

folly of his proceeding, left Madrid for the Escorial, where he doubtless reported the affair to the king, his brother.

On the seventeenth, Carlos sent an order to Don Ramon de Tassis, the director-general of the posts, to have eight horses in readiness for him, that evening. Tassis, suspecting all was not right, returned an answer that the horses were out. On the prince repeating his orders in a more peremptory manner, the postmaster sent all the horses out, and proceeded himself in all haste to the Escorial.⁴⁸

The king was not long in taking his measures. Some days previous, "this very religious prince," says the papal nuncio, "according to his wont, had caused prayers to be put up, in the different monasteries, for the guidance of Heaven in an affair of great moment."⁴⁹ Such prayers might have served as a warning to Carlos. But it was too late for warnings. Philip now proceeded, without loss of time, to Madrid, where those who beheld him in the audience-chamber, on the morning of the eighteenth, saw no sign of the coming storm in the serenity of his countenance.⁵⁰ That morning, he attended mass in public,

⁴⁸ Ibid., ubi supra. — Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

⁴⁹ "Sono molti giorni che stando il Ré fuori comandò segretamente che si facesse fare orationi in alcuni monasterii, acciò nostro Signore Dio indirzasse bene et felicemente un grand negotio, che si li offeriva. Questo è costume di questo Principe veramente molto religioso, quando li occorre qualche cosa da eseguire, che sia importante." Lettera del Nunzio, 24. di Gennaio, 1568, MS.

⁵⁰ "On the next day, when I was present at the audience, he appeared with as good a countenance as usual, although he was already determined in the same night to lay hands on his son, and no longer to put up with or conceal his follies and more than youthful extravagances." Letter of Fourquevaux, February 5. 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 138.

with the members of the royal family. After the services, Don John visited Carlos in his apartment, when the prince, shutting the doors, demanded of his uncle the subject of his conversation with the king at the Escorial. Don John evaded the questions as well as he could, till Carlos, heated by his suspicions, drew his sword, and attacked his uncle, who, retreating, with his back to the door, called loudly on the prince to desist, and threw himself into a posture of defence. The noise made by the skirmish fortunately drew the notice of the attendants, who, rushing in, enabled Don John to retreat, and Carlos withdrew in sullen silence to his chamber.⁵¹

The prince, it seems, had for some time felt himself insecure in his father's palace. He slept with as many precautions as a highwayman, with his sword and dagger by his side, and a loaded musket within reach, ready at any moment for action.⁵² For further security, he had caused an ingenious artisan to construct a bolt, in such a way that by means of pulleys he could fasten or unfasten the door of his chamber while in bed. With such precautions, it would be a perilous thing to invade the slumbers of a desperate man like Carlos. But Philip was aware of the difficulties; and he ordered the mechanic to derange the machinery so that it should not work: and thus the

⁵¹ Ibid., ubi supra. — Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

⁵² Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS. — Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 21. 1568, MS.

De Thou, taking his account from the architect Louis de Foix, has provided Carlos with still more formidable means of defence. "Ce

Prince inquiet ne dormoit point, qu'il n'eût sous son chevet deux épées nues et deux pistolets chargez. Il avoit encore dans sa garderobe deux arquebuses avec de la poudre et des balles, toujours prêtes à firer." Hist. Universelle, tom. v. p. 439.

door was left without the usual means for securing it.⁵³ —The rest is told by the *ayuda de cámara* above mentioned, who was on duty that night, and supped in the palace.

It was about eleven o'clock, on the evening of the eighteenth, when he observed the king coming down stairs, wearing armor over his clothes, and his head protected by a helmet. He was accompanied by the duke of Feria, captain of the guard, with four or five other lords, and twelve privates of the guard. The king ordered the valet to shut the door, and allow no one to enter. The nobles and the guard then passed into the prince's chamber; and the duke of Feria, stealing softly to the head of the bed, secured a sword and dagger which lay there, as well as a musket loaded with two balls. Carlos, roused by the noise, started up, and demanded who was there. The duke, having got possession of the weapons, replied, "It is the council of state." Carlos, on hearing this, leaped from his bed, and, uttering loud cries and menaces, endeavored to seize his arms. At this moment, Philip, who had prudently deferred his entrance till the weapons were mastered, came forward, and bade his son return to bed and remain quiet. The prince exclaimed, "What does your majesty want of me?" "You will soon learn," said his father, and at the same time ordered the windows and doors to be strongly secured, and the keys of the latter to be delivered to him. All the furniture of the room, with which Carlos could commit any violence, even

⁵³ Ibid., ubi supra.

the andirons, were removed.⁵⁴ The king, then turning to Feria, told him that "he committed the prince to his especial charge, and that he must guard him well." Addressing next the other nobles, he directed them "to serve the prince with all proper respect, but to execute none of his orders without first reporting them to himself; finally, to guard him faithfully, under penalty of being held as traitors."

At these words Carlos exclaimed, "Your majesty had better kill me than keep me a prisoner. It will be a great scandal to the kingdom. If you do not kill me, I will make away with myself." "You will do no such thing," said the king; "for that would be the act of a madman." "Your majesty," replied Carlos, "treats me so ill that you force me to this extremity. I am not mad, but you drive me to despair!"⁵⁵ Other words passed between the monarch and his son, whose voice was so broken by sobs as to be scarcely audible.⁵⁶

Having completed his arrangements, Philip, after securing a coffer which contained the prince's papers, withdrew from the apartment. That night, the duke of Feria, the count of Lerma, and Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, eldest son of Ruy Gomez, remained in the

⁵⁴ "Cosi S. M^{ta} fece levare tutte l'armi, et tutti i ferri sino à gli alari di quella camera, et conficcare le finestre." Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 21. 1568, MS.

⁵⁵ "Aqui algo el principe grandes bozes diciendo, mateme Vra M^d y no me prenda porque es grande escandalo para el reyno y sino yo me mataré, al qual respondió el rey que no lo hiciere que era

cosa de loco, y el principe respondió no lo hare como loco sino como desesperado pues Vra M^d me trata tan mal." Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

⁵⁶ "Erasì di già tornato nel letto il Principe usando molte parole fuor di proposito: le quali non furono asvertite come dette quasi singhiozzando." Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 25. 1568, MS.

prince's chamber. Two lords, out of six named for the purpose, performed the same duty in rotation each succeeding night. From respect to the prince, none of them were allowed to wear their swords in his presence. His meat was cut up before it was brought into his chamber, as he was allowed no knife at his meals. The prince's attendants were all dismissed, and most of them afterwards provided for in the service of the king. A guard of twelve halberdiers were stationed in the passages leading to the tower in which the apartment of Carlos was situated. Thus all communication from without was cut off; and, as he was unable to look from his strongly barricaded windows, the unhappy prisoner from that time remained as dead to the world as if he had been buried in the deepest dungeon of Simancas.

