which I smile. I find guests enough in the gentry of the country, the magistrates, and even the worthy burghers of the city, whose good-will it is well to conciliate against a day of trouble. These evils I bear with patience, as I can. For adversity is sent by the Almighty, who will recompense those who suffer for religion and justice." The cardinal was fond of regarding himself in the light of a martyr.

He concludes this curious epistle with beseeching the king to come soon to the Netherlands; "to come well attended, and with plenty of money; since, thus provided, he will have no lack of troops, if required to act abroad, while his presence will serve to calm the troubled spirits at home." [28] The politic minister says nothing of the use that might be made of these troops at home. Such an intimation would justify the charges already brought against him. He might safely leave his master to make that application for himself.

In December, 1562, Montigny returned from his mission, and straightway made his report to the council of state. He enlarged on the solicitude which Philip had shown for the interests of the country. Nothing had been further from his mind than to introduce into it the Spanish Inquisition. He was only anxious to exterminate the growing heresy from the land, and called on those in authority to aid in the good work with all their strength. Finally, though pressed by want of funds, he promised, so soon as he could settle his affairs in Spain, to return to Flanders.—It was not unusual for Philip to hold out the idea of his speedy return to the country. The king's gracious reception seems to have had some

[28] "Lo principal es que venga con dinero y crédito, que con esto no faltará gente para lo que se huviesse de hazer con los vezinos, y su presencia valdra mucho para assossegar todo lo de sus súbditos." Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VI. p. 562.

effect on Montigny. At all events, he placed a degree of confidence in the royal professions, in which the sceptical temper of William was far from acquiescing. He intimated as much to his friend, and the latter, not relishing the part of a dupe, which the prince's language seemed to assign to him, retorted in an angry manner; and something like an altercation took place between the two lords, in the presence of the duchess. At least, such is the report of the historians.[29] But historians in a season of faction are not the best authorities. In the troubles before us we have usually a safer guide in the correspondence of the actors.

By Montigny despatches were also brought from Philip for the duchess of Parma. They contained suggestions as to her policy in reference to the factious nobles, whom the king recommended to her, if possible, to divide by sowing the seeds of jealousy among them.[30] Egmont was a stanch Catholic, loyal in his disposition, ambitious, and vain. It would not be difficult to detach him from his associates by a show of preference, which, while it flattered his vanity, would excite in them jealousy and distrust.

In former times there had been something of these feelings betwixt Egmont and the prince of Orange. At least there had been estrangement. This might, in some degree, be referred to the contrast in their characters. Certainly no two characters could be more strongly contrasted with each other. Egmont, frank, fiery, impulsive in his temper, had little in common with the cool,

[29] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. II. p. 91.—Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. II. p. 24,—a doubtful authority, it must be admitted.

[30] "It is not true," Philip remarks, in a letter to the duchess dated July 17, 1562, "that Granvelle ever recommended me to cut off half a dozen heads. Though," adds the monarch, "it may perhaps be well enough to have recourse to this measure." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 207.

cautious, and calculating William. The showy qualities of the former, lying on the surface, more readily caught the popular eye. There was a depth in William's character not easy to be fathomed,—an habitual reserve, which made it difficult even for those who knew him best always to read him right. Yet the coolness between these two nobles may have arisen less from difference of character than from similarity of position. Both, by their rank and services, took the foremost ground in public estimation, so that it was scarcely possible they should not jostle each other in the career of ambition. But however divided formerly, they were now too closely united by the pressure of external circumstances to be separated by the subtle policy of Philip. Under the influence of a common disgust with the administration and its arbitrary measures, they continued to act in concert together, and, in their union, derived benefit from the very opposition of their characters. For what better augury of success than that afforded by the union of wisdom in council with boldness in execution?

The consequences of the troubles in France, as had been foreseen, were soon visible in the Low Countries. The Protestants of that time constituted a sort of federative republic, or rather a great secret association, extending through the different parts of Europe, but so closely linked together that a blow struck in one quarter instantly vibrated to every other. The Calvinists in the border provinces of the Low Countries felt, in particular, great sympathy with the movements of their French brethren. Many Huguenots took shelter among them. Others came to propagate their doctrines. Tracts in the French tongue were distributed and read with avidity. Preachers harangued in the conventicles; and the people, by hundreds and thousands, openly assembled, and,

marching in procession, chanted the Psalms of David in the translation of Marot.[31]

This open defiance of the edicts called for the immediate interposition of the government. At Tournay two Calvinist preachers were arrested, and, after a regular trial, condemned and burned at the stake. In Valenciennes two others were seized, in like manner, tried, and sentenced to the same terrible punishment. But as the marquis of Bergen, the governor of the province, had left the place on a visit to a distant quarter, the execution was postponed till his return. Seven months thus passed, when the regent wrote to the marquis, remonstrating on his unseasonable absence from his post. He had the spirit to answer, that "it neither suited his station nor his character to play the part of an executioner."[32] The marquis of Bergen had early ranged himself on the side of the prince of Orange, and he is repeatedly noticed by Granvelle, in his letters, as the most active of the malecontents. It may well be believed he was no friend to the system of persecution pursued by the government. Urged by Granvelle, the magistrates of the city at length assumed the office of conducting the execution themselves. On the day appointed, the two martyrs were escorted to the stake. The funeral pile was prepared, and the torch was about to be applied, when, at a signal from one of the prisoners, the multitude around broke in upon the place of execution, trampled down the guards and officers of justice, scattered the fagots collected for the sacrifice, and liberated the victims. Then, throwing themselves into a procession, they paraded the streets of the city, singing their psalms and Calvinistic hymns.

[31] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 78, 79, 133, 134.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 31, 32.

[32] "Qu'il n'étoit ni de son caractère ni de son honneur d'être le Bourreau des Hérétiques." Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. I. p. 304.

Meanwhile the officers of justice succeeded in again arresting the unfortunate men, and carrying them back to prison. But it was not long before their friends, assembling in greater numbers than before, stormed the fortress, forced the gates, and, rescuing the prisoners, carried them off in triumph.

These high-handed measures caused, as may be supposed, great indignation at the court of the regent. She instantly ordered a levy of three thousand troops, and, placing them under the marquis of Bergen, sent them against the insurgents. The force was such as to overcome all resistance. Arrests were made in great numbers, and the majesty of the law was vindicated by the trial and punishment of the ringleaders.[33]

"Rigorous and severe measures," wrote Philip, "are the only ones to be employed in matters of religion. It is by fear only that the rabble"—meaning by this the Reformers—"can be made to do their duty, and not always then."[34] This liberal sentiment found less favor in the Low Countries than in Spain. "One must ponder well," writes the cardinal to Perez, the royal secretary, "before issuing those absolute decrees, which are by no means as implicitly received here as they are in Italy."[35] The Fleming appealed to his laws, and, with all the minister's zeal, it was found impossible to move forward at the fiery pace of the Spanish Inquisition.

"It would raise a tumult at once," he writes, "should we venture to arrest a man without the clearest evidence.

[33] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 136, 137.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. I. pp. 137, 138.

[34] "En las [cosas] de la religion no se çufre temporizar, sino castigarlas con todo rigor y severidad, que estos villacos sino es por miedo no hazen cosa buena, y aun con él, no todas vezes." Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VI. p. 421.

[35] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 207.

No man can be proceeded against without legal proof."[36] But an insurmountable obstacle in the way of enforcing the cruel edicts lay in the feelings of the nation. No law repugnant to such feelings can long be executed. "I accuse none of the nobles of being heretics," writes the regent to her brother; "but they show little zeal in the cause of religion, while the magistrates shrink from their duty from fear of the people."[37] "How absurd is it," exclaims Granvelle, "for depositions to be taken before the Inquisition in Spain, in order to search out heretics in Antwerp, where thousands are every day walking about whom no one meddles with!"[38] "It is more than a year," he says, "since a single arrest on a charge of heresy has taken place in that city."[39] Yet whatever may have been the state of persecution at the present time, the vague dread of the future must have taken strong hold of people's minds, if, as a contemporary writes, there were no less than eighteen or twenty thousand refugees then in England, who had fled from Flanders for the sake of their religion.[40]

The odium of this persecution all fell on the head of Granvelle. He was the tool of Spain. Spain was under the yoke of the Inquisition. Therefore it was clearly the minister's design to establish the Spanish Inquisition over the Netherlands. Such was the concise logic by which the people connected the name of Granvelle with that of the most dreaded of tribunals.[41] He was held

[36] Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VI. p. 280.

