

man who, with his dying words, could press on his son the maintenance of the Inquisition as the great bulwark of the Catholic faith. In the gardens of Yuste there is still, or was lately, to be seen, a sun-dial constructed by Torriano to enable his master to measure more accurately the lapse of time as it glided away in the monotonous routine of the monastery.²³

Though averse to visits of curiosity or idle ceremony,²⁴ Charles consented to admit some of the nobles whose estates lay in the surrounding country, and who, with feelings of loyal attachment to their ancient master, were anxious to pay their respects to him in his retirement. But none who found their way into his retreat appear to have given him so much satisfaction as Francisco Borja, duke of Gandia, in later times placed on the roll of her saints by the Roman Catholic Church. Like Charles, he had occupied a brilliant eminence in the world, and like him had found the glory of this world but vanity. In the prime of life, he withdrew from the busy scenes in which he had acted, and entered a college of Jesuits. By the emperor's invitation, Borja made more than one visit to Yuste; and Charles found much consolation in his society, and in conversing with his early friend on topics of engrossing interest to both. The result of their conferences was to confirm them both in the conviction, that they had done wisely in abjuring the world, and in dedicating themselves to the service of Heaven.

The emperor was also visited by his two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary, who had accompanied their brother, as we have seen, on his

²³ Ford, Handbook of Spain, p. 552.

²⁴ "A nemine, ne a proceribus quidem quacumque ex causa se adiri,

aut conveniri, nisi ægre admodum patiebatur." Sepulveda, Opera, tom. II. p. 541.

return to Spain. But the travelling was too rough, and the accommodations at Yuste too indifferent, to encourage the royal matrons to prolong their stay, or, with one exception on the part of the queen of Hungary, to repeat their visit.

But an object of livelier interest to the emperor than either of his sisters was a boy, scarcely twelve years of age, who resided in the family of his major-domo, Quixada, in the neighboring village of Cuacos. This was Don John of Austria, as he was afterwards called, the future hero of Lepanto. He was the natural son of Charles, a fact known to no one during the father's lifetime, except Quixada, who introduced the boy into the convent as his own page. The lad, at this early age, showed many gleams of that generous spirit by which he was afterwards distinguished,—thus solacing the declining years of his parent, and affording a hold for those affections which might have withered in the cold atmosphere of the cloister.

Strangers were sure to be well received who, coming from the theatre of war, could furnish the information he so much desired respecting the condition of things abroad. Thus we find him in conference with an officer arrived from the Low Countries, named Spinosa, and putting a multitude of questions respecting the state of the army, the organization and equipment of the different corps, and other particulars, showing the lively interest taken by Charles in the conduct of the campaign.²⁵

It has been a common opinion, that the emperor, after his retirement to Yuste, remained as one buried alive,

²⁵ "Le hizo mas preguntas que se pudieran hazer á la donzella Theodor, de que todo dió buena razon y de lo que vió y oyó en Francia, provisiones de obispados, cargos de

Italia, y de la infanteria y caballeria, artilleria, gastadores, armas de mano y de otras cosas." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Juan Vazquez, 18 de Mayo, 1558, MS.

totally cut off from intercourse with the world;—"as completely withdrawn from the business of the kingdom and the concerns of government," says one of his biographers, "as if he had never taken part in them;"²⁶—"so entirely abstracted in his solitude," says another contemporary, "that neither revolutions nor wars, nor gold arriving in heaps from the Indies, had any power to affect his tranquillity."²⁷

So far was this from being the case, that not only did the emperor continue to show an interest in public affairs, but he took a prominent part, even from the depths of his retreat, in the management of them.²⁸ Philip, who had the good sense to defer to the long experience and the wisdom of his father, consulted him, constantly, on great questions of public policy. And so far was he from the feeling of jealousy often imputed to him, that we find him on one occasion, when the horizon looked particularly dark, imploring the emperor to leave his retreat, and to aid him not only by his counsels, but by his presence and authority.²⁹ The emperor's daughter Joanna, regent of Castile, from her residence at Valla-

²⁶ "Retirose tanto de los negocios del Reyno y cosas de gobierno, como si jamas uviera tenido parte en ellos." Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 614.—See also Valparayso, (El Perfecto Desengaño, MS.) who uses the same words, probably copying Angulo, unless, indeed, we suppose him to have stolen from Sandoval.

²⁷ "Ut neque aurum, quod ingenti copia per id tempus Hispana classis illi advexit ab India, neque strepitus bellorum, quidquam potuerint animum illum flectere, tot retro annis assuetum armorum sono."—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. I. p. 14.

²⁸ It is singular that Sepulveda, who visited Charles in his retreat, should have been the only historian,

as far as I am aware, who recognized the truth of this fact, so perfectly established by the letters from Yuste.—"Summis enim rebus, ut de bello et pace se consuli, deque fratris, liberorum et sororum salute, et statu rerum certiore fieri non recusabat." Opera, tom. II. p. 541.

²⁹ "Supplicando con toda humildad e instancia á su Magestad tenga por bien de esforzarse en esta coyuntura, socorriéndome y ayudandome, no solo con su parecer y consejo que es el mayor caudal que puedo tener, pero con la presencia de su persona y autoridad, saliendo del monasterio, á la parte y lugar que mas comodo sea á su salud." Retiro, Estancia, etc., ap. Mignet, Charles-Quint, p. 256, note.

dolid, only fifty leagues from Yuste, maintained a constant correspondence with her father, soliciting his advice in the conduct of the government. However much Charles may have felt himself relieved from responsibility for measures, he seems to have been as anxious for the success of Philip's administration as if it had been his own. "Write more fully," says one of his secretaries in a letter to the secretary of the regent's council; "the emperor is always eager to hear more particulars of events."³⁰ He showed the deepest concern in the conduct of the Italian war. He betrayed none of the scruples manifested by Philip, but boldly declared that the war with the pope was a just war, in the sight of both God and man.³¹ When letters came from abroad, he was even heard to express his regret that they brought no tidings of Paul's death, or Caraffa's!³² He was sorely displeased with the truce which Alva granted to the pontiff, intimating a regret that he had not the reins still in his own hand. He was yet more discontented with the peace, and the terms of it, both public and private; and when Alva talked of leaving Naples, his anger, as his secretary quaintly remarks, was "more than was good for his health."³³

The same interest he showed in the French war. The loss of Calais filled him with the deepest anxiety. But in his letters on the occasion, instead of wasting his time in idle lament, he seems intent only on devising in what

³⁰ "Siempre, en estas cosas, pregunta si no hay mas." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Juan Vazquez, 8 de Noviembre, 1556, MS.

³¹ "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 Vazquez, 8 de

Agosto, 1557, MS.

³² "Del Papa y de Caraffa se siente aqui que no haya llegado la nueva de que se han muerto." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Juan Vazquez, 8 de Noviembre, 1556, MS.

³³ "Sobre que su magestad dizo algunas cosas con mas colera de la que para su salud conviene." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Juan Vazquez, 10 de Enero, 1558, MS.

way he can best serve Philip in his distress.³⁴ In the same proportion he was elated by the tidings of the victory of St. Quentin. His thoughts turned upon Paris, and he was eager to learn what road his son had taken after the battle.³⁵ According to Brantôme, on hearing the news, he abruptly asked, "Is Philip at Paris?"—He judged of Philip's temper by his own.³⁶

At another time, we find him conducting negotiations with Navarre;³⁷ and then, again, carrying on a correspondence with his sister, the regent of Portugal, for the purpose of having his grandson, Carlos, recognized as heir to the crown, in case of the death of the young king, his cousin. The scheme failed, for it would be as much as her life was worth, the regent said, to engage in it. But it was a bold one, that of bringing under the same sceptre these two nations, which, by community of race, language, and institutions, would seem by nature to have been designed for one. It was Charles's comprehensive idea; and it proves that, even in the cloister, the spirit of ambition had not become extinct in his bosom. How much would it have rejoiced that ambitious spirit, could he have foreseen that the consummation so much desired by him would be attained under Philip!³⁸

³⁴ See, in particular, Carta del Emperador á Su Alteza, 4 de Febrero, 1558, MS.

³⁵ "Su Magestad está con mucho cuidado por saber que camino ará tomado el Rey despues de acabada aquella empresa." Carta de Luis de Quixada á Juan Vazquez, 27 de Setiembre, 1557, MS.

³⁶ Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. I. p. 11.

Whether Charles actually made the remark or not, it is clear from a letter in the Gonzalez collection that this was uppermost in his thoughts.—"Su Magestad tenia gran deseo

de saber que partido tomaba el rey su hijo despues de la victoria, y que estaba impacientissimo formando cuentas de que ya deberia estar sobre Paris." Carta de Quixada, 19 de Setiembre, 1557, ap. Mignet, Charles-Quint, p. 279.

It is singular that this interesting letter is neither in M. Gachard's collection nor in that made for me from the same sources.