The following day, the king called the members of his different councils together, and informed them of the arrest of his son, declaring that nothing but his duty to God, and the welfare of the monarchy, could have moved him to such an act. The tears, according to one present, filled his eyes, as he made this avowal.⁵⁷

He then summoned his council of state, and commenced a process against the prisoner. His affliction did not prevent him from being present all the while, and listening to the testimony, which, when reduced to writing, formed a heap of paper half a foot in thick-

⁵⁷ "Y á cada uno de por sí con lagrimas (segun me ha certificado quien lo vió) les daba cuenta de la

prission del Príncipe su hijo." Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

ness.—Such is the account given of this extraordinary proceeding by the *ayuda de cámara*.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ “Martes veinte de Enero de 1568, llamó S. M. á su cámara á los de el Consejo de Estado, y estuvieron en ella desde la una de la tarde asta las nueve de la noche, no se sabe que se tratase, el Rey hace informacion, Secretario de ella és Oyos, hallase el Rey presente al examen de los testigos, ay escripto casi un feme en alto.”
Ibid.

I have two copies of this interesting MS., one from Madrid, the other from the library of Sir Thomas Phillips. Llorente's translation of the entire document, in his *Histoire de l'Inquisition* (tom. iii. pp. 151-158), cannot claim the merit of scrupulous accuracy.



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF DON CARLOS.

Causes of his Imprisonment.—His Rigorous Confinement.—His Excesses.—His Death.—Llorente's Account.—Various Accounts.—Suspicious Circumstances.—Quarrel in the Palace.—Obsequies of Carlos.

1568.

THE arrest of Don Carlos caused a great sensation throughout the country, much increased by the mysterious circumstances which had attended it. The wildest rumors were afloat as to the cause. Some said the prince had meditated a design against his father's life; others, that he had conspired against that of Ruy Gomez. Some said that he was plotting rebellion, and had taken part with the Flemings; others suspected him of heresy. Many took still a different view of the matter, — censuring the father rather than the son. "*His dagger followed close upon his smile,*" says the historian of Philip; "hence some called him wise, others severe."¹ Carlos, they said, never a favorite, might have been rash in his thoughts and words; but he had done no act which should have

¹ "Unos le llamaban prudente, otros severo, porque su risa i cuchillo eran confines." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

These remarkable words seem to escape from Cabrera, as if he were noticing only an ordinary trait of character.

led a father to deal with his son so harshly. But princes were too apt to be jealous of their successors. They distrusted the bold and generous spirit of their offspring, whom it would be wiser to win over by admitting them to some reasonable share in the government. — “But others there were,” concludes the wise chronicler of the times, “who, more prudent than their neighbors, laid their finger on their lips, and were silent.”²

For some days, Philip would allow no post to leave Madrid, that he might be the first to send intelligence of this event to foreign courts.³ On the twenty-fourth, he despatched circular letters to the great ecclesiastics, the grandees, and the municipalities of the chief cities in the kingdom. They were vague in their import, stating the fact of the arrest, and assigning much the same general grounds with those he had stated to the councils. On the same day he sent despatches to the principal courts of Europe. These, though singularly vague and mysterious in their language, were more pregnant with suggestions, at least, than the letters to his subjects. The most curious, on the whole, and the one that gives the best insight into his motives, is the letter he addressed to his aunt, the queen of Portugal. She was sister to the emperor, his father, — an estimable lady, whom Philip had always held in great respect.

“Although,” he writes, “it has long been obvious

² “Mirabanse los mas cuerdos sellando la boca con el dedo i el silencio.” *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

³ “In questo mezo è prohibito di mandar corriero nessuno, volen-

do essere Sua Maestà il primo á dar alli Prencipi quest' aviso.” Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 21. 1568, MS.

that it was necessary to take some order in regard to the prince, yet the feelings of a father have led me to resort to all other means before proceeding to extremity. But affairs have at length come to such a pass, that, to fulfil the duty which, as a Christian prince, I owe both to God and to my realm, I have been compelled to place my son in strict confinement. Thus have I been willing to sacrifice to God my own flesh and blood, preferring his service and the welfare of my people to all human considerations.⁴ I will only add, that this determination has not been brought about by any misconduct on the part of my son, or by any want of respect to me; nor is this treatment of him intended by way of chastisement, — for that, however just the grounds of it, would have its time and its limit.⁵ Neither have I resorted to it as an expedient for reforming his disorderly life. The proceeding rests altogether on another foundation; and the *remedy I propose is not one either of time or expedients*, but is of the greatest moment, as I have already remarked, to satisfy my obligations to God and my people.”⁶

In the same obscure strain, Philip addressed Zúñiga, his ambassador at the papal court,— saying,

⁴ “En fin yo he querido hacer en esta parte sacrificio à Dios de mi propia carne y sangre y preferir su servicio y el bien y beneficio público à las otras consideraciones humanas.” Traslado de la Carta que su magestad escribió à la Reyna de Portugal sobre le prison del Principe su hijo, 20. de Enero, 1568, MS.

⁵ “Solo me ha parecido ahora advertir que el fundamento de esta mi determinacion no depende de culpa, ni inovediencia, ni desacato, ni es enderezada á castigo,

que aunque para este havia la muy suficiente materia, pudiera tener su tiempo y su termino.” Ibid.

⁶ “Ni tampoco lo he tomado por medio, teniendo esperanza que por este camino se reformarán sus excesos y desordenes. Tiene este negocio otro principio y razon, cuyo remedio no consiste en tiempo, ni medios; y que es de mayor importancia y consideracion para satisfacer yo à la dicha obligacion que tengo à Dios nuestro señor y à los dichos mis Reynos.” Ibid.

that, "although the disobedience which Carlos had shown through life was sufficient to justify any demonstration of severity, yet it was not this, but the stern pressure of necessity, that could alone have driven him to deal in this way with his first-born, his only son."⁷

This ambiguous language — implying that the imprisonment of Carlos was not occasioned by his own misconduct, and yet that both the interests of religion and the safety of the state demanded his perpetual imprisonment — may be thought to intimate that the cause referred to could be no other than insanity. This was plainly stated by the prince of Eboli, in a communication which, by the king's order, he made to the French minister, Fourquevaulx. The king, Gomez said, had for three years past perceived that the prince's head was the weakest part of him, and that he was, at no time, in complete possession of his understanding. He had been silent on the matter, trusting that time would bring some amendment. But it had only made things worse; and he saw, with sorrow, that to commit the sceptre to his son's hands would be to bring inevitable misery on his subjects and ruin on the state. With unspeakable anguish, he had therefore resolved, after long deliberation, to place his son under constraint.⁸

⁷ "Pues aunque es verdad que en el discurso de su vida y trato haya habido ocasion de alguna desobediencia ó desacato que pudieran justificar qualquiera demostracion, esto no me obligaría á llegar á tan estrecho punto. La necesidad y conveniencia han producido las

causas que me han movido muy urgentes y precisas con mi hijo primogenito y solo." Carta del Rey á su Embajador en Roma, 22 de Enero, 1568, MS.

⁸ Letter of Fourquevaulx, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 136.

This at least is intelligible, and very different from Philip's own despatches, — where it strikes us as strange, if insanity were the true ground of the arrest, that it should be covered up under such vague and equivocal language, with the declaration, moreover, usually made in his letters, that, "at some future time, he would explain the matter more fully to the parties." One might have thought that the simple plea of insanity would have been directly given, as furnishing the best apology for the son, and at the same time vindicating the father for imposing a wholesome restraint upon his person. But, in point of fact, the excessive rigor of the confinement, as we shall have occasion to see, savored much more of the punishment dealt out to some high offender, than of the treatment of an unfortunate lunatic. Neither is it probable that a criminal process would have been instituted against one who, by his very infirmity, was absolved from all moral responsibility.