[37] "Quoiqu'elle ne puisse dire qu'aucun des seigneurs ne soit pas bon catholique, elle ne voit pourtant pas qu'ils procèdent, dans les matières religieuses, avec toute la chaleur qui serait nécessaire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 240.

[38] Ibid., p. 202.

[39] Ibid., ubi supra.

[40] "C'est une grande confusion de la multitude des nostres qui sont icy fuis pour la religion. On les estime en Londres, Sandvich, et comarque adjacente, de xviij à xx mille testes." Letter of Assonleville to Granvelle, Ibid., p. 247.

[41] "Et qu'aussy ne se feroit rien par le Cardinal sans l'accord des Seigneurs et inquisiteurs d'Espaigne, dont necessairement s'ensuyvroit,

responsible for the contrivance of the most unpopular measures of government, as well as for their execution. A thousand extravagant stories were circulated both of his private and his political life, which it is probably doing no injustice to the nobles to suppose they did not take much pains to correct. The favorite of the prince is rarely the favorite of the people. But no minister had ever been so unpopular as Granvelle in the Netherlands. He was hated by the nobles for his sudden elevation to power, and for the servile means, as they thought, by which he had risen to it. The people hated him, because he used that power for the ruin of their liberties. No administration—none certainly, if we except that of the iron Alva—was more odious to the nation.

Notwithstanding Granvelle's constancy, and the countenance he received from the regent and a few of the leading councillors, it was hard to bear up under this load of obloquy. He would gladly have had the king return to the country, and sustain him by his presence. It is the burden of his correspondence at this period. "It is a common notion here," he writes to the secretary Perez, "that they are all ready in Spain to sacrifice the Low Countries. The lords talk so freely, that every moment I fear an insurrection. . . . . For God's sake, persuade the king to come, or it will lie heavy on his conscience."[42] The minister complains to the secretary that he seems to be entirely abandoned by the government at home. "It is three months," he writes, "since I have received a letter from the court. We know as little of Spain here as of the Indies. Such delays are

que tout se mettroit en la puissance et arbitrage d'iceulx Seigneurs inquisiteurs d'Espaigne." Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 24.

[42] "Que, pour l'amour de Dieu, le Roi se dispose à venir aux Pays-Bas! . . . . . ce serait une grande charge pour sa conscience, que de ne le pas faire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 213.

dangerous, and may cost the king dear."[43]—It is clear his majesty exercised his royal prerogative of having the correspondence all on one side. At least his own share in it, at this period, was small, and his letters were concise indeed in comparison with the voluminous epistles of his minister. Perhaps there was some policy in this silence of the monarch. His opinions, nay, his wishes, would have, to some extent, the weight of laws. He would not, therefore, willingly commit himself. He preferred to conform to his natural tendency to trust to the course of events, instead of disturbing them by too precipitate action. The cognomen by which Philip is recognized on the roll of Castilian princes is "the Prudent."

[43] "Des choses de cette cour nous ne savons pas plus que ceux qui sont aux Indes. . . . . Le délai que le Roi met à répondre aux lettres qu'on lui adresse cause un grand préjudice aux affaires; il pourra coûter cher un jour." Ibid., p. 199.

CHAPTER VII.

GRANVELLE COMPELLED TO WITHDRAW.

League against Granvelle.—Margaret desires his Removal.—Philip deliberates.—Granvelle dismissed.—Leaves the Netherlands.

1562—1564.

While the state of feeling towards Granvelle, in the nation generally, was such as is described in the preceding chapter, the lords who were in the council of state chafed more and more under their exclusion from business. As the mask was now thrown away, they no longer maintained the show of deference which they had hitherto paid to the minister. From opposition to his measures, they passed to irony, ridicule, sarcasm; till, finding that their assaults had little effect to disturb Granvelle's temper, and still less to change his policy, they grew at length less and less frequent in their attendance at the council, where they played so insignificant a part. This was a sore embarrassment to the regent, who needed the countenance of the great nobles to protect her with the nation, in the unpopular measures in which she was involved.

Even Granvelle, with all his equanimity, considered the crisis so grave as to demand some concession, or at least a show of it, on his own part, to conciliate the good-will of his enemies. He authorized the duchess to

say that he was perfectly willing that they should be summoned to the *consulta*, and to absent himself from its meetings; indeed, to resign the administration altogether, provided the king approved of it.[1] Whether Margaret communicated this to the nobles does not appear; at all events, as nothing came of these magnanimous concessions of the minister, they had no power to soothe the irritation of his enemies.[2]

On the contrary, the disaffected lords were bending their efforts to consolidate their league, of which Granvelle, it may be recollected, noticed the existence in a letter of the preceding year. We now find the members binding themselves to each other by an oath of secrecy.[3] The persons who formed this confederacy were the governors of the provinces, the knights of the Golden Fleece, and, in short, most of the aristocracy of any consideration in the country. It seemed impossible that any minister could stand against such a coalition, resting, moreover, on the sympathies of the people. This formidable association, seeing that all attempts to work on the cardinal were ineffectual, resolved at length to apply directly to the king for his removal. They stated that, knowing the heavy cares which pressed on his majesty, they had long dissembled and kept silence,

[1] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. pp. 236, 242.

[2] Philip's answer to the letter of the duchess in which she stated Granvelle's proposal was eminently characteristic. If Margaret could not do better, she might enter into negotiations with the malecontents on the subject; but she should take care to delay sending advices of it to Spain; and the king, on his part, would delay as long as possible returning his answers. For the measure, Philip concludes, is equally repugnant to justice and to the interests of the crown. (Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 237.) This was the royal policy of procrastination!

[3] "Conclusero una lega contra 'l Cardenal p' detto à diffesa commune contra chi volesse offendere alcun di loro, laqual confortorono con solenniss° giuramento, ne si curarono che se non li particolari fossero secreti per all' hora; ma publicorono questa loro unione, et questa lega fatta contra il Card^le." Relatione di Tiepolo, MS.

rather than aggravate these cares by their complaints. If they now broke this silence, it was from a sense of duty to the king, and to save their country from ruin. They enlarged on the lamentable condition of affairs, which, without specifying any particular charges, they imputed altogether to the cardinal, or rather to the position in which he stood in reference to the nation. It was impossible, they said, that the business of the country could prosper, where the minister who directed it was held in such general detestation by the people. They earnestly implored the king to take immediate measures for removing an evil which menaced the speedy ruin of the land. And they concluded with begging that they might be allowed to resign their seats in the council of state, where, in the existing state of affairs, their presence could be of no service.—This letter, dated the eleventh of March, 1563, was signed, on behalf of the coalition, by three lords who had places in the council of state,—the prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Hoorne.[4]

The last nobleman was of an ancient and most honorable lineage. He held the high office of admiral of the Netherlands, and had been governor both of Zütphen and of Gueldres. He accompanied Philip to Spain, and during his absence the province of Gueldres was transferred to another, Count Megen, for which Hoorne considered that he was indebted to the good offices of the cardinal. On his return to his own country, he at once enrolled himself in the ranks of the opposition. He was a man of indisputable bravery, of a quick and impatient temper; one, on the whole, who seems to have been less indebted for his celebrity to his character, than to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed.

[4] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. II. pp. 36—38.

On the day previous to this despatch of the nobles, we find a letter to the king from Granvelle, who does not seem to have been ignorant of what was doing by the lords. He had expostulated with them, he tells Philip, on the disloyalty of their conduct in thus banding against the government,—a proceeding which in other times might have subjected them to a legal prosecution.[5] He mentions no one by name except Egmont, whom he commends as more tractable and open to reason than his confederates. He was led away by evil counsellors, and Granvelle expresses the hope that he will one day open his eyes to his errors, and return to his allegiance.

