openly encouraged by the King's envoys. Charles, beside himself with rage, swore to have his sovereign's life; and it was only through a well-judged distribution of handsome sums of gold among Charles' ministers that their master was pacified. As it was, Louis had to agree to carry out the Treaty of St Maur, give up Champagne to his brother instead of Normandy, and accompany Charles on a punitive expedition against Liège, so lately his ally. The town was taken and sacked. This done, Louis, taking leave of the duke, casually asked, "Supposing my brother is discontented with Champagne, what would you like me to do?" Charles replied absently, "Settle it between you, as long as he is satisfied." The King seized the chance to persuade his brother to accept Guienne, which being, unlike Champagne, remote from both Burgundy and Brittany, was comparatively safe in the hands of the easily-led duke.

Thus Louis contrived not only to escape from the worst scrape of his life, but in his crafty way to turn

it to account. He even delayed to give up the Somme towns till his brother's death in 1471 made it safe flatly to refuse to fulfil his promise.

For several years before that event, however, Louis' relations with Brittany, Burgundy, and England continued to be full of difficulties. Since 1466 he had been allied with Warwick, who had quarrelled with Edward IV., while the Yorkist party in England had definitely ranged itself on the side of Burgundy by the marriage of Edward's sister Margaret with Charles the Bold. Preparations were made for a war between France on the one hand and Burgundy, Brittany and England on the other, but at the critical moment Edward was distracted by a Lancastrian rising in Wales, and Francis of Brittany withdrew from the alliance. Warwick played his hand so as to become indispensable whichever party should succeed. He married his elder daughter Isabella to Clarence, Edward's brother, and with his son-in-law defeated and took prisoner the King. But the intervention of Charles the Bold and Edward's own popularity made it necessary to release him, and Warwick and Clarence fled to France. Louis brought about a reconciliation between his cousin Queen Margaret of Anjou and the Kingmaker, which resulted in the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter. A rapid revolution followed in England. Henry VI. found himself once more upon the throne, while Edward took refuge in Burgundy, to the great annoyance of Charles the Bold. In spite of the fact that the fugitive was his brother-in-law, Charles was fond of dwelling upon his own Lancastrian descent through his Portuguese mother, being alive to the possibility of succeeding in this way to the English throne. His solution of the difficulty was

Relations
with
England

1470

Intrigues
of St Pol

characteristic of the time. While publicly recognising Henry VI. as king, and threatening death to any of his subjects who should join Edward, he secretly gave him help to return to England. The utter overthrow of the Lancastrian cause at Barnet and Tewkesbury was a blow to the hopes of Louis XI., for whom fresh trouble with Burgundy, Brittany and Guienne had already arisen through the agency of St Pol. This noble was at once a vassal of Burgundy, and constable, or commander-in-chief, of the French army; his wife was the Queen's sister, and his niece married to Edward IV. Through these connections, and by carefully balancing his relations with France and Burgundy, he hoped to fill a semi-royal position in Europe, and was fairly safe in his intrigues as long as France and Burgundy did not combine against him. He now persuaded Louis to seize St Quentin and Amiens, hoping that the Duke would hasten to buy the alliance of Charles of Guienne by giving him his daughter Mary in marriage. Thus he hoped to secure the Duke of Guienne's lasting support, which might enable him in future to dispense with that of France and Burgundy. To this scheme, however, Edward IV. was unfriendly. Mary was the heiress of Charles the Bold, and as, in the event of the death of the Dauphin, a delicate baby, the Duke of Guienne would succeed his brother as king, the result of this marriage might be the union of Burgundy and France, which would prove a danger to English interests. He was even now ready to throw over the Burgundian alliance for one with France. But Louis preferred a truce with Burgundy to new entanglements with England, and the opportune death of the Duke of Guienne in 1472 released him from his

difficulties. Guienne itself became crown property once more. Louis threw over the negotiations with Burgundy and promptly invaded Brittany. Charles made a furious attack on the French border country, took and sacked Nesle with great cruelty, laid siege to Beauvais, and tried to gain Edward IV.'s help. Beauvais resisted so gallantly that the Duke, realising that it would be a long affair, and wearying of a struggle which no longer accorded with the policy shaping itself in his mind, made a truce with France, which was destined to be a lasting peace. Thus ended Charles' career as leader of the French princes. His ambition now turned to building up a kingdom of Burgundy, midway between France and Germany, which would stretch from Holland to Italy and cover most of the territory once ruled by Lothaire, grandson of Charles the Great.

Change
in the
policy of
Charles
the Bold,
1472

By rapid stages Charles followed out this new path: as early as 1468 he had lent money to Sigismund of Tyrol in his difficulties with the Swiss, and had received as security of repayment Alsace and Breisgau, which he was now trying to reduce to order under his harsh and unpopular bailiff, Hagenbach. In 1473 he bought Gelderland from its unwilling duke, between whom and his son Charles he had undertaken to arbitrate in a dispute: in the same year the death of Nicholas, son of John of Calabria, the last descendant in the male line of King René of Anjou, gave him an excuse for interfering in Lorraine, though the young René, Nicholas' sister's son, was ready and willing to defend his own claim.

After Frederick III. decamped from Trêves, Charles took up the cudgels on behalf of the Archbishop of Cologne against his subjects, wasting a year in besieging Neuss and arousing the displeasure of the Emperor, who

Louis XI.
and the
Swiss

considered it none of his business. Meanwhile Louis, who had been regarding these events with watchful eye, judged that the moment had come for him to set on foot an alliance between the Duke's increasing foes. He reconciled Sigismund with the Swiss, the Alsatian towns found the money to repay Charles, and Hagenbach was put to death. French gold fostered the war-party among the cantons led by Berne. Even Frederick III. was brought into Louis' net, though he replied with his usual caution to a proposal of the King to share Charles' inheritance, saying that "it was better to wait to divide the bear's skin, till the beast was dead." Lastly, René of Lorraine invaded Luxembourg. On his side Charles made an agreement with the Regent of Savoy, Louis' own sister, and an Italian friend of hers, who brought mercenaries to his aid, and at once Granson and Morat in her territories were overrun. But a more striking event was an alliance between the Duke and Edward IV. After some delay Edward reached Calais, only to find Charles and a small following to receive him—for the bulk of the Duke's army, though exhausted by the siege of Neuss, had been sent off to attack Lorraine. In this quest it was successful, and Charles had the great joy of seeing his northern and southern dominions at last united.

Alliance
between
Burgundy
and
England,
1475

Another ally of the English, St Pol, actually fired on them from St Quentin, whose gates he had offered to open to them. Edward was not pleased with the situation. "Nothing," says the critical Commynes, "can be imagined more foolish and uncouth than the figure cut by the English army on its first landing"—but in a short time he admits they became brave and skilful soldiers. Louis now exerted himself to turn aside Edward's

intention. To Garter King-at-arms, charged with declaring England's defiance, he made presents of gold and velvet: so that no time should be lost, he improvised a herald of his own, and arranged a meeting with Edward at Pecquigny. For a sum of money from Louis (referred to as Prince of France) Edward promised to withdraw his troops, and to give in marriage to the Dauphin his daughter Elizabeth. When the news came to his ears Charles roundly abused Edward in English for the benefit of the bystanders: but he was obliged to make terms with France. This truce proved the ruin of the constable, St Pol, who had betrayed both France and Burgundy in turn, and he was executed. On his fall Louis recovered Picardy. Charles now seemed at the summit of his fortunes, but his new gains, without the recovery of Alsace, did not satisfy him. He therefore declared war on the Swiss. At Granson, in the territory of Savoy, the two forces met. The victory of the Swiss was overwhelming; the Duke's guns, camp and war-chest fell into their hands. He retreated into a castle near Pontarlier, cursing the hitherto despised enemy. In a second battle, a few months later, the Duke's army was overthrown at Morat, when many of his troops were driven into the lake to perish. That year young René of Lorraine recovered Nancy, his capital, and the Duke, though it was midwinter, laid siege to the town. The battle which raged about its walls, was to be the last of his unsuccessful sieges. On his great black charger Charles was last seen alive where the fight was hottest. His dead body was recovered, frozen hard into the mud of a brook, and no man knew the manner of his death.

The Treaty of Pecquigny, 1475

1476, Charles the Bold War with the Swiss

Death of Charles the Bold, Jan 5, 1477

So great was the impression Charles made on his own age, that for a long time his subjects, unable to believe

him dead, prophesied that, like Arthur or Barbarossa, he would return. Yet Charles to us seems a figure of somewhat showy splendour, aspiring to a greater part than he could play. His character was not attractive; he was outwitted by better brains than his own. Though temperate in life, inflexibly just, ever ready to listen to grievances, courageous, sincere, and more straightforward than most of his brother-rulers, his virtues did not eclipse in the popular mind his cold severity, his chariness of praise, the outbursts of violence and cruelty that disfigured his later years. Restless and grasping as he was, he had neither insight nor judgment to cope with subtle and discriminating minds. Even his family affections were sacrificed to ambition, and rather than put up with a son-in-law he left his defenceless child to hold her own as best she might between her callous subjects and Louis her unprincipled godfather. The latter, we are told, celebrated the news of Charles' death by a grand banquet, at which the uneasy guests, conscious of many lapses from loyalty, wondered gloomily what fate was likely to overtake them now that the King's hands were free. Louis, indeed, could not make up his mind whether to marry Mary to some French prince, or to despoil her of her inheritance, and ended by trying to do both at once. This policy was its own ruin. Having gained over to his marriage schemes Mary's confidential Burgundian ministers, he next betrayed them to their bitter enemies, the Estates of Ghent, with whom he also wished to stand well. In vain Mary pleaded in the market-place for their lives; they were put to death. At the same time Louis was already in possession of the Duchy of Burgundy and the Somme towns, which he had seized on the first news of Charles' death, and of other territories which he was

France
ains
Burgundy
and the
omme
owns

obliged later to restore. War broke out between France and Burgundy. Louis conquered Arras, and Artois submitted. The death before Tournay of Adolf of Gelderland, a young ruffian whom Mary's subjects sought to force upon her in marriage, caused Louis to revert during a truce to his marriage schemes. But his agents were unpopular, and Mary had never forgiven Louis his treachery towards her. The suit of Maximilian of Austria was revived, and the young duchess was solemnly betrothed to him. So mean, however, about 1477, money was Frederick III. that the Emperor's son made his state entry into Ghent at his bride's expense. Marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy

Though Maximilian was two years younger than Mary, he showed a gay courage in facing the situation that would have won the heart of a less distressful princess. When the wedding festivities were over, he made ready to defend his wife's dominions. In the war that followed French troops overran the county of Burgundy. In the north Maximilian laid siege to Terouenne, and in the one pitched battle of the war held his ground. But the early death of Mary from the results of a fall from her horse left her husband without real authority in the Netherlands, since the guardianship of the two children, Philip and Margaret, was claimed by the Estates of Flanders. He was therefore ready to come to terms with France, and Louis, whose health was visibly failing, was not unwilling for peace. By the Treaty of Arras, the Dauphin was to marry Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's little daughter, who was to be educated in France for her future destiny, and to bring Artois and the county of Burgundy as dowry to her husband. The solemn betrothal of the children took place, to the intense anger of Edward IV., who, however, died before he could take The Treaty of Arras, 14

any steps to avenge the insult to his daughter, already styled Dauphiness.

After several turbulent years in the Netherlands, and having even undergone the indignity of imprisonment at the hands of his subjects in Bruges, Maximilian returned to Germany.

**Gains of
France
under
Louis XI.**

1462

Since no objection had been raised in the Treaty of Arras, Louis retained the Somme towns and the Duchy of Burgundy. At the time of his death other important possessions had come into his hands. By his intervention between the King of Aragon and his subjects, Louis had already gained Roussillon and Cerdagne, thus bringing his frontier to the Pyrenees. The possessions of the House of Anjou—namely, Anjou, Maine, Bar, and Provence, and the Angevin claim upon Naples—had been left to the King by the will of his cousin, the Count of Maine, who had been made King René's heir. The position of the great vassals had altered greatly since the War of the Public Weal. The King's brother and the Duke of Burgundy were no more. The Duke of Alençon had died in prison. The Count of Armagnac was killed leading a rising on his estates. The Duke of Nemours and St Pol had ended on the block. The Duke of Bourbon was failing in health, and his brother and heir was married to the King's younger daughter, while Louis of Orleans was husband of the elder. Of the throng of Princes of the Lilies the Duke of Brittany alone remained powerful and dangerous.

During the last years of his life Louis tried by feverish activity to disguise the fact of his failing health. He sent frequent embassies, made collections of relics and of strange animals, and relentlessly punished offenders, lest it should be supposed that his grasp of affairs had relaxed.

The notoriously shabby King developed a liking for gorgeous apparel, but he lived in darkened rooms, and in great seclusion. His natural suspiciousness increased with illness, and he shut himself up at Plessis-lès-Tours, where he was strongly guarded—but soldiers were no protection against poison, which was his chief dread. His attendants, mostly low-born favourites, treated him harshly, but they were the only men in whom he felt any confidence, since they depended entirely on his favour. The dying King, filled with nervous terrors, in his gloomy fortress, is a tragic figure. After a paralytic stroke his life ended at the age of 61.

Death of
Louis X
1483

The whole reign of Louis bears the stamp of his character. In virtues and vices alike he lived according to a public, not a private standard. He had acute intelligence, great wit, wide interests, and boundless perseverance. He would spare no pains to gain a man who could either serve him or harm him. Like Napoleon, he studied carefully the characters of the chief men of those courts with whom he had most to do. He spent great sums on intrigues and negotiations, invariably preferring the crooked way to the straight one. In political cunning and subtlety he had nothing to learn from the most finished Italian of the age; and he hated, above all things, expenditure on wars.

In regard to money matters he was business-like and honourably exact in discharging his obligations. Though suspicious and timid, he had an unbridled tongue, the origin of most of his worst scrapes. His religion was mere grovelling superstition. Though not perhaps vindictive, he was certainly cruel. He played an apparently losing game with endless resource and courage, and was seen at his best in adversity.

The
Regency of
Anne de
Beaujeu

As Charles VIII. was still a minor, the government was carried on by a Regent, his sister, Anne de Beaujeu, whose husband was a younger brother of the Duke of Bourbon. She was a woman of power and vigour, and inherited the political ability of her father. She had anything but an easy time, for the death of Louis was a signal for the outbreak of discontent. The States-General at Tours presented a number of grievances reflecting upon the methods of the late government. The nobles, led by the Duke of Orleans, rose in rebellion, and began to intrigue with Richard III. of England. Anne therefore took advantage of the presence in Brittany of Henry of Richmond to support his expedition against Richard. René of Lorraine, too, who showed signs of attempting to recover his lost inheritance, was pacified by the present of the Duchy of Bar. The most important question for the Regency was, however, the marriage of Anne of Brittany, heiress of the Duke, who had been for so long a thorn in the side of France. On the death of Duke Francis, Anne de Beaujeu began to negotiate for the hand of his heiress for the young King, but was indignant at finding that she was already the bride by proxy of Maximilian of Austria. On the ground that the royal consent was necessary for the marriage of a vassal and heiress, the Regent swept aside the marriage. Anne of Brittany, however, still refused her royal suitor, and only submitted after a war in which her hand was the price of defeat. Maximilian was, however, too busy elsewhere to avenge the insult to himself and his daughter, for the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII. not only robbed Maximilian of his bride, but his daughter Margaret of her future husband.

Marriage
of Charles
VIII. and
Anne of
Brittany,
1491

but expressed her strong disapproval of a policy she was no longer able to prevent. This was a scheme proposed by the Sanseverini, Barons of Naples, that Charles should lay claim to that throne as inheritor of the rights of the House of Anjou. The feather-brained young King was easily attracted by such an adventure, and so as to leave behind him a state of peace and goodwill, he concluded with Henry VII. (already forgetful of the Regent's support during his exile) the Treaty of Étapes, restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain, and handed back to Maximilian the County of Burgundy and Artois, which had been the proposed dowry of Margaret of Austria. Charles then made ready for that fateful journey across the Alps, which may be called the first chapter in Modern History. †

Italian Expedition of Charles VIII.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

LODGE : Close of the Middle Ages.

WILLERT : Louis XI.

FREEMAN : Essay on Charles the Bold (Essays : First Series)

SIR WALTER SCOTT : Anne of Geierstein ; Quentin Durward.
Selections from Philippe de Comines.

CHAPTER III

SPAIN UNDER FERDINAND AND ISABELLA AND CHARLES I.

THE history of the Peninsula was, before 1479, the history of at least five kingdoms, namely, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre and Granada. All, with the exception of French Navarre, the western half of the little kingdom that bestrid the Pyrenees, came in one period under the rule of one man.

Union of
Castile and
Aragon,
1479

In 1479 Ferdinand, who was already married to Isabella, Queen of Castile, succeeded his father John II. upon the throne of Aragon, and the two countries were united ever after. Though the connexion between them was personal, each kingdom keeping its own institutions and customs, their resources were often combined for common aims, and in this way the union had a great effect on the history of both.

The kingdom of Spain also became heir to their foreign relations. It is true that circumstance caught her into the vast net of the Habsburg interests, and their multiplicity proved the ruin of Spain. Her resources were drained for Dutch wars, French wars, Italian wars, till exhaustion set in. But her own double character, shaped by the different aims and ambitions of Aragon and Castile, would have drawn her, apart from this circumstance, into European complications. Aragon's rivalry with France for the possession of Navarre and of Naples, and her dream of becoming a Mediterranean sea-power, which

explains her painful interest, from the remote west, in the Turkish advance; Castile's passionate orthodoxy, which marked her out as champion of the Church abroad; her covetousness of the maritime power of Portugal, leading to endless schemes for its possession;—these and other aims would have driven Spain to play a leading part in Europe as soon as she had overcome the chief difficulties at home.

There was some resemblance between the condition of Castile and Aragon. Both had lately suffered at the hands of careless or feeble rulers, and in both the succession was disputed. Isabella's firm diplomacy made good her claim to succeed her brother. Ferdinand's elder brother was removed by poison; and eventually he inherited all his father's dominions except Rousillon and Cerdagne, and these, though temporarily pawned to win the goodwill of Louis XI., were recovered from Charles VIII. Naples, which had formed part of the Aragonese dominions for a short time under Alfonso the Magnanimous, was bequeathed on his death in 1458 to his illegitimate son Ferrante, while Sicily and Sardinia passed with Aragon to the legal heir, Ferdinand's father. There were therefore two reigning branches of the House of Aragon—the lawful line in Aragon and its dependencies: the illegitimate line in Naples.

Both in Aragon and Castile the power of the Crown had sunk very low, and the period that follows the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella is one of reform and revival. Theoretically, the powers of the Crown in Castile were great. The Cortes or Parliament consisted of three Houses—Clergy, Nobles and Commons. The first and second estates were free from taxation, and had so little interest in attending that they dropped out altogether after 1538.

Power of
the
Crown in
Castile and
in Aragon

34 EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

The Commons only represented certain towns, and had no real share in law-making. The time, place of meeting, and agenda of the Cortes alike were fixed by the Crown; and supplies were always granted before grievances were dealt with. Besides, the royal decrees were valid without the Cortes' assent.

But in Aragon, where in addition to the three usual estates there was a House of Knights, the Cortes was much more powerful. By law it must meet every two years, and the maxim that "Redress must precede supply" was observed there as it had been in Lancastrian England. Even when the Cortes was not sitting its powers were entrusted to a standing committee, which carried on the government. As peacemaker between the king and his subjects there was a notable official called the Justiciar, who came to be the guardian also of constitutional liberties.

Advance
in the
power of
the Crown

The first object of the new sovereigns was to recover from the nobles the powers they had usurped from the Crown in both kingdoms. Everywhere in Europe at this time kings were strengthening themselves at the expense of the feudal baronage, so that the policy of the Spanish rulers was part of a general tendency. They sometimes, apparently, forgot to summon the nobles to the Cortes—a privilege the latter rated low; they raised up a class of official nobles from the Commons, many of whom were lawyers, and inclined, as their way is, through familiarity with the maxims of Roman law, to uphold the royal authority. The new ministers of the Crown were chosen, not for their pedigrees, but for personal merit. Of these the most famous was Cardinal Ximenes, who, having been promoted from the position of an obscure monk to be Archbishop of Toledo and Regent of Spain, energetically

seconded his sovereigns' efforts to crush the arrogant grandees.

The Grandmasterships of the three great Spanish military Orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava had always attracted ambitious spirits, on account of the immense patronage and large armed forces at their disposal. But now, as they became vacant, Isabella appointed Ferdinand to each office; and from thenceforth they were annexed to the Crown, which thus enjoyed their revenues, and no longer had to fear their military strength.

During the reign of Henry the Impotent of Castile, the Queen's brother, the nobles had encroached upon the Crown lands, and had even received some sort of title to their possession. These territories were recovered by Isabella and Ferdinand, who also obliged the grandees to pull down their fortified castles, abolish their private mints, abandon their private feuds, forego the style of royalty, and yield themselves up as loyal and orderly subjects of the Crown. The Hermandad or Confederacy of the Towns was revived for checking robbery and other crimes of violence in the open country, and it proved a very effective police system. The great hereditary offices of state were shorn of their chief powers, and became merely honorary titles in carefully-chosen loyal houses. The royal forces at the beginning of the reign had been insignificant, but the troops used to conquer Granada were retained in part as a standing force in 1492, and there was added to them a volunteer army trained by the great Captain, Gonsalvo di Cordova, himself.

Careful economy in the royal household made frequent assembling of the Cortes unnecessary, and the sovereigns made a good deal of use of royal ordinances in place of

its legislation, without perhaps abusing this privilege. Though they fully deserved their titles, their Catholic Majesties did not hesitate to resist all attempts on the part of the clergy to encroach upon their civil authority in the Church; and by threatening the Pope, Sixtus IV., with a General Council, they gained from him a Concordat conferring upon the Crown the right of appointment to the highest offices in the Church. Sometimes, too, they overruled the Pope's choice in smaller livings.

The general work of government was carried on by different departments of the Royal Council, whose chiefs took their orders from the Crown. Among these the most important were the Council of the Indies—a kind of Colonial Office; the Council of Aragon, which, under Ferdinand, ruled that kingdom and its dependencies, Naples and Sicily; and last, but not least, the Council of the Inquisition. This Court was at first revived to detect and punish relapsed Jews. It was a temptation to the Crown to extend its scope, because of the profits arising from its confiscations. In 1492 the Jews of Castile were given four months in which to seek baptism or leave the country. More than 200,000 left Spain; those who remained, however orthodox, were treated as outcasts from society. It was hardly to be expected that Ferdinand and Isabella, in their strong desire for national union, and their fervid crusading zeal, should refrain from conquering, if they could, all that remained of the Moorish dominion in Spain—the kingdom of Granada. For ten years, in spite of many reverses, they struggled on with a determination that finally overcame the enemy's lack of concentrated resistance. The conquest of Granada was the reward of systematic organisation. On either side the line of march the country was invariably devas-

Expulsion
of the
Jews,
1492

Conquest
of
Granada,
1482-1492

tated, forests were cut down, roads made, and towns built, most famous of which was Santa Fé, that literally sat down opposite to Granada. The inhabitants of captured towns, such as Malaga, were enslaved, and a new Christian population settled in their stead. Isabella herself was the life and soul of the undertaking. She rode on her war-horse, clad in mail, at the head of her troops. She pawned her crown and personal jewels to raise funds. She fitted up hospitals at her own expense. Her energy and enthusiasm never flagged. At last, on receiving pledges of civil and religious liberty, and of the safety of the lives and property of her defenders, Granada surrendered. But on the Spanish side the promise was shamefully broken. Seven years later the intolerant party at Court got the upper hand, and enlisted the Queen's narrow religious sympathies on their side. As in the case of the Jews, the alternative offered was baptism or exile; many chose exile, and the irreparable loss of this diligent and thrifty population is silently testified to this day by the uncultivated tracts in Southern Spain.

The sovereigns themselves were their own foreign ministers, and in a later chapter some account will be given of the part played by Spain in the great Italian wars after 1494. The alliances formed at this time were also of great importance. By the marriage of their only son Juan with Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, and of their eldest daughter Juana, or Joan, with his son Philip, "the Kings," as they commonly were called, not only formed a strong league against France, but, in the case of the second marriage, prepared the way for the great inheritance of their grandson Charles V. Henry VII. of England was also anxious to be admitted into this august

circle ; and it was arranged that Arthur, Prince of Wales, whose place was afterwards taken by his brother Henry, should marry the youngest Infanta, Catharine of Aragon.

Discovery
of Amer-
ica, 1492

The prestige of the Crown was further increased by the discovery of the New World on Friday, October 12th, 1492, by the Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus. From the first Isabella had taken the deepest interest in his enterprise, and had shown it in a practical way. The Queen and her husband rose to receive Columbus when he came to Barcelona on his return to recount his wonderful adventure, and to display the Indians, the parrots, gold, cotton, and countless curiosities he had brought with him. The newly-discovered territories were regarded as the property of the Crown rather than of the nation. By certain Papal Bulls the countries east and west of an imaginary line were granted to Portugal and Spain respectively, while supreme control of religion in these Western possessions was conferred upon the Spanish kings by Pope Alexander VI.¹

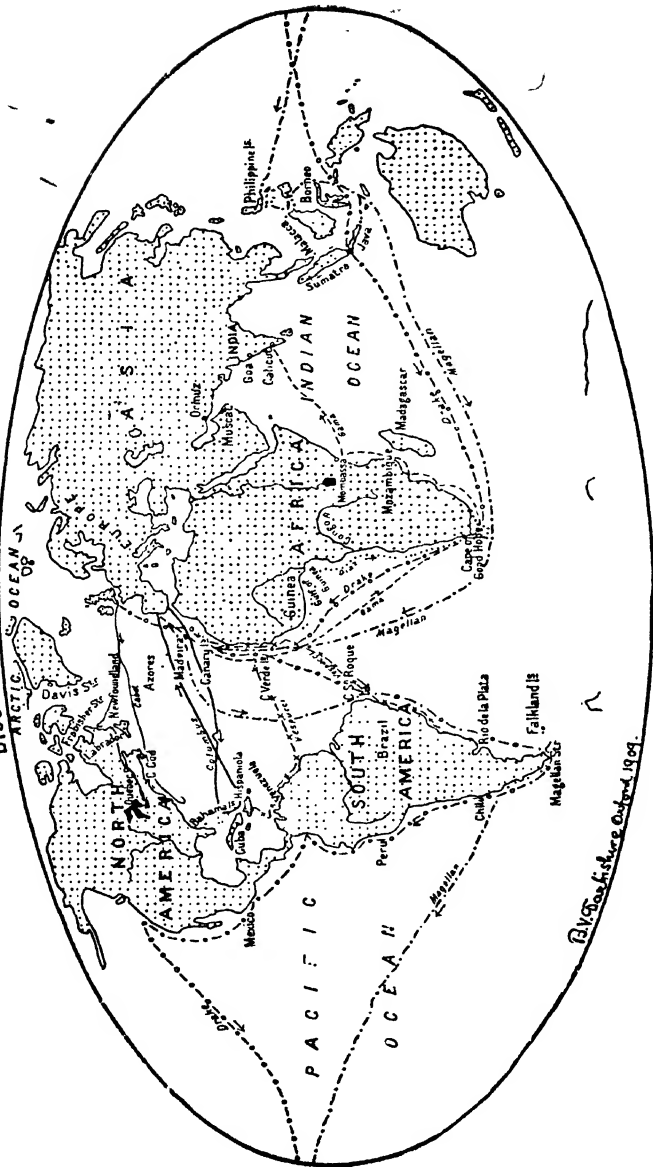
Death of
Isabella
1504

The death of Isabella may be said to close the period of reform in the joint reign : it was important in lessening Ferdinand's power, and it was followed by a time of disorder which lasted till 1522.

In appearance Isabella was of a dignified presence, with regular features, chestnut hair, and blue eyes. She lived simply and dressed plainly, except at public ceremonies, when she knew how to be sumptuous. She had a strong will, a great sense of duty, tenacity, courage, and honesty. Her judgment, except in religious affairs, in which she leant too much upon her confessor, was sound and independent. If bigoted and unmerciful she was pious ; and unlike some persons of her rather precise type, she was

¹ It was in this way that Portugal gained possession of Brazil.

DISCOVERIES OF 16TH CENTURY



BY S. S. H. S. D. W. D. G. I. 1909.

not small-minded. She had a better brain and a far better heart than her husband, whose illiterate mind, and suspicious, false, and grasping nature combined to form a very unattractive character.

Joan,
Queen of
Castile

As Isabella's beloved only son had died before her, her eldest daughter Joan and her husband, Philip the Fair of Austria, were declared sovereigns of Castile; but, to the disgust of the Castilians, who were always jealous of Aragon, and of Philip, who tried to assert his authority, Ferdinand secured the regency. The real sovereign, Joan, was the victim of some form of hysteria, which plunged her into periods of gloom, when, since she would neither speak nor act, she was quite unfit to govern. It was finally settled that the government should be jointly carried on in the names of Joan, Philip and Ferdinand. On Philip's death in 1506, Ximenes supported Ferdinand as candidate for the Regency—for Joan's melancholy deepened and became permanent—and in this capacity he ruled Castile for his unfortunate daughter until his death.

Conquest
of Spanish
Navarre by
Ferdinand

In the year after Isabella died Ferdinand decided to marry again, and chose as his second wife Germaine de Foix, a niece of Louis XII., whose friendship he desired. The elder line of the same family reigned in Navarre; but when Germaine's brother Gaston fell at Ravenna, Ferdinand urged her claims to the kingdom as his heiress. A party in Navarre supported him, and the brave Queen Catharine de Foix, deserted by her cowardly husband John D'Albret, was forced to fly. Ferdinand seized all Spanish Navarre; but the D'Albret family continued to rule on the French side of the Pyrenees, until their descendant, Henry of Navarre, brought the kingdom to France.

From the outbreak of the Italian war, which will be fully described later, the interest of Ferdinand's last years centres in Italy. After the great French victory of Marignano, he decided not to divide his dominions between his elder grandson Charles and his favourite grandson Ferdinand, the two sons of Joan; but to make Charles his sole heir, so as to fit him for rivalry with so great a power as France had become. Charles I. succeeded his grandfather at the age of sixteen, and by the advice of his ministers decided to walk warily at first in the slippery paths of diplomacy. He therefore concluded the Treaty of Noyon, promising to marry Francis's infant daughter Louise, whose mother Claude had been his last proposed bride.

Death of
Ferdinand
Accession
of Charles
I., 1516

By birth Charles was the heir of four great houses. Through his mother Joan he succeeded to the Spanish dominions—Castile, Aragon,¹ Naples, and Sicily, and the possessions in the New World. From his father, Philip the Fair, he received the great Burgundian inheritance of his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy and the Netherlands; and from his Austrian grandfather, Maximilian, the Duchy of Austria. At the time of his accession he was a slow, awkward boy, tongue-tied in the one language (French) with which he was really familiar; and completely under the tuition of his Flemish minister, Chièvres.

Inheri-
tance of
Charles

The Regent of Castile, Isabella's trusted servant Ximenes, urged Charles to lose no time in visiting Spain, where the greatest jealousy was felt of Flemish influence. Charles consented: but the cold ingratitude of his letter dismissing Ximenes from a long and devoted service is believed to have caused the death of the great old Cardinal. The new King made an informal progress through

¹ See following chapter.

his dominions; but as he journeyed through Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, he created in each place a worse impression than in the last; and before his visit was accomplished to turbulent Valencia, he was relieved to be summoned to Germany by the news of Maximilian's death.

In their dealings with Charles the Cortes showed themselves on the defensive—slow to recognise his title to rule, suspicious of his confidential advisers, and indignant at his approaching departure from Spain. Charles's mind was full of the coming Imperial election. He showed great carelessness of the feelings of his Spanish subjects, and want of tact in appointing his Flemings to high office, as in the choice of his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to be Regent of Castile in his absence. Besides, while accepting such money grants as the Cortes would allow him, he turned a deaf ear to their grievances. The unrest which had been stirring in many Castilian towns since Isabella's death now became active, and on the King's embarkation they formed an association or Junta in defence of their privileges, and drew up a grand remonstrance condemning the royal acts. Then they drew Joan from her seclusion and proclaimed her Queen.

Revolt of
the Com-
munes,
1521

The Regent's warning despatches were treated by Charles in Germany with the utmost unconcern. In Castile, Aragon, and Valencia the townspeople flew to arms. The chief centres of trouble were Toledo and Valladolid; there was, unfortunately, no thought of united action, but the causes varied with the district, being social, political, or religious, or all three at once. Their social programme alarmed the nobles, who declared against them. A decisive battle was fought between the two parties at Villalar, after which

the leader of the rebels, a noble from Toledo named Juan de Padilla, was executed with two of his comrades. The Castilian rebellion then subsided; and, not without cruelty, order was gradually restored in Valencia and Aragon. The rising had signally failed, and the royal authority emerged so strong that Charles was able to override the liberties of the Cortes in such important matters as freedom of speech and of elections, and redress preceding supply.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

- BEAZLEY : The Dawn of Modern Geography.
 SIR C. MARKHAM : Life of Christopher Columbus
 MARTIN HUME : Spain, 1469-1789.

CHAPTER IV

THE ITALIAN STATES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IN the last half of the fifteenth century Italy was not yet a nation—merely a bundle of states living a keen political life, and finding the great game of politics the most exciting of occupations. Each state played for its own hand, and for high stakes, with entire unscrupulousness. Thus absorbed, they none of them saw that they were observed by others from without, who with new methods and greater resources were coming unbidden to the board.

A united resistance to the foreigner was out of the question, for it was only by ceaseless intrigue that any state managed to hold its own among the rest. Yet there was method in this intrigue, dictated by certain inevitable alliances, and equally inevitable quarrels. By following these out briefly, we may unravel the tangled threads of Italian politics a little way.

**The Five
Chief
States of
Italy**

The five states of which special account must be taken were Milan, Florence, Venice, Naples, and the Papacy—a principality, two Republics, a kingdom, and the states of the Church. During this half century they were usually grouped into one of two leagues—the Triple Alliance, or the Northern League. The former, consisting of Milan, Florence, and Naples, may be called the normal or usual balance of power in Italy; and the main exceptions to this rule, when the Northern League (Milan,

Florence, and Venice against the Papacy and Naples) prevailed, were during the Pazzi conspiracy; and after 1485, when Naples became hostile to Milan, on account of Ludovico Sforza's usurpation. These alliances were the outcome of certain permanent interests: for instance, it was difficult for Naples and Venice to keep on good terms, for they were rival maritime powers, to whom the possession of the Apulian ports seemed equally necessary, and Venice regarded Naples as the chief foe to her advance in Italy and Greece. Again, except during a period of sixteen years when Venice was at war with the Turks, that Republic was Milan's most serious rival for the supremacy in North Italy. On the other hand, Milan had a strong common bond with Naples against the claims of the French Houses of Orleans and Anjou. As both Naples and Florence were likely to interfere with the Popes' ambitious family schemes in Romagna, the Papacy was usually hostile to them both, though the Medici did their best to maintain peaceable relations. But the Popes were drawn towards Venice by sharing with her the burden of resistance to the Turk, and by a common dislike of Naples.

These general rules point to the Triple Alliance being the natural outcome of circumstances, and we must look more closely at those of each state in turn.

The Kingdom of Naples, of which the Popes claimed ^{Naples} the right of investiture, was deeply divided within itself. The rude mountaineers differed in race from the civilised coast-dwellers: in the struggle between Aragon and Anjou, the Abruzzi had always supported the former, Calabria the latter. This rivalry had rent in twain the land from the thirteenth century until the final accession of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon in 1442. He proved a

Rivalry
between
Houses of
Aragon
and Anjou

strong and popular ruler; but the condition of Naples at his death in 1458 was showy rather than sound. There was a Parliament, but it was scarcely representative, and had only been called once to confirm Ferrante's succession. The army was unreliable compared with the bands of retainers commanded by the great barons—for the social state of the kingdom was still thoroughly feudal. And Naples had been too long the happy hunting ground of condottieri to rely upon native military talent. The Court expenditure was lavish, and justice was already sold to raise funds. As Alfonso had no lawful heir he was obliged to leave Aragon and Sicily to his brother: all that he could bequeath Ferrante was Naples, his own conquest. This was the moment for the House of Anjou to reassert its claim to Naples, and John of Calabria, whom we recognise as a member of the League of the Public Weal, appeared as claimant. Like the rest of his House he was inefficient, unlucky, and attractive. Ferrante tried to strengthen himself by alliances with Milan and the Pope, but his own harsh and cruel nature soon provoked a war with his barons, which should have given John his opportunity. At first the latter had some success, but after 1461 the tide turned. The new French king, Louis XI., disliked his Angevin relations, and as a token of his regard for Sforza* was ready to present Milan with Genoa, which had been John's military base in Italy. Finally, the fickle barons returned to their allegiance, and in 1464 John withdrew from the contest. His claim, as we have seen, eventually passed through his cousin, the Count of Maine, to the French crown, and the proposal that it should be adopted by Charles VIII. came directly from the discontented Neapolitan barons, who had rebelled again in 1485 in favour of René of Lorraine.

Ferrante broke his promise of pardon to the rebels, and put to death all but those who were beyond his reach. This time, in 1493, they appealed to the French king; and at the crisis in 1494 Ferrante died, leaving Alfonso, his heir and associate in his rule, to face the situation they had created between them. The Neapolitan exiles had been encouraged by Venice to apply to France, and we have now to trace the Republic's reasons for giving this advice.

The fifteenth century was outwardly the most splendid Venice period in the splendid career of what Commynes describes as "the most triumphant city I have ever seen": but the burden of dominion was pressing heavily upon her. The wealth of Venice was gained, not from manufactures, but from her carrying trade—chiefly of timber and woollen goods—in return for spices and other goods of the East; and by this connexion her possessions in the Levant had been built up. The opposite coasts of the Adriatic; the Ionian Islands, Crete, and some of the Ægean Islands; certain ports of the Morea, all belonged to Venice, with treaty rights of trade with Constantinople, and a number of towns in Palestine and Egypt. It would, perhaps, have been the Republic's best policy to become an Eastern, that is, a Greek and Illyrian power: but, unluckily, her treatment of her Levantine subjects in its corruption and injustice bore a strong contrast to her government of the mainland. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century Venice had no mainland possessions, and it was not until a century later that her advance became rapid. Partly because she despised her maritime subjects, partly because the claims of her inland trade and the jealousy of powerful neighbours drove her into increasing her territory, but, most of all, because of the

appearance of an overwhelming foe, the Turk, in the Eastern waters, Venice joined the general scramble for territory in Italy. No state there had more loyal subjects; but in greed and unscrupulousness in gaining them, Venice soon outdistanced even Italian competitors, and it was said of her at the time that she was "the fame, defence, and ornament of Italy without, but her plague and torment within." From another standpoint the change of policy was ruinous; her wealth depended upon her maritime trade; the mainland provinces never paid their way, and were costly to gain; and when her Eastern possessions fell by degrees into Turkish hands, her revenues declined.

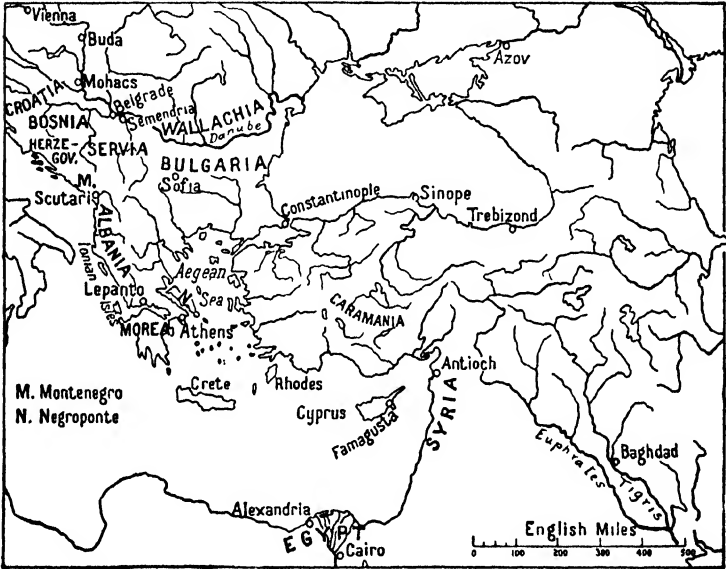
As long as Venice retained her colonial empire and her vast commercial interests, she needed a class like her merchant princes to attend to her foreign policy. For this reason the Venetians became the most observant, acute, and practised of European diplomatists. Again, the administration of affairs tended to fall to a few. The Doge had already become a figure-head, and the real rulers of Venice in the fifteenth century were a clique of the newer nobility, who numbered in the sixteenth century about forty. They controlled the famous Council of Ten, which really consisted of seventeen members from the Senate and Great Council, including the Doge. The Ten, or their chiefs, "the Three," managed all the most important business of the State, and in their methods somewhat resembled the Ephors at Sparta. They were therefore despotic, and governed by secrecy and terrorism. At the same time, they made no parade of power; there were few or no revolutions, and the order and prosperity of the State secured the support of its citizens.

The year 1454 is a convenient starting point for a sketch of the history of Venice during the next fifty

years, for it is marked by peace with Milan after a lengthy war, and peace with the Turks. By the Peace of Lodi, Piacenza and Lodi were confirmed to Venice, and she came to terms with the new lord of Milan, Francesco Sforza. The capture of Constantinople the year before

The Peace of Lodi 1454

OTTOMAN EMPIRE



had been even a more serious shock to Venice than to the rest of Europe; for Venice desired not war with the Turks but trade, and she saw that this new conquest meant war. However, Venice came to an agreement, which staved off for a few years the evil day. In return for tribute, the Turks allowed the Republic to keep her possessions and trade in the Levant. Meanwhile, the Turkish advance under Mahomet II. continued. The

The
Turkish
Conquests

1456

great conqueror overran Serbia: Hungary was only snatched from his grasp by the splendid exertions of its hero, John Hunyadi, and the infectious fervour of Friar Capistrano. Hunyadi raised the siege first of the key fortress of Semendria, and afterwards of Belgrade. Breaking through a barrier of boats across the river he entered the city, whose walls were shattered by a fortnight's assault, and drove the Turks, who greatly outnumbered his raw and ragged forces, in headlong flight, leaving 50,000 dead behind them. But a few days later Christendom lost its champion from the plague: Capistrano died of fever, and the main burden of defence fell to the lot of George Castriot, Despot of Albania. His Turkish title Scanderbeg (the Lord Alexander) recalls the fact that, though brought up in the Sultan's Court, he is one of the few who ever returned to their faith and fatherland. For ten years he led his people to heroic defence of their country, of which he was acknowledged ruler by the Sultan. Then he joined the Pope, Hungary and Venice, and after driving the Turks from Kroja, his capital, cleared the country of the enemy. This "Athlete of Christendom" died in 1467, commending his son to the protection of the Venetians, to whom he had been as shield and buckler.

Elsewhere Mahomet's successes continued: the quarrels of the Greek rulers let the Turks into the Morea, which was devastated beyond repair; and in 1464 Bosnia was subdued.