³⁷ Cartas del Emperador á Juan Vazquez, de Setiembre 27 y Octubre 31, 1557, MS.

³⁸ The emperor intimates his wishes in regard to his grandson's

But the department which especially engaged Charles's attention in his retirement, singularly enough, was the financial. "It has been my constant care," he writes to Philip, "in all my letters to your sister, to urge the necessity of providing you with funds,—since I can be of little service to you in any other way."³⁹ His interposition, indeed, seems to have been constantly invoked to raise supplies for carrying on the war. This fact may be thought to show that those writers are mistaken who accuse Philip of withholding from his father the means of maintaining a suitable establishment at Yuste. Charles, in truth, settled the amount of his own income; and in one of his letters we find him fixing this at twenty thousand ducats, instead of sixteen thousand, as before, to be paid quarterly and in advance.⁴⁰ That the pay-

succession in a letter addressed, at a later period, to Philip. (*Carta del Emperador al Rey*, 31 de Marzo, 1558, MS.) But a full account of the Portuguese mission is given by Cienfuegos, *Vida de S. Francisco de Borja*, (Barcelona, 1754,) p. 269. The person employed by Charles in this delicate business was no other than his friend Francisco Borja, the ex-duke of Gandia, who, like himself, had sought a retreat from the world in the shades of the cloister. The biographers who record the miracles and miraculous virtues of the sainted Jesuit, bestow several chapters on his visits to Yuste. His conversations with the emperor are reported with a minuteness that Boswell might have envied, and which may well provoke our scepticism, unless we suppose them to have been reported by Borja himself. One topic much discussed in them was the merits of the order which the emperor's friend had entered. It had not then risen to that eminence which, under its singular discipline, it subsequently reached; and Charles would fain have per-

suaded his visitor to abandon it for the Jeronymite society with which he was established. But Borja seems to have silenced, if not satisfied, his royal master, by arguments which prove that his acute mind already discerned the germ of future greatness in the institutions of the new order.—*Ibid.*, pp. 273—279.—Ribadeneira, *Vita Francisci Borgiæ*, (Lat. trans., Antverpiæ, 1598,) p. 110 et seq.

³⁹ *Carta del Emperador al Rey*, 25 de Mayo, 1558, MS.

On the margin of this letter we find the following memoranda of Philip himself, showing how much importance he attached to his father's interposition in this matter. "Volvérselo a suplicar con gran instancia, pues quedamos in tales términos que, si me ayudan con dinero, los podríamos atraer à lo que conviniere." "Besalle las manos por lo que en esto ha mandado y suplicalle lo lleve adelante y que de acá se hará lo mismo, y avisarle de lo que se han hecho hasta agora."

⁴⁰ *Carta del Emperador á Juan Vazquez*, 31 de Marzo, 1557, MS.

ments were not always punctually made may well be believed, in a country where punctuality would have been a miracle.

Charles had more cause for irritation in the conduct of some of those functionaries with whom he had to deal in his financial capacity. Nothing appears to have stirred his bile so much at Yuste as the proceedings of some members of the board of trade at Seville. "I have deferred sending to you," he writes to his daughter, the regent, "in order to see if, with time, my wrath would not subside. But, far from it, it increases, and will go on increasing till I learn that those who have done wrong have atoned for it. Were it not for my infirmities," he adds, "I would go to Seville myself, and find out the authors of this villany, and bring them to a summary reckoning."⁴¹ "The emperor orders me," writes his secretary, Gaztelu, "to command that the offenders be put in irons, and in order to mortify them the more, that they be carried, in broad daylight, to Simancas, and there lodged, not in towers or chambers, but in a dungeon. Indeed, such is his indignation, and such are the *violent and bloodthirsty expressions* he commands me to use, that you will pardon me if my language is not so temperate as it might be."⁴² It had been customary for the board of trade to receive the gold imported from the Indies, whether on public or private account, and hold it for the use of the government, paying to the merchants interested an equivalent in government bonds. The merchants, naturally enough,

⁴¹ Carta del Emperador á la Princesa, 31 de Marzo, 1557, MS.—The whole letter is singularly characteristic of Charles. Its authoritative tone shows that, though he had parted with the crown, he had not parted with the temper of a sovereign, and of an absolute sovereign too.

⁴² "Es tal su indignacion y tan sangrientas las palabras y vehemencia con que manda escribir á v. m. que me disculpará sino lo hago con mas templança y modo." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Juan Vazquez, 12 de Mayo, 1557, MS.

not relishing this kind of security so well as the gold, by a collusion with some of the members of the board of trade, had been secretly allowed to remove their own property. In this way the government was defrauded—as the emperor regarded it—of a large sum on which it had calculated. This, it would seem, was the offence which had roused the royal indignation to such a pitch. Charles's phlegmatic temperament had ever been liable to be ruffled by these sudden gusts of passion; and his conventual life does not seem to have had any very sedative influence on him in this particular.

For the first ten months after his arrival at Yuste, the emperor's health, under the influence of a temperate climate, the quiet of monastic life, and more than all, probably, his exemption from the cares of state, had generally improved.⁴³ His attacks of gout had been less frequent and less severe than before. But in the spring of 1558, the old malady returned with renewed violence. "I was not in a condition," he writes to Philip, "to listen to a single sermon during Lent."⁴⁴ For months he was scarcely able to write a line with his own hand. His spirits felt the pressure of bodily suffering, and were still further depressed by the death of his sister Eleanor, the queen-dowager of France and Portugal, which took place in February, 1558.

A strong attachment seems to have subsisted between the emperor and his two sisters. Queen Eleanor's

⁴³ "His majesty was so well," writes Gaztelu, early in the summer of 1557, "that he could rise from his seat, and support his arquebuse, without aid." He could even do some mischief with his fowling-piece to the wood-pigeons. Carta de Gaztelu á Vazquez, 5 de Junio, 1557, MS.

⁴⁴ "Porque desde tantos de novi-

embre hasta pocos dias hame ha dado [la gota] tres vezes y muy rezió, y me ha tenido muchos dias en la cama, y hestado hasta de poco acá tan trabajado y flaco que en toda esta quaresma no he podido oyr un sermon, y esto es la causa porque no os escribo esta de mi mano." Carta del Emperador al Rey, 7 de Abril, 1558, MS.

sweetness of disposition had particularly endeared her to her brother, who now felt her loss almost as keenly as that of one of his own children. "She was a good Christian," he said to his secretary, Gaztelu; and, as the tears rolled down his cheeks, he added, "We have always loved each other. She was my elder by fifteen months; and before that period has passed I shall probably be with her."⁴⁵ Before half that period, the sad augury was fulfilled.

At this period—as we shall see hereafter—the attention of the government was called to the Lutheran heresy, which had already begun to disclose itself in various quarters of the country. Charles was possessed of a full share of the spirit of bigotry which belonged to the royal line of Castile, from which he was descended. While on the throne, this feeling was held somewhat in check by a regard for his political interests. But in the seclusion of the monastery he had no interests to consult but those of religion; and he gave free scope to the spirit of intolerance which belonged to his nature. In a letter addressed, the third of May, 1558, to his daughter Joanna, he says: "Tell the grand-inquisitor from me to be at his post, and lay the axe at the root of the evil before it spreads further. I rely on your zeal for bringing the guilty to punishment, and for having them punished, without favor to any one, with all the severity which their crimes demand."⁴⁶ In another letter to his

⁴⁵ "Sintiólo cierto mucho, y se le arrasaron los ojos, y me dijo lo mucho que él y la de Francia se habian siempre querido, y por cuan buena cristiana la tenia, y que le llevaba quince meses de tiempo, y que, segun él se iba sintiendo, de poco acá podría ser que dentro de ellos le hiciese compañía." Carta de Gaztelu á Vazquez, 21 de Febrero,

1558, ap. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. I. p. 270.—See also Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, p. 339.

⁴⁶ "Y que para ello les deis y mandeis dar todo el favor y calor que fuere necesario y para que los que fueren culpados sean punidos y castigados con la demostracion y rigor que la cualidad de sus culpas mereceran y esto sin exception de

daughter, three weeks later, he writes: "If I had not entire confidence that you would do your duty, and arrest the evil at once by chastising the guilty in good earnest, I know not how I could help leaving the monastery, and taking the remedy into my own hands."⁴⁷ Thus did Charles make his voice heard from his retreat among the mountains, and by his efforts and influence render himself largely responsible for the fiery persecution which brought woe upon the land after he himself had gone to his account.

About the middle of August, the emperor's old enemy, the gout, returned on him with uncommon force. It was attended with symptoms of an alarming kind, intimidating, indeed, that his strong constitution was giving way. These were attributed to a cold which he had taken, though it seems there was good reason for imputing them to his intemperate living; for he still continued to indulge his appetite for the most dangerous dishes, as freely as in the days when a more active way of life had better enabled him to digest them. It is true, the physician stood by his side, as prompt as Sancho Panza's doctor, in his island domain, to remonstrate against his master's proceedings. But, unhappily, he was not armed with the authority of that functionary; and an eel-pie, a well-spiced capon, or any other savory abomination, offered too great a fascination for Charles to heed the warnings of his physician.