There are two documents, either of which, should it ever be brought to light, would probably unfold the true reasons of the arrest of Carlos. The Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, informed Philip that the pope, dissatisfied with the account which he had given of the transaction, desired a further explanation of it from his majesty.⁹ This, from such a source, was nearly equivalent to a command. For Philip had a peculiar reverence for Pius the Fifth, the pope of the Inquisition, who was a pontiff after his own heart. The king is said never to have passed by the

⁹ "Querria el Papa saber por carta de V. M. la verdad." Carta de Zuñiga al Rey, 28. de Abril, 1568, MS.

portrait of his holiness, which hung on the walls of the palace, without taking off his hat.¹⁰ He at once wrote a letter to the pope containing a full account of the transaction. It was written in cipher, with the recommendation that it should be submitted to Granvelle, then in Rome, if his holiness could not interpret it. This letter is doubtless in the Vatican.¹¹

The other document is the process. The king, immediately after the arrest of his son, appointed a special commission to try him. It consisted of Cardinal Espinosa, the prince of Eboli, and a royal councillor, Bribiesca de Muñatones, who was appointed to prepare the indictment. The writings containing the memorable process instituted by Philip's ancestor, John the Second of Aragon, against his amiable and unfortunate son, who also bore the name of Carlos, had been obtained from the Archives of Barcelona. They were translated from the Catalan into Castilian, and served for the ominous model for the present proceedings, which took the form of a trial for high treason. In conducting this singular prosecution, it does not appear that any counsel or evidence appeared on behalf of the prisoner, although a formidable amount of testimony, it would seem, was collected on the other side. But, in truth, we know little of the proceedings. There is no proof

¹⁰ Lorea, Vida de Pio Quinto (Valladolid, 1713), p. 131.

¹¹ In the Archives of Simancas is a department known as the *Patronato*, or family papers, consisting of very curious documents, of so private a nature as to render

them particularly difficult of access. In this department is deposited the correspondence of Zuñiga, which, with other documents in the same collection, has furnished me with some pertinent extracts.

that any but the monarch, and the secret tribunal that presided over the trial,— if so it can be called, — ever saw the papers. In 1592, according to the historian Cabrera, they were deposited, by Philip's orders, in a green box, strongly secured, in the Archives of Simancas¹², — where, as we have no later information, they may still remain, to reward the labors of some future antiquary.¹³

In default of these documents, we must resort to conjecture for the solution of this difficult problem; and there are several circumstances which may assist us in arriving at a conclusion. Among the foreign ministers at that time at the court of Madrid, none took more pains to come at the truth of this affair,— as his letters abundantly prove, — than the papal nuncio, Castaneo, archbishop of Rossano. He was a shrewd, sagacious prelate, whose position and credit at the court gave him the best opportunities for information. By Philip's command, Cardinal Espinosa gave the nuncio the usual explanation of the grounds on which Carlos had been arrested. "It is a strange story," said the nuncio, "that which we everywhere hear, of the prince's plot against his father's life." "It would be of little moment," replied the cardinal, "if the danger to the king were all; as it would be easy to protect his person. But the present case is

¹² "Estan en el archivo de Simancas, donde en el año mil i quinientos i noventa i dos los metio don Cristoval de Mora de su Camara en un cofrecillo verde en que se conservan." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

¹³ It is currently reported, as I am informed, among the scholars of

Madrid, that in 1828, Ferdinand the Seventh caused the papers containing the original process of Carlos, with some other documents, to be taken from Simancas; but whether they were removed is not known. Nor since that monarch's death have any tidings been heard of them.

worse,—if worse can be; and the king, who has seen the bad course which his son has taken for these two years past, has vainly tried to remedy it; till, finding himself unable to exercise any control over the hair-brained young man, he has been forced to this expedient.”¹⁴

Now, in the judgment of a grand-inquisitor, it would probably be thought that heresy, or any leaning to heresy, was a crime of even a deeper dye than parricide. The cardinal's discourse made this impression on the nuncio, who straightway began to cast about for proofs of apostasy in Don Carlos. The Tuscan minister also notices, in his letters, the suspicions that Carlos was not a good Catholic.¹⁵ A confirmation of this view of the matter may be gathered from the remarks of Pius the Fifth on Philip's letter in cipher, above noticed. “His holiness,” writes the Spanish ambassador, “greatly lauds the course taken by your majesty; for he feels that the preservation of Christianity depends on your living many years, and on your having a successor who will tread in your footsteps.”¹⁶

But though all this seems to intimate pretty clearly

¹⁴ “Rispose che questo saria el manco, perchè se non fosse stato altro pericolo che della persona del Rè si saria guardata, et rimediato altramente, ma che ci era peggio, si peggio può essere, al che sua Maestà ha cercato per ogni via di rimediare due anni continui, perchè vedeva pigliarli la mala via, ma non ha mai potuto fermare ne regolare questo cervello, fin che è bisognato arrivare a questo.” Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 24. 1568, MS.

¹⁵ “Non lascerò però di dirle,

ch' io ho ritratto et di luogo ragionevole, che si sospetta del Principe di poco Cattolico: et quello, che lo fa credere, è che fin' adesso non li han fatto dir messa.” Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 25. 1698, MS.

¹⁶ “El Papa alaba mucho la determinacion de V. M. porque entiende que la conservacion de la Christiandad depende de que Dios de á V. M. muchos años de vida y que despues tenga tal sucesor que sepa seguir sus pisadas.” Carta de Zuñiga, Junio 25. 1568, MS.

that the religious defection of Carlos was a predominant motive for his imprisonment, it is not easy to believe that a person of his wayward and volatile mind could have formed any settled opinions in matters of faith, or that his position would have allowed the Reformers such access to his person as to have greatly exposed him to the influence of their doctrines. Yet it is quite possible that he may have taken an interest in those political movements abroad, which, in the end, were directed against the Church. I allude to the troubles in the Low Countries, which he is said to have looked upon with no unfriendly eye. It is true, there is no proof of this, so far as I am aware, in the correspondence of the Flemish leaders. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Carlos entered directly into a correspondence with them himself, or indeed committed himself by any overt act in support of the cause.¹⁷ But this was not necessary for his condemnation; it would have been quite enough, that he had felt a sympathy for the distresses of the people. From the residence of Egmont, Bergen, and Montigny at the court, he had obvious means of communication with those nobles, who may naturally have sought to interest him in behalf of their countrymen. The sympathy readily kindled in the ardent bosom of the young prince would be as readily expressed. That he did feel such a sympathy may perhaps be inferred by his strange

¹⁷ Leti has been more fortunate in discovering a letter from Don Carlos to Count Egmont, found among the papers of that nobleman at the time of his arrest. (*Vita di Filippo II.*, tom. i. p. 543.) The

historian is too discreet to vouch for the authenticity of the document, which indeed would require a better voucher than Leti to obtain our confidence.