War
between
Venice and
the Turks

In 1473 Venice at last declared war, which was mainly maritime at first. The chief event was the fall of Negroponte, which might have been saved had the Venetian commander, Niccolo Canale, been a Hunyadi. For the rest, however, Venice fought valiantly and almost single-

handed against a foe which, having added a new fleet to its equipment in 1471, had become more formidable than ever.

Mahomet's conquest of Asia Minor had now left him free for Europe, and he renewed his attack on Albania and this time took Kroja and Scutari. By 1479 Venice could do no more, and concluded the Peace of Constantinople, retaining, in return for tribute to the Sultan, Crete, seven ports in Greece, and her trading quarter in Constantinople. Having been an idle spectator of the war, Europe was filled with consternation at the Peace. It set free the Turks, and also (this mainly concerned the Italians) the Venetians, for further aggressions. By the advice (as all Italy believed) of Venice the Turks besieged and took Otranto in Apulia in 1480. It seemed as if Rome might share Constantinople's fate. At this crisis, however, Mahomet's attention was diverted to Rhodes, and he died next year. By 1483 the Turkish conquest of Herzegovina was completed. Montenegro, alone of all the Slavonic states in the Balkans, held out. Its hardy mountaineers, under their ruler Ivan the Black, son of a comrade of Scanderbeg, deserted their capital and mounted to their new eyrie of Cettigne—

Death of
Mahomet
II., 1481

“ They rose to where their sovran Eagle sails,
They kept their faith, their freedom, on the height
Chaste, frugal, savage, armed by day and night
Against the Turk.”

The death of Mahomet the Great was a welcome reprieve to Europe. With the exception of a short war in which the Turks raided Venetian territory as far as Vicenza and seized most of her Greek ports, nothing serious happened until the conquest of Egypt in 1517 by Selim I. The

Eastern
Trade
Routes
closed by
the Turks,
1517

last of the trade routes from the East was thereby blocked (that is, along the Persian Gulf to Aden, up the Red Sea, and by a short caravan journey to Alexandria, whence the goods were distributed in Venetian and Genoese galleys and sent across the Brenner to Bruges). Since the discovery of the Cape route to India the Portuguese had rapidly pushed on their commerce with the East: they were able by 1509 to offer spice, pepper and sugar at such cheap rates that a general fall in the prices of eastern produce ruined many of the older established merchants in the Netherlands, on the Rhine and in Genoa and Venice.

The Venetians joined an expedition sent from Cairo to fight the Portuguese, but even had they been successful their eastern trade was doomed, and the conquest of Egypt set the seal upon their doom. And we shall see that the year 1509 was to be fatal to Venice on land as well as on sea. That her ancient spirit was not yet dead she was still to show in her dying resistance to the Turk in Cyprus (1570) and Candia (1669), and her love of pomp and luxuriant colour immortalised itself in the greatest school of Italian colourists, those artists of the sixteenth century, Titian, Tintoretto, Giorgione, Veronese, who have expressed on canvas the pride and glory of Venice.

Aggressive
Venetian
Policy

Meanwhile Italy had been right in dreading the use Venice might make of the leisure bestowed on her by the Treaty of Constantinople. Certainly her policy from 1479 became more aggressive, as the three following instances may show. In 1481 she quarrelled with Ferrara, who was a rival for her salt monopoly, and war broke out, in which Pope Sixtus IV. helped Venice to seize Rovigo. The Triple Alliance then interfered. The Pope, seeing that Venice would gain all the spoil, went

over to the League. The Republic, whose supplies were exhausted, concluded the Peace of Bagnolo, which allowed her to keep Rovigo only of all her conquests. The Pope died immediately afterwards, it was said of vexation at the Peace. Secondly, it was by high-handed conduct that Venice gained possession of Cyprus in 1488. The last king of that island, James of Lusignan, whose extraordinary personal fascination had secured for him his disputed throne, had married a Venetian lady, Caterina Cornaro; and, to make her worthy a crown, the Republic formally adopted her as "The Daughter of St Mark." When, shortly afterwards, James died, Venice became the guardian of her "daughter" and her daughter's child. Next, the Republic undertook the government of the island; and finally, fearing the intentions of Alfonso of Naples, who proposed to marry the Queen, persuaded Caterina (now childless) to abdicate in its favour. Caterina was loth to leave her little kingdom, but it was made clear to her that there was no alternative. A tiny state was found for her in the hill-town and plain of Asolo, and there she reigned with the titles of Queen of Cyprus and Lady of Asolo till the troubles following the League of Cambray caused her to take refuge in Venice, where she died in 1510. Lastly, Venice, turning envious eyes on the six Apulian ports (Gallipoli, Otranto, Brindisi, Trani, Monopoli and Bari), decided that her best chance of gaining them was to invite foreign interference, and by upsetting the balance of power in Italy to secure her prey as the price of her help. So she encouraged the fugitive Neapolitan nobles, who came in 1493 to ask her advice, to call in Charles VIII. and the Duke of Orleans to make good their claims upon Naples and Milan. It was a fatal mistake, for Galeazzo Sforza's words to Venice were still

true: "You are alone, and all the world is against you, not merely in Italy, but also beyond the Alps."

The
Papacy

Nicholas
V., 1447-
1455

Turning now to the Papacy, we will first sketch the history of the seven Popes belonging to this half century, and then point out some of the chief changes that were taking place in their position and aims. The first of these was Nicholas V., "the Librarian," as he was surnamed, from his intense interest in the new learning, and his collection of ancient manuscripts, which became the foundation of the famous Vatican Library. It was said that he was chosen Pope for his perfect Latinity. His greatest desires were for the furtherance of peace and the promotion of learning and art in Rome. By the irony of fate it was to him that Europe turned when Constantinople fell in 1453, but it was not in Nicholas to inspire a crusade. "The Pope," it was said, "is spending in buildings what ought to save us from the Turks." Among them were the Vatican and the Basilica of St Peter's. From several points of view Nicholas V. may be regarded as the last Pope of the Middle Ages: he was the last to crown an Emperor (Frederick III.) at Rome the last to contest the throne of St Peter with an anti-Pope. The series of great General Church Councils ended at Basel during his Pontificate: with the fall of Constantinople was closed the long rivalry between the Eastern and Western Churches, and after Nicholas each Pope frankly merged himself in the Italian prince whose first object was territory.

Calixtus
III., 1455-
1458

His successor was the Spaniard, Calixtus III., who, unlike Nicholas, was eager for a Turkish crusade, which he left as a legacy to Pius II. He is better remembered, however, as the first Pope who systematically tried to advance the fortunes of his own family. Calixtus had

three nephews of his own name—Borgia—for whom high preferments were found in the Church, one of them later becoming Pope Alexander VI. It is possible that their interests may have prompted him to refuse the investiture of Naples to Ferrante; but his death put an end to their projects.

Pius II. was already well known as Æneas Sylvius, ^{Pius II.,} Frederick III.'s famous secretary, who had been the chief ¹⁴⁵⁸⁻¹⁴⁶⁴ means of recovering the obedience of the German Church to Rome. In the course of a gay and varied career he had travelled as far north as England and Scotland. On becoming Pope he was anxious to forget the past, and devote himself to the needs of Christendom. He therefore acknowledged Ferrante of Naples, and summoned the Western princes to a conference on the Eastern question at Mantua. Only the Pope and his attendants arrived at the appointed date. A few envoys straggled in later, and the Venetians drove a hard bargain with the congress, demanding pay for providing means of transport and all the spoil there might be. Before the assembly dispersed Pius published the Bull *Execrabilis*, denouncing as an "execrable abuse" any appeal against a Pope to a future council. At this point the outbreak of the war in Naples between Ferrante and John of Calabria distracted attention from the Crusade. With immense exertions the Pope secured the help of Hungary and Venice. But a paltry handful of Crusaders was all that met him at Ancona, and, exhausted by his efforts, the Pope sank and died there.

The ideals of Pius II. were no doubt beyond his achievements, yet his aims were higher than those of succeeding Popes. His life was abstemious, and he loved the simple pleasures of the country. He was a distinguished man

of letters, but to the last he kept his freshness of outlook and readiness to receive new ideas.

Sixtus IV.
1471-1484

Passing over the somewhat uneventful reign of Paul II. (1464-71) we come to Sixtus IV., "the first Pope," says Machiavelli, "to shew the extent of the papal power." It was employed by Sixtus in the interests of his family with a thorough unscrupulousness that is only surpassed by Alexander VI. Sixtus had five nephews belonging to the Della Rovere and Riario families. He arranged for them marriages into princely houses, or promoted them to high places in the Church. Two became Cardinals, and one, Giuliano della Rovere, was afterwards Pope Julius II. It was in the interests of Girolamo Riario that Sixtus set on foot the Pazzi conspiracy to overthrow Lorenzo di Medici, and joined Naples against him. Fortunately the capture of Otranto by the Turks brought the Pope to reason; yet almost directly after he is to be found with Venice and Naples attacking Ferrara for the benefit of the last Riario nephew. Having gained nothing by the war, Sixtus "died of the Peace" of Bagnolo.

Innocent
VIII.,
1484-1492

Innocent VIII. was a far less vigorous Pope. Almost his only political exploit was an attempt to force from Naples the ancient tribute to the papacy, which had been gradually reduced to the formal annual gift of a white charger. He therefore joined the discontented Neapolitan barons in 1485, who invited young René of Lorraine to adopt the Angevin claims to the throne. But René was vainly occupied in trying to recover Provence from the French crown; and the Italian states were up in arms at the idea of foreign invasion. Ferrante gave in about the former tribute, and the Barons submitted to him, as we have seen, only to be treacherously dealt with. Innocent

VIII. died before any further development of the survivors' policy in inviting Charles VIII. had taken place. This Pope was the first publicly to recognise his children: and by the marriage of his son with Lorenzo di Medici's daughter began a connection between that family and the Holy See which ended by giving two Medici Popes (Leo X. and Clement VII.) to Italy.

The election on Innocent's death was warmly contested by Giuliano della Rovere and Ludovico Sforza's brother Ascanio; but, by giving much and promising still more, a third candidate won his way. This was Rodrigo Borgia, a nephew of Calixtus III., who in spite of his notorious character as Cardinal was elected as Alexander VI. Alexander VI., 1492
1503 Modern criticism has tried to prove that the Borgias (father and son) were less black than they are painted. Yet a few crimes less or more cannot really alter our opinion when so much remains to be answered for. Tried even by the low moral standard of their age, they are worse than their age; cruel, cunning, and resolute, audacious in crime beyond their contemporaries. And the part played by Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia during the Italian wars will speak for itself. Meanwhile it may be noticed that the new Pope soon threw in his lot with the Aragonese house in Naples by recognising Alfonso as King on Ferrante's death in 1494. This of course pledged him to oppose the coming French invasion by Charles VIII.

At this point it may be well to sum up the position of the Popes since the Conciliar movement to control them had failed with the Council of Basel. If we compare the Papacy to a temporal monarchy, we shall find that the Cardinals are the nobles or aristocracy of the Church, while the democratic element is supplied by the as-

Position of
the Popes
at the close
of the
Fifteenth
Century

sembling from time to time of General Councils. The Holy See had come out of the threatened ordeal of reform with all its privileges intact. In the first place, it had evaded control on the part of the Cardinals, in spite of a number of compacts limiting the Pope's power over them. At the close of the half century Alexander VI. was still able to treat the Cardinals as his tools, appointing whom he would, or selling the office at a high price to raise money for Cæsar Borgia's wars.

Secondly, the Pope had triumphed over reform in the shape of control by Councils. Political and national jealousies had ruined the Council of Basel, and the failure of the movement was summed up in the Bull *Execrabilis* of Pius II. Threats of appealing to General Councils were, indeed, freely used against Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II., but with little or no effect.

Even the movement in favour of the liberty of National Churches, which had seemed so vigorous in the early part of the century, had been minimised by agreements between their rulers and the Pope. Louis XI. and Francis I. gave up the liberties of the French Church as Frederick III. had given up those of the German. Nevertheless in becoming political the Papacy had lost the moral leadership of Christendom, which had been its unique and special task, and had become an Italian power, as yet not of the first rank. The failure of several popes to arouse Europe against the Turk was a judgment on the Papacy for the many false alarms it had raised in the past in order to replenish its treasury.

No one believed any longer in the purity of the Pope's motives; political intrigues were suspected behind every cause, however worthy in itself. And Europe was further

enlightened as to the real character of the Papacy by the Italian Invasions, and Alexander VI.'s Jubilee in 1500. The popes, becoming wise in their generation, as children of this world, found that Italy would only respect their sway if they were too strong to be attacked. The problem was twofold: how to control the turbulent Roman populace whose Republican spirit slept but was not dead, and awoke at intervals under leaders such as Rienzi and Porcaro; how, secondly, to subdue the lawless Roman nobles of the Campagna — the Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli.

Nicholas V. attacked the first difficulty by gaining military control of Rome, by widening the streets and connecting the fortress of St Angelo with the city. Though Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. took the nobles in hand, the real suppression of the Colonna and Orsini was only accomplished by Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia. Towards a general solution of the problem Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. set themselves to gain territory, which in the hands of their relations should be the principal support of the Pope's power. In this way the Holy See might possibly have become hereditary, but it is clear that their plan differed altogether from that of Julius II., who is rightly regarded as the founder of the Papal States, because he built up a dominion which he passed on, not to his family, but to his successor.

The Duchy of Milan had in 1450 come into the possession of the House of Sforza. With masterly skill Francesco, the husband of Bianca, the last of the Visconti, had played off his two chief enemies against each other, namely, the Republican party in Milan and the Venetians. First, he defended Milan against Venice, then made peace with Venice, finally turned his victorious army upon

Milan, and became its master. Milan was the richest prize ever won by a successful condottiere: however Francesco was not only the greatest of the condottieri, but an able statesman, whose chief object thereafter was peace. Between him and Cosmo di Medici a real friendship existed: he came to terms with Venice in the Peace of Lodi, 1454, by which the Adda was to be the boundary between the two states; and having a common interest with Naples in resisting French claims in Italy, he united his son and daughter in marriage with Alfonso's granddaughter and grandson. As has been already pointed out, Sforza was on the best terms with Louis XI., who yielded to him the French rights to Genoa.

Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who succeeded his father in 1466, drew closer this connexion by marrying Bona of Savoy, sister of the French queen. In him were united the worst vices of the Visconti and Sforza. Weak, cowardly, and a slave to the worst passions, he is one of the comparatively few who have delighted in cruelty for its own sake. After suffering ten years of this unbridled tyranny, three young nobles whose families he had wronged slew him in church. Two of them were killed by the guard, and their leader, Olgiati, maintaining to the last the justice of his cause, died with Spartan endurance under torture. The Milanese, taken by surprise, had not been prompt enough to save themselves, and the tyrant's son Gian Galeazzo, aged eight, succeeded, under the regency of his mother and Simonetta, formerly Francesco's secretary. In 1479 the peace of Italy was upset by the Pazzi conspiracy in Florence; and while Naples and the Pope armed against the Republic, Milan prepared to stand by her ally. To cause a distraction in Milan, Ferrante encouraged the return of the

The Olgiati
Conspir-
acy, 1476

young duke's uncles, who had been exiled for hostility to the Regency. A revolution followed in Milan: Simonetta was executed, and the nominal reign began of Gian Galeazzo, aged twelve, his eldest uncle, Ludovico, being the real ruler.

Ludovico Sforza, called the Moor, from his swarthy complexion, was after his father, Francesco, the ablest of his house. Yet he had no pretensions to soldierly qualities—was, in fact, wanting in courage in emergencies. Like the average Italian tyrant, he was cruel when political necessity demanded; cunning, grasping, and self-confident; nevertheless when once he had vaulted into the saddle, he was disposed to rule well, to maintain a splendid court, and dispense generous patronage to literature and art. But, like Richard III., he was encumbered with a nephew, and to make matters worse, that nephew took to wife Ferrante's granddaughter, Isabella of Naples. The young duke was a feeble creature, but Isabella was a princess of spirit, and complained to her own family of Ludovico's usurpation. She contrasted her own neglected position with that of Ludovico's new wife, Beatrice D'Este, the idol of a brilliant court; and the prospects of her infant son with those of Ludovico's heir. Remonstrances from Naples had no result; except that they warned Ludovico that he must strengthen his position against an open rupture. Florence could no longer be depended upon; for, as we shall see, Piero di Medici was himself inclined towards Naples, and Ludovico was not blind to the greed of Venice. He therefore seconded the invitation given by the Neapolitan barons to Charles VIII., hoping to use the French as a screen between himself and Naples, while he made good his own position in Milan. Afterwards he trusted to his own dexterity to relieve Italy of their

Ludovico
Il Moro

presence. With the consent of France, Ludovico gave his niece Bianca Maria in marriage to Maximilian I. In return for a more than princely dowry the Emperor conferred upon Ludovico the investiture of Milan. Gian Galeazzo died soon after, precisely as might have been foreseen—though his uncle's share in the business has not been absolutely proved. Ludovico was not left long undisturbed in his new dignity. With the French came Louis of Orleans, bent upon making good upon Milan his claim through his grandmother, Valentina Visconti. And though this first attempt was foiled, we shall see that Ludovico was unable to withstand Louis XII. at the head of a league for the partition of Milan in 1499.

Florence

Cosmo di
Medici,
1434-1464

The history of Florence during this half century is covered by the rule of the Medici family ; for Cosmo was firmly settled by 1434, and Piero was expelled exactly sixty years later. The means by which they won and kept their power may first be pointed out. The Medici owed their greatness to trade, and principally to their great European banking connexion. By raising loans for foreign governments and lending large sums to Florentine citizens, they gained political influence at home and abroad. Both Cosmo and Lorenzo maintained their position in Italy largely through their unrivalled knowledge of foreign politics. In their hands politics and commerce worked together to advance the interests of both. "Cosmo," it was said, "made many a fortune besides his own." As employers of labour, collectors of books and gems, and patrons of literary men and artists, the Medici turned to their own pleasure and advantage the Renaissance movement at a time when it was one of the chief forces in Italian life. Their private revenues were at the service of the State, and they spent enormous sums on charity

and public works—a system by which Florence was at first the gainer; but which later, when less attention to business diminished their incomes, led to these being largely supplemented from public money. At first the Medici were careful to live and marry like other people of their wealth and position. “Cosmo’s works were regal,” says Machiavelli, “his conduct civic.” He rejected Brunelleschi’s design for his palace as being too pretentious, and never allowed the luxury of his family to appear as royal state. Lorenzo was the first of his house to seek a bride outside Florence. At the same time they thoroughly understood the value of public fêtes and shows as a way of keeping their popularity with the pleasure-loving Florentines. Dazzled by these brilliant features of the Medici rule, the populace were blinded to the changes quietly and steadily at work in the government. A progressive income-tax was introduced, and taxation was managed in such a way as to enrich friends and ruin enemies. “Cosmo used the taxes instead of the dagger,” notes Guicciardini. The forms of government were preserved, but elections were in Medicean hands. The chief magistrates of Florence were the Signory, consisting of the Gonfalonier of Justice and eight Priors, holding office for two months. Bills approved by them went through three Councils representing the Trade Guilds before becoming law. It was their right to call a Parliament and draw up the agenda for business. A Parliament in Florentine phrase was simply a mass meeting of the rabble, who shouted their assent to certain names proposed by the dominant party as being fit to exercise special powers. Thus elected, this body, called the Balìa, proceeded to appoint ten Accoppiatori (Joiners), whose chief duty was to collect in the purses or bags (from which

Changes
in the
Govern-
ment of
Florence

eight at a time were afterwards drawn by lot)—the names of some 400 candidates for office. Even without a *Balia* the names were subject to a scrutiny, and the means of disqualification were numerous; but when the purses had been carefully weeded there was no danger that any appointment would be made displeasing to the ruling powers. The Medici contrived that the *Balia* should generally be renewed every five years, and thus they secured the choice of all the magistrates. Occasionally the names were drawn by lot from the purses, but as a rule they were simply chosen by the *Accoppiatori*. The drawback to the Signory was its very short term of office, and to remedy this defect Lorenzo di Medici established a board of seventy life members—a kind of Privy Council. They were to act as standing *Accoppiatori*—that is, to nominate to offices. “That day,” said one of them, “was liberty dead and buried.”

From this Council of Seventy were chosen two permanent Committees for Police and War. After the fall of the Medici the latter became known as the Ten of War, which is famous through its secretary, Machiavelli. The old Councils were not abolished, but as a constantly changing body has little chance of influence compared with a permanent assembly, it is easy to see in whose hands the real power lay.

Other arbitrary things they did: but it was not the people but the wealthy citizens who suffered from their high-handed methods. Even with the private life of the nobles—their marriage alliances, and regulation of their incomes—the Medici interfered. Yet much was forgiven them, because by general agreement “they were the most genuine of Florentines,” in token of which Florence bestowed upon Cosmo his title of “*Pater Patriæ*.”

The last years of Cosmo's life were marked by important changes. Discontent in Florence led to the revival of elections by the people in 1455, but for a short time only. Luca Pitti, one of Cosmo's oldest supporters, was taken into his confidence, and allowed to call a *Balia*, with the result that absolute rule was restored. It was said that "Cosmo had to let his friends believe themselves as powerful as he was himself," and Luca Pitti actually tried to supplant his leader, and began building himself the splendid palace which is now the great picture gallery of Florence. It was with the Pitti party that Cosmo's successor Piero had finally to deal. Cosmo's relations with other Italian states became the traditional policy of his house: he cultivated a good understanding with the Pope, and his friendship with Milan stamps him as the real founder of the Triple Alliance.

Struggle
between
the Medici
and the
Pitti

Piero the Gouty was a great contrast to his father. A man of average capacity, he was always prevented by ill health from taking an active part in affairs, and his rule was a critical time for the Medici power. He made himself unpopular by recalling his business loans at great inconvenience to the borrowers, and investing the money in land. The support of Galeazzo Maria, who had just succeeded in Milan, was not worth much. At home the *Balia* was not renewed, and the opposition which Cosmo had left so strong was still more hostile to his son. A struggle between the Pitti and Medici parties followed—the Mountain and the Plain—so called from the position of the rival leaders' houses. The opposition tried three ways of getting rid of Piero. First, they hoped to overthrow him by the lawful method of restoring the lot in elections. But Piero's great wealth enabled him to buy up many of his opponents, among them Pitti himself, and

A Piero I.,
1464-1469

the rest were exiled. Next, they unsuccessfully attempted murder; and finally, with the secret support of Venice, they hired the condottiere Bartolommeo Coleone to attack Florence. Piero strengthened the alliance with Milan and Naples; and his general, the Duke of Urbino, was held to have defeated the Mountain at Molinella, where, contrary to the usual experience in Italian warfare, a few lives were lost. It was clear that the prospects of the exiles had not improved, and as Coleone had another engagement to fight the Turks, peace was made. The exiles remained exiles. A new Balìa was granted for ten years, and there was no doubt that the hold of the Medici upon Florence was even stronger than it had been before Cosmo's death. Piero's eldest son Lorenzo, though under age for holding office, was invited to succeed his father. From the first he was inclined to act as the prince rather than the citizen. He had visited at the chief Italian courts, and had taken his bride, Clarice, from the great Roman house of Orsini. He was young and self-confident, and ready to undertake the management of affairs. There is no doubt that the crisis of 1479 was brought about by three blunders of his own.

Lorenzo
di Medici,
1469-1492

First, certain changes were made in the government which may be described as tending to sweep away old offices, and concentrate business in the hands of the Signory, thereby reducing the number of families who enjoyed political influence. Among these were the wealthy family of the Pazzi, of whom nine were qualified to hold office. Secondly, Lorenzo forced on a war with Volterra, whose chief source of wealth was its alum mines. Lorenzo himself had a private interest in alum, and took no pains to patch up the quarrel. Through an accident the town was sacked; and, to the

disgust of the Florentines, a despoiled city was all they gained.

Lastly, while keeping up the Triple Alliance, Lorenzo succeeded in adding the new Pope, Sixtus IV., and the Venetians to the list of his friends. But the jealousy between Venice and Naples made it impossible for the same league to hold them both. Naples was offended; and used her influence to win over Sixtus. This was all the more easy because the Pope's plans to buy Imola in Romagna for Girolamo Riario alarmed Lorenzo for the safety of Florence. He refused to lend the money, and in revenge Sixtus appointed Salviati to the Archbishopric of Pisa against Lorenzo's wishes. Thus the ambition of Girolamo Riario became the centre of a plot to destroy the Medici. He was on friendly terms with Francesco Pazzi, the papal treasurer in Rome, and they persuaded Jacopo Pazzi, the head of the family in Florence, to join them. There can be no doubt that the Pope was aware of the plot, though the active part in it was his nephew's: and that Ferrante was also implicated. The plot was well organised, and was kept wonderfully secret. It was necessary to get rid of both Lorenzo di Medici and his younger brother Giuliano (who was the more popular of the two), and at the same time. Several promising opportunities were missed through a slight illness of Giuliano's: at last it was settled to kill the brothers at High Mass at the solemn moment of the elevation of the Host. This task was entrusted to two priests who did not share the objection felt by the soldiers to committing sacrilege in church. Jacopo Pazzi was to raise the populace in the streets, and Archbishop Salviati to seize the palace of the Signory. At the given moment Giuliano was struck down; but Lorenzo, though wounded, found safety behind

The Pazzi
Conspir-
acy, 1478

the bronze doors of the sacristy. The mob outside only responded to Jacopo's efforts with shouts of the Medici cry "Palle," and hustled his followers to the palace of the Signory. Here Salviati's nervousness had betrayed his errand, and he was already under arrest. Hearing that Giuliano was dead, the mob hanged Salviati, Francesco Pazzi, and others from the palace windows. The other leaders were captured and suffered death with several hundred of their accomplices. "This," says Guicciardini, "was the luckiest day of Lorenzo's life; he lost his brother and confirmed his power." Together with the changes in the government already mentioned, the failure of the plot left Lorenzo Prince in everything but name.

War
between
Florence
and the
Pope and
Naples
upsets the
normal
balance

He was still, however, in danger from the foreign members of the conspiracy. Sixtus IV. at once excommunicated him for the Archbishop's death, and laid Florence under an interdict for refusing to give him up. Ferrante of Naples joined the Pope in declaring war. There was great danger from disloyalty within Florence herself and in her subject states. France, threatening the Pope with a General Council, and Ferrante with an Angevin invasion, seemed the only ally likely to be of practical help; as Venice, now freed from the Turks, was thinking to fish in troubled waters, and Milan, through Ferrante's contrivance, was in the throes of revolution. Florence was outnumbered by her enemies; and the plague broke out in the city; only the quarrels among the rival generals of the league prevented her defeat on all sides. Lorenzo offered to sacrifice himself for the public weal. He would go on a mission of peace to Naples, and meanwhile the real feeling in the city would declare itself. The last suggestion contained the chief risk there was in

Lorenzo's
Journey to
Naples

carrying out this plan, which seems to have been talked over first with Naples.

Ferrante, indeed, might prove treacherous; but after keeping Lorenzo three months to see whether Florence would rise or not, he decided to come to terms. The Pope was of the same mind, for the Turks had just seized Otranto. The terms were hard for Florence. She had to pay a yearly sum to Alfonso of Calabria, who was left in occupation of Siena (from which, however, pressure from the Turks soon forced his withdrawal). The Florentine forts taken during the war were to be given back at Ferrante's pleasure (six were actually restored in 1481); and the Lords of Romagna, who were under Florentine protection, were left to the Pope's vengeance.

Still, Lorenzo was enthusiastically welcomed on his return from a brave mission, and he met with no opposition to his new Council of Seventy and the committees which we should call the War and Home Offices.

These experiences proved of lasting value to Lorenzo. The tranquil state of Florence left him free to devote himself to foreign affairs: his tact, his judgment, his influence developed with years. He became, as it was said, "the balance of Italy," for his policy was to keep the peace by means of the Triple Alliance. But even in Lorenzo's lifetime it became clear that the alliance itself was doomed, by the growing ill-feeling between Naples and Milan after Ludovico's accession. If any man could have prevented the rupture, that man was Lorenzo; but at the critical time, in 1492, to the consternation of Italy, he died. During his later years Lorenzo neglected mercantile affairs for political and social duties. He gathered round him a wonderful group of artists and men of letters.

Lorenzo's
Statesman
ship

Death of
Lorenzo,
1492

The Platonic Academy, founded by Cosmo, had its meetings at Lorenzo's palace; it numbered among its members the brilliant writers and scholars, Politiano, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola, the architect Alberti, and Michael Angelo, the greatest of Florentine painters. It says much for Lorenzo's own gifts that of such a circle he was fitted to be the patron and leader.

In his great history of Florence Giucciardini sums up for us the character of Lorenzo. Though not a soldier, he had all the other qualities necessary to a ruler. He was much less able than Cosmo as a man of business, but more eloquent and cultivated. Universal deference had brought out a certain haughtiness in him; but he was a witty talker, and good company; the title of *Il Magnifico*, commonly given to Italian magnates of no definite rank, was very fittingly used of Lorenzo in its literal sense of "the Magnificent." In appearance he was a man of middle height and dark complexion. His features were irregular and his voice unmusical.

It may be asked whether, on the whole, the Medici rule was a gain or a loss to Florence? As to the answer, opinions differ. On the one hand, it may be said that their taxation was a great burden, and that they robbed the State, that they corrupted the public service, lowered its standards of honour, and stole from Florence her liberty and the power of her citizens to act for themselves. On the other, that they gave a peaceful and orderly government to the city, without undue severity; that they brought her prosperity and fame, and made her the brilliant centre of the most brilliant age in history since the great days of Athens. Those who think that self-government, with all its mistakes, is best will decide against the Medici. Others, remembering the

Gains and
Losses of
Florence
under the
Medici

general fate of despotism that overtook all Italian states at the time, may accept Guicciardini's summing up: "The city had not liberty, but could not have had a more pleasant tyranny."

The Medici rule really ended with Lorenzo, for even had the invasion of Charles VIII. not suddenly terminated it, Piero's misgovernment would have brought about the same result, if less quietly, almost as soon. Piero was not without brains, but he was headstrong and giddy and ignorant of politics. He haughtily sent his secretary to take his orders to the Signory: he offended all his father's friends, and played ball with his minions in the street, to the public inconvenience. His manners were those of an ungracious princeling, not of the First Citizen of the State. His marriage with Alfonsina Orsini renewed the tie with his mother's family and drew him towards Naples, between whom and the Orsini there was a long-standing connection.

The Florentines, however, disliked the House of Aragon, and Milan had now still stronger reasons for doing so. It is clear, therefore, that the old balance of power was upset: Charles VIII. was nearing Florence on his march south, and Piero felt himself unequal to the occasion. He decided to imitate his father's bold journey to Naples at an equally critical time. As the feeling of Florence was all in favour of a French alliance, Piero resolved, without consulting his government, to be the first to approach the French, and set out to meet them at Sarzana. With a little foresight the French might have been turned back. Their way lay through barren pasture lands where food was scarce, and a line of fortresses might have been manned to shut off the enemy between the mountains and the sea. But no effort had been made even to defend

Piero II.,
1492-1495

the passes of the Apennines ; thus when Piero found himself in the King's presence he yielded the four fortresses, Sarzana, Pietrasanta, Pisa and Leghorn without a struggle, much to Charles's astonishment. When he returned to Florence with well-founded misgivings, the city revolted against the idea of such an unauthorised surrender, and shut the gates of the Palace of the Signory in his face. All exertions to raise the populace on the part of Paolo Orsini with a troop of horse, and of Piero's brother, the young Cardinal Giovanni, were useless, and Piero fled by way of Bologna to Venice. On the same day Pisa, after eighty-seven years of Florentine rule, revolted and became independent.

Expulsion
of the
Medici
from Flor-
ence, 1495

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

- SISMONDI : Italian Republics (in one volume).
 SYMONDS : The Renaissance in Italy.
 K. EWART : Cosimo de Medici.
 ARMSTRONG : Lorenzo de Medici.

CHAPTER V

THE ITALIAN WARS TO 1518

AT this point it may be as well to collect together the various causes that brought about the invasion of Charles VIII. The King himself was ambitious of making good his claim on Naples; and perhaps, in the second place, of using his conquest as a stepping-stone to a crusade against Constantinople.

*Causes of
the Inva-
sion of
Charles
VIII. 1494*

Secondly, the Pope, by the scandals of his life, and his hatred of the Cardinal della Rovere, who had fled to the French Court, indirectly gave ground for interference in Italian affairs. It was as a scourge to the Church that Savonarola had predicted that Charles should come to Italy.

Thirdly, Ferrante's broken word and harsh treatment had driven the revolted Neapolitan Baronage to be the first to call in French aid.

Fourthly, the usurpation of Milan by Ludovico had upset the old balance of powers, and led to his appeal to France to distract his chief enemy, Naples.

Lastly, the old tie between Florence and France, strengthened by the prophecies of Savonarola, inclined the Florentines in the same direction; and the hasty action of Piero di Medici placed the city almost at Charles's mercy. The only powers prepared to resist the King were Naples and the Pope; while Venice

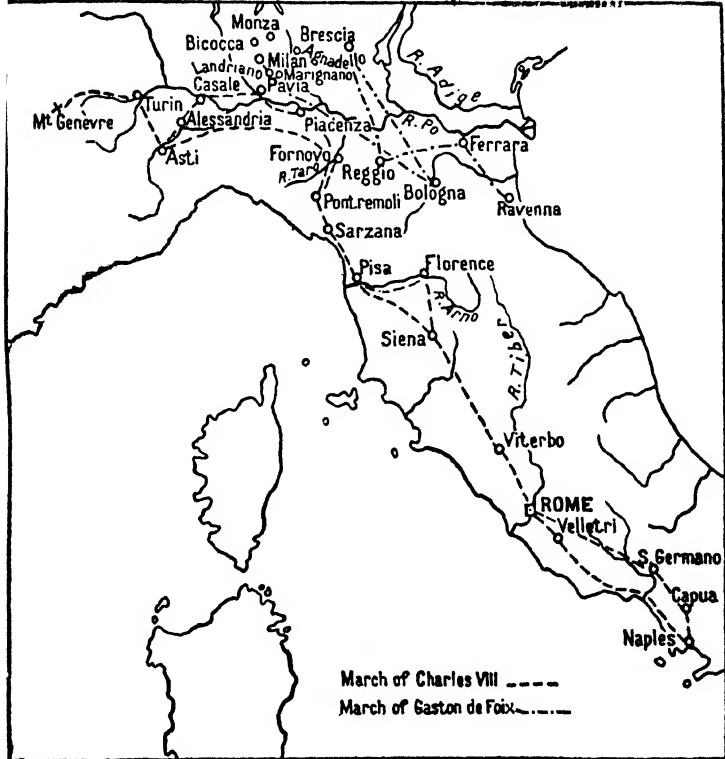
counted on remaining neutral till she saw how things turned out.

The March
of Charles
VIII.

Charles crossed the Alps in September by the Pass of Mont Genève with the bulk of his army, which was thoroughly up to date in its three divisions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The first states on his line of march—Savoy, Montferrat, and Genoa—were only too ready to give him passage. From Genoa also sailed a squadron accompanying the French fleet, and attacked the Neapolitan ships which had occupied Rapallo. There a rude shock was felt by Italians at the amount of blood spilt in this first engagement. By Asti, Pavia, Piacenza, and Sarzana came the King, whose meeting with Piero di Medici occurred at this last Florentine town. A second embassy under Savonarola reached the King at Pisa, and besought him to deal mercifully and honourably with Florence. But, forgetful of the fact that he came as the ally and guest of the city, he proceeded to release Pisa from "her oppressive yoke." In the same spirit, with lances in rest as conquerors, the French entered Florence. The officers even chalked out the lodgings for their companies at will. The inhabitants gazed at what was for them a great military display. The King, conspicuous by his ugly face and his misshapen figure, arrayed in black velvet and cloth of gold, was surrounded by several Cardinals, including his minister Briçonnet and della Rovere, and by his bodyguard of bowmen. He graciously declined to allow the Signory to hold his bridle, as was their custom for Pope, Emperor, or King. Then followed knights on foot, the fierce-looking Swiss vanguard, Gascon light infantry, the chivalry of France—fine men on fine horses—and the Scottish archers, whose height attracted notice.

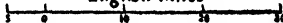
Charles was lodged in the Medici palace, which had been set in order after its sack at the hands of the mob on Piero's flight. He put forward unreasonable demands

NORTH & CENTRAL ITALY



R. V. Scarborough, Oxford, 1909

English Miles



for the restoration of Piero, and control of the city through his lieutenant.

Bold words followed to clothe the secret fear which each party had of the other. "Then we will sound our

trumpets," cried Charles, impatiently, and Capponi, the most independent Florentine in the city, tearing the insolent treaty in pieces, retorted with his famous "And we will ring our bells." The King lowered his demands, but Florence was obliged to leave in his hands the four fortresses and furnish him with a huge sum of money. The French then left for Rome. The Pope was filled with alarm at their approach; visions of a General Council, and the exposure of his many crimes, rose before his eyes, and he came to terms. He was obliged to abandon the Neapolitan alliance, dismiss Ferrantino, Alfonso's son, with his army, and admit the French. But in negotiation the Pope proved the better man of the two. He agreed to send his son, Cæsar Borgia, as a hostage, and to deliver to Charles, Djem, the brother of the Sultan. The affair of Djem, which was extremely discreditable to the Pope, is also important as bearing witness to Charles's intention of leading a Crusade. Djem was the gifted younger brother of the Sultan Bajazet, son of the great Mahomet. To his schemes of dividing the Turkish dominions with Bajazet, the latter had objected that the Empire was the bride of one lord. Djem, defeated in battle, took refuge with the Knights of Rhodes, who were paid by Bajazet for keeping him, but they presently sent him under guard to France as being at a safe distance from Turkey. From being a guest, with a safe conduct for his departure from Rhodes, Djem had become a prisoner. Innocent VIII. arranged with the Knights to hand Djem over, thinking he might be used with advantage against the Sultan once the Crusade was under way. It was, however, the policy of Alexander VI. to enlist the Sultan's help against the coming French invasion; and part of

The Affair
of Prince
Djem

Bajazet's correspondence with him was, unfortunately for the Pope, seized and opened by the French. It contained an offer from the Sultan of 300,000 ducats, "wherewith your Highness may buy some dominions for your children," in return for the Pope's compassing Djem's death. Charles VIII. was as anxious as Innocent VIII. had been to secure Djem for his Crusade, and the Prince, as has been seen, was delivered to him by Alexander. But when they reached Naples Djem died—it was thought from some form of slow poisoning. The Pope has always been suspected of the crime, and appearances are certainly against him. Meanwhile, it was disturbing to find that the hostage, Cæsar Borgia, had escaped at the first opportunity.

Charles's steady advance on Naples drove the craven Alfonso into flight: though Ferrantino prepared to stand his ground, his troops showed no pluck, and Trivulzio, a Milanese in his pay, of whom Ludovico had said, "a halter awaits him when caught," made terms with the French. Ferrantino, truly declaring that the sins of the fathers were being visited on the children, followed Alfonso to Sicily. In less than a month all Naples, save a few forts, was in French hands.

The success of Charles's expedition has something of the glamour of a fairy tale: it was made possible by the miserable divisions in Italy, and the panic of the Italians on being brought face to face for the first time with the grim realities of war. For instance, the deadly nature of the French artillery, which fired iron and not stone, was a revelation to them.

But the loss of Naples was no less rapid than its conquest. The French made every kind of mistake when it came to political dealings with the people. The

Charles
in Naples
Flight of
Alfonso
and Fer-
rantino

1495,
The French
Conquest
of Naples

Italian states began to consult together at last in their own defence. A league was formed at Venice between the Republic, the Pope, Spain, Milan, and the Emperor, for protection against aggressive powers in Italy. Seizing the pretext of an attack by Orleans on Novara, they declared war. Charles, after lingering at Naples, at last turned north, leaving Montpensier as viceroy. Italy, glad to see the last of him, offered no resistance till he reached the river Taro in the Milanese, where the Marquis of Mantua, in command of the army of the League, awaited him. The allies lay on the opposite bank of the river, which was swollen by a thunderstorm. The French rear was attacked by them after the army had crossed; the artillery hardly came into action at all; and more than half the allies never fought. Ludovico, who was still "hedging" between Venice and France, forbade his troops to act vigorously. The French marched away without further hindrance, and the allies left some 4000 dead on the field. The battle of Fornovo may be regarded as a French victory, though a useless one.

The departure of Charles was followed by a general revolt in Naples. Ferrantino returned with troops lent by Spain under the great Captain Gonsalvo di Cordova, and a fleet lent by Venice in return for her possession of the much coveted Apulian ports. Fever carried off Montpensier and other French officials. One stronghold after another fell into Ferrantino's hands, and though he died before the war was over, his uncle Federigo succeeded to a recovered kingdom.

Results of
the French
invasion

The results of Charles's invasion may here be summed up. Nothing whatever was left to him in Naples. Yet his expedition had one lasting effect: it had introduced Italy to the northern nations, and the wealth, beauty,

and possibilities of this almost unknown land made a deep impression on their minds. For some sixty-five years Italy was to be the prey of the nations beyond the Alps. For the rest: Florence, the only cordial ally of France, came off worst, for she did not regain the promised fortresses, and Pisa recovered her independence. Venice was the richer by the six Apulian ports. The war left Milan, for the time being, as it found her.

For several years Charles amused himself in France with schemes for restoring French influence in Italy, but in 1498 these were cut short by an accident. The King struck his head against a door-post in his fine new tennis-court at Amboise, and died immediately from the effects. As none of his children had survived their infancy, the Duke of Orleans, his sister Jeanne's husband, succeeded him as Louis XII.

Death of
Charles
VIII., 1498

We must now return to Florence, where events of the first importance had been taking place since the downfall of the Medici. In this crisis of her fate the city turned to the man who had long foreseen what should come to pass, confidently expecting that now his prophecy had been fulfilled, he would tell them how to act. Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican friar from Ferrara, had come to St Mark's convent in Florence in 1481, and had made himself famous by the remarkable series of sermons he preached in the Cathedral. He foretold that a sword should come upon the earth to reform the Church, and that without delay. He applied his intimate knowledge of the Bible to everyday problems. Though ceremonies and formal repetitions had no charm for him, he never in any sense departed from the fold of the Church. His creed was the simplest and most direct; yet he was the only preacher who could keep the

Savonarola
in Florence

attention of the critical and fickle Florentine public year after year without falling in their estimation. His fiery natural eloquence was suited to subjects generally chosen from the Prophetic Books or from the Revelation ; and his sermons were largely political. He was no respecter of persons. His portrait of the Italian tyrant of the day was so true to life that each guilty ruler recognised in it himself. To Lorenzo on his death-bed, to Charles VIII. and Pope Alexander VI., his attitude was equally bold and unswerving.

