

Egmont's horse was killed under him, and he had nearly been run over by his own followers. In the mean while, the Gascon reserve, armed with their long spears, pushed on to the support of the cavalry, and filled the air with their shouts of "Victory!"<sup>7</sup>

The field seemed to be already lost; when the left wing of Spanish horse, which had not yet come into action, seeing the disorderly state of the French, as they were pressing on, charged them briskly on the flank. This had the effect to check the tide of pursuit, and give the fugitives time to rally. Egmont, meanwhile, was mounted on a fresh horse, and, throwing himself into the midst of his followers, endeavored to reanimate their courage and reform their disordered ranks. Then, cheering them on by his voice and example, he cried out, "We are conquerors! Those who love glory and their fatherland, follow me!"<sup>8</sup> and spurred furiously against the enemy.

The French, hard pressed both on front and on flank, fell back in their turn, and continued to retreat till they had gained their former position. At the same time, the *lanzknechts* in Egmont's service marched up, in defiance of the fire of the artillery, and got possession of the guns, running the men who had charge of them through with their lances.<sup>9</sup> The fight now became general; and, as the combatants were brought into close quarters, they fought as men fight where numbers are nearly balanced, and each one seems to feel that his own arm may turn the scale of victory. The result was brought about by an event which neither party could control, and neither have foreseen.

<sup>7</sup> Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. IV. cap. 21.

<sup>8</sup> "Nous sommes vainqueurs; que ceux qui aiment la gloire et leur

patrie me suivent." De Thou, Histoire Universelle, tom. III. p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. IV. cap. 21.

An English squadron of ten or twelve vessels lay at some distance, but out of sight of the combatants. Attracted by the noise of the firing, its commander drew near the scene of action, and, ranging along shore, opened his fire on the right wing of the French, nearest the sea.<sup>10</sup> The shot, probably, from the distance of the ships, did no great execution, and is even said to have killed some of the Spaniards. But it spread a panic among the French, as they found themselves assailed by a new enemy, who seemed to have risen from the depths of the ocean. In their eagerness to extricate themselves from the fire, the cavalry on the right threw themselves on the centre, trampling down their own comrades, until all discipline was lost, and horse and foot became mingled together in wild disorder. Egmont profited by the opportunity to renew his charge; and at length, completely broken and dispirited, the enemy gave way in all directions. The stout body of Gascons who formed the reserve alone held their ground for a time, until, vigorously charged by the phalanx of Spanish spearmen, they broke, and were scattered like the rest.

The rout was now general, and the victorious cavalry rode over the field, trampling and cutting down the fugitives on all sides. Many who did not fall under their swords perished in the waters of the Aa, now swollen by the rising tide. Others were drowned in the ocean. No less than fifteen hundred of those who escaped from the field are said to have been killed by the peasantry, who occupied the passes, and thus took bloody revenge for the injuries inflicted on their country.<sup>11</sup> Two thousand French are stated to have fallen on the field, and not more than five hundred Spaniards,

<sup>10</sup> De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, tom. III. p. 240.—Garnier, *Histoire de France*, tom. XXVII. p. 516.

<sup>11</sup> Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo*, lib. IV. cap. 21.—De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, tom. III. p. 241.

or rather Flemings, who composed the bulk of the army. The loss fell most severely on the French cavalry; severely indeed, if, according to some accounts, not very credible, they were cut to pieces almost to a man.<sup>12</sup> The number of prisoners was three thousand. Among them was Marshal Termes himself, who had been disabled by a wound in the head. All the baggage, the ammunition, and the rich spoil gleaned by the foray into Flanders, became the prize of the victors.—Although not so important for the amount of forces engaged, the victory of Gravelines was as complete as that of St. Quentin.<sup>13</sup>

Yet the French, who had a powerful army on foot, were in better condition to meet their reverses than on that day. The duke of Guise, on receiving the tidings, instantly marched with his whole force, and posted himself strongly behind the Somme, in order to cover Picardy from invasion. The duke of Savoy, uniting his forces with those of Count Egmont, took up a position along the line of the Authie, and made demonstrations of laying siege to Dourlens. The French and Spanish monarchs both took the field. So well appointed and large a force as that led by Henry had not been seen in

<sup>12</sup> "Ma della cavalleria niuno fu quasi, ch'ò non morisse combattendo, ò non restasse prigione, non potendosi saluar fuggendo in quei luoghi paludosi, malageuoli." Campana, Vita del Re Filippo Secondo, parte II. lib. 10.

<sup>13</sup> For the accounts of this battle, see Campana, Vita del Re Filippo Secondo, parte II. lib. 10.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. IV. cap. 21.—De Thou, Histoire Universelle, tom. III. pp. 239—241.—Garnier, Histoire de France, tom. XXVII. p. 513 et seq.—Rabutin, ap. Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires, tom. VII. p. 598.—Herrera, Historia General, lib. V. cap. 5.—Ferrereras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. IX. p. 396.

—Monpleinchamp, Vie du Duc de Savoie, p. 155.

I know of no action of which the accounts are so perfectly irreconcilable in their details as those of the battle of Gravelines. Authorities are not even agreed as to whether it was an English fleet that fired on the French troops. One writer speaks of it as a Spanish squadron from Guipuscoa. Another says the marines landed, and engaged the enemy on shore. It is no easy matter to extract a probability from many improbabilities. There is one fact, however, and that the most important one, in which all agree,—that Count Egmont won a decisive victory over the French at Gravelines.

France for many a year; yet that monarch might justly be mortified by the reflection, that the greater part of this force was made up of foreign mercenaries, amounting, it is said, to forty thousand. Philip was in equal strength, and the length of the war had enabled him to assemble his best captains around him. Among them was Alva, whose cautious counsels might serve to temper the bolder enterprise of the duke of Savoy.

A level ground, four leagues in breadth, lay between the armies. Skirmishes took place occasionally between the light troops on either side, and a general engagement might be brought on at any moment. All eyes were turned to the battle-field, where the two greatest princes of Europe might so soon contend for mastery with each other. Had the fathers of these princes, Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, been in the field, such very probably would have been the issue. But Philip was not disposed to risk the certain advantages he had already gained by a final appeal to arms. And Henry was still less inclined to peril all—his capital, perhaps his crown—on the hazard of a single cast.

There were many circumstances which tended to make both monarchs prefer a more peaceful arbitrament of their quarrel, and to disgust them with the war. Among these was the ruinous state of their finances.<sup>14</sup> When Ruy Gomez de Silva, as has been already stated,

<sup>14</sup> There is an interesting letter of Philip's sister, the Regent Joanna, to her father, the emperor, then in the monastery at Yuste. It was written nearly a year before this period of our history. Joanna gives many good reasons, especially the disorders of his finances, which made it expedient for Philip to profit by his successful campaign to conclude a peace with France,—the same which now presented themselves with such force to both Philip and his minis-

ters. The capture of Calais, soon after the date of Joanna's letter, and the great preparations made by Henry, threw a weight into the enemy's scale which gave new heart to the French to prolong the contest, until it ended with the defeat at Gravelines.—Carta de la Princesa Juana al Emperador, 14 de Diciembre, 1557, MS.—Carta del Emperador à la Princesa, 26 de Diciembre, 1557, MS.



was sent to Spain by Philip, he was commanded to avail himself of every expedient that could be devised to raise money. Offices were put up for sale to the highest bidder. The public revenues were mortgaged. Large sums were obtained from merchants at exorbitant rates of interest. Forced loans were exacted from individuals, especially from such as were known to have received large returns by the late arrivals from the New World. Three hundred thousand ducats were raised on the security of the coming fair at Villalon. The Regent Joanna was persuaded to sell her yearly pension, assigned her on the *alcavala*, for a downright sum to meet the exigencies of the state. Goods were obtained from the king of Portugal, in order to be sent to Flanders for the profit to be raised on the sale.<sup>15</sup> Such were the wretched devices by which Philip, who inherited this policy of temporizing expedients from his father, endeavored to replenish his exhausted treasury. Besides the sums drawn from Castile, the king obtained also no less than a million and a half of ducats, as an extraordinary grant from the states of the Netherlands.<sup>16</sup> Yet these sums, large as they were, were soon absorbed by the expense of keeping armies on foot in France and in Italy. Philip's correspondence with his ministers teems with representations of the low state of his finances, of the arrears due to his troops, and the necessity of immediate supplies to save him from bankruptcy. The prospects the ministers hold out to him in return are anything but encouraging.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Relatione di Giovanni Micheli, MS.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. IV. cap. 2, 4.—Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, parte II. lib. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Relatione di Giovanni Micheli, MS.