conduct to Alva, on the eve of his departure for the Netherlands. But the people of that country were regarded at Madrid as in actual rebellion against the crown. The reformed doctrines which they avowed gave to the movement the character of a religious revolution. For a Spaniard to countenance it in any way was at once to prove himself false both to his sovereign and his faith. In such a light, we may be quite sure, it would be viewed both by Philip and his minister, the grand-inquisitor. Nor would it be thought any palliation of the crime, that the offender was heir to the monarchy.¹⁸

As to a design on his father's life, Philip, both in his foreign despatches and in the communications made by his order to the resident ministers at Madrid, wholly acquitted Carlos of so horrible a charge.¹⁹ If it had any foundation in truth, one might suppose that Philip, instead of denying, would have paraded it, as furnishing an obvious apology for subjecting him to so rigorous a confinement. It is certain, if Carlos had really entertained so monstrous a design, he might easily have found an opportunity to execute it. That Philip would have been silent in respect to his son's sympathy with the Netherlands may well be believed. The great champion of Catholicism

¹⁸ De Castro labors hard to prove that Don Carlos was a Protestant. If he fails to establish the fact, he must be allowed to have shown that the prince's conduct was such as to suggest great doubts of his orthodoxy, among those who approached the nearest to him. See *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 319. et seq.

¹⁹ "Sua Maestà ha dato ordine, che nelle lettere, che si scrivono a tutti li Prencipi et Regni, si dica, che la voce ch' è uscita ch' 'l Prencipe havesse cercato di offendere la Real persona sua propria è falsa, et questo medesimo fa dire a bocca da Ruy Gomez all' Imbasciatori." Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 27, 1568. MS.

would naturally shrink from publishing to the world that the taint of heresy infected his own blood.

But, whatever may have been the motives which determined the conduct of Philip, one cannot but suspect that a deep-rooted aversion to his son lay at the bottom of them. The dissimilarity of their natures placed the two parties, from the first, in false relations to each other. The heedless excesses of youth were regarded with a pitiless eye by the parent, who, in his own indulgences, at least did not throw aside the veil of decorum. The fiery temper of Carlos, irritated by a long-continued system of distrust, exclusion, and *espionage*, at length broke out into such senseless extravagances as belong to the debatable ground of insanity. And this ground afforded, as already intimated, a plausible footing to the father for proceeding to extremities against the son.

Whatever were the offences of Carlos, those who had the best opportunities for observation soon became satisfied that it was intended never to allow him to regain his liberty, or to ascend the throne of his ancestors.²⁰ On the second of March, a code of regulations was prepared by Philip relative to the treatment of the prince, which may give some idea of the rigor of his confinement. He was given in especial charge to Ruy Gomez, who was placed at the head of the establishment; and it was from him that every person employed about Carlos was to receive his commission. Six other nobles were appointed both to guard the prince and render him service.

²⁰ "Si tien per fermo che privaranno il Prencipe della successione, et non lo liberaranno mai."

Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio 14. 1568. MS.

Two of the number were to remain in his apartment every night,—the one watching, while the other slept; reminding us of an ingenious punishment among the Chinese, where a criminal is obliged to be everywhere followed by an attendant, whose business it is to keep an unceasing watch upon the offender, that, wherever he turns, he may still find the same eye riveted upon him!

During the day, it was the duty of these nobles to remain with Carlos and lighten by their conversation the gloom of his captivity. But they were not to talk on matters relating to the government, above all to the prince's imprisonment, on which topic, if he addressed them, they were to remain obdurately silent. They were to bring no messages to him, and bear none from him to the world without; and they were to maintain inviolable secrecy in regard to all that passed within the walls of the palace, unless when otherwise permitted by the king. Carlos was provided with a breviary and some other books of devotion; and no works except those of a devotional character were to be allowed him.²¹—This last regulation seems to intimate the existence of certain heretical tendencies in Carlos, which it was necessary to counteract by books of an opposite character,—unless it might be considered as an ominous preparation for his approaching end. Besides the six nobles, no one was allowed to enter the apartment but the prince's physician, his *barbero*, or gentleman of the

²¹ "Para rezarse le diesen las Oras, Breviario i Rosario que pudiese, i libros solamente de buena doctrina i devocion, si quisiese leer y oir." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

chamber, and his valet. The last was taken from the *monteros*, or body-guard of the king.²² There were seven others of this faithful corps who were attached to the establishment, and whose duty it was to bring the dishes for his table to an outer hall, whence they were taken by the *montero* in waiting to the prince's chamber. A guard of twelve halberdiers was also stationed in the passages leading to the apartment, to intercept all communication from without. Every person employed in the service, from the highest noble to the meanest official, made solemn oath, before the prince of Eboli, to conform to the regulations. On this nobleman rested the whole responsibility of enforcing obedience to the rules, and of providing for the security of Carlos. The better to effect this, he was commanded to remove to the palace, where apartments were assigned to him and the princess his wife, adjoining those of his prisoner. The arrangement may have been commended by other considerations to Philip, whose intimacy with the princess I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.²³

The regulations, severe as they were, were executed to the letter. Philip's aunt, the queen of Portugal, wrote in earnest terms to the king, kindly offering

²² The *montero* was one of the body-guard of the king for the night. The right of filling this corps was an ancient privilege accorded to the inhabitants of a certain district named Espinosa de los Monteros. Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, tom. iii. p. 163.

²³ The regulations are given *in extenso* by Cabrera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.), and the rigor with which they were enforced is attested by the concurrent reports of the foreign ministers at the court.

In one respect, however, they seem to have been relaxed, if, as Nobili states, the prince was allowed to recreate himself with the perusal of Spanish law-books, which he may have consulted with reference to his own case. "Hà domandato, che li siano letti li statuti, et le leggi di Spagna: ne' quali spende molto studio. Scrive assai di sua mano, et subito scritto lo straccia." Lettera di Nobili, Giugno 8. 1568. MS.

herself to remain with her grandson in his confinement, and take charge of him like a mother in his affliction.²⁴ "But they were very willing," writes the French minister, "to spare her the trouble."²⁵ The emperor and empress wrote to express the hope that the confinement of Carlos would work an amendment in his conduct, and that he would soon be liberated. Several letters passed between the courts, until Philip closed the correspondence by declaring that his son's marriage with the princess Anne could never take place, and that he would never be liberated.²⁶

Philip's queen, Isabella, and his sister Joanna, who seem to have been deeply afflicted by the course taken with the prince, made ineffectual attempts to be allowed to visit him in his confinement; and when Don John of Austria came to the palace dressed in a mourning suit, to testify his grief on the occasion, Philip coldly rebuked his brother, and ordered him to change his mourning for his ordinary dress.²⁷

Several of the great towns were prepared to send their delegates to condole with the monarch under his affliction. But Philip gave them to understand, that he had only acted for the good of the nation, and that their condolence on the occasion would be superfluous.²⁸ When the deputies of Aragon, Cata-

²⁴ "Per questa causa dunque il Rè et Regina vecchia di quel regno hanno mandato qui un ambasciatore a far offitio col Rè cattolico per il Prencipe, dolersi del caso, offerirsi di venire la Regina propria a governarlo como madre." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2. 1568. MS.