In 1492 the Convent of St Mark had become independent of all authority save that of the Pope and the Head of the Dominican Order. As its Prior, Savonarola was therefore given almost a free hand, and he proceeded to reform the convent, and develop its activities. But in the next year, with the sudden onset of the French, Savonarola became the chief political power in Florence. First he used all his influence to keep order in the city. Then he set to work on the new constitution which had to be framed in place of the government of the Medici upon their fall. It was not original ; nor did the Friar always suggest the borrowed ideas, but his hand seems mainly to have shaped them. The Councils representing the Guilds were abolished, and, in imitation of Venice, a permanent Grand Council was formed of all citizens aged 29 who had paid taxes and whose families for three generations had been drawn for the three chief offices. About 3500 citizens fulfilled these conditions—that is, about one-twenty-fifth of the population. Their duties were to pass laws, hear appeals, control the elections to magistracies by lot, and choose a Senate of eighty, holding office for six months, to advise the Signory who, with the Priors and Gonfalonieri, remained part of

the scheme. (In 1502, however, the latter was chosen for life.) The Ten of War also continued to control foreign affairs. All bills were originated in the Signory, but to become law must pass through the Senate and be sanctioned by the Grand Council.

As only one-twenty-fifth of the inhabitants sat in the Grand Council, it will be seen that Florence had not become a democracy. We should call it an upper middle class government, yet in comparison with the personal rule of the Medici it seemed almost democratic. The Parliament, or mass meeting, was abolished. In this and in some general features of the new government Savonarola's influence may be traced more clearly than in its institutions. The law of appeal in political offences from the Signory to the Grand Council was certainly passed with his support, as was also an enquiry into the robbery of public money. Again, he tried to rouse public feeling in favour of the reforms—all must do their part to ensure success. He saw that a people so long corrupted by a tyrant's rule could not be fit for self-government. He therefore aimed at founding his reformed government upon a moral reform of the population. The Friar's personal influence had often worked wonders upon frivolous young men: it found new scope in leading a Puritan movement in Florence. At the "Burning of the Vanities" (great public bonfires) a clearance was made of many articles of luxury or fashion—false hair, cards, charms, masks, scents, undesirable books and pictures. Even the street boys of Florence, who were hitherto terrible hooligans, were enlisted in the cause to collect alms in organised bands. Noisy festivities and processions were suppressed. An extraordinary change came over the outward life of the city,

which must be admitted in many cases, at least, to have been the visible sign of real inward change.

Political
Parties in
Florence

In becoming a politician, however, the Friar became the leader of a party, and speedily party divisions, always rife in Florence, became fierce. His own party, the Piagnoni (weepers), were by degrees opposed by the Bigi (the Greys, so called because, working for the Medici restoration at first without much vigour, they were neither white nor black); and the Arrabiati (enraged), who hated Puritanism, and, though not desiring Piero's return, eventually came round to supporting the younger branch of his house. Of this faction the Compagnacci were an offshoot, consisting of the dandies of the city. They both regarded the Piagnoni as Little Italians, on account of their leaning towards France: they themselves were in league with Milan, and their motto might have been "Italy for the Italians." The foreign policy of the Piagnoni made them unpopular with other Italian states, while outside Florence we must add to the Friar's opponents Pope Alexander VI., whose life he continued freely to denounce. In spite of the Papal prohibition in 1495, in the following Lent the Signory encouraged the Friar to continue his sermons. The Pope then tried the bribe of a cardinal's hat. "Come to my next sermon," replied Savonarola to the envoy, "and you shall hear my reply." It was a yet fiercer attack on the sins of the Church, and a forecast of great troubles still to come upon Italy. Savonarola's boundless energy as preacher and ruler reached its height in the Carnival of 1497: from that time there were signs that his power was on the wane. Hitherto the Piagnoni had been politically in the ascendant: the election of the Medicean Bernardo del Nero, as Gon-

falonier, showed the beginning of a change, which was confirmed by an attempt of Piero upon Florence, and by a tumult raised by the Compagnacci in the cathedral where Savonarola was preaching on Ascension Day. ^{The Medici Plot}

The Pope took advantage of the opportunity to excommunicate Savonarola for disobedience and heresy; the Signory pleaded for the withdrawal of the brief, and in the meantime stopped Savonarola from preaching, so that the excitement in Florence subsided. The new Signory was even favourable to the Friar, and the sudden discovery that five leading citizens had been concerned in the late Medici plot stirred Florence to its depths. The five, including Bernardo del Nero, were condemned to death, and so strong was popular feeling against them that they were refused the right of appeal to the Great Council, and were executed. ^{Execution of the Medicean Leaders} Though Savonarola himself seems to have taken no direct part in the matter, it would have been quite safe to allow the appeal, so strongly was the Piagnoni majority supported by the feeling of the city. The refusal no doubt injured him. From this time the Friar never recovered his position. Alexander, fearful of Savonarola's constant appeals to France and their probable result—a General Council—and mindful of the fact that a French invasion could be barred merely by the union of Florence and Ferrara, now resolved upon the Friar's ruin. He threatened the city with an interdict if it continued to defend Savonarola. The latter appealed against the Pope to the kings of Europe, but the letters never reached their destination, and one of them was intercepted and carried to Rome. If any other proof of the Friar's audacity were needed, it was now in the Pope's hands. In Florence itself his old rivals the Franciscans were

The
Ordeal by
Fire

clamouring for some sign of his prophetic gift. Many waverers in the city awaited this test to confirm their belief in him ; that it should take the form of the Ordeal by Fire was suggested by past events in Florentine history. The challenge of the Franciscans was accepted by Fra Domenico, a faithful disciple of the Friar. A huge pile of wood, gunpowder, and oil was laid in the Piazza, and thither thronged all Florence, eager for a spectacle. The monk who could walk unscathed in the narrow path through the lighted pile would, by the divine judgment, have proved his innocence. Amid the suspense of the waiting crowds, the Franciscans began to object, first to Fra Domenico's robes, then to his carrying the Sacrament through the fire. Hours passed in dispute, a furious thunderstorm swept the Piazza, night was falling, and the Signory announced that the Ordeal was postponed. Wet and hungry, and cheated of the expected sensation, the mob had to be thrust back from the friars by the guard ; next day, led by the Compagnacci, it attacked St Mark's. The monks and the Piagnoni defended it valiantly—the leader of the party, Francesco Valori, fell among the slain outside. The Signory interfered to restore order, and Savonarola and his two chief followers, Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro, were arrested. It was decided that the Pope should send a Commission to try them for offences against the Church, and that the city should deal with their offences against herself. Under torture Savonarola is said to have confessed that his prophetic visions were false, but that the evidence is unreliable is certain. He never, however, denied his mission to reform the Church and to give Florence free government. Though nothing worse than ambition could be proved against him, the Arrabiati and the Pope were

bent on his destruction. Two hundred Piagnoni were forcibly excluded from the Grand Council, and a Signory of Arrabiati was returned—but none dared to protest. The Pope granted to the city a tax of three-tenths on Church revenues, “for which,” said one of the Piagnoni, “they have sold our master.” The three friars, found guilty of heresy, schism, and treason to the state, were sentenced to be hanged from the gibbet and their dead bodies consumed by fire. On May 23rd, 1498, the end came. “What have I done to thee, O Florence?” murmured Savonarola as he gazed his last at the silent crowd beneath him.

Death of
Savona-
rola, May
23, 1498

Neither his party nor his influence died with him. The former became all-powerful once more. His constitution, except during the period of the Medici restoration, lasted till the overthrow of the Florentine Republic.

But it is not chiefly as a politician that Savonarola appeals to succeeding ages. He belongs, in more senses than one, to those who see visions and dream dreams. We cannot explain his prophetic, strangely-fulfilled utterances, except by believing that to the spiritually-minded of all ages has undoubtedly been given some insight into the unseen which is beyond common experience. We are no longer puzzled to decide, as were some of his contemporaries, whether or not he was a good man. His place is among those who are given a power, beyond their fellows, to love righteousness and hate iniquity. It was this force in him that called forth the devotion of his followers; that attracted to him men of the world and level-headed politicians; that has for ever enshrined his memory in the city that he loved.

Savona-
rola's
Work

At the crisis of Savonarola's fate had died Charles VIII., whose interference might possibly have averted it.

Louis XII. 1498-1512. The new King Louis XII. was generous and tolerant; but the credit for his useful and popular domestic government, which won him the title of "Father of his People," rather belongs to his minister, Cardinal Amboise. Louis gained the clergy by yielding to them the right of free elections, and the nobles by relaxing the tight hold kept upon them by the last kings—granting them, for instance, certain royal rights of the chase. He proved the truth of his saying, that "it would ill become the king to avenge the wrongs of the duke," by showing Suzanne, the only child of Anne of Bourbon, a special favour. Anne, as Regent, had imprisoned Louis for opposing her government; but the King allowed her daughter to succeed to the Bourbon estates, which were due on the failure of an heir to fall to the Crown. Louis also made himself popular with the middle classes by granting a share in patronage to the Parliaments, by keeping an economical Court and strict accounts, and by the frank geniality of his manners. Taxation was light; the taille, or perpetual tax on land and income, which fell only on the middle and lower classes and had been steadily increased, was reduced almost to its original rate. The development of trade, thanks to the wise measures of Charles VII. and Louis XI., added to the general contentment of the country. Peace was maintained within the kingdom without effort—the first reign of which this could be said since the accession of the Valois.

Nevertheless the continuance by Louis XII. of Charles VIII.'s disastrous Italian policy cannot be justified. It added to the woes of Italy and wasted the resources of France. It was made possible by persuading Venice to desert the League in return for the possession of Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, by bribing Florence with troops to

assist in recovering Pisa, still in revolt, and by a discreditable bargain with Alexander VI., whom Louis won over from the League—the same Pope, be it remembered, who, to gain Florence for the same League, had contrived Savonarola's fall. Alexander declared Louis divorced from his first wife, Jeanne of France, in order that he might marry Charles VIII.'s widow, Anne of Brittany; he also raised Amboise to the rank of Cardinal of Rouen. The Pope fitted his side of the bargain to the needs of his new policy. He was bent on making his son Cæsar Borgia Duke of Romagna, a district long (in theory) the property of the Holy See, but always held by a number of petty Romagnan princes. The opportunity had come because Florentine protection of the district had ended with the Medici rule, and Venice was occupied with the Turks. Cæsar, who had already been deprived of his rank as Cardinal, is believed to have made away with his elder brother in preparation for his new career. Louis consented to give him the French title of Duke of Valentinois, and the hand of his niece, Charlotte d'Albret, in marriage. Other members of the Pope's family became pawns in the game. His daughter, the placid, fair-haired Lucrezia, had been married to a son of Alfonso of Naples. The Neapolitan alliance was no longer important, while that of Ferrara, which secured Romagna on its northern side, now became so. By Cæsar Borgia's contrivance, Lucrezia's husband was murdered, and at the age of twenty-one she found a fourth husband provided for her in Alfonso d'Este, son of the Duke of Ferrara.

The Borgia
Family

Cæsar proceeded to conquer Romagna—"it was devoured piecemeal by the dragon." The French invasion of Milan had just taken place, and Imola, Forli, and

Career of
Cæsar
Borgia

Pesaro, all Sforza lordships, were his first prey. The Malatesta were driven from Rimini, the Manfredi from Faenza. By 1501 Cæsar was Duke of Romagna—"that land," which Dante had said, "never is, and never shall be, without war." Apart from its cruel and ruthless conquest, the fate of Romagna is not to be regretted. Its sixteen petty lordships were always at strife: it had supplied Italy with a long line of brutal condottieri; Cæsar in overcoming it had succeeded in an attempt which had been vainly made by Ladislaus of Naples, the Visconti, the Sforza, and several Popes.

Cæsar now turned his mind to more ambitious plans. The Pope supplied him with plenty of money, and he was able to secure the services of the best condottieri. France and Spain, as will be seen, had begun to quarrel over their prey, and "Cæsar was the vulture in their train." He advanced into Florentine territory, fixing his attention upon certain surrounding strongholds, and arousing the deepest suspicion in the city. But his expulsion of the good Duke Guidobaldo from Urbino opened the eyes of France, and Louis made Cæsar understand that he must keep his hands off Florence.

Pisa, however, offered to make him her lord, and he was about to attack Bologna, when a serious conspiracy broke out at Sinigaglia among his discontented condottieri, including several of the Orsini.

Aided by help from France, Cæsar used the wisdom of the serpent in beguiling the rebellious captains to their doom, while the Pope completed the downfall of the Orsini family at Rome. Cæsar then resumed his plans for becoming King of Tuscany—or even of Italy—with the help of Spain; for it was becoming apparent to the Borgias that, in the duel with Spain, France was

losing ground. He also hoped, by increasing the number of Spanish cardinals, to control the next papal election, in the event of Alexander's death. But he could not foresee what actually happened. After a banquet, given by the Borgias to some rich cardinals, the Pope and Cæsar fell violently ill; and the Pope died, with every appearance of having been poisoned. It was said that a cup prepared for the guest of the evening had found its way into the wrong hands—and no attempts to prove that the summer heat and the insanitary state of Rome might have produced fever and apoplexy have ever seemed really convincing. So died Alexander VI., of whose pontificate it was said, that "Rome in his day was a cave of robbers and assassins;" a man without religion or honour, stained with the worst vices, and infinitely ambitious—"the wickedest and luckiest of the Popes for centuries past." Lucky the Pope would certainly have admitted himself to be; he was devoted to his family, for whom, in fact, he sacrificed worldly goods and his immortal reputation. Despite his vices, he had many human qualities, and he shared to the full the Italian joy of living.

Sudden
Death of
Alexander
VI., 1503

At the all-important crisis of the papal election Cæsar was paralysed by illness. The Cardinal of Rouen was successfully opposed, but the Borgia party was unable to prevent the choice of Pius III., a nephew of Pius II. When a second opportunity occurred on the Pope's death, a month later, Cæsar, somewhat strangely, allowed himself to be bought over by the enemy of his house, Cardinal della Rovere, who was duly elected as Julius II.

Election of
Julius II.
(1503-1513)
destroys
Cæsar's
Chances

Meanwhile Romagna was recovering its independence — not rapidly, for its duke had humbled the

strong and protected the weak, and his government, though harsh, "had been so just and upright that he was greatly loved there." Julius II. became the real heir to his conquests, but allowed Cæsar to go free. He was, however, sent as a prisoner to Spain, and, having escaped to Navarre, he was run through in a petty fight with a rebel subject of his brother-in-law.

The career of Cæsar has been given in some detail because it has a twofold importance in history. Of all Italian adventurers, he came nearest to uniting Italy into one kingdom; no other was equally conspicuous for craft, brains, and treachery; no other was so favoured by fortune. So it came about that Cæsar, the most "resplendent rogue" of history, is held up to the admiration of all who would learn how to gain and govern states, as the hero of Machiavelli's wonderful study of "The Prince."

First
French
Conquest
of Milan,
1499

Meanwhile the French invasion of Milan was being accomplished by a brilliant army under Trivulzio, who had formerly been in the pay of Naples. Ludovico relied on the services of the San Severini brothers; but Galeazzo, who was defending Alexandria, lost heart and fled, and a few days later Ludovico himself, with his valuables, escaped from Milan into Tyrol. Two-thirds of his duchy, west of the Adda, was seized by the French, the remaining third, east of the river, by the Venetians. But Trivulzio turned out an unsatisfactory governor; and Ludovico soon felt encouraged to try, with the help of Maximilian and the Southern Swiss cantons, to join Galeazzo San Severino, and regain his duchy. The Swiss of the other cantons, in the pay of France, found themselves face to face with their countrymen at Novara. Knowing that their employer was

short of money, those on Ludovico's side declined to fight. In the retreat the Duke himself was captured, and sent to Loches, in Touraine, where he died a prisoner, in 1508. The French army entered the city of Milan, and the Cardinal of Rouen arrived to take Trivulzio's former place as governor. For the next three years French influence was supreme in Italy.

Second
French
Conquest
of Milan

From the conquest of Milan Louis turned to Naples, in which, however, France was no longer the only interested foreign power. Federigo had been restored by the help of his kinsman Ferdinand of Spain; and by a great error of judgment, Louis decided to take Ferdinand into partnership in his attack on Naples. In the hypocritical pretence of uniting against the Turk (with whom Federigo in his sorest need, in 1494, had been for a short time allied) the kings of France and Spain agreed, in the Treaty of Granada, 1500, to share Naples equally between them—Louis taking the Abruzzi and Lavoro, Ferdinand Calabria and Apulia. This arrangement was presently confirmed by the Pope.

Federigo, a gifted and capable ruler, retired, in the face of overwhelming odds, to France, where he was considerately treated. His young son, Ferrante, lived out a long life of exile in Spain.

Soon, however, the robber-kings fell to quarrelling over the division of their spoil. The central districts of Naples, the Basilicata, Capitanata, and the Principati had not been definitely given to either, and they could not settle their claims peaceably. War broke out between them in 1502—a war made memorable by the deeds of a goodly company of famous knights, among whom the French Bayard and the Spaniard Gonsalvo di Cordova are the most renowned.

War in
Naples
between
France and
Spain,
1502-1504

At first Spain had difficulty in holding her own against the superior quantity and quality of the French troops; but time and fortune were on her side. The French were not quick to make the most of their advantages to begin with, and two important changes in the situation were favourable to Spain. In the first place, Louis was induced by the Treaty of Lyons (conferring Naples as a dowry upon two infants, Ferdinand's grandson Charles and his own daughter Claude) to withdraw the reinforcements which were in the act of joining his army in Naples. Secondly, the Spaniards gained command of the sea, which cut off French supplies. These two facts encouraged Spain to take the offensive in the war, with the result that the two important victories of Seminara and Cerignola made them masters respectively of Calabria and Apulia. The French retired to Gaeta; and it was soon found that no fortress could hold out long against the skill of the famous Spanish engineer Pedro Navarra. In three weeks the French resistance would have been at an end, had not Louis sent a new army to Naples. It was, however, detained at Rome by Amboise, to add weight to his chances in the papal election. Again, therefore, the slowness of the French hampered their cause; and they suffered even more than the Spanish army from lying long in a damp and cold position. They were hemmed in between Gaeta, their last foothold, and the River Garigliano, across which their way south was barred by Gonsalvo di Cordova. At last, just after Christmas, Gonsalvo himself crossed the river above the French position, and fell upon their army unexpectedly. The French discipline had been weak for some time—the Battle of the Garigliano was a mere rout. The French fled towards Gaeta, pursued by the

victorious enemy. Among the fugitives trying to escape by boat was Piero di Medici, who was upset and drowned. On New Year's Day, 1504, the French surrendered what territory was still left to them; and in the next year Louis made a wedding present of his rights over Naples to his niece, Germaine de Foix, on her marriage with Ferdinand.

The
Collapse
of the
French
Power
in Naples
1504

The sudden reverse of fortune in the war is not difficult to explain. The Spaniards were always at an advantage in possessing Sicily as a base of supplies; and in Gonsalvo they had a matchless leader, equally at home in the arts of the Court and the arts of war. The Great Captain is the most splendid type of the Spanish soldier who thenceforth, for nearly a century and a half, was to teach the laws of war to Europe. But he served a jealous master; his invariable success roused Ferdinand's suspicions, and four years after his conquest of Naples he was dismissed from public life. The kingdom of Naples, his conquest, remained part of the Spanish monarchy until the division of the latter by the Treaty of Utrecht.

On the downfall of Cæsar Borgia, Venice had intended to become his heir in Romagna; and, having succeeded in gaining everything but Imola and Forli, was prepared to offer the Pope tribute. Julius II., however, as we have seen, was not only determined to recover all Romagna for the Holy See, but also to make the states of the Church the strong central power in Italy, holding the balance between France in the north and Spain in the south. As Venice was now the only Italian state able to dispute the Pope's intentions, Julius decided upon the ruin of Venice. This was, unfortunately, only too easy to accomplish, for the Republic had many enemies.

European
League
against
Venice
formed at
Cambrai,
1508

Spain and France had become reconciled at the time of the marriage of Ferdinand with Germaine de Foix, and both Powers coveted Venetian territory—Spain wanted the Neapolitan ports to complete her conquest, and France Eastern Milan. The Emperor had claims on Padua, Verona, and Friuli, while the Pope desired Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna. Thus came into being the disgraceful compact known as the League of Cambray, whose members were nothing more than brigands of unusual eminence. Venice made ready to face her foes: hired the cautious Pitigliano and the fiery Alviano, and finding it difficult, as always, to raise troops, only attempted to defend Romagna, bar Maximilian's advance, and hold the Neapolitan ports with small garrisons, trusting to their natural strength. So the war broke out, a war whose consequences were to last for ten years,

Second
Italian
War,
1509-1519

France was first in the field, Louis XII. having had occasion to send troops in 1507 to punish a riot in Genoa. The French army encountered the Venetians on the Republic's frontier, and a battle was fought at Agnadello, or Vaila. It was a struggle between the Venetian rear under Alviano and the French vanguard. Pitigliano, in command of the Venetian van, for some reason never engaged his forces at all. The rain damped the powder, and a large part of the artillery fell into the enemy's hands. But the struggle was hot, ending in the capture of Alviano and the complete rout of his army.

Fall of the
Venetian
Republic

This defeat was the signal for the temporary break-up of the Venetian dominion. Cremona, Crema, and Bergamo were at once seized by the French, and the other greedy powers swooped upon their coveted prey. As Venice could no longer defend her subject cities, it was decided to release them from their allegiance; but a

brief experience of other masters soon made them appreciate the blessing of Venetian rule. Before long Padua was recovered from Maximilian, and an attempt on his part to reduce the city completely failed. He revenged himself by ravaging Friuli for more than a year, setting the inhabitants hopelessly against him. Meanwhile the Pope's views were changing. He had recovered Romagna for the Church, and had humbled Venice. As an Italian patriot he had no desire to see Italy overrun by the foreigner again. He therefore not only came to terms with Venice, but challenged the French, the most successful of the crew of bandits, by attacking the Duke of Ferrara, who had gone over from the League to their side. The capture of Ferrara proved a task beyond the Pope's powers; yet, in spite of old age and illness, his indomitable spirit carried him successfully at the head of his army through a bitter winter campaign against Mirandola. In the spring, however, the French retook Bologna, the earliest of the Pope's conquests, and the tide seemed to have turned in their favour until they took the ill-advised step of summoning a General Council at Pisa to depose the Pope. With this plan Europe, dreading a renewal of the schism, was not in sympathy, and the Pope triumphantly concluded the Holy League with Spain, England, Venice, and the Swiss to drive the French out of Italy. The French governor of Milan, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, closely related to both parties as the brother-in-law of Ferdinand and the nephew of Louis, was in command of the French army. The "wonderful lad," as a contemporary calls him—for he was only twenty-three—flashed through a brief three months' campaign with meteoric speed and splendour. Confronting a double foe—the Spaniards before Bologna

The Holy
League,
1511

and the Venetians within Brescia—he raised the siege of the first, and, after a march of extraordinary rapidity, stormed and sacked the second within the fortnight. Turning south, he drove the enemy from the neighbourhood of Bologna, and made ready to march on Rome and capture the Pope. The Spaniards lay at Ravenna, and Gaston, throwing a bridge of boats across the river in the night, determined to force them to battle before Maximilian and the Swiss could come into the field. Easter Sunday dawned blood-red, a sign, it was foretold, that one of the leaders must fall. Gaston trained the famous artillery of Ferrara on Cardona's position, which was defended by ditches, waggons mounted with scythes, and heavy guns. For three hours the cannonade lasted; then the opposing cavalry and infantry hurled themselves upon each other, and the furious onset of the French horse dislodged the troops of the League from their entrenched position and decided the day. Cardona fled; Pescara, Pedro Navarra, and the future Pope Leo X. were among the fine haul of prisoners taken by the French. It was a battle of picturesque contrasts: knights in armour; infantry fighting behind crossed spears; Gaston in coat of mail, with his lady's colours on his arm, directing the bloodiest battle yet fought in Italy, and wresting a victory by means of the most up-to-date artillery. The day was already won when, catching sight of a retreating band of Spaniards, he dashed with a handful of followers into their midst. He was unhorsed, and fought desperately on foot. "Spare him," shouted Lautrec to the unheeding Spaniards, "he is the brother of your queen." With fourteen wounds in front, Gaston fell. "I had rather have lost the battle," lamented Louis XII. when

the news reached him; and in truth the death of the brilliant young leader meant the loss, not indeed of the battle, but of the campaign. It was soon found that the Spaniards had no cause to summon the Great Captain from his retirement, for La Palice, who succeeded Gaston by seniority, had not Gaston's hold upon his troops. Besides, Maximilian, in the hope of winning Milan, chose this moment for deserting the League; while the Swiss, who had done Louis yeoman service in the past, now had fallen under the influence of the Bishop of Sion, the sworn foe of France. Only two months after the Battle of Ravenna the French army crossed the Mt. Cenis, leaving everything but a few castles in the enemy's hands. Machiavelli severely sums up the causes of this collapse as follows: "Louis increased the power of the Church, invited the Spaniards into Italy, and ruined Venice, his best friend."

Second
Downfall
of the
French in
Italy, 1512

The members of the League divided the spoil, of which the Pope secured the chief part. They then took in hand Florentine affairs, and demanded the retirement of the Life-Gonfalonier, Soderini, and the restoration of the Medici. The reluctance of the citizens to depose Soderini brought upon them the brutal sack, by the Spaniards, of Prato, a subject town a few miles away. Accordingly the Medici—that is, Piero's son Lorenzo, with his uncles—returned once more to Florence, and swept away all the changes that had taken place in the government since the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Among those who were driven from office was Machiavelli, who occupied himself in writing "The Prince" and other works.

Restora-
tion of the
Medici in
Florence,
1512

By a curious coincidence the Sforza family were restored at the same time to Milan by the Swiss, who

Restoration of the Sforza in Milan, 1512

carved out a fine reward for themselves in what are now the Italian cantons. Maximilian Sforza, Ludovico's son, reigned in his father's place, but as little more than a vassal of the Swiss, who, it was said, "came as deliverers and remained as masters," after repulsing a French attempt to rescue Milan in the furious Battle of Novara, 1513. Other members of the League were active elsewhere. Henry VIII. of England, anxious to make an impression upon Europe, carried out an invasion of Northern France at the moment when Ferdinand was lured from invading the south, by the chance of conquering Navarre. The Scots, the inveterate allies of the French, chose the opportunity to attack England, and suffered the great disaster of Flodden, just after Henry had driven the French from Guinegâte, in the Battle of the Spurs. However, before long, Henry and his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, convinced of the greed and worthlessness of their allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, came to terms independently with the French. Henry's young sister Mary, much against her will, became the third wife of Louis XII. But, through keeping late hours, and sharing in the unwonted gaiety of the Court, the elderly bridegroom overtaxed his strength, and died three months after the wedding, leaving his kingdom to his hot-headed and ambitious cousin and son-in-law, Francis of Angoulême, aged twenty. The new King was bent on losing no time in enforcing his claims (as a descendant of Valentina Visconti) upon Milan; and, at the time of his accession, the champion and originator of the Holy League had already passed away. Julius II. died in 1513, having secured for the Papal States (thereby earning the title of their founder) the Campagna, the March of Ancona, Urbino, Romagna, Modena,

Accession of Francis I., 1515-1547

Parma, and Piacenza. In the leisure of his strenuous old age the Pope gained another title to fame, as the patron of Bramante, Michelangelo, and Raphael; and, with masterly insight, Raphael presents him to us in one of his finest portraits. In his scheme to rid Italy of the foreigner, the Pope had, however, signally failed, as the invasion of Italy by Francis I. was soon to prove beyond a doubt.

The election of the successor of Julius astonished everyone; for the choice fell upon Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, who was not yet forty. To have shared in the changing fortunes of his family seemed to him enough excitement for a lifetime, and he was prepared to settle down, as Leo X., to an uneventful reign in Rome. "Since God has given us the Papacy," he is reported to have said, "let us enjoy it." Circumstances demanded, however, that he should at once declare himself for or against the coming French invasion, and, to save unpleasantness, he joined the French, and the League against them, in turn. To avoid the Swiss, Francis crossed the Alps in 1515 by the difficult pass of the Col d'Argentière, leading the largest army that France had yet sent to Italy. As Swiss infantry were no longer available, their place was supplied by Germans, and forces raised by Pedro Navarra, who had been driven into the arms of the French by Ferdinand's mean refusal to ransom him after the Battle of Ravenna. Maximilian Sforza's defenders, the Swiss, were unfortunately divided against themselves; one party, led by Berne and Fribourg, being ready to retire, while the men of the Forest cantons were lured to battle by the prospect of booty. Finally, preceded by the Cardinal of Sion, and dragging with them some small

Leo X.,
Pope,
1513-1521

Francis I.
sets out to
reconquer
Milan, 1515

pieces of artillery, the whole body of the Swiss marched out of Milan to encounter the French army, encamped near Marignano on ground that was intersected by ditches and small canals. Francis lined with his German Landsknechts the causeway by which the Swiss must approach, and stationed Navarra with the big guns in a strong position close by. The Swiss, hoping to carry the day by furious charges of the kind which have played so large a part in our own Highland warfare, hurled themselves upon their sworn foes the Landsknechts. The situation was saved by the King in person, who led a brilliant cavalry charge to rescue his guns from falling into the hands of the Swiss. They fought on confusedly till the setting of the moon, about eleven o'clock, plunged the field in darkness, when they lay down to rest where they stood. All night long, however, the French trumpets and the Swiss horns sounded, indicating re-formation of the troops, and at dawn the French appeared in a stronger position than before. In three divisions the Swiss advanced upon the French centre and wings; but they failed to dislodge the main body of the enemy. The cry of San Marco! announced the arrival of the Venetian vanguard under Alviano; and, being caught in the flank by the French artillery, the Swiss gave the signal for retreat, carrying with them their wounded, and leaving seven thousand dead upon the field. The defeat was a mortal blow to their military reputation; never again were they to play an independent and decisive part in European warfare. The causes of the sudden downfall of this hitherto invincible infantry are not far to seek. "Their only idea of fighting," said Machiavelli, "is to receive the enemy on their pike points." Their victories were in truth soldiers' battles,

Battle of
Marig-
nano, 1515

and their want of generalship and their prejudice, in the face of modern military methods, against the use of artillery, rendered even their valour of no avail.

The French losses at Marignano were also heavy. Trivulzio, whose eighteenth big engagement this was, pronounced it "a battle of giants, in comparison with which all the others were child's play." Francis had covered himself with glory, and on the scene of victory received the honour of knighthood from Bayard, the knight "without fear, without reproach." Milan opened its gates to the conqueror, and Maximilian Sforza, surrendering all his claims to Francis, retired contentedly into private life in France. Leo X. hastened to come to terms. Francis took the Florentine Republic under his protection, promising to support the Medici. The Pope gave up Parma and Piacenza to Milan, but skilfully dissuaded Francis from carrying out his intention of conquering Naples, a fief, it will be remembered, of the Holy See. The King and Pope, being made friends, proceeded to destroy the liberties which the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had confirmed to the French Church. Henceforth, by the Concordat of 1516, the King dispensed all the patronage of the Sees and monastic communities, while the Pope confirmed the royal appointments in return for the restoration of First Fruits to the Holy See. In every sense the French Church ceased to be the national guardian of liberties.

These proceedings of Francis in Italy had alarmed Ferdinand, who hoped to make his grandson and heir, Charles, a match for the French by bequeathing to him the entire Spanish monarchy. The young King upon 1516 his accession concluded the Treaty of Noyon with France. The French were to keep Milan, the Spaniards Naples.

Third
French
Conquest
of Milan
1515

General
European
Peace, 1518

Venice, the only ally of France, recovered Verona from the Emperor, who accepted the Treaty a little later. All the possessions of which the Republic had been robbed by the League of Cambray were now restored to her. The Swiss and the English also came to terms with France, the former concluding at Fribourg an everlasting peace, which actually outlived the French monarchy. The English surrendered their recent capture, Tournay. Thus the year 1518 saw general peace in Europe, and even a fantastic scheme of union between the Western powers against the Turk: it was at least to prove a welcome breathing-space between two long and weary periods of war.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

VILLARI: Life of Savonarola.

„ Machiavelli.

RANKE: Latin and Teutonic Nations.

A. H. JOHNSON: Europe in the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER VI

THE RIVALRY OF CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I.

THE general European peace of 1518 left Francis I. Causes of Rivalry between Charles V and Francis I. at the height of his fame. Success fired his ambition into disastrous rivalry with Charles, a rivalry which the character and position of each made almost inevitable. Francis was the elder—dashing, irresponsible, frivolous, and vain of his military reputation. Charles was as yet an inexperienced boy, but serious, persevering, and much more resolute than Francis to become the first sovereign in Europe in war and peace. And wherever their dominions lay their interests clashed. To the little kingdom of Navarre Francis was ready to assert the claims of his kinsman D'Albret, who, it will be remembered, had been driven out by Ferdinand the Catholic. In Italy the two kings disputed the right to both Milan and Naples. Charles already represented the Aragonese claims to Naples, and on his election to the Empire revived the Imperial claim to Milan; while Francis was heir to the House of Orleans in Milan and to the House of Anjou in Naples. Charles was actually in possession of Naples, and Francis of Milan; and each coveted the other's landmark.

It has been said that at first "the centre of gravity of Charles's policy was neither German, nor even Spanish, but Burgundian." He aimed, in fact, at recovering the Duchy of Burgundy and the Somme

Contest
for the
Imperial
Crown
Election of
Charles V.,
1519

towns which had been torn from the Duchess Mary, his grandmother, by Louis XI. On the other hand, Francis regarded Flanders and Artois as French fiefs, and Charles in return pretended to consider Provence and Dauphiné imperial fiefs. And, as if here were not enough cause for hostility, there was added the stimulus of the contest for the Imperial crown at Maximilian's death in 1519. The election was keenly contested by the two chief candidates, Charles and Francis, for Henry VIII. soon withdrew. In favour of Francis was his military reputation, pointing him out as the coming champion of Europe against the Turk; the support of the Pope and the Electors on the Rhine; and his position as leader of the independent states of Europe against those united under the Austro-Spanish House. But Charles was a German and a Habsburg, and his family had now worn the Imperial crown for eighty-one years in succession. The Elector Frederick of Saxony declared for him after declining the crown for himself, and the famous knight Franz von Sickingen, at the head of forces of the Swabian League, was prepared to draw the sword for Charles. Money was poured out like water on both sides, but eventually the contest was decided by German feeling in Charles' favour. On his election in June 1519 he took the title, not of the King of the Romans, but of Emperor Elect. The ceremony over, Charles and Francis both set themselves to secure Henry VIII. as an ally. Henry received the Emperor at Canterbury, paraded himself with Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and on his return journey met Charles again at Gravelines, when, no doubt, they came to an understanding. The Pope, who had been wavering between the rival attractions of Charles and Francis as allies,

decided that Charles had most to give, since he might restore Parma and Piacenza to the Holy See, expel the French from Milan, replace Francesco Sforza on the throne, and unite with the Pope in crushing the Reform movement under Luther in Germany. In 1522 war broke out between Charles and Francis. It was fated to last until 1559, and the first of its five periods ends in 1525 with the Battle of Pavia. The two opening campaigns in Navarre and the Netherlands were uneventful, except for the wound received by Ignatius Loyola at the Siege of Pampeluna, which was destined to become the turning-point in his career.

First War
between
Charles
and Fran-
cis, 1522-
1525

The real business of the war began, as usual, in Italy, where the combined papal and Imperial forces drove the French army under Lautrec out of Milan, repulsing an attempt on his part to regain it by a crushing defeat at Bicocca. Francesco Sforza was duly restored in the duchy, and the delight of Leo X. at recovering Parma and Piacenza was so unbounded that he is said to have died from joy. The only purpose of his life had been artistic, and he is chiefly to be remembered for his patronage of men of genius and learning, notably of Raphael. Easy-going towards himself and others, he was so blind to realities that the great religious crisis to which Germany was hastening scarcely even caused him uneasiness.

Death of
Leo X.,
1521
Election
of Adrian
VI.

The Conclave passed over Wolsey for Charles V.'s Flemish tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, who had proved himself unequal to his position as Regent of Spain. Austere, pious, earnest, and totally without artistic sympathies, he was the greatest contrast to his Medici predecessor. But Adrian VI. failed to satisfy one single section of the Roman community, and a placard posted

Clement
VII,
1523-1534

on his doctor's door at the time of the Pope's death in 1523 expressed the thanks of the Senate and people of Rome for their country's deliverance. Henry VIII. (on behalf of Wolsey) and Charles were keenly interested in the next election, but feeling was strongly against a foreigner ; and Giulio di Medici, whose father Giuliano had fallen in the Pazzi Conspiracy, was easily elected, with the title of Clement VII. Much was hoped from the new Pope : his life was respectable and his views moderate. His ecclesiastical career had been generally successful, and he was in sympathy with the artistic tastes of the time. Unfortunately, as Pope, he proved neither independent nor decided : he was swayed alternately by his two confidants, one of whom was attached to the Emperor's interests, the other to those of Francis. Such a policy was certain to end in treachery to one or other party, and, as will be seen, to expose the Pope to extreme humiliation and disaster.

The campaign in Italy, it will be remembered, opened badly for the French, and events in France also turned to the Emperor's advantage. Charles of Montpensier, the greatest subject of Francis, had been estranged from the Court by claims which the King and his mother Louise of Savoy asserted to his great inheritance. Louis XII. had allowed the Bourbon lands to pass to Suzanne of Bourbon when the male line had failed, and on her marriage with Charles of Montpensier her husband took the title of Duke of Bourbon. When, however, Suzanne died childless in 1521, Francis and Louise respectively asserted the royal rights and the claims of next-of-kin to the great Bourbon estates. Whereupon the Duke of Bourbon offered his services to the Emperor, and escaped into Burgundy. Francis was detained at home by this

misfortune; and the army led by Bonnivet into Italy was soon forced to retreat, under the conduct of Bayard, his second in command. At his post of danger, protecting the vanguard, Bayard was mortally wounded, though he succeeded in conveying his troops safely out of Italy.

Excited by their recent success, the Imperialists under Bourbon and Pescara invaded Provence and besieged Marseilles. The town, however, had been put into a good state of defence, and nothing was achieved. The Imperialists retreated into Italy with Francis hard upon their heels. The two armies reached Milan almost together, and the disheartened Imperial troops, feeling unequal to a pitched battle, after abandoning Milan itself, threw a garrison under de Leyva into Pavia. The position of things looked hopeful for Francis; but he made two bad blunders in refraining from a prompt attack on the disorganised enemy and in detaching part of his troops for service in Naples. He then turned aside and blockaded Pavia, and in January 1525 the Imperial army, having recovered itself, arrived to attack the besiegers. A third interested party was the Pope, who, convinced of the probable success of Francis, had thrown over his alliance with Charles for a secret understanding with France. The dawn of February 24th, 1525 (the Emperor's twenty-fifth birthday), broke clear and cold upon the Imperialist army breaching the park walls of Mirabello, once the scene of the light-hearted gaieties of the Milanese Court, and now occupied by the French entrenchments. The attempt of the Imperialists to file past the enemy, and to join hands with De Leyva and the garrison in Milan, was frustrated by the deadly fire of the French artillery, and the former were forced into a direct attack. From that moment the battle was so

Overthrow
of Francis
I. at the
Battle of
Pavia, 1525

fierce and so confused that accounts of it are difficult to reconcile. The shock of the French cavalry charge led by Francis was so overwhelming that the King cried out, "To-day I will call myself Duke of Milan!" But Pescara coolly re-formed his troops: the Landsknechts in French pay, who formed the right wing, were mown down by a merciless fire, and the centre met with a like fate from the deadly accuracy of the Spanish arquebusiers. The Swiss, surrounded on all sides, gave way and fled. Francis, supported by the flower of his chivalry, desperate with the resolution of men "who will not retreat nor surrender nor survive disaster," flung himself upon the enemy's cavalry and arquebusiers. Pescara was now in touch with de Leyva from Pavia, and he rallied his generals round him for a final effort. Amid the devastation of the royal bodyguard, the King's horse fell under him, and, angrily declining to surrender to Bourbon, Francis I. yielded his sword to the Viceroy of Naples. Ten thousand French soldiers lay dead upon the field: among them heroes of every fight upon Italian soil during a quarter of a century. "All is lost save life and honour," wrote Francis to his mother; and indeed the enthusiasm for their captive shown by the victorious soldiers is witness to the valour displayed by the King on that fatal day.

With great composure Charles received in Spain the news of this astonishing victory. It seemed as if Europe lay at his feet; yet its results were very far from fulfilling expectations. Henry VIII. urged Charles to join him in invading France, proposing that the Emperor should wed his daughter Mary and succeed to the French throne. Charles offended Henry by declining the offer, and Wolsey had already a grudge against

the Emperor for failing to secure him the Papacy at either of the last two elections. A French alliance was not generally popular in England; but to redress the European balance it had become necessary, though it was not definitely concluded until 1527.

Alliance
between
France and
England,
1527

Meanwhile Charles was irresolute as to the terms he should impose, and Francis was removed to Spain to await his pleasure. Captivity and loss of his accustomed exercise preyed upon Francis' health, until Charles suddenly realised that there was danger of his prisoner slipping through his fingers. News from Italy hastened his decision: fear of the Emperor's supremacy had driven the Pope and the leading states to support the French: the Imperialist army was clamouring for pay. From his best general, Pescara, sick unto death, came a last message urging Charles to make peace with France if he hoped to save Italy. The outcome of these considerations was the Treaty of Madrid, 1526.

1. Francis agreed to surrender Burgundy, his feudal rights over Flanders and Artois, and all Italian claims, and to abandon his late allies, notably D'Albret and the Duke of Gelderland.
2. The Duke of Bourbon was to recover his wife's inheritance.
3. Charles's sister Eleanor, the widowed Queen of Portugal, was to marry Francis.
4. The two little sons of Francis were to remain in Spain as hostages until the treaty should be fulfilled.

Francis swore upon the Gospels and on his knightly word to fulfil it; but in his own, and contemporary, opinion he was, as soon as free, absolved from his promise on the ground of compulsion. He at once declared against the treaty, and joined the League of Cognac with the Pope, Florence, Venice, and Sforza, to drive Charles from Italy. The second period of the Italian

Second
Period of
the War,
1525-1529

war consequently began; the League however showed itself lukewarm in waging it. The Imperialists captured the fortress of Milan and expelled Sforza. The arrival of 6000 Spanish troops and 8000 Germans, mostly Lutherans, under Freundsberg, a declared enemy of the Pope, fulfilled an unusually candid prophecy of the Emperor's before the Battle of Pavia. "I shall go to Italy to obtain my own and to take my revenge on those who may have wronged me—especially on that villain Pope. Who knows but that some day Luther may become a man of value?" It must not be supposed, however, that Charles foresaw what actually occurred. Yet while the Pope showed himself irritatingly irresolute, the German and Spanish troops were pressing with ever greater insistence for their arrears of pay. At Milan the two armies united, and were soon manifestly out of hand. They demanded to be led to Rome: in the heat of argument Freundsberg was seized with apoplexy, and Bourbon resigned himself to circumstances. The mutinous forces marched on Rome, and at the second assault the city was at their mercy. Bourbon was shot in the act of scaling the walls; and his death left his starving and utterly uncontrolled troops face to face with the undefended wealth and treasures of the Eternal City. The horrors of the eight-days' sack that followed exceeded all the outrages Rome had ever suffered from Gaul or Vandal. About 4000 people perished in the capture. "Cardinals," writes a witness, "bishops, friars, priests, old nuns, infants, ladies, pages, servants, the poorest of the poor, were tormented with unheard-of cruelties, often three times over, first by the Italians, then by the Spaniards, afterwards by the lance-knights." The Spanish soldiers showed themselves most brutal and

Sack of
Rome by
the Im-
perialists,
1527

cunning in hiding their plunder; the Germans were the most irreligious and prodigal of their booty; the Italians the most refined in their cruelty. Arrayed in vestments of silk and brocade, the mad soldiery robbed and feasted; stabling their beasts in the churches, tearing nuns from the shelter of their convents, holding the richest cardinals to ransom, and exacting payment by torture. It was nine months before the Prince of Orange, who had nominally succeeded Bourbon, dared to take up his command.