<sup>17</sup> "Yo os digo que yo estoy de todo punto imposibilitado á sostener

la guerra. . . . Estos términos me parecen tan aprestados que so pena de perderme no puedo dejar de concertarme." Letter of Philip to the Bishop of Arras, (February 12, 1559,) ap. Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. V. p. 454, et alibi.

Philip told the Venetian minister

Another circumstance which made both princes desire the termination of the war was the disturbed state of their own kingdoms. The Protestant heresy had already begun to rear its formidable crest in the Netherlands; and the Huguenots were beginning to claim the notice of the French government. Henry the Second, who was penetrated, as much as Philip himself, with the spirit of the Inquisition, longed for leisure to crush the heretical doctrines in the bud. In this pious purpose he was encouraged by Paul the Fourth, who, now that he was himself restrained from levying war against his neighbors, seemed resolved that no one else should claim that indulgence. He sent legates to both Henry and Philip, conjuring them, instead of warring with each other, to turn their arms against the heretics in their dominions, who were sapping the foundations of the Church.<sup>18</sup>

The pacific disposition of the two monarchs was, moreover, fostered by the French prisoners, and especially by Montmorency, whose authority had been such at court, that Charles the Fifth declared "his capture was more important than would have been that of the king himself."<sup>19</sup> The old constable was most anxious to return to his own country, where he saw with uneasiness the ascendancy which his absence and the prolongation of the war were giving to his rival, Guise, in the royal counsels. Through him negotiations were opened with the French court, until, Henry the Second thinking,

he was in such straits, that, if the French king had not made advances towards an accommodation, he should have been obliged to do so himself. Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, parte II. lib. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. IV. cap. 16.—Ferrerías, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. VII. p. 397.

<sup>19</sup> "Habló que era de tener en mas la pressa del Condestable, que si fuera la misma persona del Rey, porque faltando el, falta el gobierno jeneral todo." Carta del Mayordomo Don Luis Mendez Quixada al Secretario Juan Vazquez de Molina, MS.

with good reason, that these negotiations would be better conducted by a regular congress than by prisoners in the custody of his enemies, commissioners were appointed on both sides, to arrange the terms of accommodation.<sup>20</sup> Montmorency and his fellow-captive, Marshal St. André, were included in the commission. But the person of most importance in it, on the part of France, was the cardinal of Lorraine, brother of the duke of Guise, a man of a subtle, intriguing temper, and one who, like the rest of his family, notwithstanding his pacific demonstrations, may be said to have represented the war party in France.<sup>21</sup>

On the part of Spain the agents selected were the men most conspicuous for talent and authority in the kingdom; the names of some of whom, whether for good or for evil report, remain immortal on the page of history. Among these were the duke of Alva and his great antagonist,—as he became afterwards in the Netherlands,—William of Orange. But the principal person in the commission, the man who in fact directed it, was Anthony Perrenot, bishop of Arras, better known by his later title of Cardinal Granvelle. He was son of the celebrated chancellor of that name under Charles the Fifth, by whom he was early trained, not so much to the duties of the ecclesiastical profession as of public life. He profited so well by the instruction, that, in the

<sup>20</sup> The French government had good reasons for its distrust. It appears from the correspondence of Granvelle, that that minister employed a *respectable* agent to take charge of the letters of St. André, and probably of the other prisoners, and that these letters were inspected by Granvelle before they passed to the French camp. See *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, tom. V. p. 178.

<sup>21</sup> Some historians, among them Sismondi, seem to have given more

credit to the professions of the politic Frenchman than they deserve, (*Histoire des Français*, tom. XVIII. p. 73.) Granvelle, who understood the character of his antagonist better, was not so easily duped. A memorandum among his papers thus notices the French cardinal: "Toute la démonstration que faisoit ledict cardinal de Lorraine de désirer paix, estoit chose faincte à la françoise et pour nous abuser." *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, tom. V. p. 168.

emperor's time, he succeeded his father in the royal confidence, and surpassed him in his talent for affairs. His accommodating temper combined with his zeal for the interests of Philip to recommend Granvelle to the favour of that monarch; and his insinuating address and knowledge of character well qualified him for conducting a negotiation where there were so many jarring feelings to be brought into concord, so many hostile and perplexing interests to be reconciled.

As a suspension of hostilities was agreed on during the continuance of the negotiations, it was decided to remove the armies from the neighborhood of each other, where a single spark might at any time lead to a general explosion. A still stronger earnest was given of their pacific intentions, by both the monarchs disbanding part of their foreign mercenaries, whose services were purchased at a ruinous cost, that made one of the great evils of the war.

The congress met on the fifteenth of October, 1558, at the abbey of Cercamps, near Cambray. Between parties so well disposed, it might be thought that some general terms of accommodation would soon be settled. But the war, which ran back pretty far into Charles the Fifth's time, had continued so long, that many territories had changed masters during the contest, and it was not easy to adjust the respective claims to them. The duke of Savoy's dominions, for example, had passed into the hands of Henry the Second, who, moreover, asserted an hereditary right to them through his grandmother. Yet it was not possible for Philip to abandon his ally, the man whom he had placed at the head of his armies. But the greatest obstacle was Calais. "If we return without the recovery of Calais," said the English envoys, who also took part in this congress, "we shall be stoned

to death by the people."<sup>22</sup> Philip supported the claim of England; and yet it was evident that France would never relinquish a post so important to herself, which, after so many years of hope deferred, had at last come again into her possession. While engaged in the almost hopeless task of adjusting these differences, an event occurred which suspended the negotiations for a time, and exercised an important influence on the affairs of Europe. This was the death of one of the parties to the war, Queen Mary of England.

Mary's health had been fast declining of late, under the pressure of both mental and bodily disease. The loss of Calais bore heavily on her spirits, as she thought of the reproach it would bring on her reign, and the increased unpopularity it would draw upon herself. "When I die," she said, in the strong language since made familiar to Englishmen by the similar expression of their great admiral, "Calais will be found written on my heart."<sup>23</sup>

Philip, who was not fully apprised of the queen's low condition, early in November sent the count, afterwards duke, of Feria as his envoy to London, with letters for Mary. This nobleman, who had married one of the queen's maids of honor, stood high in the favor of his master. With courtly manners, and a magnificent way of living, he combined a shrewdness and solidity of judgment, that eminently fitted him for his present mission. The queen received with great joy the letters which he brought her, though too ill to read them. Feria, seeing the low state of Mary's health, was

<sup>22</sup> "Adjoustant que, si Calaix demerroit aux François, ny luy ny ses collègues n'oseroient retourner en Angleterre, et que certainement le peuple les lapideroit." Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>23</sup> "Were I to die this moment,

want of frigates would be found written on my heart." The original of this letter of Nelson is in the curious collection of autograph letters which belonged to the late Sir Robert Peel.

earnest with the council to secure the succession for Elizabeth.

He had the honor of supping with the princess at her residence in Hatfield, about eighteen miles from London. The Spaniard enlarged, in the course of conversation, on the good-will of his master to Elizabeth, as shown in the friendly offices he had rendered her during her imprisonment, and his desire to have her succeed to the crown. The envoy did not add that this desire was prompted not so much by the king's concern for the interests of Elizabeth as by his jealousy of the French, who seemed willing to countenance the pretensions of Mary Stuart, the wife of the dauphin, to the English throne.<sup>24</sup> The princess acknowledged the protection she had received from Philip in her troubles. "But for her present prospects," she said, "she was indebted neither to the king nor to the English lords, however much these latter might vaunt their fidelity. It was to the people that she owed them, and on the people she relied."<sup>25</sup> This answer of Elizabeth furnishes the key to her success.

The penetrating eye of the envoy soon perceived that the English princess was under evil influences. The persons most in her confidence, he wrote, were understood to have a decided leaning to the Lutheran heresy,

<sup>24</sup> Philip's feelings in this matter may be gathered from a passage in a letter to Granvelle, in which he says that the death of the young queen of Scots, then very ill, would silence the pretensions which the French made to England, and relieve Spain from a great embarrassment. "Si la reyna moça se muriesse, que diz que anda muy mala, nos quitaria de hartos embaraços y del derecho que pretenden á Inglaterra." *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, tom. V. p. 643.

<sup>25</sup> "Tras esto véola muy indi-

gnada de las cosas que se han hecho contra ella en vida de la Reina: muy asida al pueblo, y muy confiada que lo tiene todo de su parte (como es verdad), y dando á entender que el Pueblo la ha puesto en el estado que está; y de esto no reconoce nada á V. M. ni á la nobleza del Reino, aunque dice que la han enviado á prometer todos que la serán fieles." *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, (Madrid, 1832,) tom. VII. p. 254.



and he augured most unfavorably for the future prospects of the kingdom.