It is difficult to conceive the detestation, he goes on to say, in which the Spaniards are held by the nation. The Spaniards only, it was everywhere said, were regarded by the court of Madrid as the lawful children; the Flemings, as illegitimate.[6] It was necessary to do away this impression; to place the Flemings on the same footing with the Spaniards; to give them lucrative appointments, for they greatly needed them, in Spain or in Italy; and it might not be amiss to bestow the viceroyalty of Sicily on the prince of Orange.—Thus, by the same act, the politic minister would both reward his rivals and remove them from the country. But he greatly misunderstood the character of William, if he thought in this way to buy him off from the opposition.

It was four months before the confederates received an answer; during which time affairs continued to wear the same gloomy aspect as before. At length came the long-expected epistle from the monarch, dated on the

[5] "Que en otros tiempos por menor causa se havia mandado a Fiscales proceder." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 151.

[6] "Que solos los de España sean legitimos, que son las palabras de que aqui y en Italia se usa." Ibid., p. 153.

sixth of June. It was a brief one. Philip thanked the lords for their zeal and devotion to his service. After well considering the matter, however, he had not found any specific ground of complaint alleged, to account for the advice given him to part with his minister. The king hoped before long to visit the Low Countries in person. Meanwhile, he should be glad to see any one of the nobles in Spain, to learn from him the whole state of the affair; as it was not his wont to condemn his ministers without knowing the grounds on which they were accused.[7]

The fact that the lords had not specified any particular subject of complaint against the cardinal gave the king an obvious advantage in the correspondence. It seemed to be too much to expect his immediate dismissal of the minister, on the vague pretext of his unpopularity, without a single instance of misconduct being alleged against him. Yet this was the position in which the enemies of Granvelle necessarily found themselves. The minister acted by the orders of the king. To have assailed the minister's acts, therefore, would have been to attack the king himself. Egmont, some time after this, with even more frankness than usual, is said to have declared at table to a friend of the cardinal, that "the blow was aimed not so much at the minister as at the monarch."[8]

The discontent of the lords at receiving this laconic epistle may be imagined. They were indignant that so little account should be made of their representations,

[7] "Car ce n'est ma coustume de grever aucuns de mes ministres sans cause." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. II. p. 42.

[8] "S'estant le comte d'Egmont advanché aujourd'huy huict jours *post pocula* dire à Hoppérus, avec lequel il fut bien deux heures en devises, que ce n'estoit point à Granvelle que l'on en vouloit, mais au Roy, qui administre très-mal le public et mesmes ce de la Religion, comme l'on luy at assez adverty." Morillon, Archdeacon of Mechlin, to Granvelle, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 247.

and that both they and the country should be sacrificed to the king's partiality for his minister. The three lords waited on the regent, and extorted from her a reluctant consent to assemble the knights of the order, and to confer with them and the other nobles as to the course to be taken.

It was there decided that the lords should address a second letter, in the name of the whole body, to Philip, and henceforth should cease to attend the council of state.[9]

In this letter, which bears the date of July the twenty-ninth, they express their disappointment that his majesty had not come to a more definite resolution, when prompt and decisive measures could alone save the country from ruin. They excuse themselves from visiting Spain in the critical state of affairs at home. At another time, and for any other purpose, did the king desire it, they would willingly do so. But it was not their design to appear as accusers, and institute a process against the minister. They had hoped their own word in such an affair would have sufficed with his majesty. It was not the question whether the minister was to be condemned, but whether he was to be removed from an office for which he was in no respect qualified.[10] They had hoped their attachment and tried fidelity to the crown would have made it superfluous for them to go into a specification of charges. These, indeed, could be easily made, but the discontent and disorder which now reigned throughout the country were sufficient evidence of the minister's incapacity.[11]

[9] Correspondance de Phillippe II., tom. I. pp. 256, 258, 259.

[10] "Il n'est pas icy question de grever ledict cardinal, ains plustost de le descharger, voire d'une charge laquelle non-seulement lui est peu convenable et comme extraordinaire, mais aussi ne peult plus estre en ses mains, sans grand dangier d'inconvéniens et troubles." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. II. p. 45.

[11] "Quant il n'y auroit que le désordre, mescontentement et con-

They stated that they had acquainted the regent with their intention to absent themselves in future from the council, where their presence could be no longer useful; and they trusted this would receive his majesty's sanction. They expressed their determination loyally and truly to discharge every trust reposed in them by the government; and they concluded by apologizing for the homely language of their epistle,—for they were no haranguers or orators, but men accustomed to act rather than to talk, as was suited to persons of their quality.[12]—This last shaft was doubtless aimed at the cardinal.—The letter was signed by the same triumvirate as the former. The abstract here given does no justice to the document, which is of considerable length, and carefully written. The language is that of men who to the habitual exercise of authority united a feeling of self-respect, which challenged the respect of their opponents. Such were not the men to be cajoled or easily intimidated. It was the first time that Philip had been addressed in this lofty tone by his great vassals. It should have opened his eyes to the condition and the character of his subjects in the Netherlands.

The coalition drew up, at the same time, an elaborate "remonstrance," which they presented to Margaret. In it they set forth the various disorders of the country, especially those growing out of the state of religion and the embarrassment of the finances. The only remedy for these evils is to be found in a meeting of the states-general. The king's prohibition of this measure must have proceeded, no doubt, from the evil counsels of

fusion qui se trouve aujourd'huy en vos pays de par deçà, ce seroit assez tesmoinage de combien peu sert icy sa présence, crédit et auctorité." Ibid., p. 46.

[12] "Que ne sommes point de nature grans orateurs ou harangueurs, et plus accoustumez à bien faire qu'à bien dire, comme aussy il est mieulx séant à gens de nostre qualité." Ibid., p. 47.

persons hostile to the true interests of the nation. As their services can be of little use while they are thus debarred from a resort to their true and only remedy in their embarrassments, they trust the regent will not take it amiss, that, so long as the present policy is pursued, they decline to take their seats in the council of state, to be merely shadows there, as they have been for the last four years.[13]

From this period the malecontent lords no more appeared in council. The perplexity of Margaret was great. Thus abandoned by the nobles in whom the country had the greatest confidence, she was left alone, as it were, with the man whom the country held in the greatest abhorrence. She had long seen with alarm the storm gathering round the devoted head of the minister. To attempt alone to uphold his falling fortunes would be probably to bury herself in their ruins. In her extremity, she appealed to the confederates, and, since she could not divide them, endeavored to divert them from their opposition. They, on the other hand, besought the regent no longer to connect herself with the desperate cause of a minister so odious to the country. Possibly they infused into her mind some suspicions of the subordinate part she was made to play, through the overweening ambition of the cardinal. At all events, an obvious change took place in her conduct, and while she deferred less and less to Granvelle, she entered into more friendly relations with his enemies. This was especially the case with Egmont, whose frank and courteous bearing and loyal disposition seem to have won greatly on the esteem of the duchess.

Satisfied, at last, that it would be impracticable to

[13] "Faisans cesser l'umbre dont avons servy en iceluy quatre ans." Ibid., p. 50.

maintain the government much longer on its present basis, Margaret resolved to write to her brother on the subject, and at the same time to send her confidential secretary, Armenteros, to Spain, to acquaint the king with the precise state of affairs in the Netherlands.[14]

After enlarging on the disorders and difficulties of the country, the duchess came to the quarrel between the cardinal and the nobles. She had made every effort to reconcile the parties; but that was impossible. She was fully sensible of the merits of Granvelle, his high capacity, his experience in public affairs, his devotion to the interests both of the king and of religion.[15] But, on the other hand, to maintain him in the Netherlands, in opposition to the will of the nobles, was to expose the country, not merely to great embarrassments, but to the danger of insurrection.[16] The obligations of the high place which she occupied compelled her to lay the true state of the case before the king, and he would determine the course to be pursued.—With this letter, bearing the date of August twelfth, and fortified with ample instructions from the duchess, Armenteros was forthwith despatched on his mission to Spain.

It was not long before the state of feeling in the cabinet of Brussels was known, or at least surmised, throughout the country. It was the interest of some of the parties that it should not be kept secret. The cardinal, thus abandoned by his friends, became a more conspicuous mark for the shafts of his enemies. Libels, satires, pasquinades, were launched against him from

[14] Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. II. p. 39 et seq.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 256.