The Pope escaped, not a moment too soon, from the Vatican to the impregnable fortress of St Angelo: and, as all help from the League failed, he was obliged to come to terms with Charles. He was chiefly distressed by tidings from Florence of the expulsion of his family, and the restoration of the Republic.

Second
Expulsion
of the
Medici
from Flor-
ence, 1527

The news of the sack of Rome was received with universal horror in Europe. That the armies of the Catholic king should ruin and plunder the capital of Christendom caused a revulsion of feeling against Charles, which had practical results. Henry VIII. openly declared for France. Lautrec set out with a new French army to reconquer Milan, and was presently master of all the Duchy but the capital, still held by the dauntless de Leyva. Andrea Doria, the great Genoese admiral, who was, as it has been well said, "in himself almost a European power," joined France, and set up in Genoa the party favourable to her cause.

The war between Charles and Francis broke out again in 1528, the two rulers exchanging a challenge to single combat, which was not, however, followed up. The Imperialist position in Italy rapidly became alarming. Practically all that remained to Charles was the two

capitals—Milan, and its starving garrison, held by de Leyva, and Naples, held by Orange and blockaded by Doria's fleet and Lautrec's army. Charles was at his wits' end for succour; he had no money; and his brother Ferdinand, who had so often proved his right hand in difficulties, had been elected to the Hungarian throne on the downfall of the Jagellon family on the fatal field of Mohacz, in 1526. The new king was defending his throne against a formidable rival, John Zapolya; and his kingdom against the advance of Solyman the Magnificent, the conqueror of Mohacz Field.

Yet, as once before, light dawned for the Imperialists when all seemed darkest. Francis offended Doria, by haggling over money matters, and by encouraging, at Genoa's expense, the commercial aspirations of Savona, a neighbouring port. The admiral offered his services to Charles at the price of the freedom and independence of the Genoese Republic, and the offer was accepted. Suddenly the Genoese squadrons off Naples hoisted the Imperial colours, provisions were thrown into the town, and the French army was forced to raise the siege. In the north, Genoa now lay as a barrier on the direct route between France and Italy. The armies of the League made a last effort to take Milan; but were beaten by de Leyva at the small but very decisive Battle of Landriano.

Both parties ardently desired peace: and as Charles and Francis, since the affair of the duel, were not on speaking terms, the negotiations were entrusted to Charles's aunt, Margaret, ruler of the Netherlands, and Louise, the mother of Francis. The result was the Peace of Cambray, also known as "The Ladies' Peace."

It was a repetition of the Treaty of Madrid, with two differences: the immediate cession of Burgundy to Charles was no longer insisted upon; and the little princes were to be redeemed from captivity by a money payment. Francis and Eleanor proceeded to celebrate their marriage.

The Peace
of Cam-
bray, 1529

Eight years of warfare had left Spain unquestioned ruler of Italy. Milan and Naples were under her direct government. The Pope and Florence were, in a sense, subject allies. Charles visited Italy for the first time in 1529, to view his new possessions, and to receive the iron crown of Italy and the Imperial crown of Rome at the Pope's hands. The ceremony, however, took place at Bologna, for the pressure of German events did not allow time for a journey to Rome. This, the last Italian coronation of a Roman Emperor, was a military pageant, conspicuous by the presence of Imperialist soldiers of three nations, and of the hero of the Milanese defence, old, gouty, valiant de Leyva.

Charles received the homage of Sforza for Milan, and yielded to the Pope's demand for the restoration of his family in Florence. As the Florentines declined to have the Medici on any terms, even as private citizens, the city underwent, at the hands of the Prince of Orange, a ten-months' siege. It was fortified by Michelangelo, and heroically defended by Machiavelli's militia, Orange was killed during the siege; but Florence was obliged to surrender, and accept as ruler the worthless Alessandro di Medici, the Pope's cousin, who was married to Margaret, an illegitimate daughter of Charles.

The Siege
of Florence

Second
Medici
Restora-
tion, 1530

It must be admitted that the fortune of war had favoured Charles; but his success was due also to his

own dogged persistence, and to the great ability of those who served him. His generals invariably rose to the occasion, and the soldiers caught something of the spirit of their leaders. Francis had no such commanders as Pescara, de Leyva, Lannoy, Bourbon, and Orange had proved themselves. He had, moreover, an unfortunate knack of offending powerful supporters at a critical moment. And though he was not harassed, as Charles was, by eternal want of pence, his lack of steady purpose must have influenced others, and must have told in the end upon the issue of the war.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION

RENAISSANCE and Reformation are words commonly enough used, but a clear understanding is needed of their meaning in relation to each other. They were alike the outcome of the spirit of intellectual activity that quickened Europe in the fifteenth century. This new spirit first made itself felt in Italy; and across the ages it communicated with, and became mastered by, the kindred spirit of Greek civilisation. So, for the most part, the Italian Renaissance was pagan, classical, and artistic. By the failure of Savonarola's movement we can measure the slight extent of religious revival in Italy.

Meaning of
the Renaissance and
Reformation

Upon the German mind this spirit of enquiry had a different effect. Italian civilisation was older than Christianity, but to the Teutonic world civilisation had come through Christianity. Though the German mind was slower, it was more earnest and religious than the Italian. When, therefore, later than in Italy, the spirit of inquiry took hold upon it, and, as in Italy, stirred it to its depths, it was not pagan but Christian thought, as expressed by the Fathers of the Church, that came uppermost. So we understand the important part played by the theology of St Augustine in the German Reformation. In Italy criticism applied itself to literature and the arts: in Germany to religion. We may take the great

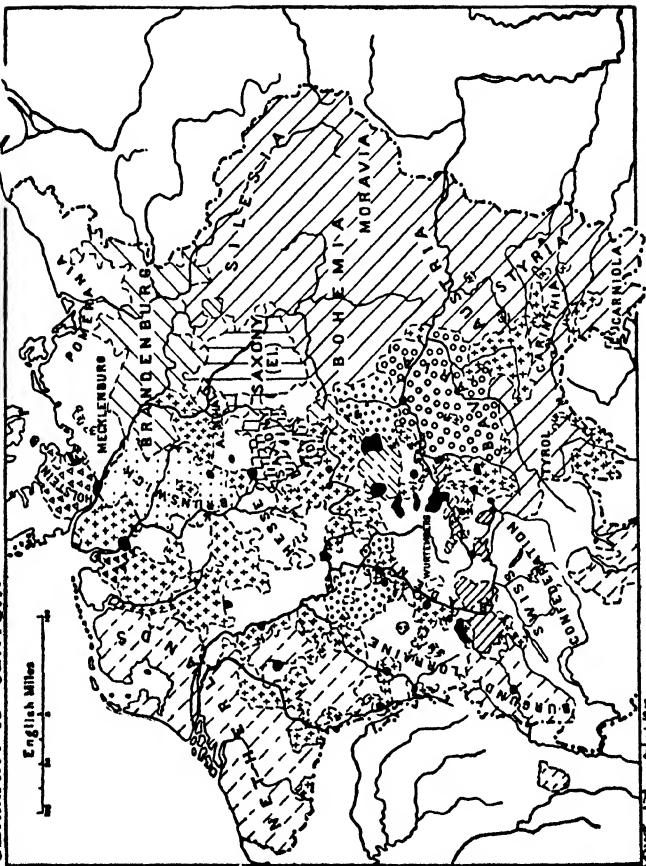
scholar Erasmus, whose translation of the New Testament into Latin appeared in 1516, as typical of the Renaissance movement in Germany. He was linked to it by his learning, and to the Reformation by his sympathies; though he was too broad-minded, and perhaps also too timid, to make a Reformer.

The new intellectual movement in Germany took a religious form for several other reasons. The close connection between the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire had made Germany the greatest sufferer from the exactions and tyranny of the Holy See. With the rise of the state system in the empire the all-embracing papal authority was irreconcilable; and the great variety of the states made it almost certain that somewhere among them the Reform doctrines would take root. In every way Germany was prepared by her past to be the leader of a revolt which should be at once religious, national, and social. The doctrine of Justification by Faith, the financial burden of indulgences, and the shortcomings of the clergy, combined to produce the religious movement; the condition of the peasants caused a social insurrection, and papal interference with justice and taxation had to answer for the national movement led by the princes. The hour produced the man—and the man was Martin Luther.

Effects of
the Re-
formation
upon
Govern-
ments

In mediæval Christendom Church and State were so closely bound up together that acceptance of the Reformation by an individual meant also a revolt against the State; while its acceptance by a state meant revolt from the European system. Thus England, Denmark and Sweden, following the lead of their kings, put themselves outside the pale of the general community, and in these countries the movement was favourable to the monarchy. In

GERMANY 16th CENTURY



- Habsburg
- Austrian
- Algerine
- Hohenzollern
- Brandenburg Line
- Wittelsbach
- Bavarian
- Spanish
- Welfen
- Erzstift
- Oldenburg
- Denmark-Schleswig-Holstein
- Boundary of the Empire
- Electoral Land
- Imperial City

Germany, after a weary struggle, it was settled in favour of the princes and nobles as against the monarchy, and the same nearly happened in the strife between the Scots Lords of the Congregation and their sovereign. In France, however, Calvinism allied itself at different times with aristocratic and republican movements against the crown. In Holland it upset one monarchy and set up another, and in certain German states it took the part of monarchy against republicanism. Whether for a nation or an individual, acceptance of the Reformation at first meant isolation; and self-chosen isolation generally means some degree of courage. And among Luther's many gifts, courage was perhaps the greatest.

**Martin
Luther,
1483-1546**

He was the son of a Thuringian miner, and born at Eisleben in 1483. His parents were simple, pious people, who brought up their children strictly. The boy, Martin, was intended to be a lawyer, but in the midst of his studies at Erfurt religious doubt and despair drove him suddenly into the Augustinian convent. There he at last found conviction and peace in the study of the Bible and the writings of St Augustine, particularly in the doctrine that men are justified in God's sight not by works, but by simple faith.

The Elector of Saxony, anxious to secure the best teachers for his new university of Wittenberg, appointed Luther Professor of Theology. Before taking up his duties he paid a visit to Rome, which revealed to him the true state of affairs in the capital of Christendom. Through his success in lecturing and preaching, Luther had already become a force in Wittenberg, when, in 1517, a monk named Tetzl came round selling indulgences in aid of the building fund of the new St Peter's at Rome. The practice of the Church allowed indulgences

to be obtained as from a kind of spiritual bank, in which were accumulated the good works of all the faithful. The shortcomings of sinners could be made good by drawing, with the Pope's authority, upon this inexhaustible treasury, in return for some act of penitence. By degrees, however, money payments took the place of these penances, and the system became at last a recognised means of raising funds for any ecclesiastical object. In Tetzel's hands this doctrine of indulgences became a mere matter of commercial dealing; and Luther's wrath was aroused by the error that was being sown among his flock.

On All Saints' Day, 1517, he nailed to the door of the University Church ninety-five theses or headings on the subject of indulgences, challenging Tetzel to a discussion. With this famous act began the first stage in the Reformation.

Leo X. appointed Dr Eck to meet Luther at Leipzig. The discussion was chiefly important in arousing interest in Luther, and, encouraged by the sympathy of his countrymen, he published a series of pamphlets, in one of which he appealed to the Christian nobility of the German nation to rally together against Rome. Thus Luther advanced rapidly from his original attack on indulgences to a position from which he proceeded to reject the authority of the Pope, and finally even the doctrine of the Roman Church. Leo X., who had been at first inclined to make little of the German movement, was roused at last to publish a Bull of Excommunication against the truculent Reformer. Luther's reply was an act of open defiance. He publicly burned the Bull at Wittenberg. Intense national feeling stirred Germany to the depths: all eyes were turned to the new Emperor,

Luther's
Ninety five
Theses,
1517

Luther
burns the
Papal Bull,
1520

who in the midst of this mighty agitation was about to make his first appearance in the country, neither understanding nor sympathising with its vital needs, its hopes and fears. The Pope urged Charles to publish the Ban of the Empire against Luther, and, though inclined to condemn him unheard, the Emperor gave way to the force of public opinion, and summoned the Reformer to Worms.

The Diet
of Worms,

At that famous Diet the fate of Germany, it is not too much to say, hung in the balance. Here were problems religious, constitutional, social and economic, foreign and political, awaiting solution; and first in importance and difficulty was the religious problem.

Luther's journey to Worms had been as that of a hero, conquering and to conquer; but when first confronted with the Emperor and princes, nervousness made him appear ineffective. "This man will never make a heretic of me!" said Charles. In reply to the question whether he would retract the opinions expressed in his writings, he asked for time to consider his answer. On the next evening it was ready. In plain and vigorous terms Luther boldly declared himself unable to recant unless convinced by Scripture or clear argument. Against conscience he could not act. The audience was over. As he left the hall Luther lifted his hand, the signal of a Landsknecht who had delivered a telling stroke.

Next morning Charles read to the princes his decision to stake upon this cause "all his dominions, his friends, his body and blood, his life and soul." Proceedings against Luther must no longer be delayed, and he was ordered to quit Worms at once. He left the city amid the profound sympathy of Germany, and a fortnight later, before his safe-conduct had expired, he mysteriously

disappeared. By the order of the Elector of Saxony he was carried off by an armed band to the Wartburg where he could follow events in safety, working at his translation of the Bible till the danger was over.

The Emperor's decision reads like his honest and unalterable conviction, and in face of it it is difficult to condemn him for failing to rise to the height of his great opportunity to unite Germany in a national movement. If it be granted that Charles was an orthodox and devout Catholic, it is still impossible to deny that time and again he allowed political considerations to outweigh his religious principles. At the Diet of Worms itself his eagerness to condemn Luther was due to his desire to secure the alliance of the Pope in the coming war with France. The attitude of Charles to the whole course of the German Reformation was determined by political events unconnected with religion, for stronger even than his zeal for Holy Church, was his hostility to his rival Francis. Whichever side Charles had adopted, he could not expect the unanimous support of his subjects in religion; but had he identified himself with the national—and larger—party, at least he would have avoided the danger of falling between them both. The Catholics would have upheld an attempt to reform the abuses of Rome and of the clergy; the Protestants would not have been driven by relentless opposition into a more extreme position of reform. A review of Charles's dealings with his later Diets leads to the conclusion that at Worms he sacrificed an opportunity—how great a one he was perhaps ignorant—not to his unalterable belief, but to temporary advantage.

In comparison with the religious question the other business of the Diet flagged in interest, but one or two

Charles V
and the
German
Reforma-
tion

Reforms of
the Diet

points must be noticed. The Council of Regency, which had broken down under Maximilian, was restored. It was to consist of a president, four delegates of the Emperor's choosing, and seventeen sent by the Electors and Circles of the Empire, and to deal with general business, and the question of alliances in particular, during the Emperor's absence. The Imperial Chamber, under the Council's supervision, was revived as the supreme judicial court, representing all interests but those of the towns. A general tax was voted, but the principle of the common penny, levied on every individual, was abandoned in favour of the matricula roll, on which each state was rated according to its own resources.

Charles gave up to Ferdinand the South Austrian provinces of Austria, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to which were added later the Swabian and Alsatian territories and Würtemberg. This was the origin of the later division of the Habsburg Empire between the Spanish and German branches of the family.

The Edict of Worms, issued by the Diet against Luther, was followed by two social outbreaks in Germany. They were not directly caused by the Reformation, but the Reformation brought all their forces up to fighting point. They were the Knights' War and the Peasants' Revolt.

The
Knights'
War,
1522-1523

The Knights' War followed hard upon the crushing blow dealt by the Diet of Worms to the hopes of political and religious reform. Its leaders were Franz von Sickingen, a recent supporter of Charles at his election, the typical German knight of the age, "an enemy of the peaceful life," and his friend Ulrich von Hutten, the trenchant champion of Humanism. The war itself grew out of a little preliminary feud between

von Sickingen and the Archbishop of Treves, round whom the lay and ecclesiastical princes rallied when the struggle became general in the district. Sickingen's castles of Ebernburg and Landstuhl, on the Rhine, crumbled beneath the fire of the enemy's artillery, and their master fell mortally wounded at Landstuhl. Hutten fled to Switzerland, to perish sadly a few months later.

The Princes used to the full this opportunity of trampling out the resistance of their ancient foes the Knights; and with the Knights, self-condemned for its failure to keep the peace, fell the Council of Regency, and the last hope of setting up a representative national government.

The heralds of the approaching social revolution were a band of popular preachers, the Prophets of Zwickau, who took up their abode at Wittenberg. Rumours of their extravagances reached Luther in the Wartburg, and he left his retreat to silence and disperse them. Soon, however, they won even greater notoriety as travelling preachers, wandering far into South Germany, and preparing the minds of the peasants for revolt, as the Wiclifite priests had done in England before the rising of 1381.

The outbreak began in Swabia in the autumn of 1524, on the estate of a certain count, who compelled his serfs on a holiday to gather snail shells on which to wind the countess's wool. Everywhere the ecclesiastical lords especially were attacked. The peasants drew up the celebrated Twelve Articles, supported by Scriptural references, and bearing mainly upon the abolition of serfdom, the lords' rights of the chase, of fishing, and of enclosure, arbitrary punishments, and increase of dues. It must be

The
Peasants'
Revolt,
1524-1525

remembered that the peasants were entirely unrepresented and without constitutional means of expressing their very real grievances. Though not bent on using violence, they were driven to it by the utter indifference displayed by their lords to their reasonable demands.

The Swabian League at once joined hands with the nobles to crush the insolent serfs. Two bloody battles on the Algau and on the Danube brought the Swabian rebellion to an end. But the movement had already spread north to the Neckar, where the hasty action of the serfs in putting to death their lord, the Count of Helfenstein, drew down upon them a terrible vengeance. In savage cruelty there was nothing to choose between lords and serfs.

In Franconia the rising, under Goetz von Berlichingen, the robber knight, was strongly political in character, and actually aimed at strengthening the monarchy on a democratic basis. In Thuringia, on the other hand, where the leading spirit was Múnzer, one of the Prophets of Zwickau, religious fanaticism was the chief feature, and, under the rule of saints, most excessive doctrines were put into practice. After the Battle of Frankenhäusen, in which 5000 of his followers were slain, the Prophet was executed; and the revolt, which had spread over nearly all Germany save the north, was stamped out with the utmost rigour at a cost of about 100,000 peasant lives. The general result was to make harder the already hard lot of the peasants, and to delay their emancipation till the middle of the nineteenth century. Lack of able leaders, of united action and discipline, and, above all, the declared hostility of Luther and his party to the movement, were the chief causes of its failure. The insurgents had laid great stress on the

* Causes of
the Failure
of the
Peasants

oppression of the lower classes, thereby encouraging the growth of democratic ideas ; but Luther saw clearly that the whole future of Protestantism was doomed if it once became associated with disorder, and he hounded on the nobles in suppressing the outbreak. From this time forth he learnt to rely on the support of the princes rather than on the national enthusiasm that had surrounded him at Worms.

It has been said that in his attitude to the progress of reform in Germany, Charles allowed himself to be influenced by foreign policy—in fact, the embarrassments arising out of his relations with Francis and with the Pope were the strongest allies of the Protestant cause. To the Pope, as an Italian power, fell the task of holding the balance between France and the Empire, while as a spiritual power his main object was to defeat the plan of a General Council with which Charles proposed from time to time to settle religious difficulties in Germany. In the Italian wars, when Charles seemed on the brink of disaster he was often in reality nearest to victory: the reverse is true of his experience in Germany—indeed, an Italian victory sometimes wrought failure in Germany. Thus, after the Battle of Pavia, when the fate of the Reformation seemed at his mercy, followed the League of Cognac, which drove Charles to consent to the decrees of the First Diet of Spire, the first measure of toleration that the Reformers received. It established a temporary settlement in the spirit of the famous compromise, “Cuius regio, eius religio,” which finally closed the struggle at Augsburg—in other words, it left to each prince the power to decide the religion of his own subjects.

Effect of
Foreign
Affairs
on the
German
Reforma-
tion

First Diet
of Spire,
1526

A few years of success for Charles in Italy resulted

League of
Schmal-
kalde, 1531

in the upsetting of this decision at the Second Diet of Spires, 1529, and the re-enactment of the Edict of Worms. This was followed by the formal "Protest" of the Reform party, the rejection by Charles of the statement of the "Protestant" doctrines as drawn up by Melanchthon in the Confession of Augsburg, and the formation of the armed league of Schmalkalde by the Protestant princes and cities. But the Turks were threatening Vienna, and to use force against the Reform party was out of the question. Indeed, the Protestant princes hailed this chance of showing that Protestantism was no enemy of patriotism; and even if gratitude for their timely aid had not prevented the Emperor from taking action against them, his absorption in the difficult business of Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans had the same effect. At the Peace of Nuremberg it was decreed that no persecution should be permitted until a General Council had been assembled, and all processes against Protestants in the lately revived Imperial Chamber should be stopped. This arrangement the Emperor regarded as merely temporary; but since the first Diet of Spires, Luther's Bible and hymns had been largely adopted, Protestant doctrines taught in the schools, and monastic revenues used for the endowment of Lutheran churches and of education; and the Protestants expected some recognition of their position. At this point Charles was called away from Germany by Italian and Spanish affairs, and reform went steadily forward, invading South Germany with the restoration of Ulrich of Würtemberg to his duchy. The duke had previously been expelled, had become a Protestant, and was reinstated by the League of Schmalkalde, with the sanction of Ferdinand, whose attention was urgently claimed for the defence of

Hungary against the Turks. Not long after, changes in the ruling families of Brandenburg and Albertine Saxony ranged those states upon the side of Protestantism. Indeed, about 1540, the only influential states left to Catholicism were Austria, Bavaria, the Duchy of Brunswick, and the ecclesiastical Electorates of Mayence and Treves.

During these years Charles had been occupied in the third period of the war with France—namely, from 1536-1538. On the death of Francesco Sforza in 1535 he Duchy of Milan, as an imperial fief, was annexed by Charles. Francis, who was steeped in intrigue with the Pope, the League of Schmalkalde, and even with the Turks, brought forward the claims of France. After a series of unsuccessful campaigns in Provence, Picardy, and Languedoc, Charles was ready to conclude with Francis a ten years' truce at Nice, confirming the Peace of Cambray. But the investiture of Charles' son Philip with the Duchy of Milan reopened the Italian question, and, with war imminent, Charles came to the Diet of Ratisbon to meet the Protestants. It was the most promising opportunity for a union that had occurred since 1526. A Reform party led by Cardinals Contarini and Pole had arisen in the Church itself, and agreement on the Lutheran doctrines of Justification, Redemption, and Original Sin was actually made. Most unfortunately, however, nothing further was achieved, and the Church lost her opportunity of securing a broad and tolerant reform. To the strong opposition of the zealous Catholics, and Luther's inability to believe in the sincere acceptance of the doctrine of Justification by Pole's party, was added a general dread of Charles becoming paramount in Germany.

Third
Period of
the War,
1536-1538

Fourth
Period of
the War,
1541-1544

When the whole question needed the utmost tact and delicacy in handling, Francis found little difficulty in stirring up discord among the princes. Thus the opportunity for reconciliation was lost. Charles made up his mind to suppress Protestantism by force, yet for the next three years he had to bide his time, owing to the fourth outbreak of war with France, lasting from 1541-1544. Francis had found allies in Cleves, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey, and had made vain advances to the League of Schmalkalde. Charles, however, secured the support of Henry VIII., from whom he had been long estranged by the King's divorce from his aunt Katharine, and by the recent efforts of Henry's great minister, Cromwell, to unite his master with the princes of the Schmalkaldic League, notably by the marriage with Anne of Cleves. But Katharine and Cromwell were now no more, and Henry was incensed by the invasion of England by James V., the ally of France. The campaigns themselves, which were unimportant, were abruptly ended by the Treaty of Crespy, leaving Henry to make his own terms with France. Peace brought to a close the long personal rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

All conquests since the Truce of Nice (1538) were to be restored.

Charles gave up his claims to Burgundy, Francis his to Naples, Flanders, and Artois.

The Emperor promised either his daughter or his niece in marriage to Francis' second son Orleans, with the dowry, respectively, of the Netherlands or Milan. (Orleans' death prevented the fulfilment of the last article.)

Reign of
Francis I.

The death of Francis, in 1547, prevented anything coming of a secret understanding for the suppression of heresy between the parties to the Treaty. France has never found it hard to forgive a king who "sinned pleasantly,"

and this indulgent view, added to his own brilliant deeds of arms, has secured for him a reputation higher than his deserts. In the long rivalry with Charles it is true that France suffered less than Spain and the Empire—but this was due to no merit of the King; and there can be no doubt that the war was, from first to last, a mistaken policy, which laid the country under a heavy burden of debt. The corruption of the Court and of the administration, the sacrifice of the independence of the French Church, the increase in the absolute power of the Crown, the state interests of a policy that associated Protestant persecutions at home with Protestant alliances abroad—these evils found poor compensation in a certain shallow attractiveness of character, and good service rendered to the cause of art. Even the artistic movement, in which the French Renaissance reached its second stage, and which was made famous by the names of the versatile artist Cousin, the sculptor Goujon, the writer Rabelais, and the borrowed glory of da Vinci and del Sarto, betrays a lack of originality and distinction that indirectly witnesses to the poverty of feeling and the prevailing moral deadness which centred in the Valois court.

We must now return to Germany, where Charles, released from the pressure of foreign affairs by the Peace of Crespy, was ready to deal with the Reform movement. He succeeded in persuading some of the princes that the existence of the League of Schmalkalde threatened the unity of the Empire at least as much as that of the Church—in fact, that the question between them was political rather than religious. German opinion was ranging itself into two camps, in which Empire and Church were opposed to Princes and

Charles
and the
League of
Schmal-
kalde

Protestantism. Just as the movement for reform of the Empire under Maximilian had ended in leaving the chief power with the princes, so it seemed likely that the religious movement, too, would end. It was exactly this result that Charles was bent upon preventing—in the first place, because it would reduce his position in Germany to the level of an ordinary Prince; and, secondly, because, in religion, as in his general habit of mind, he was conservative. In his slow fashion he had come to the conclusion that war could be the only means of settling the religious difficulty; but he had never lost sight of that oft-threatened General Council, to which the Lutherans were also favourable. Alarmed at the reconciliation between Emperor and King at Crespy, Pope Paul III. at last agreed to summon the Council of Trent. The death of Luther, in the following February, removed a strenuous advocate of peace, and was the signal for the Emperor's declaration of war against the Schmalkaldic League. Charles had already been active in attracting to his side Protestant Princes who were also Imperialists, among them two from the House of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) and Maurice of Saxony.

The
Council of
Trent, 1545

Maurice of
Saxony

Maurice had not long succeeded his father, Duke Henry, of the Albertine line of Saxony, who had become a convert to the Protestant views of the Ernestine branch of the family which had befriended Luther. Nominally a Protestant himself, Maurice was by no means on good terms with his cousin, John Frederick, keen patriot and Protestant, whose electorate he coveted. Personal and political aims with Maurice stood first; and he modelled his career on Machiavelli's advice to princes. As the League seemed to offer him

no special opportunities for a career, he threw in his lot with Charles, on the understanding that the electorate should be handed over to him. The Emperor struck boldly at the League, and overran South Germany, while the princes withdrew their forces to defend Saxony. But at the Battle of Mühlberg Charles captured the Elector, John Frederick, and soon after the other leading spirit of the League, the Landgrave of Hesse, surrendered to Maurice. Both were treated with extreme rigour of imprisonment, and Maurice was duly installed as Elector of Saxony.

Overthrow
of the
League at
Mühlberg
1547

Charles was, as usual, however, prevented from using his victory to the full. The Pope feared nothing so much as the complete subjection of Germany by its Emperor, and a month before Mühlberg he took the sudden step of removing the Council from Trent to Bologna. Thither the Imperialists declined to follow the papal party, and by remaining at Trent created a schism. The Protestants thereupon declared themselves freed from obedience to the decrees of a divided Council. In this state of affairs Charles had to come to some kind of understanding with the Protestants at Augsburg, until the Council should obey his summons to return to Trent. The Interim of Augsburg for the most part reasserted Catholic doctrine, while yielding on certain points of Protestant practice, such as the marriage of the clergy, and lay Communion in both kinds. Its reception, however, was not cordial. Various causes about this time tended to make Charles unpopular. He was succeeding in strengthening his authority in Germany with the object of building up a strong military power in which the princes should be utilised as his generals. The Imperial Chamber had

become little more than a Cabinet selected by the Emperor. Spanish garrisons were gradually being distributed over Germany; and so little did Charles realise the intensity of German feeling against Spain, that he was urging the election of Philip as the next King of the Romans, not only in the face of the strongest opposition of his German subjects, but also of his brother Ferdinand. "Nothing in the past or present that the dead King of France did against me, nor that the present King would like to do . . . has ever pained me so deeply as my brother's behaviour towards me," wrote Charles to his wise sister Mary, Regent of the Netherlands. She succeeded in reconciling the brothers; but the electors would not hear of Philip's succession.

Maurice of
Saxony
joins the
Protestants

Maurice of Saxony was influenced by the general suspicious of Charles' Spanish policy, and was affronted by the Emperor's treatment of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse. He began to draw away from Charles, and to formulate a new programme with the object of delivering Germany from foreign troops, and recovering for the princes the power of which Imperial oppression seemed fast to be depriving them. To this end he concluded the Treaty of Friedewald with Henry II. of France, who, like his father, Francis I., found no difficulty in being Protestant abroad and Catholic at home. He also came to some understanding with Ferdinand, King of the Romans, whose object was to remove religious questions from politics so as to rally his subjects round him for the defence of Hungary against the Turks. The lull in the Ottoman advance that had set in under Bajazet, Mahomet the Great's successor, had ended at the accession of the vigorous

Selim I., the conqueror of Syria and Egypt. His son, Solyman the Great, was one of the most remarkable rulers of the sixteenth century. After capturing Rhodes, the Turks under him advanced once more into Hungary, took Belgrade, and overthrew the last Jagellon King on Mohacz Field. Ferdinand, on succeeding to his throne, found that the Turks were masters of the greater part of his kingdom; and not until the death of Solyman in Hungary, forty years later, was Eastern Europe relieved of its fears of the last great warrior Sultan.

The war between the Emperor and the Princes was not religious, for the Lutheran party distrusted Maurice far too deeply to accept him as leader, and the great Catholic house of Bavaria stood aloof, which on religious grounds should have deplored Charles' defeat. A certain religious appearance, however, was given to the war by the conduct of Maurice's ruffianly ally, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg, who harried everything, but the lands of the Church by preference.

Meanwhile Charles, depressed and inert from a bad attack of gout, refused to heed the warnings that reached him of Maurice's doings. He had "a big dog in leash" (John Frederick), he said, to set at Maurice. Yet it was Maurice who acted first, and nearly surprised the Emperor at Innsprück. Ill, and white as a ghost, Charles was hurried on a gusty, rainy night in a litter over the Brenner Pass to safety in Carinthia.

Charles
comes to
terms with
Maurice,
1552

By the Treaty of Passau he came to terms with Maurice.

1. The captive Lutheran Princes were to be released.
2. Complete liberty of conscience was to be granted to the Lutherans, who were also to be admitted to the Imperial Chamber.

Even then Charles absolutely refused to give way on the question of full religious toleration until it had been laid before the Diet. He had set his heart on recovering the three frontier Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, already seized by Henry II. as the price of his help to Maurice, and confirmed to him by the Treaty of Vaucelles. The Emperor, however, first came to terms with the ruffian Albert. "God knows," he wrote, "what I feel at seeing myself at such a pass as to treat with the said Marquis as I am doing—but necessity knows no law." Albert, however, earned his sovereign's gratitude by his skill in saving the Imperialist guns in the retreat from Metz, which was successfully defended by Francis, Duke of Guise, the future conqueror of Calais. Albert then returned to his raids, and his flying figure, wild fair hair, and freckled face became once more a vision of terror to Germany, until, in the interests of public order, the army of Maurice of Saxony cut short his excesses in the fierce Battle of Sieverhausen. Albert fled, under the Imperial ban, to France; but a chance bullet put an end to Maurice's chequered and brilliant career, his championship of princely privilege, and his dreams of the Imperial crown, at the early age of thirty-two. His brother Augustus succeeded in the Electorate, and his unfortunate cousin, the good Elector John Frederick, did not survive him many months.

Death of
Maurice in
the Battle
of Siever-
hausen,
1553

Charles had for some time longed to withdraw from the wearisome and perplexing struggle; and with the death of Maurice, the downfall of Albert, the failure of his plans for Philip's succession, and the agreement arrived at between Ferdinand and some of the leading Protestants, he judged that the time had come. More-

over, he could not face the necessity of yielding on the religious question; so he left Ferdinand to deal on his own responsibility with the Diet of Augsburg, and, setting his face towards the Netherlands, turned his back for ever on Germany.

The agreement concluded between Ferdinand and the Diet, which is known as the Peace of Augsburg, contained the following clauses :—

The
Peace of
Augsburg
1555

- (1) It laid down the principle of "Cujus regio eius religio,"—that is to say, it left each prince free to dictate the religion of his subjects.
- (2) All Church property appropriated by Protestants before the Treaty of Passau (1552) was to remain in their hands.
- (3) No form of Protestantism but Lutheranism was to be tolerated.
- (4) Lutheran subjects of ecclesiastical states were not to be obliged to renounce their faith.
- (5) By the Ecclesiastical Reservation any ecclesiastical prince on becoming a Protestant was to give up his See.

By this peace it was acknowledged that the unity of the mediæval Church was broken up for ever, and, indirectly, that mediæval persecution was abandoned, save in the one form of banishment. Protestantism was now legally recognised—though only in the shape of Lutheranism. There was to be no toleration for either Calvinists or Zwinglians. Worse than this, toleration was only considered from the princes' point of view—the only privilege allowed to the Lutheran subjects of a Catholic prince, or to the Catholic subjects of a Lutheran prince, was that of finding a home elsewhere. Liberty of conscience did not, in fact, enter into the question. By this means divisions in Germany were made deeper, until at last the only way of settling them seemed to be by the sword of the Thirty Years' War.

It was unpractical to suppose that while appropriation of Church property was still of daily occurrence a settlement could be satisfactory which recognised no transfers made since 1552. The Ecclesiastical Reservation opened the way for endless difficulties: it was held, for instance, that when a chapter became Protestant it might elect a Protestant bishop; had it been strictly enforced, on the other hand, it must have effectively checked the growth of Protestantism.

The principle which made the Prince the sole authority over the religion of his state was fatal to the Imperial power. The Imperial Chamber, the organisation of Circles, the maintenance of the public peace, ceased by this treaty to be under the Emperor's control; and in each state the position of the Prince made it inevitable that the people should transfer their allegiance from the shadowy Emperor to the ruler with the real authority.

Charles, in the Netherlands, fully realised the effects of the peace, which hastened his resignation. His plans for the religious and political unity of Germany had failed utterly; he was personally unpopular there; his cherished scheme of marriage between Philip and Mary Tudor had turned out unhappily; the struggle to meet financial embarrassments never abated; while Henry II. had wrung from him by the Treaty of Vaucelles more than Francis I. had ever done by force of arms. To his subjects in the Netherlands only did he choose to bid a formal farewell, since from them alone could he count upon a sympathetic response. In the Hall of the Golden Fleece, at Brussels, Charles, leaning upon his stick, and supported by the young William of Orange, made his last public appearance. Both Emperor and

audience were moved to tears by the simple pathos of his leave-taking.

In the spring Charles resigned the Empire, the Spanish kingdoms, and Sicily. His son Philip succeeded to Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily; and Ferdinand, already King of the Romans, duly followed him in the Empire. In the autumn of 1556 Charles sailed to Spain, and at once retired to the monastery of St Juste in Estremadura. Here, in his little four-roomed retreat, he performed his religious exercises, received visitors, followed the events of the great world, and amused himself with mechanical toys. In August 1558 he died.

The "Great Emperor Charles V." used to be a common phrase of historians; but it is probable that his greatness was of the kind that position thrusts upon a man. In private life Charles would not have been remarkable. Fate had called him to play his part upon a stage that would have dwarfed any man but the greatest. Slow, irresolute, and at the same time very obstinate, narrow-minded, unsympathetic and limited in his affections, he yet compels respect by his honest intentions, his sense of duty, his modesty, and his shining moments of fortitude. The coldness of his character is partly redeemed by his love of wife and son, his fondness for children, pet animals, and flowers. He was moderate in all his private tastes, with one important exception. His indulgence in enormous, hasty, and unwholesome meals early pointed the way to a martyrdom of gout; but between its attacks Charles remained incorrigible as ever.

Though not highly educated, he was well-read and genuinely devoted to the fine arts, especially to music.

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Few men harassed as Charles was, by continual toil and vexation, can have realised more bitterly the experience attributed to King Herod :

“That they who grasp the world,
The kingdom, and the power, and the glory,
Must pay with deepest misery of spirit.”

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

HAUSSER : Period of the Reformation.

SEEBOHM : The Protestant Revolution. (Epoch Series.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE COUNTER REFORMATION

THE Council of Trent has been referred to several times during Charles V.'s reign: its work must now be considered as a whole. The Council of Trent, 1545-1563

To meet the Emperor's wishes it was held in German territory. Pope Paul III., 1534-1549, who has been called the last of the Renaissance popes, as distinguished from those of the Catholic revival, at last brought his mind to the formal summons of the Council in 1542. So few, however, were the bishops who arrived to attend it, that the assembly was adjourned.

The chief question before the second meeting of the Council in 1545 was whether Reform or the definition of Dogma should have the first place. The Pope was a watchful guardian of Church privilege. He was determined that Doctrine should be considered before Reform, and kept in close touch with the Council's proceedings. By a compromise it was arranged that they should be considered simultaneously by different sections of the Council. The moderate Catholic party, led by Contarini and Pole, were quite prepared to join hands with the Lutherans in some matters of doctrine, and with this end in view the great questions of justification by faith, free will, and the sacraments were debated. At this point, however, some members of a hitherto little known Order, the Society of Jesus, came forward, and by their

able and determined arguments succeeded in upholding the Catholic standpoint. At this stage the Pope became alarmed by Charles' success in Germany, and with the excuse that a slight outbreak of the plague in Trent made the place unsafe, he removed the Council to Bologna in 1547.

Pope
Julius III.,
1549-1555

Charles declined to recognise any further acts of the Council. The Diet of Augsburg gave its support to the minority who remained at Trent, and the Interim of Augsburg provided a temporary settlement of religious affairs in Germany. The Pope found it necessary to give way, though he died before any further stage of policy was reached ; and his successor, Julius III., whose chief aim was to live a quiet life, summoned the Council to reassemble at Trent in 1551. Much discussion of doctrine followed, revealing the deep differences which separated Protestants and Catholics ; however the untimely descent of Maurice of Saxony in pursuit of Charles scattered the members with all speed, before a definite decision was made, relieving the Pope of much anxiety. Not long after the latter was succeeded by Marcellus II., who was upright, wise, and enthusiastic for reform ; but he, unfortunately, only lived three weeks longer. His successor was Pope Paul IV., the austere and rigid Caraffa who had founded the Order of the Theatines, a society of parish priests bound by monastic vows, and upholding the doctrine and government of the Mediæval Church. The new Pope was therefore wholly opposed to the more enlightened party of Catholic reformers led by Contarini, and as an interval of ten years occurred in the work of the Council after it was dispersed by Maurice, Paul IV. applied himself to the reform of Rome itself. He thoroughly overhauled the government

Pope
Paul IV.,
1555-1559

of the papal states ; and, armed with the powers of the Inquisition on one hand, and with the new Index of Prohibited Books on the other, his orthodox zeal triumphed over the champions of a more tolerant and liberal Catholicism. Yet in attempting to recover from Europe a general acknowledgment of the papal claims, he defeated his own ends. Thus he drove Elizabeth of England to ally herself with the Protestant party in Scotland, and practically assured the triumph of reform in Great Britain by insisting that the Queen should submit her claims upon the throne to his judgment. In the same way his hostility to Ferdinand I. obliged that Emperor to rely on the support of the Moderate party, with the result that many South German bishoprics passed into Protestant hands. Then in 1559 he died, and the new Pope, Pius IV., pledged himself, in response to a general wish that reform should not be left entirely to the Holy See, to summon once more the Council of Trent.

At this, the third and last session of the Council, no Protestants were present, and the reforms undertaken were simply those of the Church from within. There were many Catholics who desired a thorough reform in doctrine and practice, but their aims were defeated by the powerful and energetic Jesuit opposition. Thus the use of the mother-tongue in services, the marriage of the clergy, communion in both kinds—practices which would have united them to the Protestants—were all rejected. The doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, and Invocation of Saints, though defined in accordance with mediæval belief, were for the first time completely defined. It is true that on some important questions, such as that of justification by faith, Protestant theories were not

entirely excluded; but such concession was deceptive, since the Pope's authority was declared to be supreme in all doctrinal matters in the future. The resolve of the French to settle the question of the superiority of Councils to the Pope, and the Spanish prejudice in favour of making bishops independent of the Holy See, were defeated by successful papal diplomacy at the two courts concerned.

The
Catholic
Reforma-
tion

There was, however, a real reformation in morals. The popes undertook to set their house thoroughly in order. They gave up the pursuit of family interests, and Pius V. decreed that Church property should never be alienated from the Holy See. The education of the clergy was carefully provided for. The Breviary and the Canon Law were revised, and the florid Church music of the period met with its own much-needed reform at the hands of the great and austere genius, Palestrina.

The
Inquisition

A radical change in the character of the popes enabled them to recover much of their lost influence in Europe, with the aid of the new Order of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, "the brain and the arm of the Papacy." The Papal Inquisition as set up in 1542 was adapted from the system of the Inquisition as formerly worked by the Dominicans in the suppression of heretics—notably of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. Having accomplished its work only too well, it would naturally have disappeared, had not Ferdinand and Isabella gained leave to introduce it into Spain as a weapon against both Jews and Moors. From this time the Spanish Inquisition (so called because it was after 1497 independent of papal interference) continued to flourish—not without dire results, as will be seen before long, in the Netherlands. The Papal Inquisition, however, which

dated from the Council of Trent, confined its attentions to Italy.

The second great prop of the Holy See was the Society of Jesus.