On the seventeenth of November, 1558, after a brief, but most disastrous reign, Queen Mary died. Her fate has been a hard one. Unimpeachable in her private life, and, however misguided, with deeply-seated religious principles, she has yet left a name held in more general execration than any other on the roll of English sovereigns. One obvious way of accounting for this, doubtless, is by the spirit of persecution which hung like a dark cloud over her reign. And this not merely on account of the persecution; for that was common with the line of Tudor; but because it was directed against the professors of a religion which came to be the established religion of the country. Thus the blood of the martyr became the seed of a great and powerful church, ready through all after time to bear testimony to the ruthless violence of its oppressor.

There was still another cause of Mary's unpopularity. The daughter of Katharine of Aragon could not fail to be nurtured in a reverence for the illustrious line from which she was descended. The education begun in the cradle was continued in later years. When the young princess was betrothed to her cousin, Charles the Fifth, it was stipulated that she should be made acquainted with the language and the institutions of Castile, and should even wear the costume of the country. "And who," exclaimed Henry the Eighth, "is so well fitted to instruct her in all this as the queen, her mother?" Even after the match with her imperial suitor was broken off by his marriage with the Portuguese infanta, Charles still continued to take a lively interest in the fortunes of his young kinswoman; while she, in her turn, naturally looked to the emperor, as her nearest

relative, for counsel and support. Thus drawn towards Spain by the ties of kindred, by sympathy, and by interest, Mary became in truth more of a Spanish than an English woman; and when all this was completed by the odious Spanish match, and she gave her hand to Philip the Second, the last tie seemed to be severed which had bound her to her native land. Thenceforth she remained an alien in the midst of her own subjects. —Very different was the fate of her sister and successor, Elizabeth, who ruled over her people like a true-hearted English queen, under no influence, and with no interests distinct from theirs. She was requited for it by the most loyal devotion on their part; while round her throne have gathered those patriotic recollections which, in spite of her many errors, still render her name dear to Englishmen.

On the death of her sister, Elizabeth, without opposition, ascended the throne of her ancestors. It may not be displeasing to the reader to see the portrait of her sketched by the Venetian minister at this period, or rather two years earlier, when she was twenty-three years of age. "The princess," he says, "is as beautiful in mind as she is in body; though her countenance is rather pleasing from its expression, than beautiful.<sup>26</sup> She is large and well-made; her complexion clear, and of an olive tint; her eyes are fine, and her hands, on which she prides herself, small and delicate. She has an excellent genius, with much address and self-command, as was abundantly shown in the severe trials to which she was exposed in the earlier part of her life. In her temper she is haughty and imperious, qualities inherited from her father, King Henry the Eighth, who, from her

<sup>26</sup> "Non manco bella d'animo che sia di corpo; ancor' che di faccia si può dir' che sia piu tosto gratiosa che bella." *Relazione di Giovanni Micheli, MS.*

resemblance to himself, is said to have regarded her with peculiar fondness."<sup>27</sup>—He had, it must be owned, an uncommon way of showing it.

One of the first acts of Elizabeth was to write an elegant Latin epistle to Philip, in which she acquainted him with her accession to the crown, and expressed the hope that they should continue to maintain "the same friendly relations as their ancestors had done, and, if possible, more friendly."

Philip received the tidings of his wife's death at Brussels, where her obsequies were celebrated, with great solemnity, on the same day with her funeral in London. All outward show of respect was paid to her memory. But it is doing no injustice to Philip to suppose that his heart was not very deeply touched by the loss of a wife so many years older than himself, whose temper had been soured, and whose personal attractions, such as they were, had long since faded under the pressure of disease. Still, it was not without feelings of deep regret that the ambitious monarch saw the sceptre of England—barren though it had proved to him—thus suddenly snatched from his grasp.

We have already seen that Philip, during his residence in the country, had occasion more than once to interpose his good offices in behalf of Elizabeth. It was perhaps the friendly relation in which he thus stood to her, quite as much as her personal qualities, that excited in the king a degree of interest which seems to have provoked something like jealousy in the bosom of his queen.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> "Della persona è grande, et ben formata, di bella carne, ancor che olivastra, begl' occhi, et sopra tutto bella mano, di che fa professione, d'un spirito, et ingegno mirabile: il che ha saputo molto ben dimostrare, con l'essersi saputa ne i sospetti, et pericoli ne i quali s'è

ritrovata così ben governare. . . . . Si tien superba, et gloriosa per il padre; del quale dicono tutti che è anco più simile, et per ciò gli fu sempre cara." Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> The Spanish minister, Feria, desired his master to allow him to mention Mary's jealousy, as an argu-

However this may be, motives of a very different character from those founded on sentiment now determined him to retain, if possible, his hold on England, by transferring to Elizabeth the connection which had subsisted with Mary.

A month had not elapsed since Mary's remains were laid in Westminster Abbey, when the royal widower made direct offers, through his ambassador, Feria, for the hand of her successor. Yet his ardor did not precipitate him into any unqualified declaration of his passion; on the contrary, his proposals were limited by some very prudent conditions.

It was to be understood that Elizabeth must be a Roman Catholic, and, if not one already, must repudiate her errors and become one. She was to obtain a dispensation from the pope for the marriage. Philip was to be allowed to visit Spain, whenever he deemed it necessary for the interests of that kingdom;—a provision which seems to show that Mary's over-fondness, or her jealousy, must have occasioned him some inconvenience on that score. It was further to be stipulated, that the issue of the marriage should not, as was agreed in the contract with Mary, inherit the Netherlands, which were to pass to his son Don Carlos, the prince of Asturias.

Feria was directed to make these proposals by word of mouth, not in writing; "although," adds his considerate master, "it is no disgrace for a man to have his proposals rejected, when they are founded, not on worldly considerations, but on zeal for his Maker and the interests of religion."

Elizabeth received the offer of Philip's hand, qualified  
 ment to recommend his suit to the favor of Elizabeth. But Philip had the good feeling— or good taste

—to refuse. *Memorias de la Real Academia*, tom VII. p. 260.

as it was, in the most gracious manner. She told the ambassador, indeed, that, "in a matter of this kind, she could take no step without consulting her parliament. But his master might rest assured, that, should she be induced to marry, there was no man she should prefer to him."<sup>29</sup> Philip seems to have been contented with the encouragement thus given, and shortly after he addressed Elizabeth a letter, written with his own hand, in which he endeavored to impress on her how much he had at heart the success of his ambassador's mission.

The course of events in England, however, soon showed that such success was not to be relied on, and that Feria's prognostics in regard to the policy of Elizabeth were well founded. Parliament soon entered on the measures which ended in the subversion of the Roman Catholic, and the restoration of the Reformed religion. And it was very evident that these measures, if not originally dictated by the queen, must at least have received her sanction.

Philip, in consequence, took counsel with two of his ministers, on whom he most relied, as to the expediency of addressing Elizabeth on the subject, and telling her plainly, that, unless she openly disavowed the proceedings of parliament, the marriage could not take place.<sup>30</sup> Her vanity should be soothed by the expressions of his regret at being obliged to relinquish the hopes of her hand. But, as her lover modestly remarked, after this candid statement of all the consequences before her, whatever the result might be, she would have no one to

<sup>29</sup> "Dijo que convendria consultarlo con el Parlamento; bien que el Rey Católico debia estar seguro que en caso de casarse, seria él preferido á todos." Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>30</sup> "Pareceme que seria bien que el conde le hablasse claro en estas cosas de la religion, y la amonestasse

y rogasse de mi parte que no hiziesse en este parlamento mudança en ella, y que si la hiciesse que yo no podria venir en lo del casamiento, como en efecto no vendria." Carta del Rey Phelipe al Duque de Alba, 7 de Febrero, 1559, MS.



blame but herself.<sup>31</sup> His sage advisers, probably not often called to deliberate on questions of this delicate nature, entirely concurred in opinion with their master. In any event, they regarded it as impossible that he should wed a Protestant.