The declining state of the emperor's health may have inspired him with a presentiment of his approaching end, to which, we have seen, he gave utterance some time before this, in his conversation with Gaztelu. It may

persona alguna." Carta del Emperador á la Princesa, 3 de Mayo, 1558, MS.

para no salir de aqui arremediallo." Carta del Emperador á la Princesa, 25 de Mayo, 1558, MS.

⁴⁷ "No se si toviera sufrimiento

have been the sober reflections which such a feeling would naturally suggest that led him, at the close of the month of August, to conceive the extraordinary idea of preparing for the final scene by rehearsing his own funeral. He consulted his confessor on the subject, and was encouraged by the accommodating father to consider it as a meritorious act. The chapel was accordingly hung in black, and the blaze of hundreds of wax-lights was not sufficient to dispel the darkness. The monks in their conventual dresses, and all the emperor's household, clad in deep mourning, gathered round a huge *catafalque*, shrouded also in black, which had been raised in the centre of the chapel. The service for the burial of the dead was then performed; and, amidst the dismal wail of the monks, the prayers ascended for the departed spirit, that it might be received into the mansions of the blessed. The sorrowful attendants were melted to tears, as the image of their master's death was presented to their minds, or they were touched, it may be, with compassion for this pitiable display of his weakness. Charles, muffled in a dark mantle, and bearing a lighted candle in his hand, mingled with his household, the spectator of his own obsequies; and the doleful ceremony was concluded by his placing the taper in the hands of the priest, in sign of his surrendering up his soul to the Almighty.

Such is the account of this melancholy farce given us by the Jeronymite chroniclers of the cloister life of Charles the Fifth, and which has since been repeated—losing nothing in the repetition—by every succeeding historian, to the present time.⁴⁸ Nor does there seem

⁴⁸ The history of this affair furnishes a good example of the *crescit eundo*. The author of the MS. discovered by M. Bakhuizen, noticed

more fully in the next note, though present at the ceremony, contents himself with a general outline of it. Siguença, who follows next in time

to have been any distrust of its correctness till the historical scepticism of our own day had subjected the narrative to a more critical scrutiny. It was then discovered that no mention of the affair was to be discerned in the letters of any one of the emperor's household residing at Yuste, although there are letters extant written by Charles's physician, his major-domo, and his secretary, both on the thirty-first of August, the day of the funeral, and on the first of September. With so extraordinary an event fresh in their minds, their silence is inexplicable.

One fact is certain, that, if the funeral did take place, it could not have been on the date assigned to it; for on the thirty-first the emperor was laboring under an attack of fever, of which his physician has given full particulars, and from which he was destined never to recover. That the writers, therefore, should have been silent in respect to a ceremony which must have had so bad an effect on the nerves of the patient, is altogether incredible.

Yet the story of the obsequies comes from one of the Jeronymite brethren then living at Yuste, who speaks of the emotions which he felt, in common with the rest of the convent, at seeing a man thus bury himself alive, as it were, and perform his funeral rites before his death.⁴⁹ It is repeated by another of the fraternity,

and in authority, tells us of the lighted candle which Charles delivered to the priest. Strada, who wrote a generation later, concludes the scene by leaving the emperor in a swoon upon the floor. Lastly, Robertson, after making the emperor perform in his shroud, lays him in his coffin, where, after joining in the prayers for the rest of his own soul, not yet departed, he is left by the monks to his meditations!—

Where Robertson got all these particulars it would not be easy to tell; certainly not from the authorities cited at the bottom of his page.

⁴⁹ "Et j'assure que le cœur nous fendoit de voir qu'un homme voulût en quelque sorte s'enterrer vivant, et faire ses obsèques avant de mourir." Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. I. p. lvi.

M. Gachard has given a translation of the chapter relating to the

the prior of Escorial, who had ample means of conversing with eyewitnesses.⁵⁰ And finally, it is confirmed by more than one writer near enough to the period to be able to assure himself of the truth.⁵¹ Indeed, the parties from whom the account is originally derived were so situated that, if the story be without foundation, it is impossible to explain its existence by misapprehension on their part. It must be wholly charged on a wilful misstatement of facts. It is true, the monkish chronicler is not always quite so scrupulous in this particular as would be desirable,—especially where the honor of his order is implicated. But what interest could the Jeronymite fathers have had in so foolish a fabrication as this? The supposition is at variance with the respectable character of the parties, and with the air of simplicity and good faith that belongs to their narratives.⁵²

funeral, from a curious MS. account of Charles's convent life, discovered by M. Bakhuizen in the archives at Brussels. As the author was one of the brotherhood who occupied the convent at the time of the emperor's residence there, the MS. is stamped with the highest authority; and M. Gachard will doubtless do a good service to letters by incorporating it in the second volume of his "Re-traite et Mort."

⁵⁰ Sigença, Hist. de la Orden de San Geronimo, parte III. pp. 200, 201.

Sigença's work, which combines much curious learning with a simple elegance of style, was the fruit of many years of labor. The third volume, containing the part relating to the emperor, appeared in 1605, the year before the death of its author, who, as already noticed, must have had daily communication with several of the monks, when, after Charles's death, they had been transferred from Yuste to the gloomy shades of the Escorial.

⁵¹ Such, for example, were Vera y Figueroa, Conde de la Roca, whose little volume appeared in 1613; Strada, who wrote some twenty years later; and the marquis of Valparayso, whose MS. is dated 1638. I say nothing of Sandoval, often quoted as authority for the funeral, for, as he tells us that the money which the emperor proposed to devote to a mock funeral was after all appropriated to his real one, it would seem to imply that the former never took place.

It were greatly to be wished that the MS. of Fray Martin de Angulo could be detected and brought to light. As prior of Yuste while Charles was there, his testimony would be invaluable. Both Sandoval and the marquis of Valparayso profess to have relied mainly on Angulo's authority. Yet in this very affair of the funeral they disagree.

⁵² Sigença's composition may be characterized as *simplex munditiis*. The MS. of the monk of Yuste, found in Brussels, is stamped, says

We may well be staggered, it is true, by the fact that no allusion to the obsequies appears in any of the letters from Yuste; while the date assigned for them, moreover, is positively disproved. Yet we may consider that the misstatement of a date is a very different thing from the invention of a story, and that chronological accuracy, as I have more than once had occasion to remark, was not the virtue of the monkish, or indeed of any other historian of the sixteenth century. It would not be a miracle if the obsequies should have taken place some days before the period assigned to them. It so happens that we have no letters from Yuste between the eighteenth and twenty-eighth of August. At least, I have none myself, and have seen none cited by others. If any should hereafter come to light, written during that interval, they may be found possibly to contain some allusion to the funeral. Should no letters have been written during the period, the silence of the parties who wrote at the end of August and the beginning of September may be explained by the fact, that too long a time had elapsed since the performance of the emperor's obsequies, for them to suppose it could have any connection with his illness, which formed the subject of their correspondence. Difficulties will present themselves, whichever view we take of the matter. But the reader may think it quite as reasonable to explain those difficulties by the supposition of involuntary error, as by that of sheer invention.

Nor is the former supposition rendered less probable by the character of Charles the Fifth. There was a taint of insanity in the royal blood of Castile, which was most fully displayed in the emperor's mother,

M. Gachard, with the character of Mort, tom. I. p. xx.
simplicity and truth. Retraite et

Joanna. Some traces of it, however faint, may be discerned in his own conduct, before he took refuge in the cloisters of Yuste. And though we may not agree with Paul the Fourth in regarding this step as sufficient evidence of his madness,⁵³ we may yet find something in his conduct, on more than one occasion, while there, which is near akin to it. Such, for example, was the morbid relish which he discovered for performing the obsequies, not merely of his kindred, but of any one whose position seemed to him to furnish an apology for it. Not a member of the *toison* died, but he was prepared to commemorate the event with solemn funeral rites. These, in short, seemed to be the festivities of Charles's cloister life. These lugubrious ceremonies had a fascination for him, that may remind one of the tenacity with which his mother, Joanna, clung to the dead body of her husband, taking it with her wherever she went. It was after celebrating the obsequies of his parents and his wife, which occupied several successive days, that he conceived, as we are told, the idea of rehearsing his own funeral,—a piece of extravagance which becomes the more credible when we reflect on the state of morbid excitement to which his mind may have been brought by dwelling so long on the dreary apparatus of death.