The founder of this famous Order was Ignatius Loyola, Ignatius Loyola and the Order of the Jesuits the son of a noble Spanish house of Basque origin. As an enthusiastic young soldier he had been lamed for life at the Siege of Pampeluna, and had had to renounce his chosen profession of arms. During his slow recovery he resolved to enlist his services in the cause of Christ and the Virgin, and began his career by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which inspired him with the idea of a life-long warfare against the infidel. Realising, however, his lack of knowledge, he devoted himself to study in Paris, where he won over to his views three fellow-students, Lefèvre, Xavier, and Laynez. This little band took vows of poverty and celibacy, and placed themselves at the Pope's disposal for work among the Mahometans in the Holy Land. Paul III., however, took the view that heretics at home rather than infidels abroad needed their labours, and accordingly they formed themselves in 1540 into the Society of Jesus, for the special service of Christ and of the Pope—under Loyola as the first General of the Order.

Every member of the Order was bound to surrender all personal judgment, and to become as wax in the hands of his superiors. It was the business of those superiors to acquaint themselves intimately by an elaborate spy system with the characters, actions, and thoughts of those whom they directed, that all gifts might be turned to account for the Order in the choice of careers. A priest must hold himself in readiness to go to the ends of the earth at the bidding of his superiors,

“not delaying even to complete the letter of the alphabet he might be writing.”

The Order had six divisions, of which the Professed of Four Vows were the only fully privileged members, in whose hands lay the election of the General. They were without a fixed place of abode, and took a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope. The Order was forbidden to accept ecclesiastical preferment; no monastic habit was worn, nor did the rules of the society permit the powers of mind and body to be worn out by excessive asceticism or long-continued religious exercises. Into the work of education and of missions the Jesuits threw themselves with the utmost zeal and heroism. They made themselves indispensable as Confessors. Their learning seated them in the Professors' Chairs at the Universities; they mixed in politics and in society. All their work was performed gratuitously, for the Order was enriched not only by the property surrendered to it at admission, but by many gifts bestowed upon it. In sixteen years it numbered over two thousand members. The Order has been well named the brain of the Holy See. It may be imagined how great was the influence of a highly-trained body of men acting with the obedience of perfectly regulated machines at the bidding of some of the most intellectual and resolute minds of the time. But in the individual it must be admitted that the absolute surrender of private judgment and the acceptance of the doctrine that the end justifies the means tended to undermine independence of character and moral judgment.

In summing up the work of the Catholic reaction, the following results will be noticed:—The Church, purified of abuses, inspired by new enthusiasm, and

carrying the war into the enemy's country, encountered Protestantism at a time when its first zeal was spent and disunion had begun to appear. The revived Papacy made Rome once more the centre of South-western Europe, as it had been under the Roman Emperors, and once more brought under its sway the recently revolted regions on the Danube and the Rhine. At the same time in the political world two great agencies of the Catholic revival were the Spanish Monarchy under Philip II. and France under the influence of the Guises.

In the reign of Philip II. the aims and methods of revived Catholicism are fully illustrated. The King regarded himself as the divinely appointed leader of the chosen people, whose dominion of the world was to be the guarantee of its recovery to the Church. Not one of the many disasters that marked his ill-starred reign ever shook Philip's faith in his twofold mission, as champion of the Church and of Spanish supremacy. Yet, like a blight, his reign rests upon the History of Spain. He crushed all power of initiative in the Court, and in the nation at large. The King's family heritage was one of gloom and bigotry. The slow, secret, and cautious policy, which was his by circumstances and education, hid him like a mask, even from those nearest to him. He grew old before his time in trying to keep pace with the thousand petty details which are the proper business of subordinates. No clerk ever toiled more industriously at his papers. Hours were passed in making marginal notes on affairs that might have been settled in conversation lasting, perhaps, as many minutes. But Philip shunned interviews: he never realised that statesmanship is the most human of

Philip II.'s
Reign as
typical
of the
Catholic
Reforma-
tion,
1556-1598

occupations, based on a knowledge of men in a world of men. He clung to his purposes, blind to things as they really were: conscientious, as far as his cruel bigotry allowed, he strove to grapple unaided with problems too big for him to solve: cold, except to the very few for whom he felt any affection; frugal and secluded in his habits: constantly disillusioned throughout his reign, yet never turning aside from the goal he had marked out for himself, there is something of the relentlessness of fate about this mysterious inhuman figure, in whose service men broke their hearts and sacrificed their lives. Yet, at the end of a long reign, as he lay slowly dying in great bodily anguish, no visions of the persecuted and oppressed arose to disturb his mind, which, indeed, was sustained and comforted by the thought of services he had rendered to God.

By a freak of fortune Philip's reign opened with a collision with the Pope. Paul IV., the Neapolitan Caraffa, had family leanings to the Angevin cause in Italy, and disliked the Spaniard. As Julius II. had called in the House of Aragon to drive out the French, he determined to call in the French to drive out the House of Aragon. Henry II. agreed to send an army under the Duke of Guise; and the Duke of Alva, of all men, found himself in the position of leader of His Catholic Majesty's army against the Pope. By bribing Ottavio Farnese with Piacenza, and Cosmo di Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with Siena, Philip gained their support in Naples (where the war was marked by the gallant resistance of Civitella to Guise); and, in the Papal States, Alva carried all before him, and, but for religious scruples, might indeed have taken Rome. The Pope was obliged to come to terms;

Fifth War
between
Spain and
France (in
Alliance
with the
Pope),
1556-1559

but they were of his own choosing; and in Philip's name, Alva asked, and received, absolution "for the crime of resisting an unprovoked attack." End of the Italian War, 1557

Meanwhile war had broken out on the north-eastern border of France, and Philip II. had prevailed upon his English wife, Mary Tudor, in spite of an express understanding to the contrary, to engage English troops on his behalf. The Spanish and English forces were under the command of the dispossessed Duke of Savoy, who claimed his duchy from France. The blunders of the Marshal Montmorency gave them a complete victory at St Quentin, and the town itself, though bravely defended by Coligny, fell into their hands. They would have been better employed in taking Paris; but this enterprise, though it had every chance of success, did not commend itself to the cautious Philip. Early in 1558, Guise more than avenged the defeat, by falling unexpectedly on Calais (of whose weak defences the English government had repeatedly been warned), and thus the last English stronghold on French soil was lost, to the great grief of Queen Mary. A brilliant victory, won by Count Egmont over the French at Gravelines, had no practical result, though it may have enabled Philip to make peace.

Proceedings were somewhat delayed by the death of Queen Mary, and Elizabeth's reluctance to accept the terms.

1. She agreed at last to the surrender of Calais for a term of eight years. Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis 1559
2. The Duchy of Savoy was restored to its duke.
3. France retained the three Bishoprics taken by Henry II., but gave up all other conquests, except five Piedmontese fortresses, and Philip, in return, surrendered his captures in Picardy.

By this arrangement Philip, however, recovered far more than he lost.

4. Henry and Philip agreed to summon a General Council, and to root out heresy in their dominions.
5. Philip was to take, as his third wife, Henry II.'s daughter Elizabeth, the girl princess who had been bespoken for Don Carlos, his son ; while the Duke of Savoy was to marry her aunt, Margaret of Valois.

At a tournament held in honour of the two weddings, Henry II., distinguished rather as an athlete and pleasure-seeker than for more kingly qualities, was, in a final bout, pierced in the eye by a lance, and the wound proved fatal. His son, Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded him.

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis marks the end of a period, for three reasons. It closed the series of wars which, for nearly forty years, had exhausted France and Spain. It ends the struggle between France and the united Habsburg power, for henceforth Spain and Austria are divided. For the rest of the century the wars of Europe are mainly religious rather than political.

The Sup-
pression
of the
Reforma-
tion in
Spain

Even before the Treaty was signed Philip had begun to deal with the religious question in his Spanish dominions, where he took up his residence in 1559. Charles V., in a long reign, must have spent years merely in travelling between Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, but Philip never quitted Spain again before his death in 1598. Protestantism had not gained any hold upon the country during Charles' reign, but since Philip's accession its growth had been rapid, and the Pope urged the King to call the Inquisition to his aid. It was worked mainly by the Dominican Order, which was devoted to royal interests. The head of the

Council of the Inquisition was the Grand Inquisitor, nominated by the King, and Philip found the Council a valuable ally in politics. All lands confiscated by its decrees fell to the Crown, and no man, however privileged, was exempt from its jurisdiction. It was therefore useful in hunting down political offenders and in exacting money. The terror inspired by the Inquisition was due to the suddenness of its arrests, to the secrecy of its trials, and to a spy system which worked its way into the most intimate secrets of family life, filling the air with suspicion and a sense of insecurity. The prisoner was often ignorant of both the charge and the evidence against him, and confession was exacted by torture. If loss of goods and imprisonment did not bring him to repentance, he was handed over to the secular arm, to be burned at one of the autos-da-fè which took place, as bull-fights do now, at every great national festivity. The methods of the Holy Office in Spain were completely successful in destroying Protestantism. Philip could congratulate himself that not a heretic remained in his kingdom; yet in crushing Protestantism he also crushed all power of independent thought, leaving Spain far in the rear of European intellectual progress.

In the same way the commercial prosperity of the country was choked by the persecution of the industrious Moriscoes, the real source of the industrial wealth of Spain. These people were, at least outwardly, converted Moors, who were skilful farmers and craftsmen. The attitude of the Spaniards towards them at its best was but that of an armed neutrality, and a change of affairs in the Mediterranean soon aroused an active hostility. In the first place, the onslaughts of the Barbary pirates, their kinsmen, provoked two expeditions against the

Expulsion
of the
Moriscoes
from the
South,
1570

former, which met with only moderate success, and in the second, another great Mahometan power, the Turks, in 1565, laid siege to Malta, which was relieved, somewhat grudgingly, and only just in time, by the Viceroy of Naples. The outcome of these struggles with the infidel was a series of edicts against all the most cherished national customs of the Moriscoes, so outrageous as to provoke remonstrance even from the Spanish nobles. The Moriscoes then broke into rebellion, set up a king of their own, and took a cruel revenge upon all Christians in their power. Even at this point a policy of conciliation would probably have succeeded, but Philip preferred to enter upon a war of extermination. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slain, prisoners were massacred in cold blood, and when the back of the rebellion was broken, all the surviving Moriscoes were forced to leave Andalusia, and find new homes in less favoured parts of Spain, until their final expulsion from the country in 1609.

1568

The thankless task of crushing the last signs of the rebellion had fallen to Philip's young and brilliant half-brother, Don Juan of Austria. The prince, who had every quality that Philip lacked, including that of military prowess, had unusual power of attracting loyalty and enthusiasm. He begged Philip, when the rebellion had just subsided, to accept a pressing invitation from the Pope to rescue Cyprus, then surrounded by an Ottoman fleet. The timid policy of Selim II. had preferred an attack upon Cyprus to the alternative of an attack on Spain, and by so doing united against himself the forces of Venice, of Philip II., and the Pope. Great preparations were accordingly made, but not in time to save the island, whose heroic commander

was flayed alive by the Turks. Don Juan succeeded in infecting his crusaders with his own fervid enthusiasm, and with the confidence of youth led the attack, in opposition to the advice of older heads, against the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Lepanto, the scene ages before of the great sea fight of Naupactus. The Turkish ships were unseaworthy and manned by slaves. Although considerably outnumbered, the Christian fleet was irresistible in its onset. Not only were the Turks for the first time defeated at sea, but their naval power in the Mediterranean never recovered from the blow, and this disaster hastened the general decline in their power which had already set in. The Ottoman Empire rested upon military foundations entirely, and as long as strict discipline prevailed it was irresistible in war. But after the death of Solyman the Magnificent, in 1566, the chief supports of its power began to give way. The Sultans gave themselves up to luxury and pleasure, the Janissaries, from being the obedient tools of the Sultan, became as arrogant as the Prætorian Guard at Rome. Lastly, corruption found its deadly way into every department of official life. In Persia, in the Balkans, and in Hungary they were losing ground, and the defeat at Lepanto, besides being significant of the state of things, had a great moral effect. Don Juan's head was filled with dreams of retaking Constantinople, and driving the infidel from the Mediterranean. Though prompt action might have achieved much, the deadly procrastination which characterised Spanish policy of the time proved fatal. Don Juan sailed for Africa and reduced Tunis, which he hoped to make the capital of an African kingdom of his own, but this plan at once aroused Philip's jealousy. Supplies from Spain ceased, and in a few

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571

Decline
of the
Ottoman
Power

months the Turks recovered Tunis, and also took Goletta, one of Charles V.'s African conquests. It was in the Netherlands, however, where the methods of the Inquisition had a very different reception from that which they met with in Spain, that Philip's antagonism to religious reform was most remorseless. At the same time the attempt to override local privileges, and to make Spanish authority supreme, contributed almost equally to the Revolt of the Provinces, which will be more fully described in the next chapter.

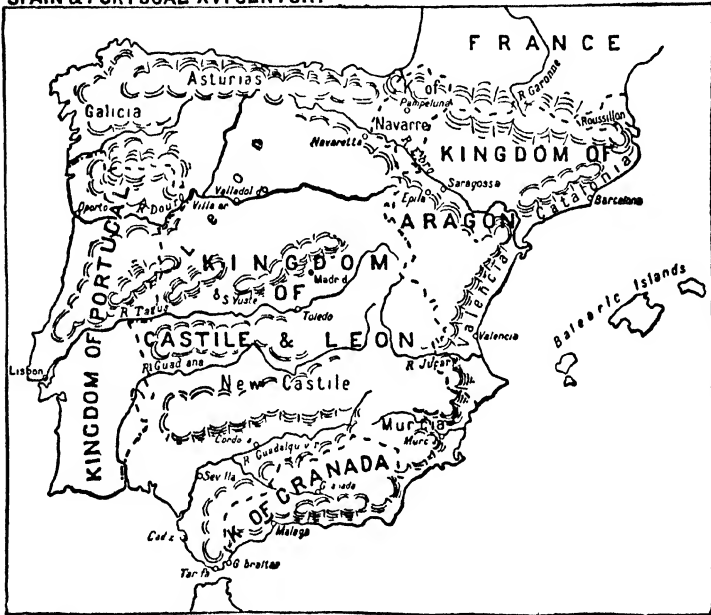
Philip's religious zeal was goaded to continual effort by the belief that the displeasure of Heaven manifested itself in his family life. He lost three wives in succession, and the death of the third, the exquisite and beloved Elizabeth of Valois, was a grief only second to the anguish of mind Philip endured on account of the tragic state of his only son.

Carlos was the son of Philip and his first wife, Mary of Portugal. He had never known a mother's care, and his education by his aunt had done little for the defects of a very difficult character. The boy was cruel, irreverent, and passionate, and a fall on his head at the age of seventeen seems to have permanently injured his brain. There can be little doubt that he was epileptic, and his conduct after the accident became more violent and extraordinary. He insulted the Court ladies, made murderous attacks on Alva and Don Juan, plotted against his father's life, and tried to escape from Spain. By Philip's orders he was put under restraint, and his guardians were men of rank, carefully instructed as to his treatment. Politics and literature, except religious books, were forbidden, as was all communication with the outside world. His warders might entertain him

with conversation, but they were never to lose sight of him day or night. Under this close confinement Carlos, who had always been weakly, lost all interest in life, rapidly sank, and died at the age of twenty-three. His death remains a mystery: many rumours were current

Death of Don Carlos, 1568

SPAIN & PORTUGAL XVI CENTURY



that Philip had contrived it by poison, but natural causes seem quite a satisfactory explanation. The reason of his captivity was undoubtedly his madness, of which there seems ample proof.

Though Philip might wage war on Turks and Moriscoes, and attempt to stamp out by the Inquisition, the Reformed faith in Spain and the Netherlands, he came to under-

stand in his slow way that the real obstacle to the success of his religious policy lay in England and Scotland! His great scheme for their conversion forms the climax of his reign, but the story of the Invincible Armada belongs to the next chapter.

The
Conquest
of Portu-
gal, 1581

So far, we have considered Philip's reign from the point of view of the Catholic revival; the attempt to establish his own supremacy must now be noticed. In 1578 occurred an unlooked-for opportunity of adding Portugal to his dominions, thereby bringing the whole peninsula under Spanish rule. Philip's young nephew, King Sebastian, whose religious aims were not unlike his uncle's, had been killed in a mad expedition against the Moors of Morocco. The heir to the throne was his great-uncle, Cardinal Henry, who died, however, in 1580. Philip, as the son of the Cardinal's sister, the Empress Isabel, now brought forward his claim, to which the only serious rival was that of Antonio, Prior of Crato, the half-Jewish son of Henry's brother Lewis. Sebastian, Henry, and Antonio were all descended in the male line from Emanuel the Great, while Philip's claim was through his mother; but this disadvantage counted for little, since he was by far the strongest candidate in the field. It was of the utmost importance, in his bankrupt condition, to secure the wealth of the great Portuguese colonies in Brazil, Africa, and the East Indies; and an army under Alva, and a fleet commanded by Santa Cruz, were despatched to Portugal.

The Prior was personally popular, which Philip, as a Spaniard, was not; but the peasants, who formed Antonio's chief following, were soon scattered by trained forces. The Prior fled to England, where Queen Elizabeth made much of him as long as it suited her

purposes. Twice though he attempted with ships lent by Catherine di Medici to seize the Azores, he was baffled each time by Santa Cruz, and he never returned to his own country.

Philip was crowned at Lisbon in 1581, promising to uphold Portuguese liberties; but he made the great mistake of offending the nobles by trying to reduce their privileges and by extending the crown lands. Spanish rule never commanded any affection in Portugal, with the result that in 1640, at the first opportunity, the Portuguese recovered their independence.

Philip, however, successfully introduced into his Italian provinces the arbitrary system of government which was to provoke the great revolt of the Netherlands. In Spain itself he set to work further to curtail national liberties, after the example of his father. Castile had always been more subject to the royal authority than Aragon, and not much independence had been left the latter since the nobles had withdrawn in 1538. Their chief function, indeed, was to present petitions to the King. The terrible drain of its resources, steadily continuing for half a century, had reduced it to the direst poverty. But in Aragon self-government was still a reality, for the principle was yet alive that redress of grievances must precede supply; and the power of the justiciar still safeguarded justice from royal interference. The Inquisition, too, was somewhat kept in check by public opinion. Charles and Philip had long desired to curtail the independence of Aragon, but not until the close of Philip's reign did an opportunity arise. The King's chief secretary, Antonio Perez, an uncommonly clever rogue, had been deputed by his master to bring about the death of Escovedo, Don Juan's

Growth of
Absolute
Power
in Spain
under
Philip II.

secretary, who abetted the prince's ambitious plans. It was Perez who had poisoned Philip's mind against Escovedo and the prince; but he failed to entrap his victim. Long after the special reasons for the murder had disappeared Perez used the King's authority to have Escovedo killed in the street to avenge a private grudge. Perez was thrown into prison, but he escaped to Aragon and claimed the protection of the justiciar, who by the law of the land could detain him in his own prison and secure for him a legal trial. When Philip demanded his surrender, all Aragon was up in arms to defend its judicial privileges, and after the King's failure to bring him under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, he was hurried over the Pyrenees into France in 1591. Henry IV. and Elizabeth were equally ready to give him a welcome to their dominions and to learn all that he was ready to divulge of the state secrets of Spain. Philip's arm was not long enough to reach the fugitive, but upon Aragon his vengeance fell heavily. An army was sent on the pretext of restoring order; the justiciar was beheaded, and the Inquisition dealt severely with all who were in any way connected with the resistance to the King. At the same time the members of the Cortes, from being freely elected, were reduced to the position of nominees of the Crown, which also usurped the appointment of all officers of justice.

The
Affair of
Antonio
Perez

Effects of
Philip's
rule on the
Economic
Condition
of Spain

The evil effects of this absolutist system appeared even in Philip's lifetime. If the government of a country be carried on by a few, unless the few be also the wisest the country will not prosper. The King and his officials were, for instance, entirely ignorant of the laws of public economy; and the financial question was the most serious of all national questions in Spain. The

income from the New World was greatly exaggerated ; by far the largest proportion of the revenue came from the Low Countries. "In the Netherlands are those 'mines, treasures, and Indies' which have rendered the Emperor's wars possible," was said in the life-time of Charles. And when the Revolt of the Netherlands began, the burden of taxation was thrown upon already exhausted Castile. Every imaginable means of raising money was tried—a tax on wool sales, the sale of offices, the seizure of money from merchants, increase of customs duties, and the year after the Armada failed, an excise called the Millones was levied on the necessaries of life, wine, oil and meat. Later still, a house-to-house collection was made, which was nothing less than a public almsgiving for the benefit of the Crown. Even under Charles V. recourse had been had to loans, and every year the interest upon them swallowed up the taxes before they reached the treasury. "Every year," it was said, "ruined that which succeeded it." By wise management commerce should have been brought to the rescue of this terrible state of things ; but it was rapidly passing into the hands of foreigners. Castile is not naturally a fertile country, and the Spaniard has an ingrained dislike to manual labour. The vast system of taxation, corruptly administered, and involving great expense merely for its collection, devoured all the capital of the country. Spain became absolutely dependent on foreign countries for its supply of arms, articles of luxury, and handicrafts.

To make matters worse, home industry was hampered by a network of restrictions on imported and exported goods ; internal trade in raw materials was regulated with the object of making goods cheap. When expenses

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continually increase and income as steadily declines bankruptcy is not far off; and this is what befell Spain as the price paid for Philip's system of government. By the ignorance, incapacity, and bigotry of its rulers, the life-blood of a great state was drained. In the reign of his successor the only visible sign of national life was the great literary age of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon. And in his caricature of Spanish devotion to "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties," the author of "Don Quixote" expresses the feeling of a country that had lost all faith in its old ideals.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

A. W. WARD: The Counter Reformation. (Epochs of Ch. History.)
MARTIN HUME: Philip II.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

FROM Charles the Bold to Charles V. the rulers of the Netherlands had chiefly aimed at uniting together the seventeen duchies, counties, or lordships that composed their dominions. Between the north and south were strongly marked differences; the north, on the whole, was Teutonic in race and democratic in feeling; the south Celtic, and, in the country districts, aristocratic; while the towns everywhere were famous for their independent and wealthy burghers. Each state was complete in itself, and strong local jealousies marked their attitude to one another.

Causes of
Division in
the Nether-
lands

Though Charles V. had undoubtedly persecuted the people of the Netherlands, shorn them of many of their liberties, and burdened them with taxes, his geniality kept him popular with them to the end. But though they were outwardly peaceable when they passed to Philip II., two questions were becoming critical—religion and taxation. Unfortunately Philip had nothing in common with his subjects of the Low Countries—not even speech—and his first measures were a series of blunders.

Religious
and
Financial
Problems

To begin with, there was the choice of a regent. For this important post two men on the spot seemed naturally fitted. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the Stattholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, had

been a favourite of Charles V., and though only twenty-six, had already seen important political service. The other, Lamoral, Count of Egmont, the Stattholder of Brabant and Artois, and victor of the battles of St Quentin and Gravelines, was an attractive and popular soldier, lacking perhaps the more solid qualities that William was soon to display. Philip, however, preferred docility in a regent to independence of character, and he chose his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, the wife of Ottavio Farnese. Discontent at the appointment of a foreigner was increased when the Council of State of native nobles was ousted by a Cabinet of three, under another foreigner, the Burgundian Granvella, Bishop of Arras. Though quite the ablest of Margaret's advisers, Granvella was ambitious and grasping, and far too subservient to Madrid to command any confidence in the Netherlands.

Margaret
of Parma,
Regent,
1559

Upon Charles V. rests the blame of bringing the Inquisition into the Netherlands, but Philip greatly widened its scope. The three existing bishoprics were undoubtedly unequal to the work of the Church in so populous a country, yet Catholics and Protestants alike stormed with indignation at the creation of fourteen new bishoprics under the three new archbishoprics of Cambrai, Utrecht, and Mechlin, each with special inquisitorial powers.

Aware of the opposition he had aroused, Philip decided to keep in the Netherlands some troops that had been collected for the French war, but the hostility to their presence became so strong that Granvella and Margaret begged Philip to withdraw them. Next, the nobles, supported by the Regent, who had often found the Cardinal's advice preferred to her own, insisted on the

recall of Granvella. Philip received him with pretended displeasure, but the fallen minister remained high in the King's confidence at Madrid till his death in 1582.

Recall of
Granvella,
1564

After Granvella's departure the persecuting edicts were more ferociously enforced than ever, and the Regent was almost distracted between her duty to her subjects and her duty to their sovereign. A number of the younger nobles, headed by William's brother, Lewis of Nassau, formed an association called the Compromise, for the abolition of the hateful Inquisition. "Why, Madam," said one of the Cabinet, to quiet the Regent's alarm at this new movement, "is it possible your Highness can fear these beggars?" And the name (*gueux*) was forthwith adopted by the members of the association, who took for their badge the wallet carried by their professional brethren of the streets.

The feeling against the Inquisition showed itself among the lower classes in riots at Antwerp, St Omer, and many other towns, where the images and decorations of the churches were ruthlessly destroyed. For once Philip was roused to open fury; but Margaret, imprisoned in her palace by the mob, was compelled to promise that the Inquisition should go. The people were pacified, and a number of leading Catholics, disgusted at the desecration of their churches, rallied round the government. Even Orange, who had hitherto been a Catholic, and was at the time passing into Calvinism, used his influence to maintain loyalty. It really seemed as if an understanding at last might be arrived at, when the nobles were commanded to take a fresh and more explicit oath of allegiance. Many of them chose rather to resign their offices, and William, warning Egmont against the perils of submission, moved with all his household into Nassau,

Immediately after, Alva arrived with an army to take the Regent's place, and reduce the Netherlands by force.

"I have tamed men of iron in my time," said the Duke.

"I shall know how to deal with these men of butter."

Arrival of
Alva

The arrival of Alva was the final cause of the revolt. Margaret of Parma, "hurt to the very bottom of her soul" by this slight upon her authority, soon resigned. The new Regent lost no time in arresting Counts Egmont and Hoorn, only regretting that "as they had not caught William, they had caught nothing."

A reign of terror followed under the terrible "Blood Council," created by Alva's sole authority, and directed entirely by Spaniards, one of whom, the Vice-President Vargas, forestalled Judge Jeffreys in brutal behaviour to his victims. It was Alva's boast that he put to death over 18,000 persons, and it was estimated that three times as many fled the country, many of them to England.

Execution
of Counts
Egmont
and Hoorn,
1568

Great efforts, even by the most exalted personages, were made on behalf of the imprisoned Counts. Lewis of Nassau led an armed force into the country, and defeated the Spaniards at Heiligerlee. This decided their fate, as Alva's presence was needed in the field, and he would not leave his prisoners alive behind him. Their trial, which had been illegal in every respect, hastily, ended in sentence of death for high treason. In the great square of Brussels, where now stand their statues, they met their unexpected doom with unshaken courage, in the midst of a vast and sorrowing crowd.

Resolute for vengeance as the Netherlanders were, their cause appeared to Orange, pondering over it in exile, to be almost hopeless. He sold his plate and jewels and collected money to raise forces, knowing how

ill they must compare with Philip's trained troops. The proof of this appeared at the first encounter with Alva's army, when, after Lewis of Nassau's men had been utterly annihilated at Jemmingen, William, attempting to retrieve the disaster, was forced to retire without an engagement. The two brothers then joined Coligny in his Huguenot campaign in France.

Meanwhile Alva was pressed for money, and he introduced from Spain the taxes known as the Twentieth and Tenth pennies. These were imposts of five and ten per cent. on every sale of land or goods. The increase in cost of every article that had been thus taxed from its first stage as raw material to the last one as a finished product was ruinous in a commercial country like the Netherlands. "The bakers refused to bake, the brewers to brew, and the tapsters to tap." Shops were shut, and trade stagnated or removed to happier climes. In the prevailing gloom suddenly an unexpected ray fell upon the scene.

About 1569 William of Orange granted letters of marque to a group of pirates of mixed origin—part Dutch, part English—who terrorised the North Sea, making bloody reprisals on Spanish towns and shipping. Their loot—splendid church vestments and gold chalices—they openly sold in Dover, and that Elizabeth tolerated these proceedings was a sign of growing recklessness in her treatment of Spain. Since her refusal of Philip's offer of marriage the relations between them had been civil, but as France became involved in her religious wars, and Spain hampered by the Netherland troubles, the danger diminished that these two Catholic Powers might unite in favour of Mary Stuart. Elizabeth, therefore, careless how she might provoke Philip, harboured

The Sea
Beggars
capture
Brill, 1572

the Sea Beggars in Dover Roads. She was not, however, ready for open rupture; and since this had not been brought about even by Philip's clearly-proved share in the Ridolfi plot against her life, she yielded to pressure from Spain, and refused De la Marck further shelter. This wild rover, who had sworn never to cut his hair until he had avenged his kinsman Egmont, accordingly made for the Zeeland coast. On the spur of the moment he seized Brill as a refuge, taking formal possession in the name of Orange as Stattholder—"whose flag, for the first time hoisted over the little port, was the symbol of the new Sea Power on that day born into the world" (Edmundson). For from the capture of Brill dates the rise of the Dutch Republic.

Alva
secures the
Southern
Provinces

Like a flame, open revolt spread through the Northern provinces, and funds began to come in for the cause. William, already acknowledged Stattholder by Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, and Utrecht, began to hope that with help from Elizabeth and Charles IX.—then under Coligny's influence—he might make way in the South also. These hopes were soon dashed by the tidings of the Massacre of St Bartholomew. Alva drove Lewis of Nassau from Mons, which was intended to be the base of the patriot resistance in the south; and William himself only escaped capture through the watchfulness of his favourite spaniel.

Satisfied of the security of the South, Alva entered upon a campaign for the conquest of the North, in which there is nothing to choose between the two sides in savage cruelty and unyielding valour.

The war in the Northern states principally took the form of sieges: the conquest of Zeeland went on under Mondragon, a tried and valiant soldier, whose most

famous exploit showed true Spanish tenacity. A shallow channel ten miles broad divided the island of South Beveland from the coast. To save Goes, its chief town, from the besieging Patriot army, 3000 of Mondragon's men crossed this channel at night. Even at low tide the water was breast-high, and the ten miles had to be covered in six hours, or the full tide would sweep away the invader. Yet grim determination carried all but nine safely to the rescue of Goes.

The patriots in their turn made a memorable resistance at Haarlem. The town is without natural defences, but the citizens were spurred to great exertions by the cruel slaughter that had followed the surrender of Zutphen and Naarden. They kept up communication by means of carrier-pigeons and swift skaters. When the Spaniards had recovered from surprise at the strange sight, Alva ordered seven thousand pairs of skates and had his soldiers taught how to use them. Within the town, women and children worked at the breaches, fought in the ranks, and helped in pouring boiling water, oil, and pitch on the besiegers' heads.

Siege of
Haarlem

The Spaniards now and then threw into the town the heads of leaders of defeated relief expeditions: the Dutch retaliated with interest whenever they could. Alva's son, after failing in two great assaults to capture Haarlem, was only kept to the task by his father's threat to disown him if he gave it up. But when rats and mice, nettles and hides had all been devoured at the end of seven months, the town itself surrendered. Its garrison was slaughtered, and many leading citizens were either hanged or drowned in Haarlem lake. Yet the fate of Haarlem may be said to have saved Holland, by steeling other towns to even greater resistance.

Retire-
ment of
Alva, 1573

Alva was at last weary of his work, and begged for his recall. He left behind his memorial in more senses than one. His services in having "extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, and established peace" were already recorded upon his colossal bronze statue at Antwerp.

Requesens,
1573-1576

His rather colourless successor, the Grand Commander Requesens, was anxious to bring the war to an end, but nothing could move Orange from his three indispensable conditions—religious toleration, restoration of national liberties, and withdrawal of all foreigners from public service. So the war went on. Mondragon was forced to surrender the last Spanish stronghold in Zeeland to the Sea Beggars. However, Lewis of Nassau, marching to relieve Leyden, which was strongly invested early in 1574, was killed with his younger brother Henry at the Battle of Mookerheide. The position of Leyden seemed so hopeless that Orange persuaded the states to cut the dykes and let loose the sea, the Rhine, and the Meuse upon the carefully cultivated land. "It is better to drown it than to lose it," he urged. Yet the winds held contrary, till it seemed as if even this sacrifice had come too late. Early in October, however, a furious westerly gale heaped the waters upon the land, and the Sea Beggars, their ships laden with provisions, flew before the wind—past chimney stacks and fruit trees, to the Spanish entrenchments. The sight of the oncoming flood drove the Spaniards into flight, but succour was already too late for some 8000 of the famished citizens. The following day the wind changed, sweeping the waters back to the sea, so that the rebuilding of the dykes began almost immediately. In memory of the great defence William founded the University of Leyden.

Siege of
Leyden,
1573-1574

As Philip remained inflexible on the subject of toleration, a Conference held by the two parties at Breda had no result. The Estates of Holland and Zeeland then decided to offer the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Queen Elizabeth, but the moment had not arrived for the Queen to declare herself against Spain.

The sudden death of Requesens was followed by a wave of mutiny, which passed through the army from north to south and overwhelmed Antwerp. The rebel forces from outside combined with the garrison to sack the town. With shouts of "St Jago—Spain—blood, fire, pillage!" the savage soldiery slew and robbed and tortured. They stole or destroyed about twelve millions worth of property, including jewels, lace, rich stuffs, and the private savings of the poor. The flames of a thousand burning houses raged about the Cathedral, sparing the grand building itself, but the wealth and splendour of Antwerp were laid in ruins.

Death of
Requesens
March
1576

"The
Spanish
Fury,"
1576

The strong indignation aroused by this deed united both north and south in the famous Pacification of Ghent:—

- (1) All were to unite in expelling the Spanish troops.
- (2) All persecution was to cease, and a States General representing the seventeen provinces was to consider the religious question.
- (3) Orange was to continue as Governor in Philip's name.
- (4) All prisoners were to be set free and all confiscated property restored.

Just at this time arrived the new Governor, Don Juan of Austria, who had ridden through France disguised as a Moorish slave. By the Perpetual Edict—since his instructions were to yield—he confirmed the Pacification of Ghent, on condition that his authority

Don Juan,
Governor,
1576-1578

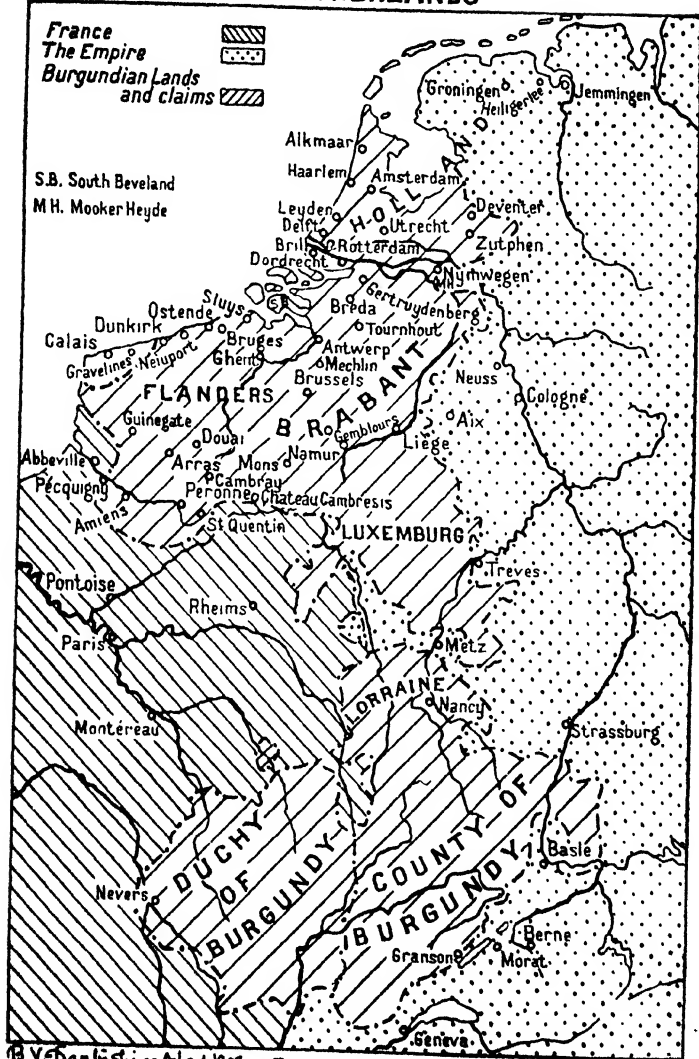
should be acknowledged and the northern citadels handed over to him. William, however, cautioned the states against fulfilling these demands, and kept himself more than ever on the alert.

Don Juan came with high hopes. His youth and confidence, his personal attractions and his great military reputation made him popular everywhere. He looked forward, after settling affairs in the Netherlands, to winning a crown as husband of either Elizabeth or Mary Queen of Scots. But he soon discovered that the only recognised authority in the Netherlands was that of the wise and wary William of Orange, and that, as we have already seen, Philip's minister, Antonio Perez, was setting to work to poison his master's suspicious mind against him.

At the same time William, whose highest point of success was reached with his entry into Brussels a few months after Don Juan's, was also being disillusioned. His leadership was never again unanimously accepted. This apparent lapse of loyalty in the southern states is explained when we remember that differences of race, religion and language divided north and south; that the great Jesuit centres of Douay and St Omer acted as powerful magnets on their surroundings; that Requesens and Don Juan, and still more successfully Parma, turned to account the religious rivalry between the north and south; that the latter, though more easily roused, was less steadfast than the north; and that a strong section of the Walloon nobility regarded Orange as a usurper of their position and rights. To sum up, William had become too closely identified with the party of the Northern Calvinists to be accepted as ruler by the united seventeen states.

Causes of
Division
between
Northern
and
Southern
Provinces

BURGUNDY and the NETHERLANDS



H. V. Barker's Shires, Oxford, 1904.

English Miles

The first sign of the change was the setting up of the Archduke Matthias of Austria by the southern nobles as a rival to Don Juan. Mainly by the help of his nephew, Alexander Farnese, Don Juan defeated this party decisively at Gemblours, and the Archduke retired. A substitute was found in Francis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France, who, though mean in person and base in mind, was the object of Elizabeth's flirtations. She allowed it to be understood that she favoured his pretensions in the Netherlands while she intrigued secretly against this dangerous opening to French influence.

Meanwhile Don Juan, forced to inaction through want of definite instructions and much-needed supplies, became utterly dispirited, and sank into a fever which rapidly overcame his strength; after fighting imaginary battles in delirium, he then died quietly on October 1, 1578, worn out and disappointed, at thirty-three.

Alexander
of Parma,
1578-1592

His successor, Alexander of Parma, was for William a far more formidable opponent. The son of Charles V.'s daughter Margaret of Parma and her second husband Ottavio Farnese, he had been brought up with Don Juan and Don Carlos at Madrid. His passion for fighting found an outlet at first in incognito duels, but at twenty-three he was already a master in fortification, and he distinguished himself for daring at Lepanto. His military genius was almost equalled by his diplomatic gifts, to which must be added the advantage of personal fascination. A rare engraving of the time shows him alert and dignified, with aquiline features and pointed beard, wearing a deep lace ruff, gold-inlaid armour, and the collar of the Golden Fleece, as became a prince of fashion. Athletic and temperate habits kept a perfect

balance between his bodily and mental gifts; and so, armed at all points, Alexander Farnese brought his energy, persuasiveness, and concentration of purpose to bear upon the problem of the Netherlands.

Meanwhile the Calvinists were growing more aggressive and lawless, and the great nobles and others were rallying to Catholicism. In 1579 the Treaty of Arras in support of that faith was concluded between Artois, Hainault, and certain Flemish towns. The northern provinces responded in the Union of Utrecht, and these two important measures already forecast the ultimate division of the Netherlands. By this union Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, Utrecht, Friesland—and later Groningen and Overijssel—formed a confederation to defend their civil and religious liberty.

The
Union of
Utrecht,
1579

Farnese continued to win supporters by bribes of gold or promotion, and even approached Orange with splendid offers. These tactics failing, in 1580, by Granvella's advice, Philip published a ban against William, offering 25,000 gold crowns and the rank of noble to any man who should hand over the traitor alive or dead. William replied in a vigorous Apology, defending himself from the charge of rebellion and denouncing Philip for his tyranny as no true king. Despairing of success without foreign aid, William circulated the Apology in the Courts of Europe, came to a final understanding with Anjou, and with his own hands fastened upon Francis' shoulders the ducal mantle of Brabant. Holland and Zeeland, however, regarded Anjou with disfavour, and chose Orange as their hereditary Count. Thus the Netherlands at this time formed three groups—the west under Spain, the centre under France, and the north under William of Orange.

But the choice of Anjou as sovereign of the Netherlands did not lead, as Orange had hoped, to a European alliance against Spain. Queen Elizabeth gave up her pretences of engagement, and Henry III.'s offers of help ended in talk. Parma continued to gain ground, and Anjou grew restive under the authority of Orange and of the Estates. Hoping to assert his independence by capturing the Prince, he organised an attack on Antwerp. After the first shock of surprise the burghers flew to arms, and in less than an hour the streets were piled with dead French soldiers. His own followers expressed their disgust at such an act of treachery; but Anjou, unabashed, publicly attributed the affair to mischance, while he confided to Henry III. that "the manifest intention of the states to make a Matthias of him had been the cause of the catastrophe." Still Orange remained convinced of the necessity of maintaining the French alliance; and, though much criticised for doing so, he married about this time, as his fourth wife, Coligny's daughter Louise. He continued to negotiate with Anjou in France until the Duke's death; and for a time became so unpopular that he moved into the midst of his loyal Hollanders at Delft. One attempt upon his life by Jauréguy had already failed, when, in July, came the Burgundian fanatic, Balthasar Gerard, with the pretext of bringing the news of Anjou's death. He bought a pair of pistols with some money Orange had given him; and, under an arch in the passage outside the Prince's dining-room, he awaited his return from the family dinner. As William, leading the way, mounted the stairs, Gerard fired three bullets, and the Prince fell into the arms of one of his officers, crying, "God have mercy upon my soul and upon this poor

"The
French
Fury,"
1588

Murder of
the Prince
of Orange,
July 10,
1584

people." A few minutes later he died. Gerard rushed out of doors, but he was caught ; and glorying in his crime, was put to death with barbarous tortures.

At the time of his murder William was fifty-one years old, and, in spite of his arduous life, in full vigour of mind and body. In an early portrait, at the age of twenty-eight, his expression is that of a man not yet certain of himself. His latest picture shows him white-haired, and a little weary, but serenely calm, as having weathered some of the worst storms of human experience. When the assassin struck him down, his work was done, for the future of the United Netherlands was assured.

William's character was a union of wariness and simplicity. Though sparing in all his private tastes, he was good company at table and a frank and genial talker. His title of the Silent is said to have been earned by his discreet reserve when Henry II. confided his plans of persecution to him. He was quick to grasp, and cautious to act, and, in emergencies, conspicuously brave. Though far more open than most rulers of his time, he did not disdain to meet craft with craft. Like Philip and Elizabeth, he was served by spies, but he never stooped to employ assassination. For ten years he daily received copies of Philip's most secret correspondence ; and at one time he carried on all his political business under the name of a firm of merchants—G. & L. Certain. He had a close knowledge of men and the useful faculties of hearing everything and forgetting nothing. His energy and steadfastness were inexhaustible. In toleration and breadth of religious views he belongs to the modern world.