What effect this frank remonstrance had on the queen we are not told. Certain it is, Philip's suit no longer sped so favorably as before. Elizabeth, throwing off all disguise, plainly told Feria, when pressed on the matter, that she felt great scruples as to seeking a dispensation from the pope;<sup>32</sup> and soon after she openly declared in parliament, what she was in the habit of repeating so often, that she had no other purpose but to live and die a maid.<sup>33</sup>—It can hardly be supposed that Elizabeth entertained serious thoughts, at any time, of marrying Philip. If she encouraged his addresses, it was only until she felt herself so securely seated on the throne, that she was independent of the ill-will she would incur by their rejection. It was a game in which the heart, probably, formed no part of the stake on either side. In this game, it must be confessed, the English queen showed herself the better player of the two.

Philip bore his disappointment with great equanimity. He expressed his regret to Elizabeth that she should have decided in a way so contrary to what the public interests seemed to demand. But since it appeared to her otherwise, he should acquiesce, and only hoped that the same end might be attained by the continuance of

<sup>31</sup> "Convendria que hablasse claro á la Reyna, y le dixesse rasamente que aunque yo desseo mucho este negocio, (y por aqui envanesçella quanto pudiesse,) pero que entendiesse que si haria mudança en la religion, yo lo hacia en este desseo y voluntad por que despues no pudi-

esse dezir que no se le avia dicho antes." Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> "Dijo que pensaba estar sin casarse, porque tenia mucho escrúpulo en lo de la dispensa del Papa." Memorias de la Real Academia, tom. VII. p. 265.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 266.



their friendship.<sup>34</sup> With all this philosophy, we may well believe that, with a character like that of Philip, some bitterness must have remained in the heart; and that, very probably, feelings of a personal nature mingled with those of a political in the long hostilities which he afterwards carried on with the English queen.

In the month of February, the conferences for the treaty of peace had been resumed, and the place of meeting changed from the abbey of Cercamps to Cateau-Cambresis. The negotiations were urged forward with greater earnestness than before, as both the monarchs were more sorely pressed by their necessities. Philip, in particular, was so largely in arrears to his army, that he frankly told his ministers "he was on the brink of ruin, from which nothing but a peace could save him."<sup>35</sup> It might be supposed that, in this state of things, he would be placed in a disadvantageous attitude for arranging terms with his adversary. But Philip and his ministers put the best face possible on their affairs, affecting a confidence in their resources, before their allies as well as their enemies, which they were far from feeling; like some half-famished garrison, which makes a brave show of its scanty stock of supplies, in order to win better terms from the besiegers.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> "Aunque habia recibido pena de no haberse concludido cosa que tanto deseaba, y parecia convenir al bien público, pues á ella no le habia parecido tan necesario, y que con buena amistad se conseguiria el mismo fin, quedaba satisfecho y contento." *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

<sup>35</sup> The duke of Savoy, in a letter to Granvelle, says that the king is in arrears more than a million of crowns to the German troops alone; and, unless the ministers have some mysterious receipt for raising money, beyond his knowledge, Philip will be in the greatest embarrassment that

any sovereign ever was. "No ay un real y devéseles á la gente alemana, demas de lo que seles a pagado aora de la vieja deuda, mas d'un mylion d'escudos. . . . Por esso mirad como hazeys, que sino se haze la paz yo veo el rey puesto en el mayor trance que rey s'a visto jamas, si él no tiene otros dineros, que yo no sé, á que el señor Eraso alle algun secreto que tiene reservado para esto." *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, tom. V. p. 458.

<sup>36</sup> The minister in London was instructed to keep up the same show of confidence to the English. "To-

All the difficulties were at length cleared away, except the vexed question of Calais. The English queen, it was currently said in the camp, would cut off the head of any minister who abandoned it. Mary, the young queen of Scots, had just been married to the French dauphin, afterwards Francis the Second. It was proposed that the eldest daughter born of this union should be united to the eldest son of Elizabeth, and bring with her Calais as a dowry. In this way, the place would be restored to England without dishonor to France.<sup>37</sup> Such were the wild expedients to which the parties resorted in the hope of extricating themselves from their embarrassment!

At length, seeing the absolute necessity of bringing the matter to an issue, Philip ordered the Spanish plenipotentiaries to write his final instructions to Feria, his minister in London. The envoy was authorized to say, that, although England had lost Calais through her own negligence, yet Philip would stand faithfully by her for the recovery of it. But, on the other hand, she must be prepared to support him with her whole strength by land and by sea, and that not for a single campaign, but for the war so long as it lasted. The government should ponder well whether the prize would be worth the cost. Feria must bring the matter home to the queen, and lead her, if possible, to the desired conclusion; but so that she might appear to come to it by her own suggestion rather than by his. The responsibility must be left with her.<sup>38</sup>

davia mostramos rostro á los Franceses, como tambien es menester que alla se haga con los Ingleses, que no se puede confiar que no vengan Franceses á saber dellos lo que alli podrian entender." *Ibid.*, p. 479.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

"That the said Dolphin's and Queen of Scott's eldest daughter shall marry with your highnes eldest

sonne, who with her shall have Callice." Forbes, *State Papers of Elizabeth*, vol. I. p. 54.

It seemed to be taken for granted that Elizabeth was not to die a maiden queen, notwithstanding her assertions so often reiterated to the contrary.

<sup>38</sup> "Hablando con la reyna sin persuadirla, ny á la paz, ny á que

The letter of the plenipotentiaries, which is a very long one, is a model in its way, and shows that, in some particulars, the science of diplomacy has gained little since the sixteenth century.

Elizabeth needed no argument to make her weary of a war which hung like a dark cloud on the morning of her reign. Her disquietude had been increased by the fact of Scotland having become a party to the war; and hostilities, with little credit to that country, had broken out along the borders. Her own kingdom was in no condition to allow her to make the extraordinary efforts demanded by Philip. Yet it was plain, if she did not make them, or consent to come into the treaty, she must be left to carry on the war by herself. Under these circumstances, the English government at last consented to an arrangement, which, if it did not save Calais, so far saved appearances that it might satisfy the nation. It was agreed that Calais should be restored at the end of eight years. If France failed to do this, she was to pay five hundred thousand crowns to England, whose claims to Calais would not, however, be affected by such a payment. Should either of the parties, or their subjects, during that period, do anything in contravention of this treaty, or in violation of the peace between the two countries, the offending party should forfeit all claim to the disputed territory.<sup>39</sup> It was not very probable that eight years would elapse without affording some plausible pretext to France, under such a provision, for keeping her hold on Calais.

dexe Calaix, ny tampoco á que venga bien á las otras condiciones propuestas por los Franceses, para que en ningun tiempo pueda dezir que de parte de S. M. la hayan persuadido á cosa que quicá despues pensasse que no le estuviesse bien, V. S. tenga respecto á proponerle

las razones en balança, de manera que pesen siempre mucho mas las que la han de inclinar al concierto." Ibid., p. 479.

<sup>39</sup> See the treaty, in Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, (Amsterdam, 1728,) tom. V. p. 31.



The treaty with England was signed on the second of April, 1559. On the day following was signed that between France and Spain. By the provisions of this treaty, the allies of Philip, Savoy, Mantua, Genoa, were reinstated in the possession of the territories of which they had been stripped in the first years of the war. Four or five places of importance in Savoy were alone reserved, to be held as guaranties by the French king, until his claim to the inheritance of that kingdom was determined.

The conquests made by Philip in Picardy were to be exchanged for those gained by the French in Italy and the Netherlands. The exchange was greatly for the benefit of Philip. In the time of Charles the Fifth, the Spanish arms had experienced some severe reverses, and the king now received more than two hundred towns in return for the five places he held in Picardy.<sup>40</sup>

Terms so disadvantageous to France roused the indignation of the duke of Guise, who told Henry plainly, that a stroke of his pen would cost the country more than thirty years of war. "Give me the poorest of the places you are to surrender," said he, "and I will undertake to hold it against all the armies of Spain!"<sup>41</sup> But Henry sighed for peace, and for the return of his friend, the constable. He affected much deference to the opinions of the duke. But he wrote to Montmorency that the Guises were at their old tricks,<sup>42</sup>—and he ratified the treaty.

The day on which the plenipotentiaries of the three great powers had completed their work, they went in

<sup>40</sup> Garnier, *Histoire de France*, tom. XXVII. p. 570.

<sup>41</sup> "Mettez-moi, sire, dans la plus mauvaise des places qu'on vous propose d'abandonner, et que vos enne-

mis tâchent de m'en déloger." Gail-  
lard, *Rivalité de la France et*  
*d'Espagne*, tom. V. p. 294.