²⁵ Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. ii. p. 141.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 146. 148.

²⁷ "Reyna y Princesa lloran: Don Juan vá cada noche á Palacio, y una fué muy llano, como de luto, y el Rey le rinió, y mandó no andubiesse de aquel modo, sino como solia de antes." Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

²⁸ "Sua Maestà ha fatto intendere a tutte le città del Reyno, che

lonia, and Valencia were on their way to court, with instructions to inquire into the cause of the prince's imprisonment, and to urge his speedy liberation, they received, on the way, so decided an intimation of the royal displeasure, that they thought it prudent to turn back, without venturing to enter the capital.²⁹

In short, it soon came to be understood, that the affair of Don Carlos was a subject not to be talked about. By degrees, it seemed to pass out of men's minds, like a thing of ordinary occurrence. "There is as little said now on the subject of the prince," writes the French ambassador, Fourquevaux, "as if he had been dead these ten years."³⁰ His name, indeed, still kept its place, among those of the royal family, in the prayers said in the churches. But the king prohibited the clergy from alluding to Carlos in their discourses. Nor did any one venture, says the same authority, to criticize the conduct of the king. "So complete is the ascendancy which Philip's wisdom has given him over his subjects, that, willing or un-

non mandino huomini o imbasciator nessuno, ne per dolersi, ne per cerimonia, ne per altro; et pare che habbia a caro, che nessuno gliene parli, et così ogn' uomo tace." Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio 14. 1568. MS.

²⁹ Letter of Fourquevaux, April 13. 1568. ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. ii. p. 143.

A letter of condolence from the municipality of Murcia was conceived in such a loyal and politic vein as was altogether unexceptionable. "We cannot reflect," it says, "without emotion, on our good fortune in having a sovereign so just, and so devoted to the weal

of his subjects, as to sacrifice to this every other consideration, even the tender attachment which he has for his own offspring." This, which might seem irony to some, was received by the king, as it was doubtless intended, in perfect good faith. His indorsement, in his own handwriting, on the cover, shows the style in which he liked to be approached by his loving subjects: "This letter is written with prudence and discretion."—A translation of the letter, dated February 16. 1568, is in Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. iii. p. 161.

³⁰ Letter of Fourquevaux, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

willing, all promptly obey him: and, if they do not love him, they at least appear to do so."³¹

Among the articles removed from the prince's chamber was a coffer, as the reader may remember, containing his private papers. Among these were a number of letters intended for distribution after his departure from the country. One was addressed to his father, in which Carlos avowed that the cause of his flight was the harsh treatment he had experienced from the king.³² Other letters, addressed to different nobles, and to some of the great towns, made a similar statement; and, after reminding them of the oath they had taken to him as successor to the crown, he promised to grant them various immunities when the sceptre should come into his hands.³³ With these papers was also found one of most singular import. It contained a list of all those persons whom he deemed friendly, or inimical to himself. At the head of the former class stood the names of his step-mother, Isabella, and of his uncle Don John of Austria,—both of them noticed in terms of the warmest affection. On the catalogue of his enemies, "to be pursued to the death," were the names of the king, his father, the prince and princess of Eboli, Cardinal Espinosa, the duke of Alva, and others.³⁴—Such is the strange account of the contents of the coffer given to his court

³¹ Ibid., ubi supra.

³² "Quella per il Rè conteneva specificatamente molti agravii, che in molti anni pretendi, che li siano statti fatti da Sua Maestà, et diceva ch' egli se n' andava fuori delli suoi Regni per no poter sopportare tanti agravii, che li faceva." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2. 1568. MS.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ "Vi è ancora una lista, dove scriveva di sua mano gli amici, et li nemici suoi, li quali diceva li avere a perseguitare sempre fino alla morte, tra li quali il primo era scritto il Rè suo padre, di poi Rui Gomez et la moglie, il Presidente, il Duca d'Alba, et certi altri." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2. 1568. MS.

by the papal nuncio. These papers, we are told, were submitted to the judges who conducted the process, and formed, doubtless, an important part of the testimony against the prince. It may have been from one of the parties concerned that the nuncio gathered his information. Yet no member of that tribunal would have ventured to disclose its secrets without authority from Philip; who may possibly have consented to the publication of facts that would serve to vindicate his course. If these facts are faithfully reported, they must be allowed to furnish some evidence of a disordered mind in Carlos.

The king, meanwhile, was scarcely less a prisoner than his son; for, from the time of the prince's arrest, he had never left the palace, even to visit his favorite residences of Aranjuez and the Pardo; nor had he passed a single day in the occupation, in which he took such delight, of watching the rising glories of the Escorial. He seemed to be constantly haunted by the apprehension of some outbreak among the people, or at least among the partisans of Carlos, to effect his escape; and when he heard any unusual noise in the palace, says his historian, he would go to the window, to see if the tumult were not occasioned by an attempt to release the prisoner.³⁵ There was little cause for apprehension in regard to a people so well disciplined to obedience as the Castilians under Philip the Second. But it is an ominous circumstance for a prisoner,

³⁵ "No salio el Rey de Madrid, ni aun a Aranjuez, ni a San Lorenzo a ver su fabrica, tan atento al negocio del Principe estaba, i sospechoso a las murmuraciones de sus pueblos fieles i reverentes, que

ruidos extraordinarios en su Palacio le hazian mirar, si eran tumultos para sacar a su Alteza de su camara." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

that he should become the occasion of such apprehension.

Philip, however, was not induced by his fears to mitigate in any degree the rigor of his son's confinement, which produced the effect to have been expected on one of his fiery, ungovernable temper. At first he was thrown into a state bordering on frenzy, and, it is said, more than once tried to make away with himself. As he found that thus to beat against the bars of his prison-house was only to add to his distresses, he resigned himself in sullen silence to his fate,—the sullenness of despair. In his indifference to all around him, he ceased to take an interest in his own spiritual concerns. Far from using the religious books in his possession, he would attend to no act of devotion, refusing even to confess, or to admit his confessor into his presence.³⁶ These signs of fatal indifference, if not of positive defection from the Faith, gave great alarm to Philip, who would not willingly see the soul thus perish with the body.³⁷ In this emergency he employed Suarez, the prince's almoner, who once had some influence over his master, to address him a letter of expostulation. The letter has been preserved, and is too remarkable to be passed by in silence.

Suarez begins with reminding Carlos that his rash conduct had left him without partisans or friends.

³⁶ "Onde fù chiamato il confessore et il medico, ma egli seguitando nella sua disperatione non volve ascoltare nè l'unno nè l'altro." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

My copy of this letter, perhaps through the inadvertence of the transcriber, is without date.

³⁷ "Ne volendo in alcun modo curare nè il corpo nè l'anima, la qual cosa faceva stare il Rè et gli altri con molto dispiacere, vedendoli massima di continuo crescere il male, et mancar la virtù." Ibid.