William's eldest son Philip had been, in 1568,

forcibly carried off to Spain, and brought up to hate his father's cause. The second son, called after his famous grandfather, Maurice of Saxony, was elected to rule Holland and Zeeland. For several years after his father's death, Maurice, from the age of seventeen, was absorbed in the scientific study of war—for the son of William the Silent, strangely enough, was to prove no politician, but one of the first soldiers of his age. Had Orange accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands, as he was so often pressed to do, some central authority would have remained at his death. But, by the Federal constitution of the United Provinces, each retained its own government under its own Stattholder, and dealt with its own financial and foreign policy. The business of the Federal government was to organise, in the States General, the defence of all the provinces under their appointed officials, the Captain and Admiral-General. Under these circumstances the five states, feeling the need of a visible bond of union in the face of Parma's rapid progress south of the Meuse, applied in turn to France and England. Henry III. and Elizabeth both declined the honour for themselves; but English troops, under the command of the Queen's favourite, Leicester, were despatched to the Netherlands.

English Expedition to the Netherlands under Leicester, 1585-1587

Without consulting his mistress he accepted the office of Governor-General, and in high displeasure she refused for months to recognise the appointment. Leicester's own strong Calvinistic leanings, his unwise appointments, exclusive support of the popular party, and quarrels with his subordinates, increased his difficulties. His military undertakings were nearly always unsuccessful, and are chiefly remembered in connection with the loss at Zutphen of his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney.

Finally in 1587 he returned to England. Elizabeth, apparently, still hoped to avert a rupture with Philip by intriguing with Parma, who was merely playing with her to gain time for his master. Instead of disowning her responsibility for Drake's "singeing of the Spanish king's beard," and doling out niggardly support to the Netherlands, it might have seemed that wisdom lay in a bolder course. Yet, so divided were the Dutch, it is doubtful how much Elizabeth's unreserved support could have effected in Holland; nor was there any fear in the minds of English seamen as to the final issue with Spain. The execution of the Queen of Scots (who had left to Philip all her claims to the throne of England), and Drake's recent exploits in the Indies against Spain, at last brought the King to the long-postponed decision with Elizabeth; yet, not only did he fail to conquer his chief enemy, but, by checking Parma's victorious advance, he threw away his best chance of recovering the Netherlands.

The Armada, as planned by Philip, was a military rather than a naval expedition. The soldiers were superior in authority and numbers to the sailors. The King's orders were to make for the Netherlands, and guard the Channel while Parma's army of 17,000 men was transported in the flat-bottomed barges which had been for some time collecting in the only available ports—Nieuport and Dunkirk. Parma vainly urged that a base of operations, as at Flushing, or in the Isle of Wight, should be first secured. "Four ships of war," he wrote, "could sink every one of my boats." But Philip, with the hopefulness of the ignorant, clung to the idea that Parma, even without the Armada's help, might contrive to slip unnoticed across the Channel with his troops.

Events
leading
to the
Armada

The Armada's history, from Drake's destructive swoop upon Cadiz in 1587 to the mutterings of the gale that blew on August 14, 1588, is one long catalogue of disaster. The death of its commander-elect, Santa Cruz; the unfortunate appointment of Medina Sidonia; the dishonesty of food contractors; the blockade of Parma's transports by Justin of Nassau's little fleet; even the weather conditions—by each and all these untoward events the Armada was thoroughly dispirited when, after a running fight up Channel with Howard's squadron from Plymouth, it found itself on July 27 at Calais, and almost in touch with Parma. By specially constructed canals Alexander had brought all his vessels to the starting-point, and could embark his men in a day. But until he should have cleared away the Dutch fleet from the entrance to his two ports, Medina Sidonia resigned himself to at least a fortnight's delay in Calais Roads. To the English, however, whose provisions were running short, delay meant disaster, and by launching old burning hulks into the harbour, they drove the Armada, panic-stricken, out to sea. Next day a great battle raged off Gravelines. Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins leading the attack, poured their broadsides into the towering Spanish ships, evading all attempts to grapple. The English vessels, of lighter build, out-manceuvred their opponents by superior seamanship, and the heavy Spanish shot passed harmlessly above their decks. The English artillery was more numerous and more modern, their gunnery better than the Spaniards', and the battle was decided in favour of those who could pound hardest. It is not surprising that the English ammunition gave out before the day was over. Yet not a single ship, and scarcely sixty men, were lost, while sixteen of

Battle off
Gravelines,
Aug. 8,
1588

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Philip, in his usual patient way, accepted the blow, not despairing of fitting out a second Armada. But the English now took the offensive. Of the many buccaneering expeditions that left our coasts, the most conspicuous were a miserable fiasco that occurred in aid of Don Antonio of Portugal, and the successful descent of Essex and Howard upon Cadiz.

English
Expedi-
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against
Spain,
1589,
1596

Meanwhile, in Holland, new men were coming to the front—John van Oldenbarneveldt, Maurice, and Lewis William of Nassau.

Oldenbarneveldt, the Advocate of Holland, formerly a close friend of William the Silent, was a lawyer and statesman of remarkable grasp and ambition. Maurice, at this time described as an unmannerly schoolboy, was engaged, with the help of his cousin, Lewis William, in adapting the military science of Greece and Rome to

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modern warfare. Between them they held the *Statholderships* of the seven provinces, and with *Oldenbarneveldt* they worked in complete accord. *Lewis William* was a man of broad and earnest religious views, unselfishly devoted to his country, and a student of classical wars. The army, which consisted largely of English, Scots, German, and French mercenaries, had to be turned into a weapon not merely of defence but of attack. The musket displaced the pike as the chief arms of the infantry; the troopers, equipped with carbines instead of lances, became mounted infantry rather than cavalry; a regular engineer corps was introduced, and all prejudice against the use of the spade was soon overcome in *Maurice's* army by the important place it was given in the work of fortification. A regular system of pay was set up, the strictest discipline was enforced, and pillage, the curse of the time, was rigorously suppressed. At the head of this reformed and efficient force stood *Maurice*, lacking, perhaps, French dash and Italian swiftness, but cool, scientific, and resolute. With his great rival *Parma* he scarcely came into contact, for under the strain of incredible exertions the latter's health had given way. Twice, in 1590 and 1592, he had been required to march into France to relieve Paris or Rouen for the Catholic League. But these masterly achievements, among the finest in his career, were the work of a dying man. His loyalty had long been overcast at Madrid by cruel slanders, which he vainly urged Philip to treat "not only as a King but as a gentleman." His successor was, in fact, already chosen, but from the knowledge of this final insult death saved him. No longer able to mount his horse unaided, at the end of a long day's work in the saddle when superintending

preparations for yet another French campaign, he fainted, and so passed away. In all the war there is no more heroic figure than the forsaken but unconquerable Parma, battling to the last with disease and death.

His successor, the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian II., was designed by Philip to marry his daughter Isabella, and rule France. He was gentle, fat, and fond of comfort, and his habit of bursting into tears under difficulties must have been puzzling to an official generation that had known Parma. In little more than a year he died, and was succeeded by his brother, the ex-Cardinal Archduke Albert, a dignified and hard-working soldier and politician of some ability. He at once made overtures of peace, but the states had other views, and formed with France and England a triple alliance against Spain—the first foreign recognition of their independence. During these years Maurice of Nassau had sprung into the first rank as a general, and the results of his campaigns from 1591-1596 may be here summarised. During Parma's absence in France he mastered the course of the Waal, and overran the northern provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe. The next year the capture of Gertruydenberg secured control of the Meuse, and with the surrender of Groningen fell the last Spanish stronghold in that province. Temporarily checked in the north by the nonagenarian hero Mondragon, he scored a great success in South Brabant in his next campaign. In a week he cleared North Brabant and Zeeland from the marauders he had driven from Turnhout in South Brabant, and followed up the work of this little winter campaign by capturing a number of places on the Cleves frontier, which strengthened his position on the Rhine.

Death of
Parma,
Dec. 1592

The
Archdukes
Ernest and
Albert in
the Neth-
erlands

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The Peace
of Vervins, May
1598

At this point, to the great disappointment of the Dutch, Henry IV. of France concluded with Spain the Peace of Vervins, in which the states declined to be included without acknowledgment of their independence. The Spanish provinces at the same time were formed into a separate sovereign state, to be ruled by the Archduke Albert and his proposed bride the Infanta, on the understanding that they should revert to Spain should the Archduke die childless. In the autumn died Philip II.

The war continued between the Spanish and United Provinces till 1609, its monotonous course being relieved by two great exploits at Nieuport and Ostend. To secure a base of attack on Dunkirk, and strike at Flanders, the heart of the enemy's power, Maurice invested Nieuport. Caught unexpectedly by the Archduke's army between the harbour behind and the sea on the left, Maurice had to give battle in the sand dunes. After several hours' fierce struggle his soldiers broke into flight, but were rallied by their general's extraordinary quickness and resolution. The tables were instantly turned, the Archduke's army stampeded, and Albert himself, who had fought bravely, only narrowly escaped with his life. This first great victory of the states in the open field was marked by the loss of some 5000 of the enemy and the capture of large numbers of prisoners, guns, and standards.

The Siege
of Ostend,
1601-1604

The second great military event of the "old age" of the war was the long siege of Ostend. The capture of this fort, the only one held by the states in Flanders, was of great importance to the Spaniards, as being the single "thorn in the Belgic Lion's foot." Sir Francis Vere was the first of a line of stout defenders of the town. Maurice and Lewis William watched over it

outside, intercepting supplies for the besieging army; and as it was open to the sea, it had ample provisions. On the land side the approaches were mined and counter-mined, and the forts captured one by one, till it seemed as if Ostend would be nibbled to pieces. At last the Marquis Spinola, head of a great Genoese banking family, offered the Archdukes to advance large sums on condition that he might command the besieging forces. Spinola was no soldier, but a refined and dignified aristocrat of thirty-three, whom Velasquez has made familiar in his famous picture of the surrender of Breda. Yet he at once proved himself as tough as a tried campaigner, and as reckless of his own life as he was of the lives of his troops. It was soon clear that Ostend was in his grasp, from which Maurice tried to wrench it by a counter-attack on a more important place—Sluys. Having secured Sluys, on Spinola's failure to relieve it, Maurice was unwillingly preparing, at the States General's orders, to attack Spinola's army before Ostend, when a further waste of human life was spared by the garrison's surrender. They marched out with all the honours of war, leaving the Archdukes to take possession of the grim and desolate heap of ruins that had once been Ostend. Seventy thousand men, the life-blood of the army in Belgium, had been sacrificed to take it, and meanwhile in Sluys the states had gained a more useful seaport, commanding the western entrance to the Scheldt.

For five years longer the war lingered, its final exploit taking place at sea. A Dutch fleet, under the daring navigator Heemskirk, attacked the Spanish fleet in Gibraltar Bay, and utterly destroyed it at a trifling cost of life. With the good offices of France and

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The Twelve Years' Truce, April 1609 England, negotiations, after a time of great suspense, ended in a twelve-years' truce, on the following terms:—

- (1) The United Provinces were acknowledged by Spain to be sovereign and independent.
- (2) Freedom of trade was granted to the Provinces.

No mention was made of liberty of worship for the Catholics, but this was practically secured by the toleration shown in the states to all forms of belief.

Different Results of the Struggle in North and South

So the great forty years' struggle ended: with the astonishing result, that a race of traders and fishermen striking for liberty, had, in achieving it, not only reduced the greatest Empire of the age to the position of a second-rate power, but had "found" itself. It had made proof of its rugged virtues, and, in the strength of its new-born national feeling, it displayed its energy in every field of human enterprise. No more extraordinary contrast can be imagined than that produced by the war between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The south had become a desert—fields lay waste; population had migrated; trade had drifted northwards: Antwerp was totally eclipsed by Amsterdam. But, in the north, trade thrived on the war. The Dutch became the corn and timber-carriers of Europe; the cloth trade was transplanted from Flanders to Holland. France and England, each absorbed in its own affairs, made no opposition to the world-wide expansion of Dutch commerce. (From the Kara Straits to Patagonia, from Japan to Brazil, their ships were on every sea. The first of all chartered Companies for Indian trade was formed in Holland. The Arctic adventures of Barendz and Heemskirk have never been surpassed in interest. We may trace the Dutch settlements in New Amsterdam

(New York), New Holland (Australia), northern New Guinea, Cape Hoorn, Tasmania, the Fiji Islands, Ceylon and Cape Colony.

Progress in literature, science, and art kept pace with that of discovery. During the war, refugees of various races and opinions from the south brought new ideas and fresh vigour to the Dutch stock. About a generation later were born a brilliant throng of men and women, destined to win for Frederick Henry's reign the title of the Golden Age—the age of Grotius, Descartes and Spinoza, of the great Dutch poets, and of the great Dutch painters, headed by Hals and Rembrandt.

After the conclusion of the Truce, which had been strenuously opposed by Maurice of Nassau, the political power in the states eclipsed that of the army, and brought into greater prominence Oldenbarneveldt, whose diplomacy secured for Holland a great place in European politics. He joined hands with France over the important affairs of the Juliers-Cleves succession, soothed the commercial jealousy of England, and kept on friendly terms with the northern powers. Unfortunately, at home, it was plain that friction was arising. The political, military, and naval authority of the states was centred in the half-hereditary House of Orange—by which is meant that election was practically restricted to this one family. But Oldenbarneveldt was Advocate of Holland, where the Republican party were uppermost. Yet it was religion and not politics that finally separated the two friends. The great rivalry between the two branches of Dutch Calvinism, the Remonstrants and the Counter Remonstrants (Liberals and strict Calvinists) came to a head in a famous controversy between their leaders, Arminius and Gomarus. The states declared in favour

Religious
Parties in
Holland

of the Arminians, the party to which belonged both the House of Orange and Oldenbarneveldt; but the Counter Remonstrants proved defiant, and it became necessary to appeal to force. Though Maurice confessed he did not know "whether Predestination was blue or green," he yielded to the persuasions of the Advocate's enemies, and offered his military services to the Counter Remonstrants. Oldenbarneveldt urged the State of Holland to raise irregular forces of its own, and claimed that Maurice must take his orders from that authority, and not from the States-General. But Maurice and his soldiers were irresistible: a large majority took up the Counter Remonstrant cry for a National Synod, and the Remonstrant leaders, among them Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, were arrested. While the Synod of Dort, representing most of Protestant Europe, was engaged in condemning the Remonstrants, and drawing up its own Confession of Faith, an illegal Court, packed with his personal enemies, was conducting Oldenbarneveldt's trial in the harshest manner. He was condemned to death, and Maurice declined to interfere with the sentence. The old Advocate was beheaded on May 13, 1619. "Do not believe that I am a traitor to the country," were his last words to the assembled crowd. "I have always acted as a good patriot, and, as such, I shall die." The verdict of history has confirmed his defence: if Orange was the Founder, Oldenbarneveldt was the master-builder of the United Netherlands. His death was due to the malignity of his enemies, and casts a dark shadow upon the reputation of Maurice of Orange.

The Synod
of Dort

Execution
of Olden-
barneveldt.
1619

The fall of Oldenbarnevelt postponed for thirty years the struggle between the House of Orange and the

Republican party. Maurice was sovereign in all but name till his death; he was unmarried, and did not care about the title. Yet nothing, he admitted, went well with him after the Advocate's execution. On the expiration of the truce with Spain, he took the field against Spinola, and achieved one success in the relief of Bergen-op-Zoom. But his failure to rescue Breda cut him to the heart and hastened his end. On his death-bed he settled the succession upon his brother Frederick Henry, the son of William and Louise de Coligny, whom he had also trained to be the heir of his fame in war.

During the reign of Frederick Henry the power and prosperity of the House of Orange reached its greatest height. Reference has already been made to the famous period of discovery, literature, and art, which won for his age the name of "Golden." The Prince, who had inherited the diplomatic gifts of his father, with the military genius of his brother, was exactly the ruler to foster the growth of monarchy in Holland—and this development is the chief interest of his reign in European history. While Frederick himself took the field, gaining in a series of campaigns an important line of border fortresses—Hertogenbosch, Maestricht, and Breda—his clever wife, Amalia of Sohms, conducted political and diplomatic business, and transformed Maurice's quiet household into a court. In the diplomacy of the Thirty Years' War Holland played an important part, and two great naval triumphs over Spain in 1631 and 1639 signalised her growing sea-power. At Frederick Henry's death the House of Orange had attained sovereign rank. The Act of Survival had already declared the hereditary succession of his son, William II., whose marriage with

Frederick
Henry,
Prince of
Orange,
1625-1648

Death of
Frederick
Henry,
1647

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Mary, daughter of Charles I., linked his family with a great reigning house.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

- MOTLEY : Dutch Republic.
 ,, The United Netherlands.
FREDERIC HARRISON : William the Silent.
R. PUTNAM : William the Silent.
CBEIGHTON : Age of Elizabeth. (Epoch Series.)

CHAPTER X

THE FRENCH REFORMATION

THE French Reformation must not be regarded as a side-issue of the German Reformation, for it had a character all its own. The Church in France had always been somewhat independent of Rome, and the Reform movement there never threatened, as it did about the time of the Diet of Worms in Germany, to become national. The Huguenots were always a minority—perhaps about one-thirtieth of the population; while in Germany, by 1580, the Protestants have been estimated at twenty-seven thirtieths of the whole. The many political divisions of the Empire favoured differences of opinion; but for bare national existence France needed a centralised government and uniformity of religion. Thus in Germany the Reformation could succeed partly; in France it must succeed altogether or fail. Independence of thought may be said to have been the watchword of Germany; but a stricter and more binding moral law was the aim of the French Reformers. It has been remarked that “the German Reformer fought against the Pope, the French Reformer against the Devil” (*Edwards*). The personal interest of the French Reformation—especially of its heroines—is stronger than in Germany. Each movement, however, gave birth to a great Protestant Reformer—the one to Luther, the other to Calvin. Lastly, Protestantism was

Contrast
between
the Re-
formation
in Ger-
many and
in France

strong in North Germany and South France. South Germany was finally recovered by the Roman Church; but had the Reformation come fifty years sooner, it might possibly have succeeded in the South of France.

Five
Periods of
the French
Reforma-
tion—

- (1) 1520-36
- (2) 1536-59
- (3) 1559-72
- (4) 1572-89
- (5) 1589-95

The French Reformation struggle is so long and complicated that a general plan of its course may be sketched here. The first stage is that of growth; the second, of organisation as a religious party; the third, of organisation as a political party; the fourth, of the triumph of the political party over the religious party. At this point, with the massacre of St Bartholomew, the real Reform movement ends; the wars of religion now become a struggle for the throne between the Guise and Bourbon factions; or, in other aspects, a contest between tyranny and Republicanism, or between national independence and Spanish rule. The accession of Henry of Navarre, followed by his admission to the Roman Church, cannot be regarded as a Huguenot victory, and is succeeded by the Catholic reaction.

The Reformation entered France hand-in-hand with the Renaissance, and the welcome given by the Royal House to the latter saved the former from a severe reception at first.

The Evan-
gelical
Reformers

About 1520 the new movement gained a footing in Paris with the Evangelical Reformers—Lefèvre, Farel, Marot, Briçonnet, and Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I.' Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament into French enabled him to set up the Bible as the sole standard of faith. Under Bishop Briçonnet, Meaux became the centre of a band of preachers inspired by Lefèvre, of whom the chief were Farel, the young and imaginative apostle of Switzerland, and Marot, the

favourite poet of Francis I., whose beautiful version of the Psalms did much to make Protestantism popular.

Lastly, there was Margaret of Valois, the patroness of learning and darling of the Court, who presented the reformed religion to the world in its most attractive aspect. When she left Paris to become the Huguenot Queen of Navarre, Meaux already eclipsed Paris as the headquarters of Protestantism, and challenged the opposition of the Sorbonne or Theological Faculty of that university. During the King's captivity in 1525, the Parliament of Paris set on foot persecution; but at Francis' return the clouds temporarily lifted—unfriendly relations with the Pope, his sister's great influence, and the attraction the Reformers' learning had for the King, nearly led him to adopt their cause. This, however, was not to be. The wild outbreaks against the Mass forfeited his sympathy; the Catholics convinced him that the success of the Reformation would hopelessly divide the country; Pope Clement VII. succeeded in involving France in a new Italian war, and at the same time in making his cousin, Catharine di Medici, Dauphiness. For these reasons Francis I. finally decided against the Reformation.

Though the new ideas rapidly spread in the provinces, there was, up to this point, no union between those who held them. But in 1536, the year of Lefèvre's death, appeared "The Institutes of the Christian Religion," upholding the Reformers' religious views as being quite compatible with the character of good citizens. This remarkable book, dedicated to the King, and written by a young man of twenty-six, had the effect of welding the French Reformation into one whole, and of giving it the distinctive name, Calvinist.

John
Calvin,
1509-1564

Its author, John Calvin, born in Picardy in 1509, of well-to-do and respected parents, had studied law at Bourges and Paris. In the capital he fell under the influence of the Reformers, and on account of his views he was forced to leave the city. Before long he settled in Basel, a town teeming with the new ideas, and there he published the Institutes. This book, the critical outlook upon religion of a deeply spiritual mind, became the code of law for the new Church. Calvin, at Farel's entreaty, was soon actively engaged in work in Geneva. That free Imperial city was French in language, which may account for the fact that it, and not German-speaking Basel, was destined to become "the new Rome of the Protestant Church." Much friction and mental activity was generated on this meeting-ground of four races, under the curiously-divided authority of the Bishop, the Duke of Savoy, and the citizens. During Calvin's first stay of two years, he tried to carry out a thorough-going reform in the life of the city; but his severity defeated his object, and he and Farel were driven away. Three years later he was recalled with a free hand to rule the Church. First he drew up a scheme for the education of ministers, so that before long Geneva was "the mine whence came the ore of heresy" which was distributed throughout France, Holland, England, and Scotland. In Geneva was set up the Consistory of six ministers and twelve annually-elected elders. They were responsible for the city's morals, and with the aid of the civil government had power to punish lapses from a very exacting standard. Attendance at church was compulsory; disrespect to parents, card-playing, the wearing of gay clothes, frivolity, and irreverence were punishable offences; and the penalty of heresy was death. The

Genevan model of Church organisation was copied wherever Calvinism took root, whether in Europe or America. In France the congregations were organised during the second period of the Reformation. Each congregation formed a distinct church, ruling the life of the community through its Consistory of ministers, deacons, and elders. The pastor and one elder represented each church in the district meeting; above this stood the Provincial Synod; and, at the head of all, the National Synod, which in 1559 drew up at Paris the Calvinist Confession of Faith. The only recognised sacraments were Baptism and the Lord's Supper, of which latter Calvin, differing from both Catholics and Lutherans, taught the doctrine of a Real Presence, revealed only spiritually to the faithful. The Bible was to be the sole standard of belief; but no salvation was possible without the fold of the Church. Though the constitution of the Church was democratic by means of the election of all officers but Calvin himself, obedience to authority was strictly enjoined. It was not until after Calvin's death that the well-known views of free grace and predestination came to the front.

Calvin lived to see his Church firmly settled in many countries, and he remained both Pope and Emperor of Geneva until his death in 1564. Gloomy as was his teaching and severe and unæsthetic as were its practices, it lived in the Huguenots, the Dutch, the Puritans, the Covenanters, and the Pilgrim Fathers as a purifying and reviving force in the history of nations.

By 1535 Francis had definitely decided against the Reformation; and as soon as there was a lull in the Italian war, persecution began. For nearly ten years

Persecu-
tion of the
Waldenses,
1545

the Waldenses, the peaceful and law-abiding followers of Peter Waldo, whose only crime was association with the Lutherans, were treated with merciless severity. Finally they were abandoned to the cruel President of the Parlement of Aix, whose troops destroyed their village and slew a population of 3000 in the space of two months. Next year a descent was made upon the Reformers of Meaux, fourteen of whom were tried, tortured, and burnt by the Parlement of Paris. Yet it was evident at the time of Francis' death that Protestantism had gained ground everywhere except the north-west.

Henry II.,
1547-1559

Henry II., however, did not share his father's interest in the Reformers' learning, and he was strongly influenced by their enemies, the Constable, the Marshal, and the all-powerful favourite, Diane de Poitiers. The Guises recovered their influence at Court, which had lately waned. Persecution became more active—a special Chamber of the Parlement of Paris set apart for the trial of heretics soon justified its name of *La Chambre Ardente*. The Church as well as the Civil Courts were empowered to deal with heretics, and from neither jurisdiction was there any appeal. Yet it was at this time that the movement reached its highest level in purity of belief and of motive, in the completion of its organisation and in the saintliness which every age of persecution seems to manifest. Even the orthodox Parlement of Paris had become infected with the new ideas before the end of Henry II.'s reign.

Francis II.,
1569-1560

The accession of Francis II., Henry's eldest son, coincides with the beginning of the third period of the Reformation—the political organisation of the Protestants. Here ends the purely religious interest :

motives become mixed, and the movement declines in moral force. But it appeals to a wider circle. Converts are first found about this time among the noble or military classes which had been set free by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Three great families controlled the state of parties, and each was represented by three distinguished brothers.

The young King Francis II. was, at the age of sixteen, entirely in the hands of the Guises, the uncles of his wife, Mary Queen of Scots. Though regarded as semi-foreigners, the Guises had in their veins the blood of all the royal houses of France, and were the grandsons of that René of Lorraine who had recovered his duchy from the clutches of Charles the Bold. They were fanatically Catholic, popular with the lower classes, and therefore strong in northern industrial France; and ambitious of supreme power. Through their sister, Mary of Lorraine, James V.'s widow, and Regent of Scotland for her daughter Mary Stuart, they worked the Catholic interest of that country to the utmost, hoping to make good their niece's claim to the English throne in despite of Queen Elizabeth. The Scots Protestants, headed by the Lords of the Congregation, therefore made successful overtures of alliance to both Elizabeth and the French Protestants. The long-standing enmity between France and Spain, although just officially closed by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, nevertheless kept Philip II. in constant dread of the Guise policy, and obliged him to be civil to Elizabeth. It was not until the danger of a union between France, Scotland, and England had passed away with Francis II., and in a secondary sense with the improved position in England of the Tudor Queen, that the Catholic sympathies shared by the Guises and Philip were able to draw them together,

The Great
French
Nobles
the Guises

with the disastrous results to France known as the Wars of the Catholic League.

The Guises of whom we have spoken were the three brothers—the Cardinal of Lorraine, a subtle, suave, and commanding personality; Francis, Duke of Guise, the hero of Metz and Calais, less able but more straightforward than his brother; and the Cardinal of Guise, altogether less prominent than the other two. They were supported, on the whole, by the great nobles, the clergy, the official classes, and the peasants; and geographically their influence was strongest in Paris, North-east France, Toulouse, and Brittany.

Of the same religion as the Guises, but separated from them by personal dislike, was the House of Montmorency, whose head was the stern and upright old Constable, Coligny's uncle. They formed at first, with the Queen-Mother and the Chancellor L'Hopital, what may be called the Middle Catholic Party; but when war broke out they supported the Crown against the Huguenots.

Foremost in rank on the Protestant side stood the House of Bourbon, an offshoot, like the Guises, of the royal family, but next to the throne after the reigning Valois, and ready to dispute place and power with the Guises. The head of the family was Antony, through his wife Joan (Margaret of Valois' daughter), King of Navarre by courtesy, a soldier and a Calvinist, but far too much of a weathercock to make a party leader. Louis, Prince of Condé, the second brother, small in person, gay and gallant, had been converted to Calvinism by his wife Eleanor, Coligny's niece, and showed some of the strong qualities of a leader. The third brother belongs to the Catholic party, for Charles,

Cardinal of Bourbon, leapt into fame for a short space only as the Leaguers' King, Charles X. of France.

The third of the great governing families was the House of Chatillon, which gave to the French Reformation the one man it produced of supreme fitness for leadership—Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. He had served his country well, having delivered Paris from a Spanish army in 1557 by his dogged defence of St Quentin; yet, like William III. of England, he was more successful in retrieving disaster than in winning battles. In his military ordinances he had showed himself stark and stern in reducing to order an insubordinate soldiery. But his gifts were those of a statesman rather than of a general. He had yielded slowly to the Reformed opinions, and at last was persuaded by his wife to declare himself a Calvinist. He hoped to heal internal disorders by making war upon Spain, and by a definite attempt at colonisation. His settlements in Brazil and in Florida, if successful, would have placed France in the forefront of colonising nations.

Coligny was of middle height, ruddy, and well-built, with a pleasant voice and calm eyes. He was highly educated, and an enthusiastic art collector, yet a man of solitary tastes, and too honest to be a perfect diplomatist or courtier. He was just and honourable, with a moral force that won him undisputed authority over his party. Something of the Old Testament leader, something of the fearless, unworldly character and primitive faith that have set apart General Gordon in our own age, were united in Coligny with a sound and balanced judgment.

The three Chatillon brothers were said to be "kindled as by one soul." The Cardinal, Odet, sympathised with the Reformation, and the youngest, D'Andelot, a very

brave and popular soldier, was, though a Calvinist, a friend of the King, and regarded by the Guises as one of their most formidable opponents.

Elements
of the
Huguenot
Party

The chief supporters of the Huguenot party were to be found among the lesser nobility and the gentry and the trading and artisan classes. Their influence was strongest in a district lying between Orleans and Avignon, bounded by the rivers Loire and Rhone. Politics as well as religion entered into their programme of reform. They demanded the reassembling of the States-General, which had not met for seventy-five years, reduction of taxation, the abolition of the sale of offices, and the exclusion of foreigners from important posts. The Parlement of Paris, though on the whole favourable to their views, was jealous of any plan to revive the States General.

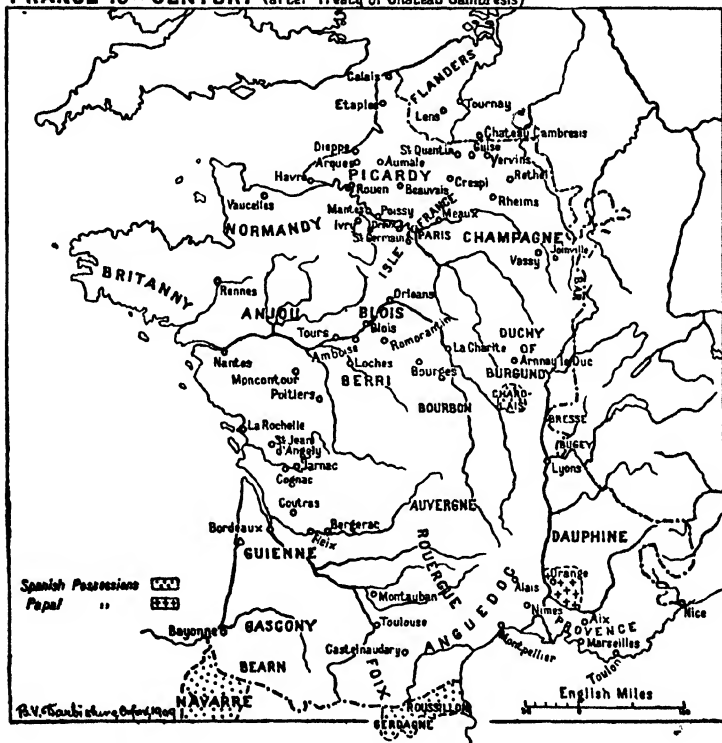
Catharine
di Medici

Between these two parties stood the Queen-Mother, Catharine di Medici, watching as an ambitious woman and an Italian for the long-postponed chance of exerting her influence. She had possessed her soul in patience under the slights of her husband and his court till the accession of her son. At the age of forty she was at her best, without pretensions to charm, but full of vitality, indefatigable, and witty. Her nature was steel-smooth and cold; she lived apparently without either attracting or feeling affection. By nature and education she was crafty, but not deliberately cruel. Though her conduct was not hampered by ordinary notions of right and wrong, her own life was respectable, and she had great self-control and common-sense.

The Guises immediately took possession of France on the King's death. A reign of terror followed, directed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the military support of

the Duke of Guise. Two attempts were made by the Huguenots to overthrow this tyranny. By the first, the Tumult of Amboise, Navarre and Condé failed to get

FRANCE 16th CENTURY (after Treaty of Chateau Cambresis)



possession of the King; by the second—a constitutional movement led by Coligny and supported by Catharine—they secured a promise that the States-General should meet to discuss religious and political grievances. Meanwhile the Guises made the most of the time by managing

the elections and arresting both Navarre and Condé. Only the sudden death of the feeble King saved the latter from execution.

Charles
IX., 1560-
1574

As the second Valois boy, now Charles IX., was only ten, Catharine secured the regency, after satisfying Antony of Navarre, the nearest Prince of the Blood, with the Lieutenant-Generalship of France. Her intentions were to rule with the help of the middle party—the Constable and L'Hopital—and thus set up “an eternal balance” between Catholics and Huguenots. By way of beginning the reduction of the Guises' power, she compelled them to despatch their niece Mary Stuart to her own kingdom, and to set free the Bourbon princes.

The long-delayed States-General met at Pontoise. The Huguenots, who were in a majority, brought forward their political reforms, and also demanded that a National Church of the Reformed opinions should be established. At the Conference of Poissy some of the chief partisans of both sides were present to discuss the two religions, among them L'Hopital, who was of all men the most capable of working Catharine's policy of balance (if it could be worked at all), on account of the respect in which he was held, and his power of appreciating the good in each religion. As Chancellor he had influenced the Parlement of Paris against persecution, and he hoped to turn men's minds from religious strife in the direction of reform. Though the Conference of Poissy, which was his idea, did not arrive at any reconciliation, by the Edict of January both religions were made legal in France, the Huguenots being allowed to gather for worship outside walled towns. But the balance thus fixed soon failed, for the extreme wing of each party defied compromise, and the position was altered by

the Constable joining the Guises, with whom he had always been in religious sympathy, and by the desertion of Navarre, whose vanity and weakness had been played on by the Guises and by the Pope.

The Guises, led by the Triumvirate—the Duke, the Marshal, and the Constable—were aware of their power, and bent upon the decision of the sword. An unexpected opportunity came when Guise, with a body of retainers, was riding through Vassy. His men, pushing their way into a barn where a Huguenot service was, quite legally, being held, caused a disturbance, which ended in their firing upon and killing some sixty of the congregation. As the duke supported this outrage, the Massacre of Vassy became the signal for civil war. The Guises forthwith obliged the King and his mother to return to Paris, which the Duke, contrary to Catharine's orders, had occupied with his forces. The Huguenots' failure to secure either the King or the capital shows that they were taken by surprise, and it told heavily against them. Since the Massacre of Vassy startled the country, the Huguenot nobles had been mustering in Paris, and their number astonished the Catholics. The signal for action was Condé's declaration that he came to deliver the King from the Triumvirate. Both sides appealed to the German princes for help, which was forthcoming in each case. Queen Elizabeth also sent troops to the Huguenots, on the understanding that she should be compensated for the expense by the immediate possession of Havre and the future possession of Calais.

Speaking generally, each of these short civil wars followed the same course—a siege, a battle, a peace. Rouen and Orleans were the first Huguenot strongholds to be attacked; and it was hoped that by besieging the

The
Massacre
of Vassy,
1562

First Civil
War,
1562-1563

first the English would be prevented from getting a foothold in Normandy. Condé's hasty march to join his friends in the north drew the enemy away from Orleans, and caused the Battle of Dreux. Rouen, however, was finally stormed and sacked by Guise's soldiers; Navarre indeed lost his life, but that was a gain to the Huguenots, since Condé assumed the headship of his house during the boyhood of young Henry of Navarre. At the Battle of Dreux, Marshal St André was killed and the Constable captured. Soon after, the third member of the Triumvirate, the Duke of Guise, while superintending the siege operations at Orleans, was shot in the back by the Huguenot fanatic Poltrot. The surviving chiefs met at Orleans, and under Condé's lead issued the Pacification of Amboise. Huguenot worship was to be allowed in the nobles' houses, and in all towns which had held Calvinist services before 1563.

**Murder of
the Duke
of Guise**

The result of the first war was to embitter party feeling, and, by removing the Triumvirate, to place power once more in Catharine's hands. From this moment too, realising that Coligny was her chief rival, she changed her policy. She threw herself on the Catholic side, and to weaken Condé's influence, caused the King, though only thirteen, to be declared of age. In a royal progress through the kingdom, it appears that some plan for the forcible destruction of the Protestants in France and the Netherlands was arranged, even as early as this, with the Legate and the Duke of Alva. Alarmed by rumours, the Huguenots tried by "The Enterprise of Meaux" to seize Charles, and failing, marched on Paris, hoping to end the war at a blow. But the Battle of St Denis, in which the old Constable fell, was a drawn engagement. The Peace (really only

**Second
Civil War,
1567-1568**

the truce) of Longjumeau left matters as at Amboise. Soon after, the dismissal of L'Hopital from Court marks the failure of his policy of toleration.

The Third Civil War was provoked by the Catholics' attempt to seize Condé and Coligny. Through the forest tracts of Central France they escaped to Rochelle, held by La Rochefoucauld, which became thenceforth the chief Huguenot stronghold. Thither, too, came the southern nobles and Joan of Navarre with her son Henry. The royal army, under the nominal command of the King's next brother, Henry of Anjou, but actually led by Marshal Tavannes, entered the south, and in the spring following encountered Coligny at Jarnac. In a desperate effort to retrieve the day, Condé was shot after surrendering his sword, and the 300 nobles fighting round him fell almost to a man. The Calvinist cause seemed crushed; but the loss of Condé, brilliant and popular as he was, made way for far stronger leaders—Coligny and Joan of Navarre.

Third
Civil War,
1563-1570

Battle of
Jarnac,
1569

The Admiral soon put a second army into the field, with German and Flemish reinforcements, and they besieged Poitiers. After a seven weeks' able defence by Henry of Guise, the son and successor of the murdered duke, the siege was raised by Anjou, at severe cost to the Huguenots. The clamorous German mercenaries drove Coligny into a still more disastrous battle at Moncontour, resulting in a loss of 10,000 killed or taken, and of guns, standards, and baggage. But the stubborn resistance offered to Anjou by the Huguenot towns, the premature recall of the Spanish and papal forces, and the King's jealousy of his brother, gave Coligny time to raise yet another army, and without further important fighting the war was concluded by the

Peace of St Germain. The terms were almost as favourable to the Huguenots as if they had been victorious :—

- (1) Previous edicts to their advantage were confirmed.
- (2) Two places in each province were added to the number of those where services might be held. Four cities of refuge—Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité—were placed in their hands.
- (3) Calvinists were admitted to all public employments.
- (4) They were allowed to appear before Calvinist judges.

The Peace of St Germain is a landmark in the war, not only because more fully than any previous treaty it recognised the Huguenot position, but because it coincides with a change in the Queen-Mother's foreign policy. Coligny's idea of a national war against Spain was eagerly taken up by Catharine and Charles; there was much talk of marriage alliances between the King's sister Margaret and Henry of Navarre, between Charles himself and the Emperor Maximilian II.'s daughter Elizabeth, between Elizabeth of England and Henry of Anjou. Though the last proposal ended in talk, Elizabeth agreed to the sending of a French expedition to help Orange, while Charles renewed negotiations with the German Protestant princes with a view to their support in the Netherlands. The Battle of Lepanto had deepened Charles' jealousy of Philip, and the capture of Brill by the Sea Beggars convinced him that the moment had come to strike at Spain.

Opposition
of Catharine
to
Coligny

At this point Catharine discovered that the King was drifting from her own influence under Coligny's, and she swiftly decided upon the Admiral's removal. She succeeded in setting at rest his distrust, so that he surrendered three of the cities of refuge, and encouraged

Joan of Navarre to visit Paris about her son's marriage with the Princess Margaret. Joan's death, soon after her arrival, was set down, as usual at the period, to poison, but of this there is no real evidence.

The Huguenot world crowded to Paris to witness their leader's wedding on August 18. On the 22nd, as Coligny was walking from the palace to his lodging, a bullet, fired from a house belonging to the Guise faction, broke his arm. The King, greatly upset, threatened an inquiry; the alarm and indignation of the Huguenots were unbounded; while, in Catharine's eyes, Coligny, scotched but not killed, became more dangerous than before. She hastily took counsel with her Italian supporters and Anjou, and browbeat the miserable King into consenting to their plan. Charles, as he yielded, exclaimed that not a Huguenot must be spared to reproach him with Coligny's death. This fell in with Catharine's view that in a general massacre Coligny would only seem to share the common fate; once the signal for killing the leaders was given, the mob of Paris would answer for the rest.

At midnight on August 23 the ringing of church bells ushered in St Bartholomew's Day. At this signal parties of armed men turned into the streets, recognising their fellow Catholics by a white badge. Guise had personally undertaken to dispose of Coligny. The admiral, weak from his recent wound, was aroused by a tumult on the stairs; but he received his murderers with perfect calmness, as he propped himself kneeling against his bed. They thrust him through with a pike, and flung the still living body from the window into the courtyard below, where Guise was waiting to receive it.

The
Massacre
of St
Bartholo-
mew, 1572

Murder of
Coligny

Besides Coligny, his son-in-law Teligny and La Roche-

foucauld, were slain. Henry of Navarre and young Condé were spared on condition they became Catholics. During the day and on the next, 2000 of their followers perished in Paris; and the movement spread through other towns, including Meaux, Orleans, and Rouen, finally reaching Bordeaux, and destroying in its course from twenty to thirty thousand souls.

The massacre did not, however, produce any change in the political situation. Rome and Madrid expressed their joy, and the English Court went into mourning; but Henry III.'s share in the crime did not prevent his election to the throne of partly-Protestant Poland. Elizabeth promptly resumed her negotiations with Alençon, and Orange still clung to his policy of liberating the Netherlands with French aid.

The
Fourth
Civil War,
1572-1578

Immediately after the massacre, broke out the Fourth Civil War, consisting mainly of sieges of the chief Huguenot strongholds, among which that of La Rochelle stands out for its stubborn and successful defence. The election of Anjou, who commanded the besiegers, ended the war. By the Treaty of La Rochelle liberty of conscience was secured to all Huguenots, with liberty of worship in Rochelle, Montaubon, Nimes, and Sancerre.

Changes in
the Char-
acter of the
French
Reforma-
tion

After St Bartholomew the character of the French Reformation changed in several ways. First, a third party, the Politiques, came to the front, who, though Catholics themselves and led by the Montmorency family, notably strengthened the Huguenots. Their war-cry was Liberty of Conscience; but weariness of strife, and personal ambition, rather than religious enthusiasm, were the mainsprings of their conduct. Secondly, the growth of political theory and experiment

became a feature of Calvinism. The loss of many of the military nobility in the war brought forward the middle-class and the preachers. Democratic ideas spread in the form of pamphlets, or took shape in the two small republics of Languedoc and Upper Guienne. In fact, the south, the stronghold of the Politiques, under its elected governor Damville de Montmorency, became almost independent.

The Politiques, having loudly but unsuccessfully called for toleration, arranged a general rising in the south and Normandy, which became the Fifth Civil War. At this time the King, who, though thoroughly unbalanced, was the best-intentioned of his family, died of consumption, haunted at the last by visions of St Bartholomew. Henry III. stole away at dead of night from Poland, where he had become extremely unpopular, to claim his new crown. Several of the old leaders had passed away since he left France, and a Catholic revival was setting in. But the Fifth War was ended by the Peace of Monsieur, with the best terms the Huguenots had yet secured.