<sup>42</sup> Garnier, *Histoire de France*, tom. XXVII. p. 567.

solemn procession to the church, and returned thanks to the Almighty for the happy consummation of their labors. The treaty was then made public; and, notwithstanding the unfavorable import of the terms to France, the peace, if we except some ambitious spirits, who would have found their account in the continuance of hostilities, was welcomed with joy by the whole nation. In this sentiment all the parties to the war participated. The more remote, like Spain, rejoiced to be delivered from a contest which made such large drains on their finances; while France had an additional reason for desiring peace, now that her own territory had become the theatre of war.

The reputation which Philip had acquired by his campaigns was greatly heightened by the result of his negotiations. The whole course of these negotiations—long and intricate as it was—is laid open to us in the correspondence fortunately preserved among the papers of Granvelle; and the student who explores these pages may probably rise from them with the conviction that the Spanish plenipotentiaries showed an address, a knowledge of the men they had to deal with, and a consummate policy, in which neither their French nor English rivals were a match for them. The negotiation all passed under the eyes of Philip. Every move in the game, if not by his suggestion, had been made at least with his sanction. The result placed him in honorable contrast to Henry the Second, who, while Philip had stood firmly by his allies, had, in his eagerness for peace, abandoned those of France to their fate.

The early campaigns of Philip had wiped away the disgrace caused by the closing campaigns of Charles the Fifth; and by the treaty he had negotiated, the number of towns which he lost was less than that of provinces

which he gained.<sup>43</sup> Thus he had shown himself as skilful in counsel as he had been successful in the field. Victorious in Picardy and in Naples, he had obtained the terms of a victor from the king of France, and humbled the arrogance of Rome, in a war to which he had been driven in self-defence.<sup>44</sup> Faithful to his allies and formidable to his foes, there was probably no period of Philip's life in which he possessed so much real consideration in the eyes of Europe, as at the time of signing the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.

In order to cement the union between the different powers, and to conciliate the good-will of the French nation to the treaty by giving it somewhat of the air of a marriage contract, it was proposed that an alliance should take place between the royal houses of France and Spain. It was first arranged that the hand of Henry's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, should be given to Carlos, the son and heir of Philip. The parties were of nearly the same age, being each about fourteen years old. Now that all prospect of the English match had vanished, it was thought to be a greater compliment to the French to substitute the father for the son, the monarch himself for the heir apparent, in the marriage treaty. The disparity of years between Philip and Elizabeth was not such as to present any serious objection. The proposition was said to have come from the French

<sup>43</sup> "Pour tant de restitutions ou de concessions que revenoit-il à la France? moins de places qu'elle ne cédoit de provinces." Gaillard, Rivalité de la France et d'Espagne, tom. V. p. 292.

<sup>44</sup> Charles the Fifth, who in his monastic seclusion at Yuste, might naturally have felt more scruples at a collision with Rome than when, in earlier days, he held the pope a prisoner in his capital, decidedly approved of his son's course. It was

a war of necessity, he said, in a letter to Juan Vazquez de Molina, and Philip would stand acquitted of the consequences before God and man.

"Pues no se puede hazer otra cosa, y el Rey se ha justificado en tantas maneras cumpliendo con Dios y el mundo, por escusar los daños que dello se seguiran, forzado sera usar del ultimo remedio." Carta del Emperador á Juan Vazquez de Molina, 8 de Agosto, 1557, MS.



negotiators. The Spanish envoys replied, that, notwithstanding their master's repugnance to entering again into wedlock, yet, from his regard to the French monarch, and his desire for the public weal, he would consent to waive his scruples, and accept the hand of the French princess, with the same dowry which had been promised to his son Don Carlos.<sup>45</sup>

Queen Elizabeth seems to have been not a little piqued by the intelligence that Philip had so soon consoled himself for the failure of his suit to her. "Your master," said she, in a petulant tone, to Feria, "must have been much in love with me not to be able to wait four months!" The ambassador answered somewhat bluntly, by throwing the blame of the affair on the queen herself. "Not so," she retorted, "I never gave your king a decided answer." "True," said Feria, "the refusal was only implied, for I would not urge your highness to a downright 'No,' lest it might prove a cause of offence between so great princes."<sup>46</sup>

In June, 1559, the duke of Alva entered France for the purpose of claiming the royal bride, and espousing her in the name of his master. He was accompanied by Ruy Gomez, count of Melito,—better known by his title of prince of Eboli,—by the prince of Orange, the Count Egmont, and other noblemen, whose high rank and character might give lustre to the embassy. He was received in great state by Henry, who, with his whole

<sup>45</sup> "Il nous a semblé mieulx de leur dire rondement, que combien vostre majesté soit tousjours esté dure et difficile à receivoir persuasions pour se remarier, que toutesfois, aiant représenté à icelle le désir du roi très-chrestien et le bien que de ce mariage pourra succéder, et pour plus promptement consolider ceste union et paix, elle s'estoit résolue, pour monstrier sa bonne et

syncère affection, *d'y condescendre franchement.*" Granvelle, Papiers d'Etat, tom. V. p. 580.

<sup>46</sup> "El Conde la dijo, que aunque las negativas habian sido en cierto modo indirectas, él no habia querido apurarla hasta el punto de decir redondamente que no, por no dar motivo à indignaciones entre dos tan grandes Principes." Mem. de la Academia, tom. VII. p. 268.

court, seemed anxious to show to the envoy every mark of respect that could testify their satisfaction with the object of his mission. The duke displayed all the stately demeanor of a true Spanish hidalgo. Although he conformed to the French usage by saluting the ladies of the court, he declined taking this liberty with his future queen, or covering himself, as repeatedly urged, in her presence,—a piece of punctilio greatly admired by the French, as altogether worthy of the noble Castilian breeding.<sup>47</sup>

On the twenty-fourth of June, the marriage of the young princess was celebrated in the church of St. Mary. King Henry gave his daughter away. The duke of Alva acted as his sovereign's proxy. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the prince of Eboli placed on the finger of the princess, as a memento from her lord, a diamond ring of inestimable value; and the beautiful Elizabeth, the destined bride of Don Carlos, became the bride of the king his father. It was an ominous union, destined, in its mysterious consequences, to supply a richer theme for the pages of romance than for those of history.

The wedding was followed by a succession of brilliant entertainments, the chief of which was the tournament,—the most splendid pageant of that spectacle-loving age. Henry was, at that time, busily occupied with the work of exterminating the Protestant heresy, which, as already noticed, had begun to gather formidable head in the capital of his dominions.<sup>48</sup> On the evening of the fifteenth

<sup>47</sup> "Osservando egli l' usanza Francese nel baciare tutte l' altre Dame di Corte, nell' arriuar alla futura sua Reina, non solo intermise quella famigliare cerimonia, ma non uolle nè anche giamai coprirsi la testa, per istanza, che da lei ne gli fusse fatta; il che fu notato per nobilissimo, e degno atto di creanza

Spagnuola." Campana, Filippo Secondo, parte II. lib. XI.

<sup>48</sup> The work of extermination was to cover more ground than Henry's capital or country, if we may take the word of the English commissioners, who, in a letter dated January, 1559, advised the queen, their mistress, that "there was an appoint-

of June, he attended a session of the parliament, and arrested some of its principal members for the boldness of their speech in his presence. He ordered them into confinement, deferring their sentence till the termination of the engrossing business of the tourney.

The king delighted in these martial exercises, in which he could display his showy person and matchless horsemanship in the presence of the assembled beauty and fashion of his court.<sup>49</sup> He fully maintained his reputation on this occasion, carrying off one prize after another, and bearing down all who encountered his lance. Towards evening, when the games had drawn to a close, he observed the young count of Montgomery, a Scotch noble, the captain of his guard, leaning on his lance as yet unbroken. The king challenged the cavalier to run a course with him for his lady's sake. In vain the queen, with a melancholy boding of some disaster, besought her lord to remain content with the laurels he had already won. Henry obstinately urged his fate, and compelled the count, though extremely loth, to take the saddle. The champions met with a furious shock in the middle of the lists. Montgomery was a rude joustier. He directed his lance with such force against the helmet of his antagonist, that the bars of the visor gave way. The

ment made betwene the late pope, the French king, and the king of Spaine, for the joinging of their forces together for the suppression of religion,.....th'end whereof was to constraîne the rest of christiendome, being Protestants, to receive the pope's autorité and his religione." (Forbes, State Papers, vol. I. p. 296.) Without direct evidence of such a secret understanding, intimations of it, derived from other sources, may be found in more than one passage of this history.

<sup>49</sup> Brantôme, who repays the favors

he had received from Henry the Second by giving him a conspicuous place in his gallery of portraits, eulogizes his graceful bearing in the tourney and his admirable horsemanship.