[15] "Elle connait tout le mérite du cardinal, sa haute capacité, son expérience des affaires d'Etat, le zèle et le dévouement qu'il montre pour le service de Dieu et du Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 266.

[16] "D'un autre côté, elle reconnaît que vouloir le maintenir aux Pays-Bas, contre le gré des seigneurs, pourrait entraîner de grands inconvénients, et même le soulèvement du pays." Ibid., ubi supra.

every quarter. Such fugitive pieces, like the insect which dies when it has left its sting, usually perish with the occasion that gives them birth. But some have survived to the present day, or at least were in existence at the close of the last century, and are much commended by a critic for the merits of their literary execution.[17]

It was the custom, at the period of our narrative, for the young people to meet in the towns and villages, and celebrate what were called "academic games," consisting of rhetorical discussions on the various topics of the day, sometimes of a theological or a political character. Public affairs furnished a fruitful theme at this crisis; and the cardinal, in particular, was often roughly handled. It was in vain the government tried to curb this licence. It only served to stimulate the disputants to new displays of raillery and ridicule.[18]

Granvelle, it will be readily believed, was not slow to perceive his loss of credit with the regent, and the more intimate relations into which she had entered with his enemies. But whatever he may have felt, he was too proud or too politic to betray his mortification to the duchess. Thus discredited by all but an insignificant party, who were branded as the "Cardinalists," losing influence daily with the regent, at open war with the nobles, and hated by the people, never was there a minister in so forlorn a situation, or one who was able to maintain his post a day in such circumstances. Yet Granvelle did not lose heart; as others failed him, he relied the more on himself; and the courage which he displayed, when thus left alone, as it were, to face the anger of the nation, might have well commanded the

[17] Reiffenberg, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 26, note.

[18] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. II. p. 58.

respect of his enemies. He made no mean concession to secure the support of the nobles, or to recover the favor of the regent. He did not shrink from the dangers or the responsibilities of his station; though the latter, at least, bore heavily on him. Speaking of the incessant pressure of his cares, he writes to his correspondent, Perez, "My hairs have turned so white you would not recognize me."[19] He was then but forty-six. On one occasion, indeed, we do find him telling the king, that, "if his majesty does not soon come to the Netherlands, he must withdraw from them."[20] This seems to have been a sudden burst of feeling, as it was a solitary one, forced from him by the extremity of his situation. It was much more in character that he wrote afterwards to the secretary Perez: "I am so beset with dangers on every side, that most people give me up for lost. But I mean to live as long, by the grace of God, as I can; and if they do take away my life, I trust they will not gain everything for all that."[21] He nowhere intimates a wish to be recalled. Nor would his ambition allow him to resign the helm; but the fiercer the tempest raged, the more closely did he cling to the wreck of his fortunes.

The arrival of Armenteros with the despatches, and the tidings that he brought, caused a great sensation in the court of Madrid. "We are on the eve of a terrible conflagration," writes one of the secretaries of Philip; "and they greatly err who think it will pass away as formerly." He expresses the wish that Granvelle would

[19] "Vous ne me reconnaîtriez plus, tant mes cheveux ont blanchi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 268.

[20] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 274.

[21] "Moi, qui ne suis qu'un ver de terre, je suis menacé de tant de côtés, que beaucoup doivent me tenir déjà pour mort; mais je tâcherai, avec l'aide de Dieu, de vivre autant que possible, et si l'on me tue, j'espère qu'on n'aura pas gagné tout par là." Ibid., p. 284.

retire from the country, where, he predicts, they would soon wish his return. "But ambition," he adds, "and the point of honor are alike opposed to this. Nor does the king desire it." [22]

Yet it was not easy to say what the king did desire, —certainly not what course he would pursue. He felt a natural reluctance to abandon the minister, whose greatest error seemed to be that of too implicit an obedience to his master's commands. He declared he would rather risk the loss of the Netherlands than abandon him.[23] Yet how was that minister to be maintained in his place, in opposition to the will of the nation? In this perplexity, Philip applied for counsel to the man in whom he most confided,—the duke of Alva; the very worst counsellor possible in the present emergency.

The duke's answer was eminently characteristic of the man. "When I read the letters of these lords," he says, "I am so filled with rage, that, did I not make an effort to suppress it, my language would appear to you that of a madman." [24] After this temperate exordium, he recommends the king on no account to remove Granvelle from the administration of the Netherlands. "It is a thing of course," he says, "that the cardinal should be the first victim. A rebellion against the prince naturally begins with an attack on his ministers. It would be better," he continues, "if all could be

[22] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 190.

[23] "Hablándole yo en ello," writes the secretary Perez to Granvelle, "como era razon, me respondió que por su fee ántes aventuraria á perder essos estados que hazer esse agravio á V. S. en lo qual conoscerá la gran voluntad que le tiene." Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VII. p. 102.

[24] "Cada vez que veo los despachos de aquellos tres señores de Flandes me mueven la colera de manera que, sino procurasse mucho templarla, creo parecia á V. Mag^d mi opinion de hombre frenetico." Carta del Duque de Alba al Rey, á 21 de Octobre de 1563, MS.

brought at once to summary justice. Since that cannot be, it may be best to divide the nobles; to win over Egmont and those who follow him by favors; to show displeasure to those who are the least offenders. For the greater ones, who deserve to lose their heads, your majesty will do well to dissemble, until you can give them their deserts." [25]

Part of this advice the king accepted; for to dissemble did no violence to his nature. But the more he reflected on the matter, the more he was satisfied that it would be impossible to retain the obnoxious minister in his place. Yet when he had come to this decision, he still shrunk from announcing it. Months passed, and yet Armenteros, who was to carry back the royal despatches, was still detained at Madrid. It seemed as if Philip here, as on other occasions of less moment, was prepared to leave events to take their own course, rather than direct them himself.

Early in January, 1564, the duchess of Parma admonished her brother that the lords chafed much under his long silence. It was a common opinion, she said, that he cared little for Flanders, and that he was under the influence of evil counsellors, who would persuade him to deal with the country as a conquered province. She besought him to answer the letter of the nobles, and especially to write in affectionate terms to Count Egmont, who well deserved this for the zeal he had always shown for his sovereign's interests.[26]

One is struck with the tone in which the regent here speaks of one of the leaders of the opposition, so little

[25] "A los que destos meriten, quiten les las caveças, hasta poder lo hacer, dissimular con ellos." Ibid.

[26] "Comme je l'ai toujours trouvé plein d'empressement et de zèle pour tout ce qui touche le service de V. M. et l'avantage du pays, je supplie V. M. de faire au comte d'Egmont une réponse affectueuse, afin qu'il ne désespère pas de sa bonté." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 281.

in unison with her former language. It shows how completely she was now under their influence. In truth, however, we see constantly, both in her letters and those of the cardinal, a more friendly tone of feeling towards Egmont than to either of his associates. On the score of orthodoxy in matters of religion he was unimpeachable. His cordial manners, his free and genial temper, secured the sympathy of all with whom he came in contact. It was a common opinion, that it would not be difficult to detach him from the party of malecontents with whom his lot was cast. Such were not the notions entertained of the prince of Orange.

In a letter from Granvelle to Philip, without a date, but written perhaps about this period,[27] we have portraits, or rather outlines, of the two great leaders of the opposition, touched with a masterly hand. Egmont he describes as firm in his faith, loyally disposed, but under the evil influence of William. It would not be difficult to win him over by flattery and favors.[28] The prince, on the other hand, is a cunning and dangerous enemy, of profound views, boundless ambition, difficult to change, and impossible to control.[29] In the latter character we see the true leader of the revolution.

Disgusted with the indifference of the king, shown in his long-protracted silence, the nobles, notwithstanding the regent's remonstrances, sent orders to

[27] The letter—found among the MSS. at Besançon—is given by Dom Prosper Levesque in his life of the cardinal. (Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. II. p. 52.) The worthy Benedictine assures us, in his preface, that he has always given the text of Granvelle's correspondence exactly as he found it; an assurance to which few will give implicit credit who have read this letter, which bears the marks of the reviser's hand in every sentence.

[28] Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. II. p. 55.