But whatever be thought of the account of the mock funeral of Charles, it appears that on the thirtieth of August he was affected by an indisposition which on the following day was attended with most alarming symptoms. Here also we have some particulars from his Jeronymite biographers which we do not find in the letters. On the evening of the thirty-first, according to their account, Charles ordered a portrait of the empress,

⁵³ Mignet, Charles-Quint, p. 1.

his wife, of whom, as we have seen, he had more than one in his collection, to be brought to him. He dwelt a long while on its beautiful features, "as if," says the chronicler, "he were imploring her to prepare a place for him in the celestial mansions to which she had gone."⁵⁴ He then passed to the contemplation of another picture,—Titian's "Agony in the Garden," and from this to that immortal production of his pencil, the "Gloria," as it is called, which is said to have hung over the high altar at Yuste, and which, after the emperor's death, followed his remains to the Escorial.⁵⁵ He gazed so long and with such rapt attention on the picture, as to cause apprehension in his physician, who, in the emperor's debilitated state, feared the effects of such excitement on his nerves. There was good reason for apprehension; for Charles, at length, rousing from his reverie, turned to the doctor, and complained that he was ill. His pulse showed him to be in a high fever. As the symptoms became more unfavorable, his physician bled him, but without any good effect.⁵⁶ The Regent Joanna, on learning her father's danger, instantly despatched her own physician from Valladolid to his assistance. But no earthly remedies could avail. It soon became evident that the end was approaching.⁵⁷

Charles received the intelligence, not merely with composure, but with cheerfulness. It was what he had long desired, he said. His first care was to complete

⁵⁴ "Estuvo un poco contemplándole, devia de pedirle, que le previniese lugar en el Alcazar glorioso que habitava." Vera y Figueroa, Carlos Quinto, p. 127.

⁵⁵ This famous picture, painted in the artist's best style, forms now one of the noblest ornaments of the Museo of Madrid. See Ford, Handbook of Spain, p. 758.

⁵⁶ For the above account of the

beginning of Charles's illness, see Siguencia, Orden de San Geronimo, parte III. p. 201; Vera y Figueroa, Carlos Quinto, p. 127; Valparayso, el Perfecto Desengaño, MS.

⁵⁷ Vera y Figueroa, Carlos Quinto, p. 127.—Siguencia, Orden de San Geronimo, parte III. p. 201.—Carta de Luis Quixada al Rey, 17 de Setiembre, 1558, MS.

some few arrangements respecting his affairs. On the ninth of September, he executed a codicil to his will. The will, made a few years previous, was of great length, and the codicil had not the merit of brevity. Its principal object was to make provision for those who had followed him to Yuste. No mention is made in the codicil of his son Don John of Austria. He seems to have communicated his views in regard to him to his major-domo, Quixada, who had a private interview of some length with his master a few days before his death. Charles's directions on the subject appear to have been scrupulously regarded by Philip.⁵⁸

One clause in the codicil deserves to be noticed. The emperor conjures his son most earnestly, by the obedience he owes him, to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions; and this without exception, and without favor or mercy to any one. He conjures Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition, as the best instrument for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings."⁵⁹ Such were the last words of the dying monarch to his son. They did not fall on a deaf ear; and the parting admonition of his father served to give a keener edge to the

⁵⁸ The Regent Joanna, it seems, suspected, for some reason or other, that the boy in Quixada's care was in fact the emperor's son. A few weeks after her father's death she caused a letter to be addressed to the major-domo, asking him directly if this were the case, and intimating a desire to make a suitable provision for the youth. The wary functionary, who tells this in his private correspondence with Philip, endeavored to put the regent off the scent by stating that the lad was the son of a friend, and that, as no

allusion had been made to him in the emperor's will, there could be no foundation for the rumor. "Ser ansy que yo tenya un muchacho de hun caballero amygo myo que me abia encomendado años a, y que pues S. M. en su testamento ni codecilyo, no azia memoria del, que hera razon tenello por burla." Carta de Luis Quixada al Rey, 28 de Noviembre, 1558, MS.

⁵⁹ Codicilo del Emperador, ap. Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 657.

sword of persecution which Philip had already begun to wield.

On the nineteenth of September, Charles's strength had declined so much that it was thought proper to administer extreme unction to him. He preferred to have it in the form adopted by the friars, which, comprehending a litany, the seven penitential psalms, and sundry other passages of Scripture, was much longer and more exhausting than the rite used by the laity. His strength did not fail under it, however; and the following day he desired to take the communion, as he had frequently done during his illness. On his confessor's representing that, after the sacrament of extreme unction, this was unnecessary, he answered, "Perhaps so, but it is good provision for the long journey I am to set out upon."⁶⁰ Exhausted as he was, he knelt a full quarter of an hour in his bed during the ceremony, offering thanks to God for his mercies, and expressing the deepest contrition for his sins, with an earnestness of manner that touched the hearts of all present.⁶¹

Throughout his illness he had found consolation in having passages of Scripture, especially the Psalms, read to him. Quixada, careful that his master should not be disquieted in his last moments, would allow very few persons to be present in his chamber. Among the number was Bartolomé de Carranza, who had lately been raised to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. He had taken a prominent part in the persecution in England under Mary. For the remainder of his life he was to be the victim of persecution himself, from a stronger arm than his, that of the Inquisition. Even the words

⁶⁰ "Si bien no sea necesario no os parece, que es buena compañía para jornada tan larga." *Ibid.*, p. 617

⁶¹ Carta sobre los últimos mo-

mentos del Emperador Carlos V., escrita en Yuste, el 27 de Setiembre, 1558, ap. *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. VI. p. 668.

of consolation which he uttered in this chamber of death were carefully treasured up by Charles's confessor, and made one of the charges against him in his impeachment for heresy.

On the twenty-first of September, St. Matthew's day, about two hours after midnight, the emperor, who had remained long without speaking, feeling that his hour had come, exclaimed, "Now it is time!" The holy taper was placed lighted in his right hand, as he sat up leaning on the shoulder of the faithful Quixada. With his left he endeavored to clasp a silver crucifix. It had comforted the empress, his wife, in her dying hour; and Charles had ordered Quixada to hold it in readiness for him on the like occasion.⁶² It had lain for some time on his breast; and as it was now held up before his glazing eye by the archbishop of Toledo, Charles fixed his gaze long and earnestly on the sacred symbol,—to him the memento of earthly love as well as heavenly. The archbishop was repeating the psalm *De Profundis*,—"Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord!"—when the dying man, making a feeble effort to embrace the crucifix, exclaimed, in tones so audible as to be heard in the adjoining room, "*Ay Jesus!*" and sinking back on the pillow, expired without a struggle.⁶³ He had always prayed—perhaps fearing

⁶² Carta de Luis Quixada á Juan Vazquez, 25 de Setiembre, 1558, MS.—Carta del mismo al Rey, 30 de Setiembre, 1558, MS.—Carta del Arzobispo de Toledo á la Princesa, 21 de Setiembre, 1558, MS.

⁶³ "Tomo la candela en la mano derecha la qual yo tenya y con la yzquierda tomo el crucifixo deziendo, ya es tiempo, y con dezir Jesus acabo." Carta de Luis Quixada á Juan Vazquez, 25 de Setiembre, 1558, MS.

For the accounts of this death-bed scene, see Carta del mismo al mismo, 21 de Setiembre, MS.—Carta del

mismo al Rey, 21 de Setiembre, MS.—Carta del mismo al mismo, 30 de Setiembre, MS.—Carta del Arzobispo de Toledo á la Princesa, 21 de Setiembre, MS.—Carta del Medico del Emperador (Henrico Matisio) á Juan Vazquez, 21 de Setiembre, MS.—Carta sobre los ultimos momentos del Emperador, 27 de Setiembre, ap. Documentos Inéditos, vol. VI. p. 667.—Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 618.

The MSS. referred to may now be all found in the printed collection of Gachard.

the hereditary taint of insanity—that he might die in possession of his faculties.⁶⁴ His prayer was granted.

The emperor's body, after being embalmed, and placed in its leaden coffin, lay in state in the chapel for three days, during which three discourses were pronounced over it by the best preachers in the convent. It was then consigned to the earth, with due solemnity, amidst the prayers and tears of the brethren and of Charles's domestics, in presence of a numerous concourse of persons from the surrounding country.

The burial did not take place, however, without some difficulty. Charles had requested by his will that he might be laid partially under the great altar, in such a manner that his head and the upper part of his body might come under the spot where the priest stood when he performed the service. This was dictated in all humility by the emperor; but it raised a question among the scrupulous ecclesiastics as to the propriety of permitting any bones save those of a saint to occupy so holy a place as that beneath the altar. The dispute waxed somewhat warmer than was suited to the occasion; till the momentous affair was finally adjusted by having an excavation made in the wall, within which the head was introduced, so as to allow the feet to touch the verge of the hallowed ground.⁶⁵ The emperor's body did not long abide in its resting-place at Yuste. Before many years had elapsed, it was transported, by command of Philip the Second, to the Escorial, and in that magnificent mausoleum it has continued to repose, beside that of the Empress Isabella.