"Mais sur tout ils l'admiraient fort en sa belle grace qu'il avoit en ses armes et à cheval; comme de vray, c'estoit le prince du monde qui avoit la meilleure grace et la plus belle tenuë, et qui sçavoit aussi bien monstrier la vertu et bonté d'un cheval, et en cacher le vice." Œuvres, tom. II. p. 353.

lance splintered; a fragment struck the king with such violence on the temple as to lay bare the eye. The unhappy monarch reeled in his saddle, and would have fallen but for the assistance of the constable, the duke of Guise, and other nobles, who bore him in their arms senseless from the lists. Henry's wound was mortal. He lingered ten days in great agony, and expired on the ninth of July, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. It was an ill augury for the nuptials of Elizabeth.<sup>50</sup>

The tidings of the king's death were received with demonstrations of sorrow throughout the kingdom. He had none of those solid qualities which make either a great or a good prince. But he had the showy qualities which are perhaps more effectual to secure the affections of a people as fond of show as the nation whom Henry governed.<sup>51</sup> There were others in the kingdom, however,—that growing sect of the Huguenots,—who looked on the monarch's death with very different eyes,—who rejoiced in it as a deliverance from persecution. They had little cause to rejoice. The sceptre passed into the hands of a line of imbecile princes, or rather of their mother, the famous Catherine de Medicis, who reigned in their stead, and who ultimately proved herself the most merciless foe the Huguenots ever encountered.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 351.—De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, tom. III. p. 367.—Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo*, lib. IV. cap. 20.—*Campagna Filippo Secondo*, parte II. lib. II.—Forbes, *State Papers*, vol. I. p. 151.

<sup>51</sup> The English commissioner, Sir

Nicholas Throckmorton, bears testimony to the popularity of Henry.—“Their was marvailous great lamentation made for him, and weeping of all sorts, both men and women.” Forbes, *State Papers*, vol. I. p. 151.

## CHAPTER IX.

## LATTER DAYS OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Charles at Yuste.—His Mode of Life.—Interest in Public Affairs.—  
Celebrates his Obsequies.—Last Illness.—Death and Character.

1556—1558.

WHILE the occurrences related in the preceding chapter were passing, an event took place which, had it happened earlier, would have had an important influence on the politics of Europe, and the news of which, when it did happen, was everywhere received with the greatest interest. This event was the death of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in his monastic retreat at Yuste. In the earlier pages of our narrative, we have seen how that monarch, after his abdication of the throne, withdrew to the Jeronymite convent among the hills of Estremadura. The reader may now feel some interest in following him thither, and in observing in what manner he accommodated himself to the change, and passed the closing days of his eventful life. The picture I am enabled to give of it will differ in some respects from those of former historians, who wrote when the Archives of Simancas, which afford the most authentic records for the narrative, were inaccessible to the scholar, native as well as foreign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This pleasing anticipation is not destined to be realized. Since the above was written, in the summer of 1851, the cloister life of Charles the

Fifth, then a virgin topic, has become a thrice-told tale,—thanks to the labors of Mr. Stirling, M. Amédée Pichot, and M. Mignet; while the



Charles, as we have seen, had early formed the determination to relinquish at some future time the cares of royalty, and devote himself, in some lonely retreat, to the good work of his salvation. His consort, the Empress Isabella, as appears from his own statement at Yuste, had avowed the same pious purpose.<sup>2</sup> She died, however, too early to execute her plan; and Charles was too much occupied with his ambitious enterprises to accomplish his object until the autumn of 1555, when, broken in health and spirits, and disgusted with the world, he resigned the sceptre he had held for forty years, and withdrew to a life of obscurity and repose.

The spot he had selected for his residence was situated about seven leagues from the city of Plasencia, on the slopes of the mountain chain that traverses the province of Estremadura. There, nestling among the rugged hills, clothed with thick woods of chestnut and oak, the Jeronymite convent was sheltered from the rude breezes of the north. Towards the south, the land sloped by a gradual declivity, till it terminated in a broad expanse, the *Vera* of Plasencia, as it was called, which, fertilized by the streams of the sierra, contrasted strongly in its glowing vegetation with the wild character of the mountain scenery. It was a spot well fitted for such as would withdraw themselves from commerce with the world, and consecrate their days to prayer and holy meditation. The Jeronymite fraternity had prospered in this peaceful abode. Many of the monks had acquired reputation for sanctity, and some of them for learning, the fruits of which might be seen in a large collection of manuscripts preserved in the library of the monastery.

publication of the original documents from Simancas, by M. Gachard, will put it in the power of every scholar to verify their statements.—See the

postscript at the end of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 611.

Benefactions were heaped on the brotherhood. They became proprietors of considerable tracts of land in the neighborhood, and they liberally employed their means in dispensing alms to the poor who sought it at the gate of the convent. Not long before Charles took up his residence among them, they had enlarged their building by an extensive quadrangle, which displayed some architectural elegance in the construction of its cloisters.

Three years before the emperor repaired thither, he sent a skilful architect to provide such accommodations as he had designed for himself. These were very simple. A small building, containing eight rooms, four on each floor, was raised against the southern wall of the monastery. The rooms were low, and of a moderate size. They were protected by porticos, which sheltered them on two sides from the rays of the sun, while an open gallery, which passed through the centre of the house, afforded means for its perfect ventilation. But Charles, with his gouty constitution, was more afraid of the cold damps than of heat; and he took care to have the apartments provided with fire-places, a luxury little known in this temperate region.

A window opened from his chamber directly into the chapel of the monastery; and through this, when confined to his bed, and too ill to attend mass, he could see the elevation of the host. The furniture of the dwelling—according to an authority usually followed—was of the simplest kind; and Charles, we are told, took no better care of his gouty limbs than to provide himself with an arm-chair, or rather half a chair, which would not have brought four reals at auction.<sup>3</sup> The inventory of the

<sup>3</sup> “Una sola silla de caderas, que mas era media silla, tan vieja y ruyn que si se pusiera en venta no dieran por ella quatro reales.” Ibid., tom.

II. p. 610.—See also *El Perfecto Desengaño*, por el Marqués de Valparayso, MS.

The latter writer, in speaking of

furniture of Yuste tells a very different story. Instead of "half an arm-chair," we find, besides other chairs lined with velvet, two arm-chairs especially destined to the emperor's service. One of these was of a peculiar construction, and was accommodated with no less than six cushions and a footstool, for the repose of his gouty limbs. His wardrobe showed a similar attention to his personal comfort. For one item we find no less than sixteen robes of silk and velvet, lined with ermine or eider-down, or the soft hair of the Barbary goat. The decorations of his apartment were on not merely a comfortable, but a luxurious scale;—canopies of velvet; carpets from Turkey and Alcaraz; suits of tapestry, of which twenty-five pieces are specified, richly wrought with figures of flowers and animals. Twelve hangings, of the finest black cloth, were for the emperor's bed-chamber, which, since his mother's death, had been always dressed in mourning. Among the ornaments of his rooms were four large clocks of elaborate workmanship. He had besides a number of pocket-watches, then a greater rarity than at present. He was curious in regard to his timepieces, and took care to provide for their regularity by bringing the manufacturer of them in his train to Yuste. Charles was served on silver. Even the meanest utensils for his kitchen and his sleeping apartment were of the same costly material, amounting to nearly fourteen thousand ounces in weight.<sup>4</sup>

the furniture; uses precisely the same language, with the exception of a single word, as Sandoval. Both claim to have mainly derived their account of the cloister life of Charles the Fifth from the prior of Yuste, Fray Martin de Angulo. The authority, doubtless, is of the highest value, as the prior, who witnessed the closing scenes of Charles's life, drew up his relation for the information

of the regent Joanna, and at her request. Why the good father should have presented his hero in such a poverty-stricken aspect, it is not easy to say. Perhaps he thought it would redound to the credit of the emperor, that he should have been willing to exchange the splendors of a throne for a life of monkish mortification.