The effect of his present course, instead of mending his condition, could only serve to make it worse. "What will the world say," continues the ecclesiastic, "when it shall learn that you now refuse to confess; when, too, it shall discover other dreadful things of which you have been guilty, some of which are of such a nature, that, did they concern any other than your highness, *the Holy Office would be led to inquire whether the author of them were in truth a Christian?*"³⁸ It is in the bitterness and anguish of my heart that I must declare to your highness, that you are not only in danger of forfeiting your worldly estate, but, what is worse, your own soul." And he concludes by imploring Carlos, as the only remedy, to return to his obedience to God, and to the king, who is his representative on earth.

But the admonitions of the honest almoner had as little effect on the unhappy youth as the prayers of his attendants. The mental excitement under which he labored, combined with the want of air and exercise, produced its natural effect on his health. Every day he became more and more emaciated; while the fever which had so long preyed on his constitution now burned in his veins with greater fury than ever. To allay the intolerable heat, he resorted to such desperate expedients as seemed to intimate, says the Papal nuncio, that, if debarred from laying violent hands on himself, he would accomplish the same end in a slower way, but not less sure. He deluged the

³⁸ "Vea V. A. que harán y dirán todos quando se entienda que no se confiesa, y se vayan descubriendo otras cosas terribles, que le son tanto, que llegan á que el

Santo Oficio tuviera mucha entrada en otro para saber si era cristiano ó no." Carta de Hernan Suarez de Toledo al Príncipe, Marzo 18. 1568. MS.

floor with water, not a little to the inconvenience of the companions of his prison, and walked about for hours, half naked, with bare feet, on the cold pavement.³⁹ He caused a warming-pan filled with ice and snow to be introduced several times in a night into his bed, and let it remain there for hours together.⁴⁰ As if this were not enough, he would gulp down such draughts of snow-water as distance any achievement on record in the annals of hydropathy. He pursued the same mad course in respect to what he ate. He would abstain from food an incredible number of days⁴¹, and then, indulging in proportion to his former abstinence, would devour a pastry of four partridges, with all the paste, at a sitting, washing it down with three gallons or more of iced water!⁴²

³⁹ "Spogliarsi nudo, et solo con una robba di taffetà su le carni star quasi di continuo ad una finestra, dove tirava vento, camminare con li piedi discalzi per la camara que tuttavia faceva stare adacquata tanto che sempre ci era l'acqua per tutto." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

⁴⁰ "Farsi raffreddare ogni notte due o tre volti il letto con uno scaldaleto pieno di neve, et tenerlo le notte intiere nel letto." Ibid.

⁴¹ Three days, according to one authority. (Lettera di Nobili di 30. di Luglio, 1568. MS.) Another swells the number to nine days (Carta de Gomez Manrique, MS.); and a third—one of Philip's cabinet ministers—has the assurance to prolong the prince's fast to eleven days, in which he allows him, however, an unlimited quantity of cold water. "Ansi se determinó de no comer y en esta determinación pasaron onze dias sin que bastasen persuasiones ni otras diligencias á

que tomase cosa bevida ni que fuese para salud sino agua fria." Carta de Francisco de Erasso, MS.

⁴² "Doppo essere stato tre giorni senza mangiare molto fantastico et bizzaro mangiò un pasticcio freddo di quatri perdici con tutta la pasta: et il medesimo giorno bevve trecento once d'acqua fredda." Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30. 1568. MS.

Yet Carlos might have found warrant for his proceedings, in regard to the use of snow and iced water, in the prescriptions of more than one doctor of his time. De Castro—who displays much ingenuity, and a careful study of authorities, in his discussion of this portion of Philip's history—quotes the writings of two of these worthies, one of whom tells us, that the use of snow had increased to such an extent, that not only was it recommended to patients in their drink, but also to cool their sheets; and he forthwith prescribes a warming-

No constitution could long withstand such violent assaults as these. The constitution of Carlos gradually sank under them. His stomach, debilitated by long inaction, refused to perform the extraordinary tasks that were imposed on it. He was attacked by incessant vomiting; dysentery set in; and his strength rapidly failed. The physician, Olivares, who alone saw the patient, consulted with his brethren in the apartments of Ruy Gomez.⁴³ Their remedies failed to restore the exhausted energies of nature; and it was soon evident that the days of Carlos were numbered.

To no one could such an announcement have given less concern than to Carlos; for he had impatiently looked to death as to his release. From this hour he seemed to discard all earthly troubles from his mind, as he fixed his thoughts steadfastly on the future. At his own request, his confessor, Chavres, and Suarez, his almoner, were summoned, and assisted him with their spiritual consolations. The closing scenes are recorded by the pen of the nuncio.

"Suddenly a wonderful change seemed to be wrought by divine grace in the heart of the prince. Instead of vain and empty talk, his language became that of a sensible man. He sent for his confessor, devoutly confessed, and, as his illness was such that he could not receive the host, he humbly adored it; showing throughout great contrition, and, though not refusing the proffered remedies, manifesting such con-

pan, to be used in the same way as it was by Carlos. *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 370.

⁴³ "Visitabale el Doctor Olivares Protomedico i salia a consultar con

sus compañeros en presencia de Rui Gomez de Silva la curacion, curso i accidentes de la enfermedad." Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo*, lib. vii. cap. 22:

tempt for the things of this world, and such a longing for heaven, that one would have said, God had reserved for this hour the sum of all his grace.”⁴⁴

He seemed to feel an assurance that he was to survive till the vigil of St. James, the patron saint of his country. When told that this would be four days later, he said, “So long will my misery endure.”⁴⁵ He would willingly have seen his father once more before his death. But his confessor, it is said, dissuaded the monarch, on the ground that Carlos was now in so happy a frame of mind, that it were better not to disturb it by drawing off his attention to worldly objects. Philip, however, took the occasion, when Carlos lay asleep or insensible, to enter the chamber; and, stealing softly behind the prince of Eboli and the grand-prior, Antonio de Toledo, he stretched out his hand towards the bed, and, making the sign of the cross, gave the parting benediction to his dying son.⁴⁶

Nor was Carlos allowed the society of his amiable step-mother, the queen, nor of his aunt Joanna, to sweeten by their kind attentions the bitterness of death.⁴⁷ It was his sad fate to die, as he had lived

⁴⁴ “Mostrando molta contritione, et se bene si lassava curare il corpo per non causarsi egli stesso la morte, mostrava però tanto disprezzo delle cose del mondo, et tanto desiderio delle celesti; che pareva veramente che Nostro Signore Dio gli avesse riserbato il cumulo di tutti le gratie à quel ponto.” Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

⁴⁵ “Tanto hanno da durare le mie miserie.” Ibid.

⁴⁶ “And so,” says Cabrera, somewhat bluntly, “the king withdrew to his apartment with more sorrow in his heart, and less care.”