The funeral obsequies of Charles were celebrated with much pomp by the court of Rome, by the Regent Joanna

⁶⁴ "Temiendo siempre no lo poder tener en aquel tiempo." Carta de Luis Quixada al Rey, 30 de Seti-

embre, MS.

⁶⁵ Documentos Inéditos, tom. VI. p. 669.

at Valladolid, and, with yet greater magnificence, by Philip the Second at Brussels. Philip was at Arras when he learned the news of his father's death. He instantly repaired to a monastery in the neighborhood of Brussels, where he remained secluded for several weeks. Meanwhile he ordered the bells in all the churches and convents throughout the Netherlands to be tolled thrice a day for four months, and during that time that no festivals or public rejoicings of any kind should take place. On the twenty-eighth of December the king entered Brussels by night, and on the following day, before the hour of vespers, a procession was formed to the church of St. Gudule, which still challenges the admiration of the traveller as one of the noblest monuments of mediæval architecture in the Netherlands.

The procession consisted of the principal clergy, the members of the different religious houses, bearing lighted tapers in their hands, the nobles and cavaliers about the court, the great officers of state and the royal household, all clad in deep mourning. After these came the knights of the Golden Fleece, wearing the insignia and the superb dress of the order. The marquis of Aguilar bore the imperial sceptre, the duke of Villahermosa the sword, and the prince of Orange carried the globe and the crown of the empire. Philip came on foot, wrapped in a sable mantle, with his head buried in a deep cowl. His train was borne by Ruy Gomez de Silva, the favorite minister. Then followed the duke of Savoy, walking also alone, with his head covered, as a prince of the blood. Files of the Spanish and German guard, in their national uniforms, formed an escort to the procession, as it took its way through the principal streets, which were illumined with a blaze of torchlight, that dispelled the gathering shadows of evening.

A conspicuous part of the procession was a long train of horses led each by two gentlemen, and displaying on their splendid housings, and the banners which they carried, the devices and arms of the several states over which the emperor presided.

But no part of the pageant attracted so much notice from the populace as a stately galley, having its sides skilfully painted with battle-pieces suggested by different actions in which Charles had been engaged; while its sails of black silk were covered with inscriptions in letters of gold, that commemorated the triumphs of the hero.

Although the palace was at no great distance from St. Gudule's, the procession occupied two hours in passing to the church. In the nave of the edifice stood a sort of chapel, constructed for the occasion. Its roof, or rather canopy, displaying four crowns embroidered in gold, rested on four Ionic pillars curiously wrought. Within lay a sarcophagus covered with a dark pall of velvet, surmounted by a large crimson cross. The imperial crown, together with the globe and sceptre, was deposited in this chapel, which was lighted up with three thousand wax tapers.

In front of it was a scaffolding covered with black, on which a throne was raised for Philip. The nobles and great officers of the crown occupied the seats, or rather steps, below. Drapery of dark velvet and cloth of gold, emblazoned with the imperial arms, was suspended across the arches of the nave; above which ran galleries, appropriated to the duchess of Lorraine and the ladies of the court.⁶⁶

The traveller who at this time visits this venerable pile, where Charles the Fifth was wont to hold the chapters of the Golden Fleece, while he gazes on the character-

⁶⁶ Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, tom. II. p. 620.

istic effigy of that monarch, as it is displayed on the superb windows of painted glass, may call to mind the memorable day when the people of Flanders, and the rank and beauty of its capital, were gathered together to celebrate the obsequies of the great emperor; when, amidst clouds of incense and the blaze of myriads of lights, the deep tones of the organ, vibrating through the long aisles, mingled with the voices of the priests, as they chanted their sad requiem to the soul of their departed sovereign.⁶⁷

I have gone somewhat into detail in regard to the latter days of Charles the Fifth, who exercised, in his retirement, too important an influence on public affairs for such an account of him to be deemed an impertinent episode to the history of Philip the Second. Before parting from him for ever, I will take a brief view of some peculiarities in his personal, rather than his political

⁶⁷ At least, such were the images suggested to my mind, as I wandered through the aisles of this fine old cathedral, on a visit which I made to Brussels a few years since,—in the summer of 1850. Perhaps the reader will excuse, as germane to this matter, a short sketch relating to it, from one of my letters written on the spot to a distant friend:—

“Then the noble cathedral of Brussels, dedicated to one Saint Gudule,—the superb organ filling its long aisles with the most heart-thrilling tones, as the voices of the priests, dressed in their rich robes of purple and gold, rose in a chant that died away in the immense vaulted distance of the cathedral. It was the service of the dead, and the coffin of some wealthy burgher probably, to judge from its decorations, was in the choir. A number of persons were kneeling and saying their prayers in rapt attention, little heeding the Protestant strangers who were curiously gazing at the pictures and statues with which the

edifice was filled. I was most struck with one poor woman, who was kneeling before the shrine of the saint, whose marble corpse, covered by a decent white gauze veil, lay just before her, separated only by a light railing. The setting sun was streaming in through the rich colored panes of the magnificent windows, that rose from the floor to the ceiling of the cathedral, some hundred feet in height. The glass was of the time of Charles the Fifth, and I soon recognized his familiar face,—the protruding jaw of the Austrian line. As I heard the glorious anthem rise up to heaven in this time-honored cathedral, which had witnessed generation after generation melt away, and which now displayed, in undying colors, the effigies of those who had once worshipped within its walls, I was swept back to a distant period, and felt I was a contemporary of the grand old times when Charles the Fifth held the chapters of the Golden Fleece in this very building.”

character, which has long since been indelibly traced by a hand abler than mine.

Charles, at the time of his death, was in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was older in constitution than in years. So much shaken had he been, indeed, in mind as well as body, that he may be said to have died of premature old age. Yet his physical development had been very slow. He was nearly twenty-one years old before any beard was to be seen on his chin.⁶⁸ Yet by the time he was thirty-six, gray hairs began to make their appearance on his temples. At forty the gout had made severe inroads on a constitution originally strong; and before he was fifty, the man who could keep the saddle day and night in his campaigns, who seemed to be insensible to fatigue as he followed the chase among the wild passes of the Alpuxarras, was obliged to be carried in a litter, like a poor cripple, at the head of his armies.⁶⁹

His mental development was equally tardy with his bodily. So long as Chievres lived,—the Flemish noble who had the care of his early life,—Charles seemed to have no will of his own. During his first visit to Spain, where he came when seventeen years old, he gave so little promise, that those who approached him nearest could discern no signs of his future greatness. Yet the young prince seems to have been conscious that he had the elements of greatness within him, and he patiently bided his time. “*Nondum*” — “Not yet” — was the motto which he adopted for his maiden shield, when but eighteen years old, at a tournament at Valladolid.

⁶⁸ “De Rege vero Cæsare ajunt, qui ab eo veniunt, barbatus jam esse.” Petri Martyris Opus Epistolarum, (Amstelodami, 1670, fol.,) ep. 734.

⁶⁹ In this outline of the character of Charles the Fifth, I have not

hesitated to avail myself of the masterly touches which Ranke has given to the portrait of this monarch, in the introduction to that portion of his great work on the nations of Southern Europe which he has devoted to Spain.

But when the death of the Flemish minister had released the young monarch from this state of dependence, he took the reins into his own hands, as Louis the Fourteenth did on the death of Mazarin. He now showed himself in an entirely new aspect. He even displayed greater independence than his predecessors had done. He no longer trusted everything, like them, to a council of state. He trusted only to himself; and if he freely communicated with some one favorite minister, like the elder Granvelle, and the cardinal, his son, it was in order to be counselled, not to be controlled by their judgments. He patiently informed himself of public affairs; and when foreign envoys had their audiences of him, they were surprised to find him possessed of everything relating to their own courts and the objects of their mission.

Yet he did not seem to be quick of apprehension, or, to speak more correctly, he was slow in arriving at his results. He would keep the courier waiting for days before he could come to a decision. When he did come to it, no person on earth could shake it. Talking one day with the Venetian Contarini about this habit of his mind, the courtly minister remarked, that "it was not obstinacy to adhere to sound opinions." "True," said Charles, "but I sometimes adhere to those that are unsound."⁷⁰

His indefatigable activity both of mind and body formed a strong contrast to the lethargy of early years. His widely scattered empire, spreading over the Low Countries, Spain, Germany, and the New World, presented embarrassments which most princes would have found it impossible to overcome. At least, they would

⁷⁰ "Qualche fiata io son fermo in le cattive." Contarini, cited by Ranke, *Ottoman and Spanish Empires*, p. 29.

have been compelled to govern, in a great measure, by deputy,—to transact their business by agents. But Charles chose to do everything himself,—to devise his own plans, and to execute them in person. The number of his journeys by land and by water, as noticed in his farewell address, is truly wonderful; for that was not the day of steamboats and railways. He seemed to lead the life of a courier. But it was for no trivial object that he made these expeditions. He knew where his presence was needed; and his promptness and punctuality brought him, at the right time, on the right spot. No spot in his broad empire was far removed from him. He seemed to possess the power of ubiquity.