<sup>4</sup> The reader will find an extract

The inventory contains rather a meagre show of books, which were for the most part of a devotional character. But Charles's love of art was visible in a small but choice collection of paintings, which he brought with him to adorn the walls of his retreat. Nine of these were from the pencil of Titian. Charles held the works of the great Venetian in the highest honor, and was desirous that by his hand his likeness should be transmitted to posterity. The emperor had brought with him to Yuste four portraits of himself and the empress by Titian; and among the other pieces by the same master were some of his best pictures. One of these was the famous "Gloria," in which Charles and the empress appear, in the midst of the celestial throng, supported by angels, and in an attitude of humble adoration.<sup>5</sup> He had the painting hung at the foot of his bed, or, according to another account, over the great altar in the chapel. It is said, he would gaze long and fondly on this picture, which filled him with the most tender recollections; and as he dwelt on the image of one who had been so dear to him on earth, he may have looked forward to his reunion with her in the heavenly mansions, as the artist had here depicted him.<sup>6</sup>

from the inventory of the royal jewels, plate, furniture, &c., in Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*, (London, 1852,) Appendix, and in Pichot's *Chronique de Charles-Quint*, (Paris, 1854,) p. 537 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Mignet has devoted a couple of pages to an account of this remarkable picture, of which an engraving is still extant, executed under the eyes of Titian himself. *Charles-Quint*, pp. 214, 215.

<sup>6</sup> Vera y Figueroa, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos V.*, p. 127.

A writer in *Fraser's Magazine* for April and May, 1851, has not omitted to notice this remarkable picture, in two elaborate articles on the cloister

life of Charles the Fifth. They are evidently the fruit of a careful study of the best authorities, some of them not easy of access to the English student. The author has collected some curious particulars in respect to the persons who accompanied the emperor in his retirement; and on the whole, though he seems not to have been aware of the active interest which Charles took in public affairs, he has presented by far the most complete view of this interesting portion of the imperial biography that has yet been given to the world.

[I suffer this note to remain as originally written, before the publi-

A stairway, or rather an inclined plane, suited to the weakness of Charles's limbs, led from the gallery of his house to the gardens below. These were surrounded by a high wall, which completely secluded him from observation from without. The garden was filled with orange, citron, and fig trees, and various aromatic plants that grew luxuriantly in the genial soil. The emperor had a taste for horticulture, and took much pleasure in tending the young plants and pruning his trees. His garden afforded him also the best means for taking exercise; and in fine weather he would walk along an avenue of lofty chestnut-trees, that led to a pretty chapel in the neighboring woods, the ruins of which may be seen at this day. Among the trees, one is pointed out,—an overgrown walnut, still throwing its shades far and wide over the ground,—under whose branches the pensive monarch would sit and meditate on the dim future, or perhaps on the faded glories of the past.

Charles had once been the most accomplished horseman of his time. He had brought with him to Yuste a pony and a mule, in the hope of being able to get some exercise in the saddle. But the limbs that had bestrode day after day, without fatigue, the heavy war-horse of Flanders and the wildest genet of Andalusia, were unable now to endure the motion of a poor palfrey; and, after a solitary experiment in the saddle on his arrival at Yuste, when he nearly fainted, he abandoned it for ever.<sup>7</sup>

There are few spots that might now be visited with more interest, than that which the great emperor had

cation of Mr. Stirling's "Cloister Life" had revealed him as the author of these spirited essays.]

<sup>7</sup> Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, tom. II. p. 610.—Siguencia, *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*, (Madrid, 1595—1605,) parte III. p.

190.—Ford, *Handbook of Spain*, (London, 1845,) p. 551.

Of the above authorities, Father Siguencia has furnished the best account of the emperor's little domain as it was in his day, and Ford as it is in our own.



selected as his retreat from the thorny cares of government. And until within a few years the traveller would have received from the inmates of the convent the same hospitable welcome which they had always been ready to give to the stranger. But in 1809 the place was sacked by the French; and the fierce soldiery of Soult converted the pile, with its venerable cloisters, into a heap of blackened ruins. Even the collection of manuscripts, piled up with so much industry by the brethren, did not escape the general doom. The *palace* of the emperor, as the simple monks loved to call his dwelling, had hardly a better fate, though it came from the hands of Charles's own countrymen, the liberals of Cuacos. By these patriots the lower floor of the mansion was turned into stables for their horses. The rooms above were used as magazines for grain. The mulberry-leaves were gathered from the garden to furnish material for the silkworm, who was permitted to wind his cocoon in the deserted chambers of royalty. Still the great features of nature remain the same as in Charles's day. The bald peaks of the sierra still rise above the ruins of the monastery. The shaggy sides of the hills still wear their wild forest drapery. Far below, the eye of the traveller ranges over the beautiful *Vera* of Plasencia, which glows in the same exuberant vegetation as of yore; and the traveller, as he wanders among the ruined porticos and desolate arcades of the palace, drinks in the odors of a thousand aromatic plants and wild-flowers that have shot up into a tangled wilderness, where once was the garden of the imperial recluse.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See the eloquent conclusion of Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*.

Ford, in his admirable *Hand-book*, which may serve as a manual for the student of Spanish in his

closet, quite as well as for the traveller in Spain, has devoted a few columns to a visit which he paid to this sequestered spot, where, as he says, the spirit of the mighty dead seemed to rule again in his last

Charles, though borne across the mountains in a litter, had suffered greatly in his long and laborious journey from Valladolid. He passed some time in the neighboring village of Xarandilla, and thence, after taking leave of the greater part of his weeping retinue, he proceeded with the remainder to the monastery of Yuste. It was on the third of February, 1557, that he entered the abode which was to prove his final resting-place.<sup>9</sup> The monks of Yuste had been much flattered by the circumstance of Charles having shown such a preference for their convent. As he entered the chapel, *Te Deum* was chanted by the whole brotherhood; and when the emperor had prostrated himself before the altar, the monks gathered round him, anxious to pay him their respectful obeisance. Charles received them graciously, and, after examining his quarters, professed himself well pleased with the accommodations prepared for him. His was not a fickle temper. Slow in forming his plans, he was slower in changing them. To the last day of his residence at Yuste,—whatever may have been said to the contrary,—he seems to have been well satisfied with the step he had taken and with the spot he had selected.

From the first, he prepared to conform, as far as his health would permit, to the religious observances of the monastery. Not that he proposed to limit himself to the narrow circumstances of an ordinary friar. The number of his retinue that still remained with him was

home. A few lines from the pages of the English tourist will bring the scene more vividly before the reader than the colder description in the text. "As the windows were thrown wide open to admit the cool thyme-scented breeze, the eye in the clear evening swept over the boundless valley, and the nightingales sang sweetly, in the neglected orange-

garden, to the bright stars reflected like diamonds in the black tank below us. How often had Charles looked out, on a stilly eve, on this selfsame and unchanged scene, where he alone was now wanting!" *Hand-book of Spain*, p. 553.

<sup>9</sup> *Carta de Martin de Gaztelu al Secretario Vazquez*, 5 de Febrero, 1557, MS.

at least fifty, mostly Flemings;<sup>10</sup> a number not greater, certainly, than that maintained by many a private gentleman of the country. But among these we recognize those officers of state who belong more properly to a princely establishment than to the cell of the recluse. There was the major-domo, the almoner, the keeper of the wardrobe, the keeper of the jewels, the chamberlains, two watchmakers, several secretaries, the physician, the confessor, besides cooks, confectioners, bakers, brewers, game-keepers, and numerous valets. Some of these followers seem not to have been quite so content as their master with their secluded way of life, and to have cast many a longing look to the pomps and vanities of the world they had left behind them. At least such were the feelings of Quixada, the emperor's major-domo, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, and who had the charge of his household. "His majesty's bedroom," writes the querulous functionary, "is good enough; but the view from it is poor,—barren mountains, covered with rocks and stunted oaks; a garden of moderate size, with a few straggling orange-trees; the roads scarcely passable, so steep and stony; the only water, a torrent rushing from the mountains; a dreary solitude!" The low, cheerless rooms, he predicts, must necessarily be damp, boding no good to the emperor's infirmity.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Their names and vocations are specified in the codicil executed by Charles a few days before his death. See the document entire, ap. Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, tom. II. p. 662.

A more satisfactory list has been made out by the indefatigable Gachard from various documents which he collected, and which have furnished him with the means of correcting the orthography of Sandoval, miserably deficient in respect to

Flemish names. See *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, tom. I. p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> "Las vistas de las piezas de su magestad no son muy largas, sino cortas, y las que se véen, o es una montaña de piedras grandes, ó unos montes de robles no muy altos. Campo llano no le ay, ni como podesse pasear, que sea por un camino estrecho y lleno de piedra. Rio yo no vi ninguno, sino un golpe de agua que baza de la montaña: huerta en casa ay una pequeña y de pocos

"As to the friars," observes the secretary, Gaztelu, in the same amiable mood, "please God that his majesty may be able to tolerate them,—which will be no easy matter; for they are an importunate race."<sup>12</sup> It is evident that Charles's followers would have been very willing to exchange the mortifications of the monastic life for the good cheer and gaiety of Brussels.