Fifth Civil
War,
1574-1576

Henry
III., 1573-
1589

1. It sanctioned Huguenot worship throughout France, except near Paris.
2. Cases concerning Protestants were to be tried by "Chambres-mi-parties" (Catholic and Calvinist judges in equal numbers) in every Parlement.
3. Eight cities of refuge were handed over.

This peace was fiercely criticised by the Catholics in general, and the Guises in particular. It therefore hastened the Catholic revival, and caused many old provincial associations to merge themselves in a new league which originated in Picardy, which rested on armed force, and aimed at the defence of Church and King. At a

meeting of the States-General at Blois it adopted much the same reform programme as the Huguenots had brought forward at Pontoise (p. 198). It controlled its members so absolutely that they almost ceased to be French citizens. The Guises, from being the main supporters of the Crown, now became the leaders of a democratic movement to dispose of the Crown at the will of the people. Active rivalry between Guise and Bourbon for the throne of the Valois had, in fact, begun. And the League, in the borrowed plumes of Huguenot republicanism, entered upon its twenty years' destructive career, fostering civil war, and swallowing up some of the most cherished institutions of France.

Henry III. was at first puzzled how to deal with the League, but he could not wink at the Guises' daring claim to his throne. He turned to the States-General at Blois for help, but in the course of drawing up a constitutional reform, the Catholics' demand for the exclusive recognition of their religion brought on the Sixth Civil War.

Sixth Civil
War, 1577

Alençon, who had been playing with the Calvinists, and Damville, both joined the Royalists; and only Elizabeth's timely aid enabled Navarre to cut short hostilities, mainly in the west, by the Treaty of Bergerac. It justified the saying, "The worse the fortunes of the Huguenots in war, the better their luck in treaties." Except that the right to worship was confined to places actually in their possession, and the "Chambres-mi-parties" were limited to the South, their position was unchanged.

No one, however, believed that peace would last, and a quarrel between the King and Henry of Navarre about Cahors, claimed by the latter as Margaret's dowry, led

to the "Lovers' War." A great slaughter of Catholics took place at the disputed town, but the strife was local, and hardly deserves the title of the Seventh Civil War. It was closed by the Peace of Fleix, confirming the Treaty of Bergerac.

The Seventh, or the "Lovers' War," 1580

Five years followed without an important outbreak, and men had time to observe with disgust the demoralisation of the Court and of the country. Henry III., who had shown more bodily and mental vigour than the rest of his degenerate family, declined into a luxurious fop. This curled and scented king, fantastically dressed, and surrounded by favourites as brainless as his pet lap-dogs, gave himself up to a life of pleasure, occasionally relieved by superstitious acts of penance. Constant brawls and duels took place between his "mignons" and the followers of Guise. Murders and other crimes became incessant and almost unremarked. Jealousy between the King and Monsieur (Anjou) was partly at the bottom of the fiasco of the latter's appearance in the Netherlands, compared with which his death in 1584 was an event of real importance. For it left Henry of Navarre heir to the French throne almost at the moment when Orange's murder marked him out as the natural champion of Protestantism, and it led to the offer to Henry III. of the sovereignty of the United Provinces, which, as we have seen, he declined.

Meantime the League became aggressive under Guise, whose ability, courage, and fascination made him a formidable leader. By the Treaty of Joinville the League united with Philip II. to root out heresy in France and the Netherlands, and upon the death of Henry III. to crown the Cardinal Bourbon. The Leaguers

The League joins Philip II. in the Treaty of Joinville 1585

published a reform manifesto and made themselves masters of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and a ring of fortresses barring invasion from Germany, Switzerland, and the Protestant South. Paris was dominated by "the Sixteen"—members from the sixteen quarters—who speedily usurped its government. Much as the King hated the necessity, he was obliged to yield to the Guises, and by the Treaty of Nemours he withdrew all previous promises of toleration. Calvinists refusing to change their religion were to leave the country in six months. North-eastern France passed entirely under the control of the Guises, who drew a revenue from the State for their expenses. Immediately after the Treaty Pope Sixtus V. excommunicated Navarre and Condé, and declared them incapable of succeeding to the throne. The Eighth Civil War followed, popularly known as "the War of the Three Henries," since the King and the Duke of Guise were opposed to the King of Navarre. The Huguenot outlook was not encouraging, for the King's lieutenants, Mayenne, Joyeuse, and Epernon, were despatched into the South; the Protestants had little influence elsewhere except in Normandy; and across the northern frontier Parma's triumphant advance might shortly place his unrivalled services at the League's disposal. In the opening campaign Navarre's brisk movements gained him considerable reputation, and at Courtras, where Joyeuse was killed, he won the first Huguenot victory in the open field.

* War of the Three Henries," or Eighth Civil War, 1585-1589

Guise having assembled the forces of the League at Nancy, disregarded Henry III.'s express orders, and entered Paris amid great rejoicing. His object, after consultation with the Spanish envoy, was to compel the King to take drastic measures against heresy.

Henry, vainly attempting to assert his authority, became a prisoner in the Louvre, while Guise rode unarmed through the city quieting the populace. Finding the situation intolerable, the King stole out of Paris with a few attendants, to bid without success for the support of the Estates at Blois. There again the hand of the League was mighty, and to Henry there seemed but one way of escape from such thralldom. He summoned the Duke and his brother the Cardinal to a Council at Blois. Guise, who had been warned of danger, scorned precautions. As he stepped into the royal ante-chamber he was treacherously stabbed by the bodyguard; the Cardinal was arrested and murdered next day; but the remaining brother, Mayenne, escaped to Burgundy. To the Queen-Mother, lying on her death-bed, Henry III. announced that at last he was King of France, for he had killed the King of Paris. But the League, bitterly enraged by the murder of its idol, took stronger measures to assert itself. Mayenne, now Lieutenant-General of the realm, governed Paris with a Council formed from the League and its branches, which spread all over the kingdom. The Spanish Ambassador became its confidential adviser. The Sorbonne, urging that the Crown was really elective, proposed the deposition of Henry. At last, at his wits' end, the King threw himself upon the protection of Henry of Navarre. At Plessis les Tours, preparatory to a common attack upon Mayenne, they agreed upon toleration for the Huguenots. Then they marched on Paris to strike at the very heart of the League, when a friar named Jacques Clement avenged the murdered duke by stabbing Henry III. as he was reading a petition. So, to the joy of his people, perished the last of the Valois.

Henry
III. joins
Henry of
Navarre

Murder
of Henry
III., July
1589

Henry IV.,
1589-1610

Henry of Navarre was now, as Henry III. had acknowledged in his dying moments, the lawful King of France. To declare himself a Catholic, as his friends advised, would forfeit the support of the Huguenots, so he merely agreed to receive "instruction," and turned to military preparations. The League acknowledged the Cardinal of Bourbon as Charles X., and with the support of the lesser clergy, the official class, the Pope, and the King of Spain, seemed powerful indeed as compared with Henry, whose foreign allies—England, the German Princes, and the United Provinces—were cautious and poor. But, as a party leader, Henry was a host in himself. His wit, his irrepressible spirits, his frank sympathy with every class of his subjects, his real military ability and splendid daring, combined to make him the most popular king France ever knew. Faults of private character he had in plenty, but it was much in his favour that a brave nation should feel that in him they had, once more, a king who was every inch a man.

Ninth
Civil War,
1589-1595

Henry's object in his opening campaign was to cut off Paris from the northern region which supplied her food. To keep in touch with England he occupied Dieppe, and frustrated Mayenne's attempt to dislodge him in the Battle of Arques. Reinforced by Lord Willoughby's band of English, the King advanced on Paris, between which and the enemy he placed himself by the capture of Dreux. To save the capital, Mayenne gave battle at Ivry. There the Leaguers were completely routed, at a cost to the victor of only about five hundred lives. Henry's order to spare all Frenchmen caused his troops to slake their vengeance on Mayenne's foreign allies, and both Count Egmont and the Duke of Brunswick fell in the

Battle of
Ivry, Mar.
14, 1590

slaughter. Unfortunately Henry missed his chance of taking Paris by assault, and settled down to a three months' blockade. When 30,000 of the inhabitants had died from hunger, and the rest were reduced to eating rats, mice, grass, and even the flesh of children, Parma was ordered to march at all costs to the rescue. Combining forces with Mayenne, he stormed Lagny on the Marne, threw provisions into the city by way of the river, and forced Henry to raise the siege. During a short absence of Mayenne, Paris fell into the hands of the Sixteen, who indulged their Spanish sympathies by putting to death some members of the Parlement who opposed their views, by seizing the Treasury and drawing up proscription lists of the Politiques. Mayenne, with a soldierly dislike of disorder, returned promptly and hanged the ringleaders, whose downfall put an end to the League as a revolutionary government.

After Parma's return to the Netherlands, Henry invested Rouen, the last of the Leaguers' northern strongholds. In spite of its splendid defence, Parma had once more to be called to the rescue. Henry raised the siege hoping to enclose Parma, who had planted himself between Caudebec and Rouen, and cut off his retreat. Escape seemed impossible, for neither bridges nor transports for the river were available; but once more Parma proved himself a master of resource. Fortifying both banks of the Seine, to cover his retreat, with the utmost secrecy he collected everything in the neighbourhood that could float, and transported his army by night. Henry came up to find the enemy beyond the range of his guns. It was one of Parma's most famous exploits, but it was also his last.

The question of the succession brought together the

States-General in 1593. The League, as an avowed partisan of Spain, supported Philip II.'s proposal that his daughter Isabella should be declared inheritress of the French throne through her mother Elizabeth of Valois. But neither the Estates nor the Parlement would hear of any violation of the time-honoured fiction of the Salic Law, so it was suggested that the Infanta should marry the young Duke of Guise, who should be crowned King. This conclusion Mayenne, who had hoped to reign himself, was resolved to prevent, and Henry was ready to offer the only real solution of the problem. After "receiving instruction," he formally entered the Roman Church, and, as Rheims was still held by the League, was crowned at Chartres.

Henry IV.
becomes a
Roman
Catholic,
1594

In the much-discussed "conversion" of Henry IV. there cannot have been any sacrifice of conviction, Religious opinions sat lightly upon the man who declared himself to be "of the religion of all who are brave and good." He has not unjustly been called "the Prince of the Politiques," whom Tavannes defined as "those who preferred the repose of the kingdom, or of their own homes, to the salvation of their souls." This repose Henry alone could secure for France. No Protestant could ever hope to become the national king of a people of whom at least nine-tenths were Catholic. It was equally clear that the Huguenot leader was the man to win toleration for the Huguenot minority.

Henry's declaration had immediate effect. The great majority of Catholics joined him; under the benign influence of gifts, amounting to a year's revenue, the League began to melt away. The real price of Paris, declared by Henry to be "worth a Mass," was a big bribe paid to its governor. Henry at last entered his

capital, and as the Spanish garrison marched out, he sent greetings to Philip, adding, with meaning, "But do not trouble to return."

As Mayenne and his cousin Mercœur still held out in the hope of turning their governorships of Burgundy and Brittany into independent provinces with Spanish help, Henry declared war on Spain. The Pope's absolution cleared the ground under his feet, and he strengthened himself further by an offensive and defensive alliance with England and Holland. Picardy became the chief scene of operations, and the most important events were the capture of Cambrai and Amiens and the surprise of Calais by the Spaniards. By great exertions Henry recovered Amiens, and the retreat of the Archduke Albert opened the way for peace. Philip II. was mortally ill, and desired to settle the affairs of his successor and of his dear daughter Isabella, especially in view of the great progress made by Maurice of Nassau. Thus came about the Peace of Vervins :—

Henry IV.
declares
War on
Spain,
1595-1596

The
Peace of
Vervins,
1598

- (1) Henry recovered the Picard towns conquered by Spain.
- (2) Savoy agreed to submit Saluzzo to papal arbitration.

Neither England nor Holland, it will be noticed, chose to be included in the treaty.

At home Mayenne had already been bought over, and remained loyal; but there was still Mercœur, who had succeeded in capturing the affections of Brittany.

As the result of Henry's personal influence, he submitted and surrendered Nantes, where was issued the famous Edict which closed the Wars of Religion. Of its seven chief clauses, the first three deal with the religious, the last four with the political aspect of the question :—

The
Edict of
Nantes,
1598

- (1) Private worship and liberty of conscience were allowed to the Calvinists throughout France.
- (2) Two hundred towns, two cities in every district of a certain size, and over 3000 castles might hold public Protestant worship.
- (3) A grant was made towards the support of Protestant schools and colleges, and the publication of Calvinist books was legalised.
- (4) Huguenots received full civil rights, with admission to all public offices.
- (5) Special chambers, whose judges must include one Huguenot were set up in the local parlements to try cases concerning Protestants.
- (6) The possession of 200 towns was guaranteed to the Huguenots for eight years, their garrisons being maintained by the Crown.
- (7) With royal permission the Huguenots might hold synods and provincial political councils.

Catholicism was thus acknowledged to be the religion of the country, but the Protestants, though in the position of dissenters, were without civil drawbacks, and were protected by securities. Their failure to establish their Church as the national faith was due mainly to their small numbers and to the craving of France for unity. The Catholics had powerful allies in the Crown, the city of Paris, and the law-courts, and the support of the national revenue and of superior foreign aid. Calvinist excesses cooled the zeal of moderate disciples: massacre and expulsion had reduced their numbers; owing to the difficulty of getting noble and bourgeois to work together, they lacked party organisation and unity. The loss of Coligny, the one leader who commanded the respect of all, was irreparable. And, brave as were the gentry, they did not prove very reliable soldiers.

The Edict has been criticised for granting too much political, too little religious, liberty. That is to say, it

did not admit any general principle of toleration—only the right to worship in certain towns and castles. On the other hand, such political privileges as the right to hold federal assemblies and to send deputies to present petitions at Court marked out the Protestant community as a state within a state, and went beyond even modern ideas of local independence when based merely on religious differences. As time went on, the Huguenots displayed a desire to develop their political organisation still further, until they attracted the notice of Richelieu, with fatal results.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

ARMSTRONG : The French Wars of Religion.

JOHNSON : Europe in the Sixteenth Century.

CREIGHTON : Age of Elizabeth.

J. R. CORBETT : Drake and the Tudor Navy.

WILLERT : Henry IV.

CHAPTER XI

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE

The
Frontier
Question

BEFORE undertaking the restoration of his kingdom, Henry IV. had to deal with the insecurity of his frontiers. Between France and the Spanish possessions in Italy lay Savoy, whose interests were thus both French and Italian. Her duke aimed at becoming Count of Provence, and playing a leading part in French affairs; his reluctance to surrender Saluzzo, according to the papal award, led to war, in which the invaders carried all before them. The duke agreed to give up to France Bresse and Bugey in exchange for Saluzzo; and from this time his house turned its attention increasingly south of the Alps.

His desire to strengthen his position still further on the Italian side caused Henry to ally himself with Tuscany. The Pope pronounced a divorce between the faithless Henry and his equally faithless queen, Margaret of Valois, thus enabling him to marry the Grand Duke's niece, Mary di Medici. In 1601 was born a son and heir, afterwards Louis XIII.

Internal
Reforms

With the help of his friend and minister, Maximilian de Rosny, Duke of Sully, Henry thoroughly overhauled domestic affairs. Though entirely different in character, they worked admirably together. Henry's breadth of view tended to correct Sully's excessive economy, and rather narrow and scrupulous attention to details.

Henry was inventive, Sully was resourceful, and both were unwearied in well-doing for France. The financial question was one of supreme importance. The revenue was yearly swallowed up by the high interest due on a funded debt of over £300,000,000. Owing to a ruinous system of collection, three-quarters of the taxes never reached the Treasury at all. The main sources of income were the Taille, the Gabelle, and Customs duties. In the Pays d'Etat, which were the five provinces most recently added to the monarchy, and consisting of about one-third of France, the Taille was levied on land by the local estates. As the estates of the Church and the nobility were exempt, the amount raised, while falling heavily on the lower classes, only realised a tenth, instead of a third, of the total taxation. The remaining two-thirds of France formed the Pays d'Election, those provinces which had for a considerable time belonged to the Crown, and where the Taille was levied on income. There the taxes were farmed out from the intendant, or financial agent, downwards; and there was no check on the amount the officials would wring from the unhappy peasants.

The most unpopular tax was the Gabelle. Each French family was legally bound to buy an excessive quantity of inferior salt, which was a government monopoly. Lastly, there were the Customs duties, levied at the frontier of each province, discouraging trade between them.

Not much help was to be gained from current economic principles, and Sully was not the man to supply new ones. His skill in money affairs fell as far short of genius, as good account-keeping falls short of high finance. But he made innumerable small

reforms in every department, and sternly repressed abuses. He insisted on the local registers being kept with extreme exactness, so that the *Chambre des Comptes* might check abuses in the collection of the *Taille*. He struck a blow at the host of greedy tax-gatherers by a decree forbidding any impost without the King's order registered in the *Parlement*. Noblemen and governors of districts might no longer raise money by credit. Usurped domain was recovered, and well administered. The result of these and many small reforms were seen in Sully's report of 1609. One hundred millions of debt had been paid off; nearly twenty-five millions had been gained from domain. The revenue had risen from about nine millions in 1596 to twenty millions; a reserve of thirty millions was laid by in the *Bastille*.

Sully made no attempt to abolish the hateful *Gabelle*, and he introduced another very questionable tax, the *Paulette*. This tax, one-sixtieth of all official incomes, rendered the offices in question hereditary, and doubled their sale value. This system made a caste of the French official class, and one very burdensome to the country. The stronghold of hereditary office was in future the *Parlement* of Paris.

Recognising that France is by nature an agricultural country, Sully made a great point of tillage. He persuaded landowners to live upon and cultivate their sadly devastated estates; he protected the peasants from bandits; he remitted the *Taille* between 1594-1596, and insisted on the free exportation of corn.

From some prejudice against crafts as unfitting men for soldiers, Sully set his face against manufactures. But the King was bent on their encouragement. He

ordered thousands of mulberry trees to be planted, and fostered the silk factories at Lyon, Nimes, and Tours, the potteries at Nevers, and the glass works at Paris. He planned a great canal-system connecting the Seine, the Loire, the Saone, and the Meuse. He concluded commercial treaties with England and Holland, and renewed one already existing with Turkey. The beginnings of colonial policy were to be seen in the formation of the French East India Company and the foundation of Quebec by Champlain.

Order was restored after the lawlessness of the civil wars by frequent executions for robbery and murder. An attempt was made to put down duelling by making offenders liable to the penalties of high treason. The rebellious or discontented nobles, with whom their class interests stood first, were humiliated one by one, and the aristocracy generally was reduced to the position of mere courtiers. Henry also did much for public works, built royal fortifications, and founded a school of engineering for his officers. Many of these measures aroused strong opposition, but the work of moulding a state cannot be done with a lenient hand.

Henry's frontier policy shows that the rivalry between France and Austria was active, and Sully's "Great Design," a sort of political allegory, points in the same direction. An opening for the King's diplomacy appeared in the Juliers-Cleves question, which in ordinary circumstances would hardly have attracted European attention. But these Catholic duchies, lying south of the United Provinces, seemed about to pass, on the death of the Duke John William, to his Lutheran great-nephews, John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William of Neuberg. As a Protestant

Restoration
of
Order

The
Juliers-
Cleves
Succession
Question,
1609

League of
Henry IV.
against the
Emperor,
1610

ruler was certain, by the principle "Cujus regio eius religio," to convert his territories to his own religion, the award of the duchies by the Imperial Courts was watched with the keenest interest by both Catholics and Protestants. The Emperor's claim as their Suzerain to occupy the duchies with an army, pending the decision, alarmed both French and Dutch, and Henry IV. at once set on foot a league for the protection of the Lutheran claimants.

Murder of
Henry IV.,
May 14,
1610

Three armies, mustered from English, Dutch, German, and Savoyard troops, made ready to invade the Pyrenees, Milan, and the disputed duchies, when the House of Habsburg was rescued from its most critical position by an unforeseen tragedy. As Henry IV. was driving through Paris one afternoon, his coach was blocked in a narrow thoroughfare. While the grooms cleared the way, one Ravailiac, who had followed the royal coach from the Louvre, mounted the footsteps and stabbed the King twice. Before his attendants realised what had happened, Henry IV. was dead.

Ravailiac, a fanatic who probably harboured the idea that Henry was about to make war on Catholicism, made no attempt to escape, and was astonished at the universal grief caused by the death of this soldier, statesman, and benefactor of his people.

Louis
XIII.,
1610-1643

Regency of
Mary di
Medici,
1610-1614

Without his practical genius to guide it, the war against Austria was abandoned; and the minority of Louis XIII., under the regency of his mother, Mary di Medici, threw back for fifteen years the development of Henry IV.'s work. The Queen-Mother was a foolish, mischief-making, and overbearing woman, who was entirely under the influence of an Italian lady-in-waiting, Leonora Galigai, and her

husband Concini. The latter rose to the highest position as Marquis d'Ancre and Marshal of France, though he had never fired a shot in battle and was bitterly hated by the old nobility. Sully, the one man who might have been strong enough to guide the State, failed in courage, and retired to Poitou. The only result of the great campaign against Austria was the capture of Juliers, after which the princes of Brandenburg and Neuberg remained in possession respectively of Cleves and Juliers, and the French withdrew from the war.

The Queen-Regent's own sympathies lay with Spain, and no time was lost in arranging a double marriage alliance between Louis XIII. and the Infanta Anne, and the Princess Elizabeth of France with Philip III.'s heir. Sully's reserve treasure was squandered in buying the support of discontented nobles, who nevertheless demanded that their grievances against the feeble and expensive government should be laid before the States-General. That Assembly was accordingly summoned, for the last time, as it turned out, before the French Revolution. Unluckily they had no common purpose, but each estate, clergy, nobles, and commons, was occupied with its own special interest. On one subject only were they agreed—the shameful financial mismanagement of the regency; and they succeeded in reducing pensions and in temporarily suspending the Paulette. The King, who came of age at fourteen, was encouraged by his favourite De Luynes to resent the ascendancy of D'Ancre. Though himself a protégé of D'Ancre, De Luynes had gained unexpected influence over the boy-King by sharing his sporting tastes. A rising of the nobles confirmed their purpose to destroy

D'Ancre, who, as he entered the Louvre, was shot by the guard on refusing to surrender his sword. His wife was burnt as a witch. The Queen-Mother left the Court for Blois, where Richelieu was carefully watching events and was finally the means of reconciling the King with his mother.

Luynes, with the title of Constable, succeeded in place of D'Ancre, but his ministry was found to be no improvement upon his predecessor's.

Rising
of the
Hugue-
nots, 1620

A serious rising of the Huguenots soon occurred. The recent addition of Béarn to the monarchy by force of arms, and the enforced restoration of Church property there, alarmed the Calvinists, who plotted to set up a Southern Republic. Louis XIII., who had a hereditary love of fighting, led the attack upon the Huguenot strongholds—Montpellier, Rochelle, St Jean D'Angély, and finally Montauban, which resisted with heroic success under La Force. The death of Luynes from camp fever prepared the way for peace, which was signed on the surrender of Montpellier.

The Edict of Nantes was confirmed, but the guaranteed towns were reduced to two—Rochelle and Montauban—and the privilege of holding political assemblies was entirely withdrawn.

Richelieu,
Chief
Minister,
1624

Meanwhile Mary de Medici had returned to Court, and her confidential adviser, now Cardinal Richelieu, became chief minister of France.

Armand Duplessis de Richelieu came of a noble Poitevin family, and was now nearly forty. He had early left the military profession that he might hold the family bishopric of Luçon, whose responsibilities he undertook at twenty-four. Luçon was a quiet, even a dull, home for a keen spirit, but Richelieu took an

active interest in his diocese, besides intently watching political events, and corresponding with his friends, among whom François du Tremblay, "Le Pere Joseph" of history, was the most famous. By 1614 Richelieu was sufficiently notable to be chosen Orator of the Clergy in the States-General, and his speech appears to have made the desired impression at Court. He became Almoner to the young Queen Anne, and soon won the confidence of the Queen-Mother.

In appearance Richelieu was tall and spare, with a pale complexion, an aquiline nose, and piercing dark eyes under slightly-raised eyebrows. He was restless and highly strung, but his courage, strength of will, and resource were extraordinary. He was ruthless and vindictive, and domineered over his family circle as he did over the State.

On entering the ministry, Richelieu's objects, as he explained later, were three—namely, to destroy the political power of the Huguenots, to humiliate the great nobles, and to win prestige abroad for the King. The first shadow cast by coming events abroad was a dispute for the control of the Valtelline, a valley connecting Tyrol with Lombardy. During a quarrel between the Catholic population of the district and their masters, the Swiss Grison League, the Spaniards in North Italy had supported the former, and a dreadful massacre of the Protestants had followed. The Spaniards at once sent a garrison to Chur on the pretext of keeping order, but it was clear that their real object was the preservation of their communications with the Empire. Richelieu was keenly alive to the importance of the question. For two centuries France had been the recognised protector of the Grisons, and this gave him the opportunity of

opposing the Pope's arbitration, as being too favourable to Spain, and of pouring troops into the valley, of which by 1625 they were in full possession. By the Treaty of Monzon the Valtelline was restored to the Grisons.

Rising of
the Hugue-
nots at
Rochelle,
1625

Before Richelieu had disposed of the Valtelline a Huguenot rising occurred at Rochelle. The time was well chosen. The Cardinal's position at Court was as yet insecure, and the attitude of England was becoming openly hostile. The expulsion from England of Henrietta's mischief-making ladies, Buckingham's pique at the cool reception of his proposal to visit the French Court, his desire to win popularity at home by a successful naval expedition—these causes contributed to bring about what was really Buckingham's war. The English expedition landed on the Isle of Rhé, facing the harbour of Rochelle; but Buckingham lost the chance of seizing its two badly defended forts, and settled down to a blockade.

To Richelieu the reduction of Rochelle, "that gate always open to the foreigner" was of vital importance. His early military training and his wonderful organising powers had full scope in directing the siege. He took pride in the excellent provision he made for his army—prompt pay, warm clothing, abundance of food, and dry quarters to ward off malaria. Father Joseph and his Capuchins upheld the strict moral discipline of the camp, catechised the soldiers in their leisure, and pronounced absolution in the dangers of action.

On the land side Rochelle was invested by triple lines, and to cut off access to a friendly fleet Richelieu caused a great stone barrier to be built from each end of the harbour. As these two moles approached each other, the space between was filled with sunken hulks,

and finally guarded by floating batteries. Rochelle, under its heroic mayor, Guiton, held out valiantly amid the agonies of starvation, but the help of England, on which all depended, never reached it. Buckingham, who had been obliged to raise the blockade of Rhé after Richelieu's re-victualling of the garrison, was murdered at Portsmouth before his second expedition could start; and when the English squadron did arrive it made no serious attempt to force the barrier. After eleven months' resistance Rochelle surrendered. Richelieu showed moderation in his triumph. The fortifications were destroyed and the municipal privileges of the town abolished, but the lives and property of the citizens were spared, and they were promised freedom of worship. A simultaneous Huguenot rising in the south, under Rohan, was ended by the Peace of Alais, by which all independent political privileges and the last of the guaranteed towns were withdrawn. Henceforth the Huguenots' only security for the promised liberty of conscience lay in the King's word.

Thus ended, in the only way possible for her welfare, the religious wars in France. In the interests of national unity, Richelieu had separated the political and religious demands of the Huguenots, destroying the first and securing the second. For, among the political aims, that of independence, aided by foreign enemies of France, had for the last fifteen years been steadily coming to the front. The Huguenots, it was said, preferred a Spaniard to a French Catholic; while "if they proclaimed a fast, it was in order to mask some plot on foot against the government."

Before this, Richelieu's first great object, had been completely achieved, foreign affairs again claimed his

End of the
Religious
Wars

The
Mantuan
Succession,
1627

attention. On the death of the childless Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, the duchy was claimed by his next-of-kin, the Duke of Nevers, a French subject, and by numerous candidates supported by Spain. The Emperor undertook to arbitrate; but Imperial activity was not welcome in Italy, and Milan and Savoy on their own account occupied Montferrat, and with Spanish troops under Spinola besieged Casale, into which a French garrison had been thrown. Ferdinand II., indignant at this slight upon his authority, at the first opportunity in the Thirty Years' War sent troops into Mantua. Richelieu set out in person for the scene of action, in command of three French marshals and a formidable expedition, which was, however, diverted into Savoy on account of the duke's double-faced policy. But the capture of the fortress of Pinerolo was their only success, and France was glad of the opening afforded by Spinola's death to make a truce.

Though French military intervention had not been very effective, there remained the indirect methods of diplomacy. It was possible to hamper the House of Habsburg at home; and this Richelieu did in two ways. By negotiating a peace between Sweden and Poland he opened the way into the Thirty Years' War for Gustavus Adolphus; and at the Diet of Ratisbon, Father Joseph played an important part in securing Wallenstein's dismissal, and in frustrating the election of the Archduke Ferdinand as King of the Romans. By the Treaty of Ratisbon the Emperor promised to invest the new French Duke of Mantua, after which event all foreign powers were to clear out of territories recently occupied by them. Richelieu was bent on keeping Pinerolo, and actually disavowed the treaty to which Father

Joseph had been a party. The probable explanation of this move will be seen in domestic affairs. The new Duke of Mantua was finally installed by the Treaty of Cherasco; but France forced him to sell a large part of Montferrat to Savoy in order to compensate the latter for the loss of Pinerolo. For France in the end secured her key to the passage of the Alps.

It is probable that the Peace, had it come earlier, would have made Richelieu no longer indispensable, hence his rejection of the first terms. There was always a danger that the constant pressure exerted against him by the two queens, his enemies, might take sudden effect. Louis, though moody and uncertain, was very far from being a negligible quantity in politics; while he depended on Richelieu's advice even in small private matters, he almost unconsciously resented his ascendancy. He was almost incapable of attachment to anyone, and the only road to his favour was success; yet even success might be too dearly bought at the price of domestic peace. Before the Italian question was at an end, a plot for Richelieu's arrest was on foot, under the patronage of both queens and the King's worthless brother Gaston of Orleans, and supported by the Chancellor and his brother Marshal Marillac. Mary de Medici brought matters to a point by a violent attack on Richelieu in the King's presence, challenging her son to choose between his mother and his minister. Louis, who was greatly annoyed, hesitated some hours, and the Court considered Richelieu a doomed man. Then the King left for Versailles, and sent for Richelieu to join him. The sudden reaction that followed has made November 11, 1630, famous as "The Day of Dupes." The Queen-Mother's influence was shattered, and in the spring she

Character
of Louis
XIII.

escaped to Spanish protection in Brussels. Gaston fled to Lorraine, the chancellor was driven into exile, and the marshal executed after an arbitrary trial.

The
Humilia-
tion of the
Nobles

In following his second great aim, the humiliation of the nobles, Richelieu made only one exception to his rule of always bringing the most powerful offender to justice. The exception was the King's brother Gaston, whose contemptible character prevented his becoming a dangerous force in France; but he was constantly the cause of bringing others into trouble. Thus, after the Day of Dupes, the support lent to him by the Duke of Lorraine was the means of bringing that country under French occupation; while his confederate Montmorency, though the last of an illustrious family, perished on the scaffold. Yet Gaston's name is again found among the conspirators—Cinq Mars, De Thou and Bouillon—who tried, for the last time, to overthrow Richelieu. The Cardinal, as he lay apparently dying, revived to bring Cinq Mars, the King's favourite equerry, and his less guilty friend De Thou, to execution. Exhausted by this final victory, Richelieu passed away (Dec. 4), declaring that he had had no other aims than the welfare of God and of the State. The list of great nobles who suffered death at Richelieu's hands for political reasons included five dukes, four counts, a French marshal, and the King's chief equerry; and the humiliation of their class was achieved by edicts against duelling, the building of castles and of fortresses,—though it is possible that change of fashion was at work in the same direction. As the real organiser of the professional army of France, he took the opportunity to suppress the offices of Constable and Admiral, and raised many infantry regiments without the customary agency of the nobles. For the navy,

Death of
Richelieu,
Dec. 4,
1642

which scarcely existed in 1624, he did even more, leaving at his death a fleet of fifty-six warships.

Most important, however, of all his measures to reduce the nobles, was the superseding of all but four of the nineteen great territorial magnates by royal officials. This permanent class of Intendants, created by Richelieu, was responsible in each district to the Crown alone for the local administration of finance, justice, and police.

The suppression of feudalism was inevitably the first step towards the unity of France under a powerful crown; and as the French nobles had accustomed themselves to enjoy privileges without corresponding duties, it is impossible to regret the fate which overtook this least useful and most troublesome class of society.

The third of Richelieu's great objects will be dealt with in connection with the Thirty Years' War. His great claim to his country's gratitude is that he gave her unity. Except through the power of the Crown this end was probably unattainable; and Richelieu therefore made the King the source and centre of national life. His idea of royalty was absolute monarchy. It is useless to discuss, in view of his opinion and circumstances, whether he should, or could, have given France a constitutional government. The question is, rather, whether the despotism he bequeathed to his country was benevolent at all.

It is not easy to defend Richelieu from the charge of sweeping away traditional rights merely to unfetter the action of the Crown: the effect was certainly to encourage contempt for law and custom. For instance, the Parlement of Paris, in its proper Court, was thoroughly able to deal with political prisoners; yet the Cardinal invariably appointed a special commission to

try offenders. Again, the provincial estates belonging to the Pays d'Etat may not have been either fully representative or very useful. Still they stood for local opinion, which was stifled in certain provinces by the introduction of Élus or royal officials. The whole system of local government by the Intendants was unknown to the law, though they took precedence of all the district officials.

If any man could have wrestled successfully with the abuses of privilege, that man was Richelieu, most powerful of French ministers. Yet though his hand was heavy upon the nobles, he left them in full possession of the seigniorial rights that burdened the peasants' lot. Under his rule taxation had increased fourfold; yet the nobles, the clergy, and the official class continued to be exempt. All the old bad taxes and abuses since Sully's time remained. He neglected the agricultural interest which has always been the chief source of the country's wealth; and at his death the revenue for the next three years was already spent. There is no doubt he could have been better served, had he chosen, than by the financial agents he employed; and his habit of directing important campaigns himself may partly account for the absence of first-class military talent under his rule.

As a spiritual force in the religious life of his time he counted for little. He regarded the Church as a useful moral influence, and as the best training-school for the highest branches of public service. He did something to reform the religious orders, and seems to have thought of making himself independent Patriarch of France, since all his attempts failed to win papal favour.

His successor, Cardinal Mazarin, far less commanding in personality and less original in statesmanship, only continued part of his work—the campaign against Austria.

Giulio Mazzarini, born in Italy in 1602 and educated at Rome and in Spain, had, like Richelieu, forsaken a soldier's career for diplomacy. For two years he acted as Papal Nuncio in Paris, and became a naturalised Frenchman. He succeeded Father Joseph in Richelieu's confidence, became Cardinal in 1641, and was commended by his dying master to the King. As Louis XIII.'s own health was fast failing, and the Dauphin only four years old, Mazarin foresaw the coming importance of the Queen, and by his personal attractions and deferential manners won her favour. Anne was lonely and unappreciated: after her husband's death, she responded by giving Mazarin her entire confidence and affection, and it is probable that they were secretly married. It was through his influence that the Queen was recognised by the Parlement as Regent with full sovereign powers, instead of sharing them with the rest of the Council, as Louis XIII. had intended, during his son's minority.

Cardinal
Mazarin,
Chief
Minister,
1642-1661

Death of
Louis
XIII., 1643

Reign of
Louis
XIV.,
1643-1715

Regency of
Anne of
Austria,
1643

Though Mazarin was heir to Richelieu's ideas, nothing could have been more different than their methods. No changes took place among the officials; but the return of many exiles ushered in a milder rule. Mazarin was, unlike Richelieu, neither vindictive nor jealous of other able men. The discovery of two soldiers of the first rank at the outset of his ministry was hardly accidental.

Mazarin always avoided frontal attacks; he was patient, adroit, and full of dissimulation. To win a point he could fawn and cringe, and his manner was one of confiding innocence. These qualities, his foreign origin, and his great avarice jointly account for the exceeding hatred he inspired in France. Even in her neglected days Anne of Austria had not been without her own circle, and

The
Fronde
Wars,
1648-1653

these Queen's friends, styled "Les Importants," aimed at ousting the Cardinal, with the result that their leader, Beaufort, was imprisoned and their party broken up. A much stronger expression of feeling against Mazarin appeared in the movement known as the Fronde, called after the sling which was the typical weapon of the Paris gamin. Except in gaining a brief breathing-space for Spain at a critical period of the war, the Fronde forms no part of European history, and will only be sketched here in outline. Its causes may be summed up as hatred of Mazarin; reaction against Richelieu's lawless absolutism; ambition on the part of the nobles to recover lost ground. The first Fronde was also a constitutional movement, partly inspired by the example of the English Civil War; the second an undisguised struggle between the King and nobles.

The first movement centred round a programme of reform drawn up by the Parlement of Paris, and containing two demands of vital interest for the future—the control of taxation by the Parlement, and of arbitrary imprisonment by means of a Habeas Corpus Act. The Court party foolishly seized the leaders of the agitation; whereupon ensued a tremendous uproar, street barricades, and the usual signs of a Paris mob's displeasure. The Court gave way, and the demands were registered. It is not greatly to the point to criticise the unfitness of the Parlement to carry out constitutional reform; it was surely a step forwards to control, by whatever existing institutions, the government's arbitrary power to tax and imprison. Unfortunately, however, the Parlement proved too weak, and the nobles too selfish, to carry reform.

The nobles who led the second movement, though

the famous Condé was of their number, were mere holiday warriors or great ladies who lent their spasmodic interest and fascinating wiles to politics. The arrest of Condé and his nearest kinsmen exposed Mazarin to the full force of the storm. He fled to Cologne, whence he continued to direct French affairs. He was declared an exile, and his library and art treasures were sold by order of the Parlement. Eight months of civil war followed. Finally the prestige of the Crown proved too strong for its enemies; the valuable services of Turenne, Condé's unpopularity in Paris, the disorganisation of trade, and the general distress of the plundered kingdom were all factors in the defeat of the Fronde. Mazarin was recalled to undisputed supremacy. Condé took service under the Spanish Government, and other leaders were exiled or excluded from power. The nobles were permanently reduced, and the Parlement forbidden to meddle in State affairs.

The remaining seven years of Mazarin's ministry were occupied by the conclusion of the war with Spain, which will be noticed in the next chapter, and in the accumulation of a fortune of thirty millions. His interests were less varied than Richelieu's, but he was a generous friend to men of letters. He did nothing for the financial disorders of France; but in the management of his own prosperous affairs he trained Colbert, a great financier whom he bequeathed to the King's service, with the advice that Louis should be his own chief minister.

Death of
Mazarin,
1661

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

WAKEMAN : *The Ascendancy of France.*

LODGE : *Richelieu.*

HASSALL : *Mazarin.*

CHAPTER XII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Causes of
the Thirty
Years'
War

IN tracing the causes of the Thirty Years' War, three important changes in the condition of Germany since the Peace of Augsburg must be noticed. First there is the growth of princely power, due chiefly to the seizure in Protestant States of Church lands, and to the increase of the rulers' authority since Charles V., especially during the reigns of Maximilian II. and Rudolf II. Secondly, the Reformation, which by 1555 had invaded the greater part of both North and South Germany, reached its high-water mark, and was already on the ebb. The weaknesses of Protestantism began to appear—its want of organisation; the ignorance and pitiable poverty of the pastors; the quarrels about definition of the faith. Though unrecognised by the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism was spreading, and an impassable gulf divided its followers from the Lutherans. The enmity between the Electors Palatine (twice Calvinist and twice Lutheran in sixty years) and the Lutheran Electors of Saxony was one of the chief drawbacks to the cause of Protestantism. The appropriation by Protestant princes of Church lands in their dominions provoked unceasing protests from Catholics; while the Ecclesiastical Reservation was continually evaded when a chapter that had become Protestant elected a bishop

of its own views. In this way eight important North German bishoprics passed into their hands.

Thirdly, the progress of the Catholic or Counter-Reformation brought the opposing forces up to fighting point. Before 1600 the Protestant advance had been stayed. England, Holland, and Scandinavia were its undisputed conquests: but in once ultra-Protestant Poland Catholicism was restored in 1587; in the Spanish Netherlands by 1579; and recognised as the State religion of France in 1598. In Spain and Italy it had no rival. In Germany itself, Bavaria had become by 1579 an active centre of Jesuit influence; and in 1596 Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola passed under a fanatical ruler, Ferdinand, cousin of Rudolf II., who obliged his subjects to bow to Catholicism. Rudolf followed suit in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia; and, by forsaking the tolerant position of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., he laid the match to the train.

Rudolf, a bigoted, art-loving, and unbalanced recluse, ^{Rudolf II., 1576-1612} was probably by 1594 quite insane; yet he continued to reign seventeen years longer. At last a Habsburg family council appointed his next brother Matthias to rule Hungary and Austria, in the hope of saving the eastern frontier from the Turks, and of soothing religious discord by a tardy promise of toleration. The anxious fears of the Protestants had been aroused the year before by the enforced restoration of Catholicism at Donauwörth, on the pretext afforded by a riot during a religious procession. The Protestant princes and cities of the South at once united in the Protestant Union, under the leadership of the Calvinist, Christian of Anhalt, a hopeful and impetuous spirit, fatally prone to despise the enemy's strength. The Catholic League, a rival association, led

The Party
Leaders

by Maximilian of Bavaria, was immediately started by the three ecclesiastical Electors. The Juliers-Cleves question all but kindled war, which was, however, delayed by the death of Henry IV., the dread of a crisis, and the pacific influence of the Lutheran Princes. Of these the chief was John George of Saxony, doubly opposed to Christian of Anhalt on account of his own Lutheran and Imperialist sympathies, and lacking the necessary decision and strength of a leader. In Maximilian of Bavaria the Catholics were more fortunate, for the Duke, who had been educated at the Jesuit College at Ingolstadt, was both resolute and moderate, and an able and practical ruler of his State.

Matthias,
1612-1619

The Bohemian Protestants, encouraged by the successes of their Hungarian brethren, wrung from Rudolf II. a Royal Charter (Majestatsbrief) granting complete toleration on royal domain and freedom of conscience elsewhere. Amid the strife following this enactment, Rudolf was succeeded by Matthias, during whose reign came the proverbial lull before the storm. Being worn out and childless, Matthias desired to secure the succession of his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, who had an heir, and might be trusted to keep together the Habsburg dominions. In the family possessions this was easy: and by adroit management the elective crowns of Bohemia and Hungary were also promised to Ferdinand. Suddenly, however, the Protestant nobles of Bohemia, headed by Count Thurn, awoke to the reality of their danger, and, having vainly appealed to Matthias, sent an armed deputation to Prague. They entered the castle, and charging the two unpopular and fanatical Regents, Martinetz and Slavata, with responsibility for the Emperor's attitude, they flung the hapless men, with

their secretary for company, into the fosse some seventy feet below. Though not one of them was seriously injured, this violent deed proved the beginning of the Bohemian Revolution. But neither at home nor abroad were any declared allies: the Bohemian nobles were half-hearted and as reluctant as the towns to bear the cost of an army, and Ferdinand would have made short work of the Bohemian resistance had it not been for the energy of Christian of Anhalt and the support of his young friend, Frederick V., Elector Palatine. It was assumed that James I. of England, the Elector's father-in-law, would lend his aid, though he was known to be a man of peace and warmly disposed towards Spain. Troops under Count Mansfeld, first of the many adventurers who shouldered their way through the war, reduced Ferdinand's forces to their last fortress in Bohemia; and the storm had just burst when, on the death of Matthias, Ferdinand succeeded to the helm of State. He was a man of upright life, narrow sympathies, and resolute character, who, without the grasp of a statesman, was yet able to take a firmer hold of affairs than either of the last two kings.