[29] "Le prince d'Orange est un homme dangereux, fin, rusé, affectant de soutenir le peuple. . . . . Je pense qu'un pareil génie qui a des vûes profondes est fort difficile à ménager, et qu'il n'est guères possible de le faire changer." Ibid., pp. 53, 54.

their courier, who had been waiting in Madrid for the royal despatches, to wait no longer, but return without them to the Netherlands.[30] Fortunately Philip now moved, and at the close of January, 1564, sent back Armenteros with his instructions to Brussels. The most important of them was a letter of dismissal to the cardinal himself. It was very short. "On considering what you write," said the king, "I deem it best that you should leave the Low Countries for some days, and go to Burgundy to see your mother, with the consent of the duchess of Parma. In this way, both my authority and your own reputation will be preserved."[31]

It has been a matter of dispute how far the resignation of the cardinal was voluntary. The recent discovery of this letter of Philip determines that question.[32] It was by command of the sovereign. Yet that command was extorted by necessity, and so given as best to save the feelings and the credit of the minister. Neither party anticipated that Granvelle's absence would continue for a long time, much less that his dismissal was final. Even when inditing the letter to the cardinal,

[30] "Causant l'autre jour avec elle, le comte d'Egmont lui montra un grand mécontentement de ce que le Roi n'avait daigné faire un seul mot de réponse ni à lui, ni aux autres. Il dit que, voyant cela, ils etaient décidés à ordonner à leur courrier qu'il revînt, sans attendre davantage." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 283.

[31] "Il a pensé, d'après ce que le cardinal lui a écrit, qu'il serait très à propos qu'il allât voir sa mère, avec la permission de la duchesse de Parme. De cette manière, l'autorité du Roi et la réputation du cardinal seront sauvés." Ibid., p. 285.

[32] That indefatigable laborer in the mine of MSS., M. Gachard, obtained some clew to the existence of such a letter in the Archives of Simancas. For two months it eluded his researches, when in a happy hour he stumbled on this pearl of price. The reader may share the enthusiasm of the Belgian scholar. "Je redoublai d'attention; et enfin, après deux mois de travail, je découvris, sur un petit chiffon de papier, la minute de la fameuse lettre dont faisait mention la duchesse de Parme: elle avait été classée, par une méprise de je ne sais quel official, avec les papiers de l'année 1562. On lisait en tête: *De mano del Rey; secreta.* Vous comprendrez, monsieur le Ministre, la joie que me fit éprouver cette découverte: ce sont là des jouissances qui dédommagent de bien des fatigues, de bien des ennuis!" Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Interieur, Ibid., p. clxxxv.

Philip cherished the hope that the necessity for his departure might be avoided altogether. This appears from the despatches sent at the same time to the regent.

Shortly after his note to Granvelle, on the nineteenth of February, Philip wrote an answer to the lords in all the tone of offended majesty. He expressed his astonishment that they should have been led, by any motive whatever, to vacate their seats at the council, where he had placed them.[33] They would not fail to return there at once, and show that they preferred the public weal to all private considerations.[34] As for the removal of the minister, since they had not been pleased to specify any charges against him, the king would deliberate further before deciding on the matter. Thus, three weeks after Philip had given the cardinal his dismissal, did he write to his enemies as if the matter were still in abeyance; hoping, it would seem, by the haughty tone of authority, to rebuke the spirit of the refractory nobles, and intimidate them into a compliance with his commands. Should this policy succeed, the cardinal might still hold the helm of government.[35]

But Philip had not yet learned that he was dealing with men who had little of that spirit of subserviency to which he was accustomed in his Castilian vassals. The peremptory tone of his letter fired the blood of the

[33] "M'esbayz bien que, pour chose quelconque, vous ayez délaissé d'entrer au conseil où je vous avois laissé." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. II. p. 67.

[34] "Ne faillez d'y rentrer, et monstrer de combien vous estimez plus mon service et le bien de mes pays de delà, que autre particularité quelconque." Ibid., p. 68.

[35] Abundant evidence of Philip's intentions is afforded by his despatches to Margaret, together with two letters which they inclosed to Egmont. These letters were of directly opposite tenor; one dispensing with Egmont's presence at Madrid,—which had been talked of,—the other inviting him there. Margaret was to give the one which, under the circumstances, she thought expedient. The duchess was greatly distressed by her brother's manœuvring. She saw that the course she must pursue was not the course which he would prefer. Philip did not understand her countrymen so well as she did.

Flemish lords, who at once waited on the regent, and announced their purpose not to reënter the council. The affair was not likely to end here; and Margaret saw with alarm the commotion that would be raised when the letter of the king should be laid before the whole body of the nobles.[36] Fearing some rash step, difficult to be retrieved, she resolved either that the cardinal should announce his intended departure, or that she would do so for him. Philip's experiment had failed. Nothing, therefore, remained but for the minister publicly to declare, that, as his brother, the late envoy to France, had returned to Brussels, he had obtained permission from the regent to accompany him on a visit to their aged mother, whom Granvelle had not seen for fourteen years.[37]

The news of the minister's resignation and speedy departure spread like wildfire over the country. The joy was universal; and the wits of the time redoubled their activity, assailing the fallen minister with libels, lampoons, and caricatures, without end. One of these caricatures, thrust into his own hand under the pretence of its being a petition, represented him as hatching a

[36] "En effet, le prince d'Orange et le comte d'Egmont, les seuls qui se trouvassent à Bruxelles, montrèrent tant de tristesse et de mécontentement de la courte et sèche réponse du Roi, qu'il était à craindre qu'après qu'elle aurait été communiquée aux autres seigneurs, il ne fût pris quelque résolution contraire au service du Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 294.

[37] "Con la venida de Mons. de Chantonnay, mi hermano, á Bruxelles, y su determinacion de encaminarse á estas partes, me paresció tomar color de venir hazia acá, donde no havia estado en 19 años, y ver á madama de Granvella, mi madre, que ha 14 que no la havia visto." Ibid., p. 298.

Granvelle seems to have fondly trusted that no one but Margaret was privy to the existence of the royal letter,—"secret, and written with the king's own hand." So he speaks of his departure in his various letters as a spontaneous movement to see his venerable parent. The secretary Perez must have smiled, as he read one of these letters to himself, since an abstract of the royal despatch appears in his own handwriting. The Flemish nobles also—probably through the regent's secretary, Armenteros—appear to have been possessed of the true state of the case. It was too good a thing to be kept secret.

brood of young bishops, who were crawling out of their shells. Hovering above might be seen the figure of the Devil; while these words were profanely made to issue from his mouth: "This is my son; hear ye him!"[38]

It was at this time that, at a banquet at which many of the Flemish nobles were present, the talk fell on the expensive habits of the aristocracy, especially as shown in the number and dress of their domestics. It was the custom for them to wear showy and very costly liveries, intimating by the colors the family to which they belonged. Granvelle had set an example of this kind of ostentation. It was proposed to regulate their apparel by a more modest and uniform standard. The lot fell on Egmont to devise some suitable livery, of the simple kind used by the Germans. He proposed a dark-gray habit, which, instead of the *aiguillettes* commonly suspended from the shoulders, should have flat pieces of cloth, embroidered with the figure of a head and a fool's cap. The head was made marvellously like that of the cardinal, and the cap, being red, was thought to bear much resemblance to a cardinal's hat. This was enough. The dress was received with acclamation. The nobles instantly clad their retainers in the new livery, which had the advantage of greater economy. It became the badge of party. The tailors of Brussels could not find time to supply their customers. Instead of being confined to Granvelle, the heads occasionally bore the

[38] Schiller, Abfall der Niederlande, p. 147.