The worthy prior of the convent, in addressing Charles, greeted him with the title of *paternidad*, till one of the fraternity suggested to him the propriety of substituting that of *magestad*.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, to this title Charles had good right, for he was still emperor. His resignation of the imperial crown, which, as we have seen, so soon followed that of the Spanish, had not taken effect, in consequence of the diet not being in session at the time when his envoy, the prince of Orange, was to have presented himself at Ratisbon, in the spring of 1557. The war with France made Philip desirous that his father should remain lord of Germany for some time longer. It was not, therefore, until more than a year after Charles's arrival at Yuste, that the resignation was accepted by the diet, at Frankfort, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1558. Charles was still emperor, and continued to receive the imperial title in all his correspondence.<sup>14</sup>

naranjos. . . . . El aposento baxo no es nada alegre, sino muy triste, y como es tan baxo, creo será humido. . . . . Esto es lo que me parece del aposento y sitio de la casa y grandissima soledad." Carta de Luis Quixada á Juan Vazquez, 30 de Noviembre, 1556, MS.

The major-domo concludes by requesting Vazquez not to show it to his mistress, Joanna, the regent, as he would not be thought to run

counter to the wishes of the emperor in anything.

<sup>12</sup> "Plegue á Dios que los pueda sufrir, que no será poco, segun suelen ser todos muy importunos, y mas los que saben menos." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu, MS.

<sup>13</sup> "Llamando al Emperador *paternidad*, de que luego fué advertido de otro frayle que estava á su lado, y acudió con *magestad*." Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Emperador semper augusto de Alemania."

We have pretty full accounts of the manner in which the monarch employed his time. He attended mass every morning in the chapel, when his health permitted. Mass was followed by dinner, which he took early and alone, preferring this to occupying a seat in the refectory of the convent. He was fond of carving for himself, though his gouty fingers were not always in the best condition for this exercise.<sup>15</sup> His physician was usually in attendance during the repast, and might, at least, observe how little his patient, who had not the virtue of abstinence, regarded his prescriptions. The Fleming, Van Male, the emperor's favorite gentleman of the chamber, was also not unfrequently present. He was a good scholar; and his discussions with the doctor served to beguile the tediousness of their master's solitary meal. The conversation frequently turned on some subject of natural history, of which the emperor was fond; and when the parties could not agree, the confessor, a man of learning, was called in to settle the dispute.

After dinner,—an important meal, which occupied much time with Charles,—he listened to some passages from a favorite theologian. In his worldly days, the book he most affected is said to have been Comines's Life of Louis the Eleventh,<sup>16</sup>—a prince whose maxim, "*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*," was too well suited to the genius of the emperor. He now, however, sought a safer guide for his spiritual direction, and would listen to a homily from the pages of St. Bernard, or more frequently St. Augustine, in whom he most delighted.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> His teeth seem to have been in hardly better condition than his fingers.—"Era amigo de cortarse el mismo lo que comia, aunque ni tenia buenas ni desembueeltas las manos, ni los dientes." Siguença,

Orden de San Geronimo, parte III. p. 192.

<sup>16</sup> De Thou, Hist. Universelle, tom. III. p. 293.

<sup>17</sup> "Quando comia, leya el confesor una leccion de San Augustin." El Perfecto Desengaño, MS.



Towards evening, he heard a sermon from one of his preachers. Three or four of the most eloquent of the Jeronymite order had been brought to Yuste for his especial benefit. When he was not in condition to be present at the discourse, he expected to hear a full report of it from the lips of his confessor, Father Juan de Regla. Charles was punctual in his attention to all the great fasts and festivals of the Church. His infirmities, indeed, excused him from fasting, but he made up for it by the severity of his flagellation. In Lent, in particular, he dealt with himself so sternly, that the scourge was found stained with his blood; and this precious memorial of his piety was ever cherished, we are told, by Philip, and by him bequeathed as an heirloom to his son.<sup>18</sup>

Increasing vigilance in his own spiritual concerns made him more vigilant as to those of others,—as the weaker brethren sometimes found to their cost. Observing that some of the younger friars spent more time than was seemly in conversing with the women who came on business to the door of the convent, Charles procured an order to be passed, that any woman who ventured to approach within two bowshots of the gate should receive a hundred stripes.<sup>19</sup> On another occasion,

<sup>18</sup> Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. I. p. 15.—Vera y Figueroa, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos V.*, p. 123.—Siguença, *Orden de San Geronimo*, parte III. p. 195.

The last writer is minute in his notice of the imperial habits and occupations at Yuste. Siguença was prior of the Escorial; and in that palace-monastery of the Jeronymites he must have had the means of continually conversing with several of his brethren who had been with Charles in his retirement. His work, which appeared at the beginning of the following century, has become rare,—so rare that M.

Gachard was obliged to content himself with a few manuscript extracts, from the difficulty of procuring the printed original. I was fortunate enough to obtain a copy, and a very fine one, through my booksellers, Messrs. Rich, Brothers, London,—worthy sons of a sire who for thirty years or more stood preëminent for sagacity and diligence among the collectors of rare and valuable books.

<sup>19</sup> “Mandò pregouar en los lugares comarcanos que so pena de cien açotes muger alguna no pasasse de un humilladero que estava como dos tiros de ballesta del Monasterio.” Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos*

his officious endeavor to quicken the diligence of one of the younger members of the fraternity *is said* to have provoked the latter testily to exclaim, "Cannot you be contented with having so long turned the world upside down, without coming here to disturb the quiet of a poor convent?"

He derived an additional pleasure, in his spiritual exercises, from his fondness for music, which enters so largely into those of the Romish Church. He sung well himself, and his clear, sonorous voice might often be heard through the open casement of his bedroom, accompanying the chant of the monks in the chapel. The choir was made up altogether of brethren of the order, and Charles would allow no intrusion from any other quarter. His ear was quick to distinguish any strange voice, as well as any false note in the performance,—on which last occasion he would sometimes pause in his devotions, and, in half-suppressed tones, give vent to his anger by one of those scurrilous epithets, which, however they may have fallen in with the habits of the old campaigner, were but indifferently suited to his present way of life.<sup>20</sup>

Such time as was not given to his religious exercises was divided among various occupations, for which he had always had a relish, though hitherto but little leisure to pursue them. Besides his employments in his garden, he had a decided turn for mechanical pursuits. Some years before, while in Germany, he had invented

V., tom. II. p. 612; and Sandoval's *double*, Valparayso, El Perfecto Desengaño, MS.

<sup>20</sup> "Si alguno se errava dezia consigo mismo: O *hideputa bermejo*, que aquel erro, ò otro nombre semejante." Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 613.

I will not offend ears polite by rendering it in English into corresponding Billingsgate. It is but fair to state that the author of the Perfecto Desengaño puts no such irreverent expression into Charles's mouth. Both, however, profess to follow the MS. of the Prior Angulo.

an ingenious kind of carriage for his own accommodation.<sup>21</sup> He brought with him to Yuste an engineer named Torriano, famous for the great hydraulic works he constructed in Toledo. With the assistance of this man, a most skilful mechanic, Charles amused himself by making a variety of puppets representing soldiers, who went through military exercises. The historian draws largely on our faith, by telling us also of little wooden birds which the ingenious pair contrived, so as to fly in and out of the window before the admiring monks!<sup>22</sup> But nothing excited their astonishment so much as a little hand-mill, used for grinding wheat, which turned out meal enough in a single day to support a man for a week or more. The good fathers thought this savored of downright necromancy; and it may have furnished an argument against the unfortunate engineer in the persecution which he afterwards underwent from the Inquisition.

Charles took, moreover, great interest in the mechanism of timepieces. He had a good number of clocks and watches ticking together in his apartments; and a story has obtained credit, that the difficulty he found in making any two of them keep the same time drew from him an exclamation on the folly of attempting to bring a number of men to think alike in matters of religion, when he could not regulate any two of his timepieces so as to make them agree with each other;—a philosophical reflection for which one will hardly give credit to the

<sup>21</sup> "Non aspernatur exercitationes campestris, in quem usum paratam habet tormentariam rhedam, ad essedi speciem, præcellenti arte, et miro studio proximis hisce mensibus a se constructam." Lettres sur la Vie Intérieure de l'Empereur Charles-Quint, écrites par Guillaume

van Male, gentilhomme de sa chambre, et publiées, pour la première fois, par le Baron de Reiffenberg, (Bruxelles, 1843, 4to.) ep. 8.

<sup>22</sup> "Interdum ligneos passerculos emisit cubiculo volantes revolantesque." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. I. p. 15.