—“Algunas oras antes de su fallecimiento, por entre los onbros del Prior don Antonio i de Rui Gomez le echò su bendicion, si se recogió en su camara cõ mas dolor i menos cuidado.” Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

⁴⁷ “Il Rè non l’ha visitato, ne lassato che la Regina ne la Principessa lo veggiano, forse considerando che poi che già si conosceva disperato il caso suo, queste visite simili poterono più presto conturbare l’una at l’altra delle parti, che aiutarli in cosa nessuna.” Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

throughout his confinement, under the cold gaze of his enemies. Yet he died at peace with all; and some of the last words that he uttered were to forgive his father for his imprisonment, and the ministers — naming Ruy Gomez and Espinosa in particular — who advised him to it.⁴⁸

Carlos now grew rapidly more feeble, having scarce strength enough left to listen to the exhortations of his confessor, and with low, indistinct murmurings to adore the crucifix which he held constantly in his hand. On the twenty-fourth of July, soon after midnight, he was told it was the Vigil of St. James. Then suddenly rousing, with a gleam of joy on his countenance, he intimated his desire for his confessor to place the holy taper in his hand: and feebly beating his breast, as if to invoke the mercy of Heaven on his transgressions, he fell back, and expired without a groan.⁴⁹ — “No Catholic,” says Nobili, “ever made a more Catholic end.”⁵⁰

Such is the account given us of the last hours of this most unfortunate prince, by the papal nuncio and the Tuscan minister, and repeated, with slight discrepancies, by most of the Castilian writers of that and the following age.⁵¹ It is a singular circumstance, that,

⁴⁸ “Il Principe di Spagna avante la morte diceva, che perdonava a tutti, et nominatamente al Padre, che l' haveva carcerato, et a Ruy Gomez, cardinal Presidente, Dottor Velasco, et altri, per lo consiglio de' quali credeva essere stato preso.” Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28. 1568. MS.

⁴⁹ “Et battendosi il petto come poteva, essendoli mancata la virtù a poco a poco, ritirandosi la vita quasi da membro in membro espirò con molta tranquillità et costanza.” Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

⁵⁰ “Et testificano quelli, che vi si trovano che Christiano nessuno può morir più cattolicamente, ne in maggior sentimento di lui.” Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30. 1568. MS.

⁵¹ See, among others, Quintana, *Historia de la Antiguèdad Nobleza y Grandeza de la Villa y Corte de Madrid* (1629), fol. 368.; Colmenares, *Historia de la Insigne Ciudad de Segovia* (Madrid, 1640) cap. 43.; Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid* MS.; Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo* lib. viii. cap. 5.; Herrera, *Historia General*, lib. xv. cap. 3.; Carta de

although we have such full reports, both of what preceded and what followed the death of Carlos, from the French Ambassador, the portion of his correspondence which embraces his death has been withdrawn, whether by accident or design, from the archives.⁶² But probably no one without the walls of the palace had access to better sources of information than the two ministers first mentioned, especially the papal nuncio. Their intelligence may well have been derived from some who had been about the person of Carlos. If so, it could not have been communicated without the approbation of Philip, who may have been willing that the world should understand that his son had died true to the Faith.

A very different account of the end of Carlos is given by Llorente. And as this writer, the secretary of the Inquisition, had access to very important materials; and as his account, though somewhat prolix, is altogether remarkable, I cannot pass it by in silence.

According to Llorente, the process already noticed as having been instituted against Carlos was brought to a close only a short time before his death. No notice of it, during all this time, had been given to the prisoner, and no counsel was employed in his behalf. By the ninth of July the affair was sufficiently ad-

Francisco de Erasso, MS.; Carta de Gomez Manrique, MS.

⁶² Raumer, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 147.

Von Raumer has devoted some fifty pages of his fragmentary compilation to the story of Don Carlos, and more especially to the closing scenes of his life. The sources are of the most unexceptionable kind, being chiefly the correspondence of the French ministers with their court, existing among the MSS. in

the Royal Library at Paris. The selections made are pertinent in their character, and will be found of the greatest importance to illustrate this dark passage in the history of the time. If I have not arrived at the same conclusions in all respects as those of the illustrious German scholar, it may be that my judgment has been modified by the wider range of materials at my command.

vanced for a "summary judgment." It resulted from the evidence, that the accused was guilty of treason in both the first and second degree, — as having endeavored to compass the death of the king, his father, and as having conspired to usurp the sovereignty of Flanders. The counsellor Muñatones, in his report, which he laid before the king, while he stated that the penalty imposed by the law on every other subject for these crimes was death, added, that his majesty, by his sovereign authority, might decide that the heir apparent was placed by his rank above the reach of ordinary laws. And it was further in his power to mitigate or dispense with any penalty whatever, when he considered it for the good of his subjects. — In this judgment both the ministers, Ruy Gomez and Espinosa, declared their concurrence.

To this the king replied, that, though his feelings moved him to follow the suggestion of his ministers, his conscience would not permit it. He could not think that he should consult the good of his people by placing over them a monarch so vicious in his disposition, and so fierce and sanguinary in his temper, as Carlos. However agonizing it might be to his feelings as a father, he must allow the law to take its course. Yet, after all, he said, it might not be necessary to proceed to this extremity. The prince's health was in so critical a state, that it was only necessary to relax the precautions in regard to his diet, and his excesses would soon conduct him to the tomb! One point only was essential, that he should be so well advised of his situation that he should be willing to confess, and make his peace with Heaven before he died. This was the greatest proof of love

which he could give to his son and to the Spanish nation.

Ruy Gomez and Espinosa both of them inferred from this singular ebullition of parental tenderness, that they could not further the real intentions of the king better than by expediting as much as possible the death of Carlos. Ruy Gomez accordingly communicated his views to Olivares, the prince's physician. This he did in such ambiguous and mysterious phrase as, while it intimated his meaning, might serve to veil the enormity of the crime from the eyes of the party who was to perpetrate it. No man was more competent to this delicate task than the prince of Eboli, bred from his youth in courts, and trained to a life of dissimulation. Olivares readily comprehended the drift of his discourse, — that the thing required of him was to dispose of the prisoner, in such a way that his death should appear natural, and that the honor of the king should not be compromised. He raised no scruples, but readily signified his willingness faithfully to execute the will of his sovereign. Under these circumstances, on the twentieth of July, a purgative dose was administered to the unsuspecting patient, who, as may be imagined, rapidly grew worse. It was a consolation to his father, that, when advised of his danger, Carlos consented to receive his confessor. Thus, though the body perished, the soul was saved.⁵³

Such is the extraordinary account given us by Llorente, which, if true, would at once settle the question in regard to the death of Carlos. But

⁵³ Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. iii. p. 171. et seq.