The consciousness of his own strength roused to a flame the spark of ambition which had hitherto slept in his bosom. His schemes were so vast, that it was a common opinion he aspired to universal monarchy. Like his grandfather, Ferdinand, and his own son, Philip, he threw over his schemes the cloak of religion. Or, to deal with him more fairly, religious principle probably combined with personal policy to determine his career. He seemed always ready to do battle for the Cross. He affected to identify the cause of Spain with the cause of Christendom. He marched against the Turks, and stayed the tide of Ottoman inroad in Hungary. He marched against the Protestants, and discomfited their armies in the heart of Germany. He crossed the Mediterranean, and humbled the Crescent at Algiers. He threw himself on the honor of Francis, and travelled through France to take vengeance on the rebels of Flanders. He twice entered France as an enemy, and marched up to the gates of Paris. Instead of the modest legend on his maiden shield, he now assumed the proud motto, "*Plus ultra*;" and he vindi-

cated his right to it, by sending his fleets across the ocean, and by planting the banner of Castile on the distant shores of the Pacific. In these enterprises he was generally successful. His success led him to rely still more on himself. "Myself, and the lucky moment," was his favorite saying. The "star of Austria," was still a proverb. It was not till the evening of life that he complained of the fickleness of fortune; that his star, as it descended to the horizon, was obscured by clouds and darkness.

Thus Charles's nerves were kept in a state of perpetual excitement. No wonder that his health should have sunk under it; like a plant forced by extraordinary stimulants to an unnatural production at the expense of its own vitality.

His habits were not all of them the most conducive to health. He slept usually only four hours; too short a time to repair the waste caused by incessant toil.⁷¹ His phlegmatic temperament did not incline him to excess. Yet there was one excess of which he was guilty,—the indulgence of his appetite to a degree most pernicious to his health. A Venetian contemporary tells us, that, before rising in the morning, potted capon was usually served to him, dressed with sugar, milk, and spices. At noon he dined on a variety of dishes. Soon after vespers he took another meal; and later in the evening supped heartily on anchovies, or some other gross and savory food of which he was particularly fond.⁷² On

⁷¹ See Bradford, Correspondence of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and his Ambassadors at the Courts of England and France, with a connecting Narrative and Biographical Notices of the Emperor, (London, 1850,) p. 367,—a work which contains some interesting particulars, little known, respecting Charles the Fifth.

⁷² "Nel mangiare ha S. Maestà sempre eccesso. . . . La mattina svegliata ella pigliava una scodella di pesto capone con latte, zucchero et spezierie, popoi il quale tornava a riposare. A mezzo giorno desinava molte varietà di vivande, et poco da poi vespro merendava, et all' hora di notte se n'andava alla cena mangiando cose tutte da ge-

one occasion, complaining to his *maitre d'hôtel* that the cook sent him nothing but dishes too insipid and tasteless to be eaten, the perplexed functionary, knowing Charles's passion for timepieces, replied, that "he did not know what he could do, unless it were to serve his majesty a ragout of watches!" The witticism had one good effect, that of provoking a hearty laugh from the emperor,—a thing rarely witnessed in his latter days.⁷³

It was in vain that Cardinal Loaysa, his confessor, remonstrated, with an independence that does him credit, against his master's indulgence of his appetite, assuring him that resistance here would do more for his soul than any penance with the scourge.⁷⁴ It seems a pity that Charles, considering his propensities, should have so easily obtained absolution from fasts, and that he should not, on the contrary, have transferred some of the penance which he inflicted on his back to the offending part. Even in the monastery of Yuste he still persevered in the same pernicious taste. Anchovies, frogs' legs, and eel-pasties were the dainty morsels with which he chose to be regaled, even before the eyes of his physician. It would not have been amiss for him to have exchanged his solitary repast more frequently for the simpler fare of the refectory.

With these coarser tastes Charles combined many

nerare humori grossi et viscosi." Badovaro, Notizie delli Stati et Corti di Carlo Quinto Imperatore et del Re Cattolico, MS.

⁷³ "Disse una volta al Maggior-domo Monfalconetto con sdegno, ch'aveva corrotto il giudicio a dare ordine a' cuochi, perche tutti i cibi erano insipidi, dal quale le fu risposto: Non so come dovere trovare piu modi da compiacere alla maestà V. se io non fo prova di farle una nuova vivanda di pottaggio di rogli, il che la mosse a quel mag-

giore et più lungo riso che sia mai stato veduto in lei." Ibid.

⁷⁴ Briefe an Kaiser Karl V., geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater, (Berlin, 1848,) p. 159 et al.

These letters of Charles's confessor, which afford some curious particulars for the illustration of the early period of his history, are preserved in the archives of Simancas. The edition above referred to contains the original Castilian, accompanied by a German translation.

others of a refined and intellectual character. We have seen his fondness for music, and the delight he took in the sister art of design,—especially in the works of Titian. He was painted several times by this great master, and it was by his hand, as we have seen, that he desired to go down to posterity. The emperor had, moreover, another taste, perhaps talent, which, with a different training and in a different sphere of life, might have led him to the craft of authorship.

A curious conversation is reported as having been held by him with Borja, the future saint, during one of the visits paid by the Jesuit to Yuste. Charles inquired of his friend whether it were wrong for a man to write his autobiography, provided he did so honestly, and with no motive of vanity. He said that he had written his own memoirs, not from the desire of self-glorification, but to correct manifold mistakes which had been circulated of his doings, and to set his conduct in a true light.⁷⁵ One might be curious to know the answer, which is not given, of the good father to this question. It is to be hoped that it was not of a kind to induce the emperor to destroy the manuscript, which has never come to light.

However this may be, there is no reason to doubt that at one period of his life he had compiled a portion of his autobiography. In the imperial household, as I have already noticed, was a Flemish scholar, William Van Male, or Malinæus, as he is called in Latin, who, under the title of gentleman of the chamber, wrote many a long letter for Charles, while standing by his

⁷⁵ "Si hallais," said the royal author with a degree of humility rarely found in brethren of the craft, "que alguna vanidad secreta puede mover la pluma (que siempre

es prodigioso Panegerista en causa propia), la arrojare de la mano al punto, para dar al viento lo que es del viento." Cienfuegos, Vida de Borja, p. 269.

bedside, and read many a weary hour to him after the monarch had gone to rest,—not, as it would seem, to sleep.⁷⁶ This personage tells us that Charles, when sailing on the Rhine, wrote an account of his expeditions to as late a date as 1550.⁷⁷ This is not very definite. Any account written under such circumstances, and in so short a time, could be nothing but a sketch of the most general kind. Yet Van Male assures us that he had read the manuscript, which he commends for its terse and elegant diction; and he proposes to make a Latin version of it, the style of which should combine the separate merits of Tacitus, Livy, Suetonius, and Cæsar!⁷⁸ The admiring chamberlain laments that, instead of giving it to the world, Charles should keep it jealously secured under lock and key.⁷⁹

The emperor's taste for authorship showed itself also in another form. This was by the translation of the "*Chevalier Délibéré*," a French poem then popular, celebrating the court of his ancestor, Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Van Male, who seems to have done for

⁷⁶ "Factus est anagnostes insatiabilis, audit legentem me singulis noctibus facta cœnula sua, mox librum repeti jubet, si forte ipsum torquet insomnia." Lettres sur la Vie Intérieure de Charles-Quint, écrites par G. Van Male, ep. 7.

⁷⁷ "Scripsi liberalissimas ejus occupationes in navigatione fluminis Rheni, dum oculi occasione invitatus, scriberet in navi peregrinationes et expeditiones quas ab anno XV. in præsentem usque diem, suscepisset." Ibid., ep. 5.

⁷⁸ "Statui novum quoddam scribendi temperatum effingere, mixtum ex Livio, Cæsare, Suetonio, et Tacito." Ibid.

⁷⁹ At the emperor's death, these Memoirs were in possession of Van

Male, who afterwards used to complain, with tears in his eyes, that Quixada had taken them away from him. But he remembered enough of their contents, he said, to make out another life of his master, which he intended to do. (Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VI. p. 29.) Philip, thinking that Van Male might have carried his intention into execution, ordered Granvelle to hunt among his papers, after the poor gentleman's death, and if he found any such MS. to send it to him, that he might throw it into the fire! (Ibid., p. 273.) Philip, in his tenderness for his father's memory, may have thought that no man could be a hero to his own valet-de-chambre. On searching, however, no memoirs were found.