Among other freaks was that of a masquerade, at which a devil was seen pursuing a cardinal with a scourge of foxes' tails. "Deinde sequebatur diabolus, equum dicti cardinalis caudis vulpinis fustigans, magna cum totius populi admiratione et scandalo." (Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VIII. p. 77.) The fox's tail was a punning allusion to Renard, who took a most active and venomous part in the paper war that opened the revolution. Renard, it may be remembered, was the imperial minister to England in Queen Mary's time. He was the implacable enemy of Granvelle, who had once been his benefactor.

features of Arschot, Aremberg, or Viglius, the cardinal's friends. The duchess at first laughed at the jest, and even sent some specimens of the embroidery to Philip. But Granvelle looked more gravely on the matter, declaring it an insult to the government, and the king interfered to have the device given up. This was not easy, from the extent to which it had been adopted. But Margaret at length succeeded in persuading the lords to take another, not personal in its nature. The substitute was a sheaf of arrows. Even this was found to have an offensive application, as it intimated the league of the nobles. It was the origin, it is said, of the device afterwards assumed by the Seven United Provinces.[39]

On the thirteenth of March, 1564, Granvelle quitted Brussels,—never to return.[40] "The joy of the nobles at his departure," writes one of the privy council, "was excessive. They seemed like boys let loose from school."[41] The three lords, members of the council of state, in a note to the duchess, declared that they were ready to resume their places at the board; with the understanding, however, that they should retire when-

[39] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 161—164.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum Belgicorum, p. 166. Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. II. p. 53.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. pp. 294, 295.

[40] The date is given by the prince of Orange in a letter to the landgrave of Hesse, written a fortnight after the cardinal's departure. (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 226.) This fact, public and notorious as it was, is nevertheless told with the greatest discrepancy of dates. Hopper, one of Granvelle's own friends, fixes the date of his departure at the latter end of May. (Recueil et Mémorial, p. 36.) Such discrepancies will not seem strange to the student of history.

[41] "Ejus inimici, qui in senatu erant, non aliter exultavêre quam pueri abeunte ludimagistro." Vita Viglii, p. 38.

Hoogstraten and Brederode indulged their wild humor, as they saw the cardinal leaving Brussels, by mounting a horse,—one in the saddle, the other *en croupe*,—and in this way, muffled in their cloaks, accompanying the traveller along the heights for half a league or more. Granvelle tells the story himself, in a letter to Margaret, but dismisses it as the madcap frolic of young men. Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VII. pp. 410, 426.

ever the minister returned.[42] Granvelle had given out that his absence would be of no long duration. The regent wrote to her brother in warm commendation of the lords. It would not do for Granvelle ever to return. She was assured by the nobles, if he did return, he would risk the loss of his life, and the king the loss of the Netherlands.[43]

The three lords wrote each to Philip, informing him that they had reëntered the council, and making the most earnest protestations of loyalty. Philip, on his part, graciously replied to each, and in particular to the prince of Orange, who had intimated that slanderous reports respecting himself had found their way to the royal ear. The king declared "he never could doubt for a moment that William would continue to show the same zeal in his service that he had always done; and that no one should be allowed to cast a reproach on a person of his quality, and one whom Philip knew so thoroughly."[44] It might almost seem that a double meaning lurked under this smooth language. But whatever may have been felt, no distrust was exhibited on either side. To those who looked on the surface only,—and they were a hundred to one,—it seemed as if the dismissal of the cardinal had removed all difficulties; and they now confidently relied on a state of permanent tranquillity. But there were others whose eyes looked deeper than the calm sunshine that lay upon

[42] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 226.

[43] "Le comte d'Egmont lui a dit, entre autres, que, si le cardinal revenait, indubitablement il perdrait la vie, et mettrait le Roi en risque de perdre les Pays-Bas." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. p. 295.

[44] "Je n'ay entendu de personne chose dont je peusse concevoir quelque doubte que vous ne fussiez, à l'endroit de mon service, tel que je vous ay cogneu, ny suis si légier de prester l'oreille à ceulx qui me tascheront de mettre en umbre d'ung personage de vostre qualité, et que je cognois si bien." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. II. p. 76.

the surface; who saw, more distinctly than when the waters were ruffled by the tempest, the rocks beneath, on which the vessel of state was afterward to be wrecked.

The cardinal, on leaving the Low Countries, retired to his patrimonial estate at Besançon, — embellished with all that wealth and a cultivated taste could supply. In this pleasant retreat the discomfited statesman found a solace in those pursuits which in earlier, perhaps happier, days had engaged his attention.[45] He had particularly a turn for the physical sciences. But he was fond of letters, and in all his tastes showed the fruits of a liberal culture. He surrounded himself with scholars and artists, and took a lively interest in their pursuits. Justus Lipsius, afterwards so celebrated, was his secretary. He gave encouragement to Plantin, who rivalled in Flanders the fame of the Aldi in Venice. His generous patronage was readily extended to genius, in whatever form it was displayed. It is some proof how widely extended, that, in the course of his life, he is said to have received more than a hundred dedications. Though greedy of wealth, it was not to hoard it, and his large revenues were liberally dispensed in the foundation of museums, colleges, and public libraries. Besançon, the place of his residence, did not profit least by this munificence.[46]

Such is the portrait which historians have given to us of the minister in his retirement. His own letters show that, with these sources of enjoyment, he did not altogether disdain others of a less spiritual character. A letter to one of the regent's secretaries, written soon after

[45] "Quiero de aquí adelante hazerme ciego y sordo, y tractar con mis libros y negocios particulares, y dexar el público á los que tanto saben y pueden, y componerme quanto al reposo y sossiego." Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VIII. p. 91.

A pleasing illusion, as old as the time of Horace's "*Beatus ille*," &c.

[46] Gerlache, Royaume des Pays-Bas, tom. I., p. 79.

the cardinal's arrival at Besançon, concludes in the following manner: "I know that God will recompense men according to their deserts. I have confidence that he will aid me; and that I shall yet be able to draw profit from what my enemies designed for my ruin. This is my philosophy, with which I endeavor to live as joyously as I can, laughing at the world, its calumnies and its passions."[47]

With all this happy mixture of the Epicurean and the Stoic, the philosophic statesman did not so contentedly submit to his fate as to forego the hope of seeing himself soon reinstated in authority in the Netherlands. "In the course of two months," he writes, "you may expect to see me there."[48] He kept up an active correspondence with the friends whom he had left in Brussels, and furnished the results of the information thus obtained, with his own commentaries, to the court at Madrid. His counsel was courted, and greatly considered, by Philip; so that from the shades of his retirement the banished minister was still thought to exercise an important influence on the destiny of Flanders.

[47] "Vélà ma philosophie, et procurer avec tout cela de vivre le plus joyeusement que l'on peut, et se rire du monde, des appassionnez, et de ce qu'ilz dient sans fondement." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 240.

[48] "Ilz auront avant mon retour, que ne sera, à mon compte, plus tost que d'icy à deux mois, partant au commencement de juing." Ibid., p. 236.

A singular history is attached to the papers of Granvelle. That minister resembled his master, Philip the Second, in the fertility of his epistolary vein. That the king had a passion for writing, notwithstanding he could throw the burden of the correspondence, when it suited him, on the other party, is proved by the quantity of letters he left behind him. The example of the monarch seems to have had its influence on his courtiers; and no reign of that time is illustrated by a greater amount of written materials from the hands of the principal actors in it. Far from a poverty of materials, therefore, the historian has much more reason to complain of an *embarras de richesses.*

Granvelle filled the highest posts in different parts of the Spanish empire; and in each of these—in the Netherlands, where he was minister, in Naples, where he was viceroy, in Spain, where he took the lead in the cabinet, and in Besançon, whither he retired from public life—he left ample memorials under his own hand of his residence there. This was particularly the case with Besançon, his native town, and the favorite residence to which he turned, as he tells us, from the turmoil of office to enjoy the sweets of privacy,—yet not, in truth, so sweet to him as the stormy career of the statesman, to judge from the tenacity with which he clung to office.

The cardinal made his library at Besançon the depository, not merely of his own letters, but of such as were addressed to him. He preserved them all, however humble the sources whence they came, and, like Philip, he was in the habit of jotting down his own reflections in the margin. As Granvelle's personal and political relations connected him with the most important men of his time, we may well believe that the mass of correspondence which he gathered together was immense. Unfortunately, at his death, instead of bequeathing his manuscripts to some public body, who might have been responsible for the care of them, he left them to heirs who were altogether ignorant of their value. In the course of time the manuscripts found their way to the garret, where they soon came to be regarded as little better than waste paper. They were pilfered by the children and domestics, and a considerable quantity was sent off to a neighboring grocer, who soon converted the correspondence of the great statesman into wrapping-paper for his spices.