Immediately Ferdinand was surrounded in Vienna by Protestant troops under Thurn, to whom the Austrian nobles threatened to open the gates unless they were allowed to unite with the Bohemians. The firmer the King, the more insolent grew the deputation, till the sound of cavalry galloping up announced that the siege of Vienna was raised, and that Ferdinand was free to pursue his election at Frankfort. Thanks to the disunion among the Protestant leaders, he was unanimously chosen Emperor. Exactly two days earlier the Bohemians, having already deposed Ferdinand, invited the

Outbreak
of the
Thirty
Years'
War—
(1) The
Bohemian
Period,
1619-1623

Ferdinand
II., 1619-
1637

Elector of the Palatinate to be their King. Frederick, a rigid Calvinist, was inexperienced and easily led, especially by his hero, Christian of Anhalt. The transfer of Bohemia to a Protestant would definitely incline the balance of German religious parties to that side, and all Europe intently awaited the event. Christian's influence prevailed, and Frederick was crowned at Prague. Unfortunately he had reckoned without his host, for none of his possible allies—England, Holland, or the German Protestant Union—were at all prepared to act. The last, indeed, only undertook the defence of the Palatinate, while the Calvinist zealot, Bethlen Gabor, of whom hopes had been formed, secured Transylvania as his principality by temporarily coming to terms with Ferdinand. On the other hand, the Emperor's allies—Spain, Poland, Tuscany, and the Catholic League—were ready for deeds. Spinola and his Spaniards descended upon the Palatinate. Tilly, a Walloon, who had served under Parma, occupied the duchies of Austria with the army of the League, and drove the enemy before him under the walls of Prague, where, just outside the town, on the White Hill, Christian of Anhalt's forces awaited events. Tilly attacked promptly, and in an hour the Battle of the White Hill was won. Frederick, who was lurching inside the city with some English envoys, only reached the field in time to be swept away by his own fugitive troops. "Only a winter King," as the Jesuits had foreseen, he escaped with his family to the Netherlands.

Failure
of the
Bohemian
Revolution

In Bohemia the Protestant movement was pitilessly crushed. Ferdinand tore up the *Majestatsbrief*, executed the leading nobles, planted foreign soldiery on the confiscated lands, and set the Jesuits to convert by persecu-

tion. Many Protestants left the country, with disastrous results to its progress. The Protestant Union was dissolved in 1621, and its disbanded forces enlisted under Mansfeld, who, having been driven from the Upper Palatinate by Spinola, betook himself to the Rhineland, and roused Christian of Brunswick, one of the new Protestant bishops, and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, to adopt the cause of the fair Queen of Bohemia. But both were defeated by Tilly before Mansfeld could come to the rescue. The Upper Palatinate, with its capital, Heidelberg, fell into Tilly's hands, and was made over to the administration of Maximilian of Bavaria, with the title of Elector Palatine for life. Frederick, now a landless exile, was obliged to dismiss his army, whose leaders, Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, lived by pillage in Alsace and Lorraine. Thus closed the first, or Bohemian period, of the Thirty Years' War.

Unfortunately Ferdinand did not use this opportunity to come to terms with the Elector Palatine, and the control of the fortunes of the war soon passed into other hands. Protestant North Germany was becoming thoroughly alarmed for the safety of its Church lands, which seemed to run an equal risk of being confiscated by the Emperor and being pillaged by Mansfeld, who had quartered himself in East Friesland.

Since the marriage treaty between England and Spain had failed with the Prince of Wales's Madrid visit, Parliament was urging James to form an armed alliance for the recovery of the Palatinate. The result was the betrothal of Charles to Henrietta Maria of France and the declaration of war between England and Spain. It was at this moment that Richelieu had become First Minister of France, and by disputing the Spanish occu-

Second or
Danish
Period of
the War,
1625-1629

pation of the Valtelline and pressing Mansfeld into the service of the Dutch, he opened his campaign against the Habsburgs, and added politics to religion as a cause of the Thirty Years' War. While the siege of Rochelle occupied his attention, England had come to an understanding with Christian IV. of Denmark, who was keenly interested in the independence of the Lower Saxon bishoprics, and in return for English subsidies, entered upon the Second period of the War. In the face of this Triple Alliance of English, Danish, and North German forces, the Emperor's position was very critical, when suddenly from Bohemia itself sprang his champion—Wallenstein.

Born in 1583, of an old Bohemian family, Albert of Wallenstein had already, as a daring and lucky agent of the Catholic Reformation, carved out from Bohemian confiscations the almost regal estates of the Duke of Friedland. He now proposed to raise an Imperial force, to be supported by compulsory contributions. It soon numbered 50,000 men. This regularly paid and disciplined army, where Catholic and Protestant were alike welcome, and promotion was decided by merit alone, was a strange contrast to the rabble that had hitherto done duty as such, without uniform, without pay, and cruel beyond belief in its licence to plunder. In strategical and tactical ability, Wallenstein ranks next to Gustavus Adolphus in the war, while his courage, justice, and consideration for his men gathered recruits from every quarter. But it was a dangerous precedent for the Emperor to depend upon troops enrolled by an independent leader and paid by a system unknown to the law.

Serious hostilities began at the Bridge of Dessau by

Wallenstein's utter defeat of Mansfeld, who had hoped first to join hands with Bethlen Gabor. Instead he was obliged to disband his forces, and while struggling through Bosnia to Venice, he died. Christian of Brunswick had already passed away; but Christian IV., preparing to join his allies in Bohemia, was outnumbered by combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, who defeated him with overwhelming loss of officers, men, and guns at Lutter. North Germany was left at the mercy of the Catholic League; Brandenburg was prevailed upon to declare for Ferdinand; and Wallenstein and Tilly invaded Schleswig-Holstein, driving Christian before them to the islands of Denmark. There Wallenstein realised the crowning importance of control of the sea, and though he could not persuade the Hanse towns to lend him their ships, he overran the twin-duchies of Mecklenburg and demanded that certain Baltic ports should admit Imperial garrisons. Among these, Stralsund stoutly refused. As Wallenstein, though "General of the Oceanic and Baltic Sea," was without a fleet, Stralsund was accessible to help from Sweden and Denmark, and its burghers preferred to accept foreign aid rather than to submit to persecution and military despotism. At the end of five months Wallenstein, to his intense mortification, was obliged to turn his back on Stralsund. Peace was at last in sight. Christian's weariness of the war, Wallenstein's suspicions of Sweden, the German Princes' suspicions of Wallenstein, prepared the way for the Peace of Lütbeck, by which the King of Denmark recovered Jutland, Schleswig, and his Holstein possessions, on undertaking to renounce all claims to the German bishoprics held by his family.

The Peace
of Lubeck,
1629

The Catholic League was determined, however jealous

it might feel of Wallenstein's victories, to turn them to account in the service of religion. They prevailed on Ferdinand to issue the Edict of Restitution, restoring to the Church all property that had been secularised since 1552. Two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and more than a hundred monasteries were about to be torn from the Protestants, whose opposition, in the face of the huge armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, was unavailing. The Edict was, however, entirely contrary to the principle of religious equality on which Wallenstein's army was based, and to his patriotic ideal of regenerating Germany by maintaining an armed neutrality between the creeds. He looked to establish a strong Emperor upon the ruins of the princely power that he despised—to lead a crusade against the Turks—to ask, in return, it might even be a crown for himself. But Ferdinand was undecided, and the princes, rather than lose their independence, were ready, like the Stralsund burghers, to call in foreign aid. This divergence of aims between the League and the Emperor's general gave Richelieu his opportunity of dealing a blow at the Habsburgs, and Gustavus Adolphus an opening for his entry into German politics, of which both took advantage. At the Diet of Ratisbon, Father Joseph, one of the best-informed, most penetrating and supple diplomatists of his time, succeeded in turning the scales against Ferdinand's general. Strange to say, Wallenstein, the master of legions, accepted his dismissal, and retired into private life on his Bohemian estates, while Tilly succeeded to his command. The next problem for the princes was to discover the intentions of the King of Sweden, and here the history of the House of Vasa may be briefly sketched.

Between 1397 and 1523 the three kingdoms of

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united under one crown by the Union of Kalmar. No real national feeling existed, however, and the work of the House of Vasa was to win for Sweden her independence of the predominant partner, Denmark. In avenging the fate of many of his fellow-nobles in "the Stockholm Blood Bath," Gustavus Erichsson accomplished this task, and was crowned King of Sweden. His family took the name Vasa from the sheaf in their coat-of-arms.

Summary
of Swedish
History

The House
of Vasa
ascends the
Swedish
Throne,
1523

It was the aim of Gustavus to build up a strong monarchy, under which the power of the Church and of the nobles should be levelled, the disorders of the country suppressed, and its internal wealth and foreign influence developed. As in England, the King made use of the Reformation to strengthen the Crown. By the famous Recess of the Diet of Vesteras, the adoption of Lutheranism not only gave the King the support of the clergy whom he appointed, but confiscated the Church lands for his benefit. In 1544, at a later diet of the same name, the throne was made hereditary, whereby a serious blow was dealt at the independence of the nobles. The foreign policy of Sweden as a European power, though indicated by Gustavus Vasa, remained for his successors, Eric and John, to develop. It inevitably roused the rivalry of other Northern nations with like interests — namely, Denmark and Russia; and under John's son Sigismund III., the restorer of Roman Catholicism in Poland, a determined effort was made on his election to the throne for the recovery of Sweden to the Church. The Swedes, however, resented foreign interference with their religion, and in 1593 the Synod of Upsala formally accepted the Confession of Augsburg. Sigismund soon retired

to Poland, and was scarcely more than King of Sweden in name until his deposition in 1599. The real ruler, afterwards Charles IX., was the ablest of Gustavus Vasa's sons, who was a strong champion of Protestantism and the founder of Sweden's forward policy in the Baltic—a policy that brought him into collision with both Poland and Denmark. He made good his hold on Livonia and Esthonia; but his death at the outbreak of the Danish war left its burden on the broad young shoulders of his son.

Gustavus
Adolphus,
1611-1632

Though Gustavus Adolphus was only seventeen, his public life had begun at nine, and he was already well trained in war and politics. He could speak seven languages, had a Protestant's love and knowledge of his Bible, and cared for poetry and music. In appearance he was a typical Northman, tall, fair, and blue-eyed, and he inherited the characteristics of his race—their ambition, versatility, fiery temper, and joy in battle. But with these qualities Gustavus united a noble and generous nature and a sound judgment, which guided his pursuit of the ideals that lay near his heart. It is the union in Gustavus of the imaginative and the practical that makes him the most attractive figure of his age.

For the first eighteen years of his reign Gustavus was at war in turn with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. From the second he gained the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, closing her access to the sea; from the third he conquered Livonia and a long line of Prussian coast, with the right of levying customs at the ports, which enabled him to pay his way at the outset of the Thirty Years' War. Almost more valuable was the thorough military training his troops received in these campaigns. On his landing in Germany, fully half his army of 70,000 Scots,

Poles, Germans, and Swedes, consisted of his own subjects—a great achievement for a population numbering under two million.

The Third or Swedish period of the war opens with Gustavus' landing in Pomerania. He joined the struggle at his own time and for his own reasons. He fought because he believed the Swedish nationality and the Protestant religion to be at stake : because Protestantism was bound up with the past and future of his house and of his kingdom, and because he believed that the Habsburg designs on the Sound and the Baltic would stifle Swedish national life in its cradle. The undertaking was doubly uncertain from the condition of his allies—Denmark latently jealous, England preoccupied at home, the Dutch lukewarm, the German Princes, except Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, aloof—the two important Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg remaining stolidly neutral. With France he was only able to come to terms when Richelieu realised that Sweden was not to be exploited in the interests of his own or any other country. The Cardinal's first reason for entering the war was to secure the frontiers of France : before long, everything opposed to German unity appeared to be a direct gain to French interests ; and finally his policy stopped at nothing short of annexation. His calculations were disturbed by the presence of Gustavus, as of a new planet that swam into his ken. The reserve, the sturdy independence, and the Lutheran sympathies of the King interfered with the true course of the Cardinal's policy—to hold the balance between the Catholic League and the Protestant Union, and to avoid a declaration of war until its profits could be secured. Yet it was impossible at the same time to be a supporter of the loyalist, Maximilian

Third or
Swedish
Period of
the War,
1630-1635

Develop-
ment of the
Policy of
Richelieu

of Bavaria, and an open enemy of the Emperor, or to direct the Catholic policy of Europe, while undermining the Habsburg power through Protestant allies. As long as the genius of Gustavus threw the balance of success on the Protestant side, Richelieu must perforce protect the Catholics; the death of Gustavus obliged him to devote himself to the task of saving the Protestant alliance. Thus the religious character of the war was slowly merged among national interests, for whose sake Germany gradually rallied round her Emperor against the foes of his house.

By the Treaty of Bärwalde, France and Sweden agreed to defend the freedom of the Baltic and of the open sea, to restore the liberties of the German States, to observe neutrality towards the League, and to respect the liberty of Catholic worship in conquered districts.

Tilly, commanding the armies of both Empire and League, failed to divide Gustavus in Pomerania from Horn in Mecklenburg, and was driven by them back upon the Elbe. The Swedes stormed Frankfort, and secured the line of the Oder. Urgent appeals for help reached them from Magdeburg, a Protestant stronghold near the Brandenburg boundary of Saxony, which was besieged by the Imperialists under Pappenheim. Gustavus judged that the town could hold out two months longer, and he hoped to avoid risking the hostility of the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony through crossing their territory to rescue Magdeburg, by first securing their active alliance. But the Electors were slow and obstinate, and though the deliverance of Magdeburg was a supreme necessity, Gustavus, who was not wont to stand upon the letter of the law, hesitated, and Magdeburg fell. Twenty thousand men, women, and children

were slaughtered; and the whole town, except the cathedral and a few houses on the outskirts, was burnt to the ground.

Tilly then invaded Saxony, and the Electors were driven by the force of circumstances to declare for Sweden. The armies of Gustavus and John George of Saxony came up with Tilly on the Breitenfeld in the famous battle-plain of Leipzig. Tilly's long line of solid squares confronted a double line of the Swedes in a loose formation of smaller squares, which have been compared to "little moveable fortresses," and which were interspersed with cavalry. Though the Saxons fled headlong with their Elector, the superior artillery of the Swedes and their greater mobility won the day. Tilly's Walloon veterans made a last stand round their old leader, and bore him wounded from the field. The Imperialists as a fighting force had been wiped out: their guns, standards, and camp spoils fell into the enemy's hands. Tilly retreated to the Weser to gather up his fragments. The whole of North Germany was won for the Protestant cause. The Catholic territories now lay open to attack, and disregarding Richelieu's advice to make for Austria, Gustavus took the road known as "the Priests' Lane" through Franconia to the ecclesiastical States. He rightly judged that even the capture of Vienna, not then a national capital, would assure his position less than a march of deliverance among the South German Protestants. Great plans were shaping in his mind to destroy what was left of the Imperial forces, to weld the Protestants into a general alliance—a "Corpus Evangelicorum"—under himself as a member of the Empire, possibly even as Emperor.

Battle of
the Breit-
enfeld,
Sept. 1631

Through the Thuringian Forest Gustavus marched victoriously by Wurzburg down the Main, annexing Franconia and threatening to treat the neutrality of the three Rhine Electors as equivalent to hostility. They appealed to France, and Richelieu's jealousy of Sweden's influence on the Rhine prompted the demand that all Gustavus' conquests except in Treves and Cologne should be restored. Even to these exceptions, however, Bavaria refused to agree, so Maximilian renounced the French alliance and openly joined the Emperor. With the loss of its leader the League ceased to exist.

While Bernard of Weimar conquered the Palatinate, removing every obstacle to the Elector Frederick's restoration except the latter's invincible objection to his Lutheran subjects, Gustavus had captured Frankfort and Mainz, and was preparing to advance into Bavaria, where Tilly had reinforced himself and had united with Maximilian. Meeting with an enthusiastic welcome at Nuremberg on his way, the King crossed the Danube and confronted Tilly, who had strongly entrenched himself on the Lech. As the bridges had been destroyed, Gustavus threw pontoons across the stream in the night, and for six hours engaged Tilly's troops in a furious cannonade. The old general was mortally wounded in the thigh, and under cover of night Maximilian carried him and his forces off to Ingolstadt, where he died. At Ingolstadt the King met his first repulse, but he quickly overran Bavaria, and made ready at last to carry the war into the Emperor's own territories. No escape for Ferdinand seemed possible, when Germany suddenly rang with the news of Wallenstein's return to his old master. But his terms were his own—absolute control of his army, toleration as the basis of peace,

Battle of
the Lech,
1632

expulsion of the foreigner, and a principality, possibly an Electorate, as his reward.

The magic of Wallenstein's name soon gathered round him soldiers of fortune of every nation, rank, and religious belief, who were only to be restrained by the severest discipline. Of the Saxon army which was occupying Bohemia he made short work; and plundering Saxony as he went, he marched south to join the Bavarian forces. Well aware of the uncertain nature of John George's alliance, Gustavus was on the point of hastening to his rescue, when the news of Wallenstein's approach turned him southwards to defend his staunch ally, Nuremberg. Round the city he gradually concentrated his reinforcements under Oxenstierna, Bernard, Baner, and Hesse, till they finally numbered about four-fifths of Wallenstein's huge army. On the hills north of the town, opposite the main Swedish position, Wallenstein fortified his camp, resolving to risk no engagement without manifest superiority, but to isolate and starve out Gustavus. Famine and pestilence and summer heat wrought even more deadly havoc in the overcrowded town than in both camps, although their total death roll exceeded that of any great battle in the war. With starvation staring them in the face the discipline of the soldiers began to break down. After a desperate night attack on Wallenstein's position, the King withdrew. Wallenstein directed his march on Saxony, intending to terrorise the Elector into alliance, but, in his own words, "the Swedes came as if they had flown" and concentrated at Erfurt. Convinced that the bitter cold of those first November days would drive Gustavus into winter quarters, Wallenstein fortified his position at Lützen, and detached Pappenheim for service at Cologne, when the amazing

Return of
Wallen-
stein, April
1632

Battle of
Lützen,
Nov. 16,
1632

Death of
Gustavus
Adolphus

news arrived of the enemy's advance. Hastily recalling Pappenheim, Wallenstein hurried his regiments into position. At nightfall the two armies, divided by the Leipzig road, were drawn up on the plain of Lützen, and at daybreak a thick mist hung over the field. The formation of Breitenfeld seems to have been repeated—the Swedes in two lines opposed to one of the Imperialists: the King, without armour, on his white charger, commanding the cavalry on the right wing, Bernard on the left, the infantry and big guns massed in the centre. Under cover of an artillery duel the Swedes advanced to the high road, and from that moment charge followed charge all along the line. The Swedes seized the guns in an attack on the Imperialist centre, but were instantly repulsed, and, with terrible loss of life among their officers, the guns were recaptured. Gustavus, galloping to the rescue at the head of his picked cavalry, rode into a patch of mist, and lost touch with the main body. A party of cuirassiers discovered him, wounded, and tended by one faithful page. "I was the King of Sweden," Gustavus answered to their challenge. They thrust him through with their swords, and the page beside him, plundered the dead bodies, and rode off. The white charger carried the fatal news in his frantic rush riderless along the lines. Bernard took command, and, wild for vengeance, the Swedes flung themselves upon the enemy. They recovered the King's body, retook the Imperialist guns, and though temporarily forced back by the arrival of Pappenheim's troopers, gripped their footing at the high road, and in a last charge drove the Imperialist army from the field.

But though victory was with the Swedes, it was dearly bought in a heavy death-roll, and, above all, in

the supreme loss of the King, general and statesman, whose place no other man could fill. His chancellor and friend, Oxenstierna, took up his political work, and guided the minority of Gustavus' six-year old daughter, Queen Christina. Bernard and Horn alternated in command of the army. But France, and the majority of German Protestants, felt genuinely relieved at the King's death—because France had never been able to control him, and the Germans found him a stronger master than their Emperor. Yet Richelieu's eagerness to enlarge French frontiers was checked by the immediate danger of the collapse of the Swedish power, so he supplied money and encouragement, and allied himself with the new League of Heilbronn, the nearest realisation of Gustavus' "Corpus Evangelicorum." It was a defensive and offensive union of circles—Franconian, Swabian, and Rhenish, with Sweden. The Elector of Saxony held aloof; he was, in fact, negotiating with Wallenstein, who had withdrawn to Bohemia after Lützen, and with whose name rumour was busy. The advance of Bernard and Horn in the Danube Valley was attributed by the Bavarians to his indifference; his many enemies joined in the general chorus of suspicion, and gained the Imperial ear. Even now his aims are hardly understood; but his chief desire seems to have been the restoration of peace, mainly through turning Richelieu's ambitions in the direction of the Low Countries. Yet Ferdinand was bent on co-operation with Bavaria and Spain; and, if Wallenstein's peace meant large concessions to Protestantism, he must expect to break with the Court. His reliance on his army received its first shock in the desertion of some of his leading generals. Next, he was declared guilty

Murder of
Wallen-
stein,
Feb. 1634

of treason, dismissed from all command, and his soldiers were released from their allegiance. Finally, before he could rally other supporters around him at Eger, his most faithful officers were lured by the governor of the fortress to a banquet, and there assassinated. Devereux, an Irish captain, sought out Wallenstein's quarters, and, with a following of soldiers, murdered him as he was turning in for the night.

Though not the noblest figure of the war, Wallenstein is, in some ways, the most interesting. With all his faults, he desired to serve Germany: and would have served her better had not his position rested on military force alone; for peace, unity, and riddance of the foreigner were aims worthy of a statesman and a patriot.

During an active campaign in South Germany, his successor, Gallas, with the young King of Hungary as nominal chief, retook Ratisbon—one of Bernard's brilliant captures the year before—and Donauwörth, and besieged Nordlingen. To save the town, Bernard, though greatly outnumbered, risked a two days' battle, which resulted in an overwhelming defeat. South Germany was overrun by the Catholic armies, and permanently lost to Protestantism. In the general overthrow disappeared the Duchy of Franconia, which had been the reward of Bernard's services. Even more than after Lützen were the gold and good offices of France required to salvage the wreck of Protestantism. This state of affairs roused in John George greater resentment towards France than he had felt towards Sweden. By the Treaty of Prague he came at last to terms with the Emperor.

The Treaty
of Prague,
1635

- (1) The year 1627 was substituted for 1552 as the test year. All lands then held by the Protestants were to be retained, and these included most of the northern bishoprics.

- (2) Lusatia was made over to Saxony.
- (3) Lutheranism was to be tolerated in Silesia and in certain Imperial towns, but nowhere was Calvinism recognised.

So many German princes availed themselves of an invitation to share the benefits of the Treaty, that the war might most advantageously have been ended at this point. But Oxenstierna rejected the peace, because it gave Sweden no German territory whatever; while France and Spain were still far from concluding their rivalry, which had become the mainspring of the war.

The last, or French Period, of the Thirty Years' War, therefore, began in 1635. The Battle of Nordlingen gave Richelieu the opening for which his plans were carefully laid. In return for his help, he demanded from the Swedes the fortresses of Alsace: French garrisons were already protecting those of the Elector of Treves, and French armies already occupied Lorraine. As long as the Dutch were masters of the sea the control of these provinces would enable France to close in upon her enemy in the Netherlands. With the fortresses in his hands, Richelieu declared war upon Spain.

A four-fold plan of operations included the expulsion of the Spaniards from Milan, the defence of Lorraine, a campaign under Bernard on the right bank of the Rhine, and the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands in alliance with the Dutch. But, since the peace of 1559, France had not moved with the times in war: old-fashioned weapons, ignorant officers, and undisciplined soldiers brought upon her reverses all the more bitter because unexpected. Everywhere failure met the French arms; but when the Spaniards actually planned to march on Paris, the national spirit rose, and men and money poured in.

Fourth
or French
Period of
the War,
1635-1648

Ferdinand
III., 1637-
1657

For the sake of a quiet life, the new Emperor Ferdinand III., who succeeded his father in 1637, would have tolerated the Protestants. He was a man of formal piety, colourless character, and devoted to account-keeping; but he was too much influenced by his Spanish Queen's relations to take an independent line. Germany was now no more than a battle-ground for the settlement of Swedish and French interests. In the North, Baner and Torstenson struggled against Saxony to secure Pomerania for Sweden, winning one overwhelming victory at Wittstock, and making an occasional diversion into Austria or Bohemia. The French armies under Bernard contested the Rhine frontier and districts with the Empire and Spain. In one or other of these regions the closing interest of the war is centred.

Death of
Bernard of
Weimar,
July 1639

After three disastrous years the French began to profit by experience. Bernard overran the Upper Rhineland and the Breisgau, taking Breisach against superior numbers with masterly rapidity. Richelieu's famous consolation to his dying friend—"Courage, Father Joseph! Breisach is ours!" was prophetic; for Bernard, who looked forward to ruling the conquered lands in place of his lost duchy, died at the early age of thirty-five, before he could strike another blow. No one remained to dispute with Richelieu the dismemberment of the Empire, and the grasp of France closed upon Alsace.

Spain
under
Philip III.
and
Philip IV.

Meanwhile the exhaustion of Spain, the heritage of Philip II.'s reign, was becoming apparent. His feeble successor, Philip III., had contributed further to its downfall by senseless ostentation and extravagance, and by driving out the Moriscoes, the most industrious of

his subjects. His peaceful foreign policy prevented any open exposure of Spain's weakness, for the truce with the Dutch was only a long-delayed conclusion to that struggle. But under Philip IV. the break-up of the great Spanish Empire set in. The real ruler, the able and enterprising favourite Olivarez, drew closer the ties between Spain and Austria; but in so doing he provoked the ill-will of Richelieu, who proved more than his match. In the Valtelline and in Mantua, France took the upper hand. By imitating in Spain Richelieu's policy of crushing all opposition to the Crown, Olivarez drove the wild but loyal Catalans into revolt. And France, abetting the rebellion, finally forced her way into Roussillon in 1639, while the Portuguese were encouraged to recover their own independence. The reign of Philip II. had seen the union of the whole peninsula under the Spanish Crown: under his grandson the House of Braganza was set once more upon the throne of Portugal.

Through Richelieu's fostering care the French navy became formidable enough to give Spain trouble. A great Spanish fleet, bound in 1639 for the Netherlands, avoided a French squadron only to fall into the clutches of the Dutch. Claiming the protection of English neutrality, the Spaniards took refuge in the Downs; but Van Tromp, flouting Charles I.'s weak government, fell upon the Spanish ships and drove what he did not destroy to take shelter in Dunkirk.

Under Mazarin, the appearance of real military capacity began to compensate for his financial incapacity and the difficulties which beset Anne of Austria's Regency. From Rocroy dates the supremacy of France in war, which remained unbroken till the Battle of Blenheim. The Spanish army in the Netherlands, thinking to turn to

Battle of
Rocroy,
1643

account the weakness of the Regency, laid siege to Rocroy, on the French frontier. The Spanish position was formidable, but, fortified by the advice of an officer who had seen Gustavus fling himself upon Tilly's ponderous squares at Breitenfeld, D'Enghien (better known as Prince of Condé) resolved to fight. Applying the lesson taught by Gustavus' use of cavalry, Condé bade his infantry follow in the track of his artillery fire and launch themselves upon the disorganised Spanish formation. The Spanish veterans, unable to manœuvre, fell in an iron ring round the chair of their gouty old leader, the Count of Fuentes, defenceless but unyielding—a fitting end to the undisputed supremacy of the Spanish infantry.

Meanwhile Turenne, a greater though less dashing soldier than Condé, was endeavouring at great cost of life to secure the French conquests of the Rhineland. The world was languishing for peace; but it was clear that until the Emperor was deprived of the last of his allies he would not submit to its terms. Turenne, with the Swedes under Wrangel, Torstenson's successor, therefore decided to strike at Bavaria. Having crossed the Danube, they presented themselves at the gates of Munich, and proceeded to lay waste the rich Bavarian plain, which for thirteen years had escaped the horrors of war. Bitter necessity wrung from Maximilian a truce; but in a few months he was again at the Emperor's side. Vengeance was exacted to the uttermost by Turenne and Wrangel, and Bavaria was wasted by fire and sword. In the last battle of the war, at Zusmarshausen, Ferdinand plainly had his back to the wall. At Osnabrück he therefore concluded peace with the Protestant powers headed by Sweden, and at Munster

Peace of
Westphalia,
1648

with the Catholic powers—not including Spain—led by France. The two treaties are better known by the title of the Peace of Westphalia. The religious difficulties were settled as follows:—

- (1) Calvinists were to share all the privileges of their Lutheran fellow-Protestants.
- (2) All Church lands were to be secured in the possession of those, whether Catholics or Protestants, who held them on January 1, 1624.
- (3) As in the *Chambres-mi-parties* of Huguenot France, an equal number of judges of both religions were to sit in the Imperial Chamber.

The political clauses ran thus:—

- (1) Maximilian of Bavaria and his descendants were confirmed in the Electorate, to which was added the Upper Palatinate. The Lower Palatinate was restored to Frederick V.'s son, with the title of Elector.
- (2) Sweden was recognised as a member of the Empire, and controlled the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser through her new possessions of Western Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden.
- (3) Eastern Pomerania fell to Brandenburg, together with most of Magdeburg and the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden.
- (4) The rest of Magdeburg, with Lusatia, passed to Saxony.
- (5) France received Alsace, excepting the free city of Strasburg, and was confirmed in her possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.
- (6) The independence of Switzerland and of Holland was formally recognised.

Thus the great religious problem was solved in a practical form—not by preaching the ideal advantages of toleration, but by leaving in the hands of Catholic and Protestant rulers states that as early as 1624 had made their final decision for Catholicism and Protestantism respectively: and that there was so little

subsequent persecution proved the success of the arrangement. In other ways, however, Germany had suffered much. The already shadowy Imperial power became more of a phantom than ever. The Empire was merely a collection of states, each under a ruler with full sovereign rights. Among these rulers the Emperor, as Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, happened to be numbered, and in these dominions his interest entirely merged itself. He turned his face to the south-east, leaving the north-west to be developed by his sturdy rival Brandenburg.

The Peace found Germany a desert, and it was clear that its recovery would take at least a century. About two-thirds of the total population had disappeared; the misery of those that survived was piteous in the extreme. Five-sixths of the villages in the Empire had been destroyed. We read of one in the Palatinate that in two years had been plundered twenty-eight times. In Saxony flocks of wolves roamed about, for in the north quite one-third of the land had gone out of cultivation, and trade had drifted into the hands of the French or Dutch. Education had almost disappeared; and the moral decline of the people was seen in the coarsening of manners and the growth of superstition, as witnessed by the frequent burning of witches.

Beyond Germany the Peace showed considerable alteration in the relative importance of various European powers. The decline of the Pope's political influence was marked by the quiet indifference which met his refusal to recognise the treaties. Spain, though saved from a tragic fall by the comic interlude called the Fronde, could no longer hide from the world her decay. France had immeasurably strengthened her frontiers,

and the lust of conquest began fatally to link her fortunes with the idea of the Rhine boundary. Sweden had gained what Gustavus Adolphus had set forth to claim—the supremacy of the Baltic and a great European position. In furtherance of this policy, his devoted servant, Oxenstierna, made war on Denmark, drove the Danes from the southern provinces of Sweden, and freed his country from all payment of tolls in the Sound in 1645. From mistaken attachment to their master's aims, Oxenstierna and the nobles were strongly opposed to peace; but the young queen's determination in its favour carried the day. During her minority, Oxenstierna and the nobles had provided Sweden with the first of fixed or written constitutions, organising the state on the basis of Lutheranism and aristocratic government. But Christina's masterful personality left no doubt where the real power lay. She made her Court the intellectual centre of Europe; and, in the union of mental gifts and force of character, she is the most remarkable sovereign of the seventeenth century. Vigorous in mind and body, straightforward, thick-skinned, and brave as a lion, she unhesitatingly followed her convictions. These led her to insist upon the peace, to secure the succession of her cousin because she declined to marry, and to abdicate the Crown after her conversion to Roman Catholicism. At the age of twenty-eight she left Sweden, and finally settled down as the centre of a literary circle in Rome. Charles X. succeeded her, in whose short, brilliant reign Sweden reached the height of her greatness.

"The
Form of
Govern-
ment,"
1634

Abdica-
tion of
Christina,
1654

Renewal
of War
between
France and
Spain, 1635

The war between France and Spain was renewed in 1653; yet though Spain had recovered many of her losses in the previous four years, neither power was in a

1653

state to deal a telling stroke. Condé, commanding in the Netherlands, held his own on the French frontier against Turenne. But in 1657 Cromwell, whose advances towards Spain had been repulsed, turned to France and reinforced Turenne with 6000 of the finest soldiers in Europe. Mardyck and Dunkirk and a series of fortresses in Flanders fell into their hands, and Dunkirk became English property. The death of Ferdinand III. strengthened Mazarin's influence in Germany, with the effect of isolating Spain, while Cromwell's death relieved him of an inconveniently powerful ally. Spain was languishing for peace. The preliminaries, arranged in the famous Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa, resulted in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. It completed for France the Treaty of Westphalia by securing her southern frontier, as the former treaty had secured that on the east and south-east, and left her the real mistress of Western Europe.

The Treaty
of the
Pyrenees,
1659

- (1) Rousillon, Cerdagne, Artois, and a number of Flemish fortresses were handed over to France.
- (2) The Duke of Lorraine recovered his duchy, under French supervision.
- (3) Condé was pardoned and restored.
- (4) Louis XIV. was to marry the Infanta Maria Teresa.

The last clause was full of importance for the future. Though the Infanta, for a handsome dowry, renounced her claims as next in the succession to her weakly brother, Charles II., the money was never raised. Thus the renunciation was held in some quarters to be invalid, and became the means of opening another exhausting struggle—the War of the Spanish Succession.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS.

WAKEMAN : The Ascendancy of France.

GARDINER : The Thirty Years' War. (Epoch Series.)

O. R. FLETCHER : Gustavus Adolphus.

LIST OF BOOKS FOR TEACHERS

(See also additional Lists at end of Chapters)

Germany.

- RANKE : German History in the Period of the Reformation. (Translated.)
S. E. TURNER : Sketch of the Germanic Constitution.
BEARD : Martin Luther and the Reformation.
STUBBS : Lectures on European History (1519-1648).
LINDSAY : Luther and the German Reformation.
FROUDE : Erasmus.
COXE : House of Austria.
TUTTLE : History of Prussia.
LÉGER : Austria-Hungary.
STIRLING-MAXWELL : Cloister Life of Charles V.
ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

France.

- Memoires of Philippe de Commines.
LAVISSE : Histoire de France.
MICHELET : "
MIGNET : Rivalité de Francois I. et Charles V.
LAVISSE et RAMBAUD : Histoire Générale.
PERKINS : France under Richelieu and Mazarin.
FAGNIEZ : Le Père Joseph et Richelieu.
RANKE : Civil War France.
WHITEHEAD : Coligny.
E. SICHEL : Catharine de Medici.
LADY DILKE : Renaissance of Art in France.

Italy.

- OREIGHTON : History of the Papacy.
RANKE : History of the Popes.
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VON REUMONT : Lorenzo de Medici. (Translated.)

- GUICCIARDINI** : Storia Fiorentina.
DA PORTO : Letters Storiche.
MACHIAVELLI : Il Principe. (Edited Burd.)
MORLEY : Machiavelli. (Romanes Lecture.)
FROUDE : Lectures on the Council of Trent.
HORATIO BROWN : Venice : An Historical Sketch.
BERENSON : Florentine, Venetian, and Central Italian Painters (3 vols.)

Spain.

- RANKE** : The Ottomans and the Spanish Monarchy.
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 „ Philip II.
 „ Conquest of Mexico.
 „ Conquest of Peru.
LANE POOLE : The Moors in Spain.
FROUDE : English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century.

Sweden.

- BAIN, R. N.** : Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.
WATSON, P. B. : The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa.
BAIN, F. W. : Christina, Queen of Sweden.

The Netherlands.

- KIRK** : Charles the Bold.
BLOK : History of the People of the Netherlands
MOTLEY : Life and Death of Oldenbarneveldt.

The Ottoman Turks.

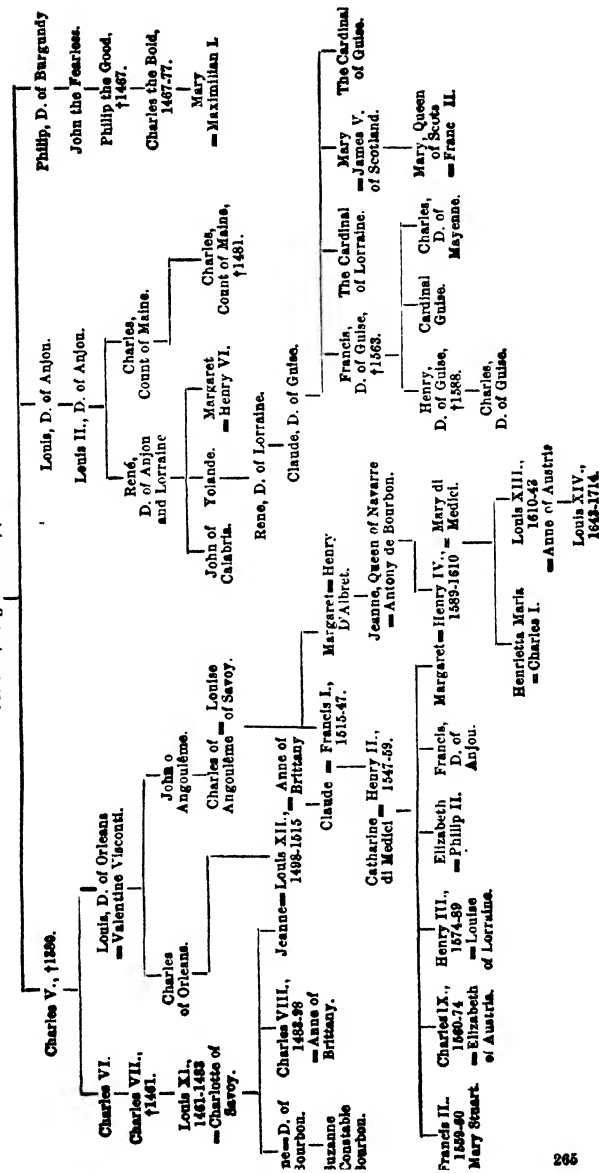
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General

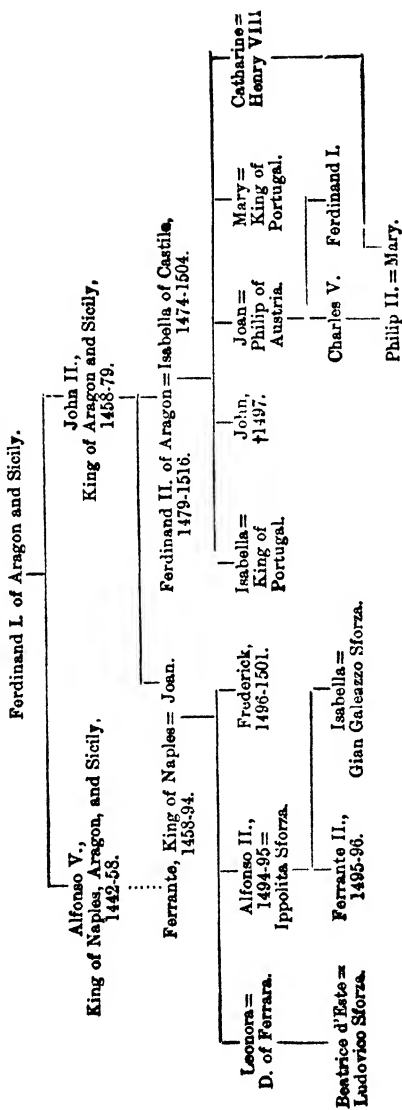
- The Cambridge Modern History**, vols. i. to iv.
Longmans' Periods of European History, edited Hassall.

HOUSES OF VALOIS, ORLEANS, BURGUNDY, AND LORRAINE

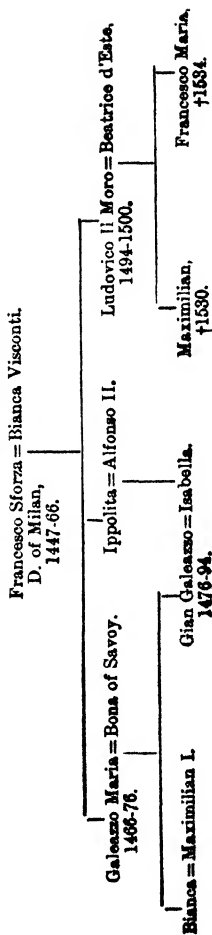
John II., King of France, †1364.



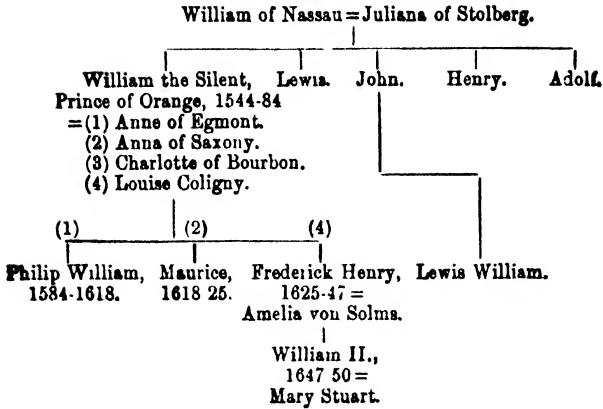
HOUSE OF ARAGON IN SPAIN, NAPLES, AND SICILY



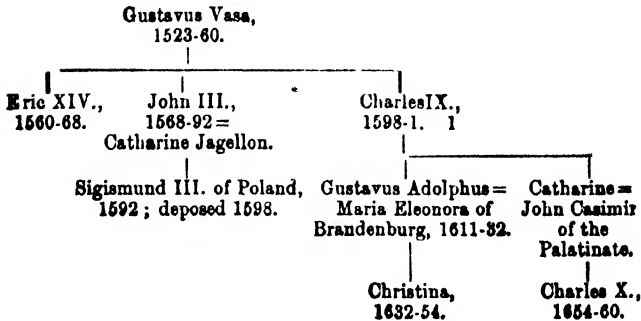
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