Charles the Fifth what Voltaire did for Frederick, when he spoke of himself as washing the king's dirty linen, was employed also to overlook this translation, which he pronounces to have possessed great merit in regard to idiom and selection of language. The emperor then gave it to Acuña, a good poet of the court, to be done into Castilian verse. Thus metamorphosed, he proposed to give the copy to Van Male. A mischievous wag, Avila the historian, assured the emperor that it could not be worth less than five hundred gold crowns to that functionary. "And William is well entitled to them," said the monarch, "for he has sweat much over the work."⁸⁰ Two thousand copies were forthwith ordered to be printed of the poem, which was to come out anonymously. Poor Van Male, who took a very different view of the profits, and thought that nothing was certain but the cost of the edition, would have excused himself from this proof of his master's liberality. It was all in vain; Charles was not to be balked in his generous purpose; and, without a line to propitiate the public favor, by stating in the preface the share of the royal hand in the composition, it was ushered into the world.⁸¹

⁸⁰ "Bono jure, ait, fructus ille ad Gulielmum redeat, ut qui plurimum in opere illo sudarit." Ibid., ep. 6.

⁸¹ "Ne in proemio quidem passus est ullam solertiæ suæ laudem adscribi." Ibid.

Van Male's Latin correspondence, from which this amusing incident is taken, was first published by the Baron Reiffenberg for the society of *Bibliophiles Belgiques*, at Brussels, in 1843. It contains some interesting notices of Charles the Fifth's personal habits during the five years preceding his abdication. Van Male accompanied his master into his re-

tirement; and his name appears in the codicil, among those of the household who received pensions from the emperor. This doubtless stood him in more stead than his majesty's translation, which, although it passed through several editions in the course of the century, probably put little money into the pocket of the chamberlain, who died in less than two years after his master.

A limited edition only of Van Male's correspondence was printed, for the benefit of the members of the association. For the copy used by me, I am indebted to Mr. Van de Weyer, the accomplished Belgian

Whatever Charles may have done in the way of an autobiography, he was certainly not indifferent to post-humous fame. He knew that the greatest name must soon pass into oblivion, unless embalmed in the song of the bard or the page of the chronicler. He looked for a chronicler to do for him with his pen what Titian had done for him with his pencil,—exhibit him in his true proportions, and in a permanent form, to the eye of posterity. In this he does not seem to have been so much under the influence of vanity as of a natural desire to have his character and conduct placed in a fair point of view,—what seemed to him to be such,—for the contemplation or criticism of mankind.

The person whom the emperor selected for this delicate office was the learned Sepulveda. Sleidan he condemned as a slanderer; and Giovio, who had taken the other extreme, and written of him with what he called the “golden pen” of history, he no less condemned as a flatterer.⁸² Charles encouraged Sepulveda to apply to him for information on matters relating to his government. But when requested by the historian to listen to what he had written, the emperor refused. “I will neither hear nor read,” he replied, “what you have said of me. Others may do this when I am gone. But if you wish for information on any point, I shall be always ready to give it to you.”⁸³ A history thus compiled was of the nature of an autobiography, and must be

minister at the English court, whose love of letters is shown not more by the library he has formed—one of the noblest private collections in Europe—than by the liberality with which he accords the use of it to the student.

⁸² Paulo Giovio got so little in return for his honeyed words, that his eyes were opened to a new trait in

the character of Charles, whom he afterwards stigmatized as parsimonious. See Sepulveda, *De Rebus Gestis Caroli V.*, lib. XXX. p. 534.

⁸³ “Haud mihi gratum est legere vel audire quæ de me scribuntur; legent alii cum ipse a vita discessero; tu siquid ex me scire cupis, percunctare, nec enim respondere gravabor.” *Ibid.*, p. 533.

considered, therefore, as entitled to much the same confidence, and open to the same objections, as that kind of writing. Sepulveda was one of the few who had repeated access to Charles in his retirement at Yuste;⁸⁴ and the monarch testified his regard for him, by directing that particular care be taken that no harm should come to the historian's manuscript before it was committed to the press.⁸⁵

Such are some of the most interesting traits and personal anecdotes I have been able to collect of the man who, for nearly forty years, ruled over an empire more vast, with an authority more absolute, than any monarch since the days of Charlemagne. It may be thought strange that I should have omitted to notice one feature in his character, the most prominent in the line from which he was descended, at least on the mother's side,—his bigotry. But in Charles this was less conspicuous than in many others of his house; and while he sat upon the throne, the extent to which his religious principles were held in subordination by his political, suggests a much closer parallel to the policy of his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, than to that of his son, Philip the Second, or of his imbecile grandson, Philip the Third.

But the religious gloom which hung over Charles's mind took the deeper tinge of fanaticism after he had withdrawn to the monastery of Yuste. With his dying words, as we have seen, he bequeathed the Inquisition as a precious legacy to his son. In like manner, he endeavored to cherish in the Regent Joanna's bosom the spirit of persecution.⁸⁶ And if it were true, as his

⁸⁴ Charles, however willing he might be to receive those strangers who brought him news from foreign parts, was not very tolerant, as the historian tells us, of visits of idle

ceremony. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

⁸⁵ Carta del Emperador al Secretario Vazquez, 9 de Julio, 1558, MS.

⁸⁶ " Si me hallara con fuerças y dispusicion de podello hacer tambien

biographer assures us, that Charles expressed a regret that he had respected the safe-conduct of Luther,⁸⁷ the world had little reason to mourn that he exchanged the sword and the sceptre for the breviary of the friar,—the throne of the Cæsars for his monastic retreat among the wilds of Estremadura.

procurara de enforçarme en este caso à tomar cualquier trabajo para procurar por mi parte el remedio y castigo de lo sobre dicho sin embargo de los que por ello he padescido." Carta del Emperador á la Princesa, 3 de Mayo, 1558, MS.

.... porque yo no era obligado á guardalle la palabra por ser la culpa del hereje contra otro mayor Señor, que era Dios." Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V., tom. II. p. 613.

See also Vera y Figueroa, Carlos Quinto, p. 124.

⁸⁷ "Yo erré en no matar a Luthero,

The preceding chapter was written in the summer of 1851, a year before the appearance of Stirling's "Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth," which led the way in that brilliant series of works from the pens of Amédée Pichot, Mignet, and Gachard, which has made the darkest recesses of Yuste as light as day. The publication of these works has deprived my account of whatever novelty it might have possessed, since it rests on a similar basis with theirs, namely, original documents in the Archives of Simancas. Yet the important influence which Charles exerted over the management of affairs, even in his monastic retreat, has made it impossible to dispense with the chapter. On the contrary, I have profited by these recent publications to make sundry additions, which may readily be discovered by the reader, from the references I have been careful to make to the sources whence they are derived.

The public has been hitherto indebted for its knowledge of the reign of Charles the Fifth to Robertson,—a writer who, combining a truly philosophical spirit with an acute perception of character, is recommended, moreover, by a classic elegance of style which has justly given him a preëminence among the historians of the great emperor. But in his account of the latter days of Charles, Robertson mainly relies on commonplace authorities, whose information, gathered at second hand, is far from being trustworthy,—as is proved by the contradictory tenor of such authentic documents as the letters of Charles himself, with those of his own followers, and the narratives of the brotherhood of Yuste. These documents are, for the most part, to be found in the Archives of Simancas, where, in Robertson's time, they were guarded, with the vigilance of a Turkish harem, against all intrusion of native as well as foreigner. It was not until very recently, in 1844, that the more liberal disposition of the government allowed the gates to be unbarred which had been closed for centuries; and then, for the first time, the student might be seen toiling in the dusty alcoves of Simancas, and busily exploring the long-buried memorials of the past. It was at this period that my friend, Don Pascual de Gayangos, having obtained authority from the government, passed some weeks at Simancas in collecting materials, some of which have formed the groundwork of the preceding chapter.

While the manuscripts of Simancas were thus hidden from the world, a learned keeper of the archives, Don Tomas Gonzalez, discontented with the unworthy view which had been given of the latter days of Charles the Fifth, had profited by the materials which lay around him, to exhibit his life at Yuste in a new and more authentic light. To the volume which he compiled for this purpose he gave the title of "*Retiro, Estancia, y Muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el Monasterio de Yuste.*" The work, the principal value of which consists in the copious extracts with which it is furnished from the correspondence of Charles and his household, was suffered by the author to remain in manuscript; and, at his death, it passed into the hands of his brother, who prepared a summary of its contents, and endeavored to dispose of the volume at a price so exorbitant that it remained for many years without a purchaser. It was finally bought by the French government at a greatly reduced price,—for four thousand francs. It may seem strange that it should have even brought this sum, since the time of the sale was that in which the new arrangements were made for giving admission to the archives that contained the original documents on which the Gonzalez MS. was founded. The work thus bought by the French government was transferred to the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, then under the direction of M. Mignet. The manuscript could not be in better hands than those of a scholar who has so successfully carried the torch of criticism into some of the darkest passages of Spanish history. His occupations, however, took him in another direction; and for eight years the Gonzalez MS. remained as completely hidden from the world in the Parisian archives as it had been in those of Simancas. When, at length, it was applied to the historical uses for which it had been intended, it was through the agency, not of a French, but of a British writer. This was Mr. Stirling, the author of the "*Annals of the Artists of Spain,*"—a work honorable to its author for the familiarity it shows, not only with the state of the arts in that country, but also with its literature.