From this ignominious fate the residue of the collection was happily rescued by the generous exertions of the Abbé Boissot. This excellent and learned man was the head of the Benedictines of St. Vincent in Besançon, of which town he was himself a native. He was acquainted with the condition of the Granvelle papers, and comprehended their importance. In the course of eighty years, which had elapsed since the cardinal's death, his manuscripts had come to be distributed among several heirs, some of whom consented to transfer their property gratuitously to the Abbé Boissot, while he purchased that of others. In this way he at length succeeded in gathering together all that survived of the large collection; and he made it the great business of his subsequent life to study its contents and arrange the chaotic mass of papers with reference to their subjects. To complete his labors, he caused the manuscripts thus arranged to be bound, in eighty-two volumes, folio, thus placing them in that permanent form which might best secure them against future accident.

The abbé did not live to publish to the world an account of his collection, which at his death passed by his will to his brethren of the abbey of St. Vincent, on condition that it should be for ever opened to the use of the town of Besançon. It may seem strange that, notwithstanding the existence of this valuable body of original documents was known to scholars, they should so rarely have resorted to it for instruction. Its secluded situation, in the heart of a remote province, was doubtless regarded as a serious obstacle by the historical inquirer, in an age when the public took things too readily on trust to be very solicitous about authentic sources of information. It is more strange that Boissot's Benedictine brethren should have shown themselves so insensible to the treasures under their own roof. One of their body, Dom Prosper l'Evesque, did indeed profit by the Boissot collection to give to the world his Mémoires de Granvelle, a work in two volumes, duodecimo, which, notwithstanding the materials at the writer's command, contain little of any worth, unless it be an occasional extract from Granvelle's own correspondence.

At length, in 1834, the subject drew the attention of M. Guizot, then

Minister of Public Instruction in France. By his direction a commission of five scholars was instituted, with the learned Weiss at its head, for the purpose of examining the Granvelle papers, with a view to their immediate publication. The work was performed in a prompt and accurate manner, that must have satisfied its enlightened projector. In 1839 the whole series of papers had been subjected to a careful analysis, and the portion selected that was deemed proper for publication. The first volume appeared in 1841; and the president of the commission, M. Weiss, expressed in his preface the confident hope that in the course of 1843 the remaining papers would all be given to the press. But these anticipations have not been realized. In 1854 only nine volumes had appeared. How far the publication has since advanced I am ignorant.

The Papiers d'Etat, besides Granvelle's own letters, contain a large amount of historical materials, such as official documents, state papers, and diplomatic correspondence of foreign ministers,—that of Renard, for example, so often quoted in these pages. There are, besides, numerous letters both of Philip and of Charles the Fifth, for the earlier volumes embrace the times of the emperor. The minister's own correspondence is not the least valuable part of the collection. Granvelle stood so high in the confidence of his sovereign, that, when not intrusted himself with the conduct of affairs, he was constantly consulted by the king as to the best mode of conducting them. With a different fate from that of most ministers, he retained his influence when he had lost his place. Thus there were few transactions of any moment in which he was not called on directly or indirectly to take part. And his letters furnish a clew for conducting the historical student through more than one intricate negotiation, by revealing the true motives of the parties who were engaged in it.

Granvelle was in such intimate relations with the most eminent persons of the time, that his correspondence becomes in some sort the mirror of the age, reflecting the state of opinion on the leading topics of the day. For the same reason it is replete with matters of personal as well as political interest; while the range of its application, far from being confined to Spain, embraces most of the states of Europe with which Spain held intercourse. The French government has done good service by the publication of a work which contains so much for the illustration of the history of the sixteenth century. M. Weiss, the editor, has conducted his labors on the true principles by which an editor should be guided; and, far from magnifying his office, and unseasonably obtruding himself on the reader's attention, he has sought only to explain what is obscure in the text, and to give such occasional notices of the writers as may enable the reader to understand their correspondence

CHAPTER VIII.

CHANGES DEMANDED BY THE LORDS.

Policy of Philip.—Ascendency of the Nobles.—The Regent's Embarrassments.—Egmont sent to Spain.

1564, 1565.

We have now arrived at an epoch in the history of the revolution, when, the spirit of the nation having been fully roused, the king had been compelled to withdraw his unpopular minister, and to intrust the reins of government to the hands of the nobles. Before proceeding further, it will be well to take a brief survey of the ground, that we may the better comprehend the relations in which the parties stood to each other at the commencement of the contest.

In a letter to his sister, the regent, written some two years after this period, Philip says: "I have never had any other object in view than the good of my subjects. In all that I have done, I have but trod in the footsteps of my father, under whom the people of the Netherlands must admit they lived contented and happy. As to the Inquisition, whatever people may say of it, I have never attempted anything new. With regard to the edicts, I have been always resolved to live and die in the Catholic faith. I could not be content to have my subjects do otherwise. Yet I see not how this can be compassed without punishing the transgressors. God knows how

willingly I would avoid shedding a drop of Christian blood,—above all, that of my people in the Netherlands; and I should esteem it one of the happiest circumstances of my reign to be spared this necessity."[1]

Whatever we may think of the sensibility of Philip, or of his tenderness for his Flemish subjects in particular, we cannot deny that the policy he had hitherto pursued was substantially that of his father. Yet his father lived beloved, and died lamented, by the Flemings; while Philip's course, from the very first, had encountered only odium and opposition. A little reflection will show us the reasons of these different results.

Both Charles and Philip came forward as the great champions of Catholicism. But the emperor's zeal was so far tempered by reason, that it could accommodate itself to circumstances. He showed this on more than one occasion, both in Germany and in Flanders. Philip, on the other hand, admitted of no compromise. He was the inexorable foe of heresy. Persecution was his only remedy, and the Inquisition the weapon on which he relied. His first act on setting foot on his native shore was to assist at an *auto de fé*. This proclaimed his purpose to the world, and associated his name indelibly with that of the terrible tribunal.

The free people of the Netherlands felt the same dread of the Inquisition that a free and enlightened people of our own day might be supposed to feel. They looked with gloomy apprehension to the unspeakable misery it was to bring to their firesides, and the desolation and ruin to their country. Everything that could in any way be connected with it took the dismal coloring of their fears. The edicts of Charles the Fifth, written in

[1] This remarkable letter, dated Madrid, May 6, is to be found in the Supplément à Strada, tom. II. p. 346.

blood, became yet more formidable, as declaring the penalties to be inflicted by this tribunal. Even the erection of the bishoprics, so necessary a measure, was regarded with distrust on account of the inquisitorial powers which of old were vested in the bishops, thus seeming to give additional strength to the arm of persecution. The popular feeling was nourished by every new convert to the Protestant faith, as well as by those who, from views of their own, were willing to fan the flame of rebellion.

Another reason why Philip's policy met with greater opposition than that of his predecessor was the change in the condition of the people themselves. Under the general relaxation of the law, or rather of its execution, in the latter days of Charles the Fifth, the number of the Reformers had greatly multiplied. Calvinism predominated in Luxemburg, Artois, Flanders, and the states lying nearest to France. Holland, Zealand, and the North, were the chosen abode of the Anabaptists. The Lutherans swarmed in the districts bordering on Germany; while Antwerp, the commercial capital of Brabant, and the great mart of all nations, was filled with sectaries of every description. Even the Jew, the butt of persecution in the Middle Ages, is said to have lived there unmolested. For such a state of things, it is clear that very different legislation was demanded than for that which existed under Charles the Fifth. It was one thing to eradicate a few noxious weeds, and quite another to crush the sturdy growth of heresy, which in every direction now covered the land.

A further reason for the aversion to Philip, and one that cannot be too often repeated, was that he was a foreigner. Charles was a native Fleming; and much may be forgiven in a countryman. But Philip was a

Spaniard,—one of a nation held in greatest aversion by the men of the Netherlands. It should clearly have been his policy, therefore, to cover up this defect in the eyes of the inhabitants by consulting their national prejudices, and by a show, at least, of confidence in their leaders. Far from this, Philip began with placing a Spanish army on their borders in time of peace. The administration he committed to the hands of a foreigner. And while he thus outraged the national feeling at home, it was remarked that into the royal council at Madrid, where the affairs of the Low Countries, as of the other provinces, were settled in the last resort, not a Fleming was admitted.[2] The public murmured. The nobles remonstrated and resisted. Philip was obliged to retrace his steps. He made first one concession, then another. He recalled his troops, removed his minister. The nobles triumphed, and the administration of the country passed into their hands. People thought the troubles were at an end. They were but begun. Nothing had been done towards the solution of the great problem of the rights of conscience. On this the king and the country were at issue as much as ever. All that had been done had only cleared the way to the free discussion of this question, and to the bloody contest that was to follow.

On the departure of Granvelle, the discontented lords, as we have seen, again took their seats in the council of state. They gave the most earnest assurances of loyalty to the king, and seemed as if desirous to make amends

[2] Hopper does not hesitate to regard this circumstance as a leading cause of the discontents in Flanders. "Se voyans desestimez ou pour mieux dire opprimez par les Seigneurs Espaignols, qui chassant les autres hors du Conseil du Roy, participent seulz avecq iceluy, et présument de commander aux Seigneurs et Chevaliers des Pays d'embas: ny plus ni moins qu'ilz font à aultres de Milan, Naples, et Sicille; ce que eulx ne veuillans souffrir en manière que ce soit, à esté et est la vraye ou du moins la principale cause de ces maulx et altérations." Recueil et Mémorial, p. 79.

for the past by an extraordinary devotion to public business. Margaret received these advances in the spirit in which they were made; and the confidence which she had formerly bestowed on Granvelle, she now transferred in full measure to his successful rivals.[3]

It is amusing to read her letters at this period, and to compare them with those which she wrote to Philip the year preceding. In the new coloring given to the portraits it is hard to recognize a single individual. She cannot speak too highly of the services of the lords,—of the prince of Orange, and Egmont above all,—of their devotion to the public weal and the interests of the sovereign. She begs her brother again and again to testify his own satisfaction by the most gracious letters to those nobles that he can write.[4] The suggestion seems to have met with little favor from Philip. No language, however, is quite strong enough to express Margaret's disgust with the character and conduct of her former minister, Granvelle. It is he that has so long stood betwixt the monarch and the love of the people. She cannot feel easy that he should still remain so near the Netherlands. He should be sent to Rome.[5] She distrusts his influence, even now, over the cabinet at Madrid. He is perpetually talking, she understands, of the probability of his speedy return to Brussels. The rumor of this causes great uneasiness in the country. Should he be permitted to return, it would undoubtedly be the signal for an insurrection.[6]—It is clear the duchess had sorely suffered from the tyranny of Granvelle.[7]

[3] Viglius makes many pathetic complaints on this head, in his letters to Granvelle. See Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 319 et alibi.

[4] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. I. pp. 312, 332, et alibi.

[5] "Il faudrait envoyer le cardinal à Rome." Ibid., p. 329.

[6] Ibid., p. 295.

[7] Morillon, in a letter to Granvelle, dated July 9, 1564, tells him of the hearty hatred in which he is held by the duchess; who, whether

But notwithstanding the perfect harmony which subsisted between Margaret and the principal lords, it was soon seen that the wheels of government were not destined to run on too smoothly. Although the cardinal was gone, there still remained a faction of *Cardinalists*, who represented his opinions, and who, if few in number, made themselves formidable by the strength of their opposition. At the head of these were the viscount de Barlaimont and the President Viglius.

The former, head of the council of finance, was a Flemish noble of the first class,—yet more remarkable for his character than for his rank. He was a man of unimpeachable integrity, stanch in his loyalty both to the Church and to the crown, with a resolute spirit not to be shaken, for it rested on principle.

His coadjutor, Viglius, was an eminent jurist, an able writer, a sagacious statesman. He had been much employed by the emperor in public affairs, which he managed with a degree of caution that amounted almost to timidity. He was the personal friend of Granvelle, had adopted his views, and carried on with him a constant correspondence, which is among our best sources of information. He was frugal and moderate in his habits, not provoking criticism, like that minister, by his ostentation and irregularities of life. But he was nearly as formidable, from the official powers with which he was clothed, and the dogged tenacity with which he clung to his purposes. He filled the high office of president both of the privy council and of the council of state, and was also keeper of the great seal. It was thus obviously in his power to oppose a great check to the proceedings of the opposite party. That he did thus

she has been told that the minister only made her his dupe, or from whatever cause, never hears his name without changing color. Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. VIII. p. 131.

often thwart them is attested by the reiterated complaints of the duchess. "The president," she tells her brother, "makes me endure the pains of hell by the manner in which he traverses my measures."[8] His real object, like that of Granvelle and of their followers, she says on another occasion, is to throw the country into disorder. They would find their account in fishing in the troubled waters. They dread a state of tranquillity, which would afford opportunity for exposing their corrupt practices in the government.[9]

To these general charges of delinquency the duchess added others, of a more vulgar peculation. Viglius, who had taken priest's orders for the purpose, was provost of the church of St. Bavon. Margaret openly accused him of purloining the costly tapestries, the plate, the linen, the jewels, and even considerable sums of money belonging to the church.[10] She insisted on the impropriety of allowing such a man to hold office under the government.

Nor was the president silent on his part, and in his correspondence with Granvelle he retorts similar accusations in full measure on his enemies. He roundly taxes the great nobles with simony and extortion. Offices, both ecclesiastical and secular, were put up for sale in a shameless manner, and disposed of to the highest bidder. It was in this way that the bankrupt nobles paid their debts, by bestowing vacant places on their creditors. Nor are the regent's hands, he inti-

[8] "Viglius lui fait souffrir les peines de l'enfer, en traversant les mesures qu'exige le service du Roi." Ibid., p. 314.

[9] "Ils espèrent alors pêcher, comme on dit, en eau trouble, et atteindre le but qu'ils poursuivent depuis longtemps: celui de s'emparer de toutes les affaires. C'est pourquoi ils ont été et sont encore contraires à l'assemblée des états généraux. . . . Le cardinal, le président et leur séquelle craignent, si la tranquillité se rétablit dans le pays, qu'on ne lise dans leurs livres, et qu'on ne découvre leurs injustices, simonies, et rapines." Ibid., p. 311.

[10] Ibid., p. 320 et alibi.

mates, altogether clean from the stain of these transactions.[11] He accuses the lords, moreover, of using their authority to interfere perpetually with the course of justice. They had acquired an unbounded ascendency over Margaret, and treated her with a deference which, he adds, "is ever sure to captivate the sex."[12] She was more especially under the influence of her secretary, Armenteros, a creature of the nobles, who profited by his position to fill his own coffers at the expense of the exchequer.[13] For himself, he is in such disgrace for his resistance to these disloyal proceedings, that the duchess excludes him as far as possible from the management of affairs, and treats him with undisguised coldness. Nothing but the desire to do his duty would induce him to remain a day longer in a post like this, from which his only wish is that his sovereign would release him.[14]

The president seems never to have written directly to Philip. It would only expose him, he said, to the suspicions and the cavils of his enemies. The wary statesman took warning by the fate of Granvelle. But as his letters to the banished minister were all forwarded to Philip, the monarch, with the despatches of his sister before him, had the means of contemplating both sides of the picture, and of seeing that, to whichever party he

[11] "Ce qu'elle se résent le plus contre v. i. S. et contre moy, est ce que l'avons si longuement gardé d'en faire son prouffit, qu'elle fait maintenant des offices et bénéfices et aultres grâces." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I. p. 406.

[12] "Ipsam etiam Ducissam in suam pertraxêre sententiam, honore etiam majore quam antea ipsam afficientes, quo muliebris sexus facilè capitur."—This remark, however, is taken, not from his correspondence with Granvelle, but from his autobiography. See Vita Viglii, p. 40.

[13] The extortions of Margaret's secretary, who was said to have amassed a fortune of seventy thousand ducats in her service, led the people, instead of Armenteros, punningly to call him *Argenterios*. This piece of scandal is communicated for the royal ear in a letter addressed to one of the king's secretaries by Fray Lorenzo de Villacancio, of whom I shall give a full account elsewhere. Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. II., Rapport, p. xliii.

[14] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. I., p. 273 et alibi.