Mr. Stirling, during a visit to the Peninsula, in 1849, made a pilgrimage to Yuste; and the traditions and hoary reminiscences gathered round the spot left such an impression on the traveller's mind, that, on his return to England, he made them the subject of two elaborate papers in Fraser's Magazine, in the numbers for April and May, 1851. Although these spirited essays rested wholly on printed works, which had long been accessible to the scholar, they were found to contain many new and highly interesting details; showing how superficially Mr. Stirling's predecessors had examined the records of the emperor's residence at Yuste. Still, in his account the author had omitted the most important feature of Charles's monastic life,—the influence which he exercised on the administration of the kingdom. This was to be gathered from the manuscripts of Simancas.

Mr. Stirling, who through that inexhaustible repository, the Handbook of Spain, had become acquainted with the existence of the Gonzalez MS., was, at the time of writing his essays, ignorant of its fate. On learning, afterwards, where it was to be found, he visited Paris, and, having obtained access to the volume, so far profited by its contents as to make them the basis of a separate work, which he entitled "*The Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth.*" It soon attracted the attention of scholars, both at home and abroad, went through several editions, and was received, in short, with an avidity which showed both the importance attached to the developments the author had made, and the highly attractive form in which he had presented them to the reader.

The Parisian scholars were now stimulated to turn to account the treasure which had remained so long neglected on their shelves. In 1854, less than two years after the appearance of Mr. Stirling's book, M. Amédée Pichot

published his "*Chronique de Charles-Quint*," a work which, far from being confined to the latter days of the emperor, covers the whole range of his biography, presenting a large amount of information in regard to his personal habits, as well as to the interior organization of his government, and the policy which directed it. The whole is enriched, moreover, by a multitude of historical incidents, which may be regarded rather as subsidiary than essential to the conduct of the narrative, which is enlivened by much ingenious criticism on the state of manners, arts, and moral culture of the period.

It was not long after the appearance of this work that M. Gachard, whom I have elsewhere noticed as having been commissioned by the Belgian government to make extensive researches in the Archives of Simancas, gave to the public some of the fruits of his labors, in the first volume of his "*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*." It is devoted to the letters of the emperor and his household, which form the staple of the Gonzalez MS.; thus placing at the disposition of the future biographer of Charles the original materials with which to reconstruct the history of his latter days.

Lastly came the work, long expected, of M. Mignet, "*Charles-Quint; son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste*." It was the reproduction, in a more extended and elaborate form, of a series of papers, the first of which appeared shortly after the publication of Mr. Stirling's book. In this work the French author takes the clear and comprehensive view of his subject so characteristic of his genius. The difficult and debatable points he discusses with acuteness and precision; and the whole story of Charles's monastic life he presents in so luminous an aspect to the reader as leaves nothing further to be desired.

The critic may take some interest in comparing the different manners in which the several writers have dealt with the subject, each according to his own taste, or the bent of his genius. Thus through Stirling's more free and familiar narrative there runs a pleasant vein of humor, with piquancy enough to give it a relish, showing the author's sensibility to the ludicrous, for which Charles's stingy habits, and excessive love of good cheer, even in the convent, furnish frequent occasion.

Quite a different conception is formed by Mignet of the emperor's character, which he has cast in the true heroic mould, not deigning to recognize a single defect, however slight, which may at all impair the majesty of the proportions. Finally, Amédée Pichot, instead of the classical, may be said to have conformed to the romantic school in the arrangement of his subject, indulging in various picturesque episodes, which he has, however, combined so successfully with the main body of the narrative as not to impair the unity of interest.

Whatever may be thought of the comparative merits of these eminent writers in the execution of their task, the effect of their labors has undoubtedly been to make that the plainest which was before the most obscure portion of the history of Charles the Fifth.



P.C. **BOOK II.** de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERIA DE CULTURA

CHAPTER I.

VIEW OF THE NETHERLANDS.

Civil Institutions.—Commercial Prosperity.—Character of the People.—
Protestant Doctrines.—Persecution by Charles the Fifth.

WE have now come to that portion of the narrative which seems to be rather in the nature of an episode, than part and parcel of our history; though from its magnitude and importance it is better entitled to be treated as an independent history by itself. This is the War of the Netherlands; opening the way to that great series of revolutions, the most splendid example of which is furnished by our own happy land. Before entering on this vast theme, it will be well to give a brief view of the country which forms the subject of it.

At the accession of Philip the Second, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Netherlands, or Flanders, as the country was then usually called,¹ comprehended seventeen provinces, occupying much the same territory, but somewhat abridged, with that included in the present kingdoms of Holland and Belgium.²

¹ "Vocatur quoque synechdochice, per universam ferme Europam, Flandria, idque ob ejus Provinciæ potentiam atque splendorem: quamvis sint, qui contendant, vocabulum ipsum Flandria, à frequenti exterorum in ea quondam Provincia mercatorum commercio, derivatum, atque inde in omnes partes diffusum; alii rursus, quod hæc ipsa Flandria,

strictius sumta, Gallis, Anglis, Hispanis, atque Italis sit vicinior, ideoque et notior simul et celebrior, totam Belgium eo nomine indigitatam perhibent." Guicciardini, *Belgiæ, sive Inferioris Germaniæ Descriptio*, (Amstelodami, 1652,) p. 6.

² These provinces were the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, and Gueldres; the counties of Ar-

These provinces, under the various denominations of duchies, counties, and lordships, formed anciently so many separate states, each under the rule of its respective prince. Even when two or three of them, as sometimes happened, were brought together under one sceptre, each still maintained its own independent existence. In their institutions these states bore great resemblance to one another, and especially in the extent of the immunities conceded to the citizens as compared with those enjoyed in most of the countries of Christendom. No tax could be imposed, without the consent of an assembly consisting of the clergy, the nobles, and the representatives of the towns. No foreigner was eligible to office, and the native of one province was regarded as a foreigner by every other. These were insisted on as inalienable rights, although in later times none were more frequently disregarded by the rulers.³

The condition of the commons in the Netherlands, during the Middle Ages, was far in advance of what it was in most other European countries at the same period. For this they were indebted to the character of the people, or rather to the peculiar circumstances which formed that character. Occupying a soil which had

tois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Zütphen, Holland, and Zealand; the margraviate of Antwerp; and the lordships of Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen.

³ Basnage, *Annales des Provinces-Unies*, avec la Description Historique de leur Gouvernement, (La Haye, 1719.) tom. I. p. 3.—Guicciardini, *Belgiæ Descriptio*, p. 81 et seq.

The Venetian minister Tiepolo warmly commends the loyalty of these people to their princes, not to be shaken so long as their constitutional privileges were respected.

“Sempre si le sono mostrati quei Popoli molto affectionati, et amorevoli contentandosi de esser gravati senza che mai facesse alcun resentimento forte più de Phonesto. Ma così come in questa parte sempre hanno mostrato la sua prontezza così sono stati duri et difficili, che ponto le fossero sminuiti li loro privilegii et autorità, nè che ne iloro stati s' introducessero nuove leggi, et nuove ordini ad instantia massime, et perricordo di gente straniera.” *Relazione di M. A. Tiepolo, ritornato Ambasciatore dal Ser^{mo} Rè Cattolico, 1567, MS.*

been redeemed with infinite toil and perseverance from the waters, their life was passed in perpetual struggle with the elements. They were early familiarized to the dangers of the ocean. The Flemish mariner was distinguished for the intrepid spirit with which he pushed his voyages into distant and unknown seas. An extended commerce opened to him a wide range of observation and experience; and to the bold and hardy character of the ancient Netherlander was added a spirit of enterprise, with such enlarged and liberal views as fitted him for taking part in the great concerns of the community. Villages and towns grew up rapidly. Wealth flowed in from this commercial activity, and the assistance which these little communities were thus enabled to afford their princes drew from the latter the concession of important political privileges, which established the independence of the citizen.

The tendency of things, however, was still to maintain the distinct individuality of the provinces, rather than to unite them into a common political body. They were peopled by different races, speaking different languages. In some of the provinces French was spoken, in others a dialect of the German. Their position, moreover, had often brought these petty states into rivalry, and sometimes into open war, with one another. The effects of these feuds continued after the causes of them had passed away; and mutual animosities still lingered in the breasts of the inhabitants, operating as a permanent source of disunion.

From these causes, after the greater part of the provinces had been brought together under the sceptre of the ducal house of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century, it was found impossible to fuse them into one nation. Even Charles the Fifth, with all his power and