Llorente, with a disingenuousness altogether unworthy of an historian in a matter of so grave import, has given us no knowledge of the sources whence his information was derived. He simply says, that they are "certain secret memoirs of the time, full of curious anecdote, which, though not possessing precisely the character of authenticity, are nevertheless entitled to credit, as coming from persons employed in the palace of the king!"⁵⁴ Had the writer condescended to acquaint us with the names, or some particulars of the characters, of his authors, we might have been able to form some estimate of the value of their testimony. His omission to do this may lead us to infer, that he had not perfect confidence in it himself. At all events, it compels us to trust the matter entirely to his own discretion, a virtue which those familiar with his inaccuracies in other matters will not be disposed to concede to him in a very eminent degree.⁵⁵

His narrative, moreover, is in direct contradiction to the authorities I have already noticed, especially to the two foreign ministers so often quoted, who, with the advantages—not a few—that they possessed for obtaining correct information, were indefatigable

⁵⁴ "Quoique ces documens ne soient pas authentiques, ils méritent qu'on y ajoute foi, en ce qu'ils sont de certaines personnes employés dans le palais du roi." *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Thus, for example, he makes the contradictory statements, at the distance of four pages from each other, that the prince did, and that he did not, confide to Don John his desire to kill his father (pp. 148. 152.). The fact is, that Llorente in a manner pledged himself to

solve the mystery of the prince's death, by announcing to his readers, at the outset, that "he believed he had discovered the truth." One fact he must be allowed to have established,—one which, as secretary of the Inquisition, he had the means of verifying,—namely, that no process was ever instituted against Carlos by the Holy Office. This was to overturn a vulgar error, on which more than one writer of fiction has built his story.

in collecting it. "I say nothing," writes the Tuscan envoy, alluding to the idle rumors of the town, "of gossip unworthy to be listened to. It is a hard thing to satisfy the populace. It is best to stick to the truth, without caring for the opinions of those who talk wildly of improbable matters, which have their origin in ignorance and malice."⁵⁶

Still it cannot be denied, that suspicions of foul play to Carlos were not only current abroad, but were entertained by persons of higher rank than the populace at home,—where it could not be safe to utter them. Among others, the celebrated Antonio Perez, one of the household of the prince of Eboli, informs us, that, "as the king had found Carlos guilty, he was condemned to death by casuists and inquisitors. But in order that the execution of this sentence might not be brought too palpably before the public, they mixed for four months together a slow poison in his food."⁵⁷

This statement agrees, to a certain extent, with that of a noble Venetian, Pietro Giustiniani, then in Castile, who assured the historian De Thou, that, "Philip, having determined on the death of his son, obtained a sentence to that effect from a lawful judge. But in order to save the honor of the sovereign, the sentence was executed in secret, and Carlos was made

⁵⁶ "Le cicalerie, et novellacce, che si dicono, sono molto indigne d'essere ascoltate, non che scritte, perchè in vero il satisfar al popollaccio in queste simil cose è molto difficile; et meglio è farle, siccome porta il giusto et l'honesto senza curarsi del giudicio d' huomini insani, et che parlono senza ragione

di cose impertinenti et impossibili di autori incerti, dappochi, et maligni." Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30. 1568, MS.

⁵⁷ Letter of Antonio Perez to the counsellor Du Vair, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 153.

to swallow some poisoned broth, of which he died some hours afterwards."⁵⁸

Some of the particulars mentioned by Antonio Perez may be thought to receive confirmation from an account given by the French minister, Fourquevaux, in a letter dated about a month after the prince's arrest. "The prince," he says, "becomes visibly thinner and more dried up; and his eyes are sunk in his head. They give him sometimes strong soups and capon broths, in which amber and other nourishing things are dissolved, that he may not wholly lose his strength and fall into decrepitude. These soups are prepared privately in the chamber of Ruy Gomez, through which one passes into that of the prince."

It was not to be expected that a Castilian writer should have the temerity to assert that the death of Carlos was brought about by violence. Yet Cabrera, the best informed historian of the period, who, in his boyhood, had frequent access to the house of Ruy Gomez, and even to the royal palace, while he describes the excesses of Carlos as the cause of his untimely end, makes some mysterious intimations, which, without any forced construction, seem to point to the agency of others in bringing about that event.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ "Mais afin de sauver l'honneur du sang royal, l'arrêt fut exécuté en secret, et on lui fit avaler un bouillon empoisoné, dont il mourut quelques heures après, au commencement de sa vingt-troisième année." De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, tom. v. p. 436.

⁵⁹ "Mas es peligroso manejar vidrios, i dar ocasion de tragedias famosas, acaecimientos notables, violentas muertes por los secretos e executores Reales no sabidas, i por

inesperadas terribles, i por la estrañeza i rigor de justicia, despues de largas advertencias a los que no cuidando dellas incurrieron en crimen de lesa Magestad." Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo*, lib. vii. cap. 22.

The admirable obscurity of the passage, in which the historian has perfectly succeeded in mystifying his critics, has naturally led them to suppose that more was meant by him than meets the eye.

Strada, the best informed, on the whole, of the foreign writers of the period, and who, as a foreigner, had not the same motives for silence as a Spaniard, qualifies his account of the prince's death as having taken place in the natural way, by saying, "if indeed he did not perish by violence."⁶⁰—The prince of Orange, in his bold denunciation of Philip, does not hesitate to proclaim him the murderer of his son.⁶¹ And that inquisitive gossip-monger, Brantôme, amidst the bitter jests and epigrams which, he tells us, his countrymen levelled at Philip for his part in this transaction, quotes the authority of a Spaniard of rank for the assertion that, after Carlos had been condemned by his father,—in opposition to the voice of his council,—the prince was found dead in his chamber, smothered with a towel!⁶² Indeed, the various modes of death assigned to him are sufficient evidence of the uncertainty as to any one of them.⁶³ A writer of more recent date does not scruple to assert, that the only liberty granted to Carlos was that of selecting the manner of his death out of several

⁶⁰ "Ex morbo ob alimenta partim obstinatè recusata, partim intemperanter adgesta, nimiamque nivium refrigerationem, super animi ægritudinem (*si modò vis abfuit*), in Divi Jacobi pervigilio extinctus est." Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 378.

⁶¹ *Apologie*, ap. Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. v. par. 1. p. 389.

⁶² "Parquoy le roi conclud sur ses raisons que le meilleur estoit de le faire mourir ; dont un matin on le trouva en prison estouffé d'un linge." Brantôme, *Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 320.

A taste for jesting on this subject seems to have been still in fashion at the French court as late

as Louis the Fourteenth's time. At least, we find that monarch telling some one that "he had sent Bussy Rabutin to the Bastille for his own benefit, as Philip the Second said when he ordered his son to be strangled." *Lettres de Madame de Sevigné* (Paris, 1822), tom. viii. p. 368.

⁶³ A French contemporary chronicler dismisses his account of the death of Carlos with the remark, that, of all the passages in the history of this reign, the fate of the young prince is the one involved in the most impenetrable mystery. *Matthieu, Breve Compendio de la Vida Privada de Felipe Segundo* (Span. trans.), MS.

kinds that were proposed to him⁶⁴;—an incident which has since found a more suitable place in one of the many dramas that have sprung from his mysterious story.

In all this the historian must admit there is but little evidence of positive value. The authors — with the exception of Antonio Perez, who had his account, he tells us, from the prince of Eboli — are by no means likely to have had access to sure sources of information; while their statements are contradictory to one another, and stand in direct opposition to those of the Tuscan minister and of the nuncio, the latter of whom had, probably, better knowledge of what was passing in the councils of the monarch, than any other of the diplomatic body. Even the declaration of Antonio Perez, so important on many accounts, is to a considerable degree neutralized by the fact, that he was the mortal enemy of Philip, writing in exile, with a price set upon his head by the man whose character he was assailing. It is the hard fate of a person so situated, that even truth from his lips fails to carry with it conviction.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The Abbé San Real finds himself unable to decide whether Carlos took poison, or, like Seneca, had his veins opened in a warm bath, or, finally, whether he was strangled with a silk cord by four slaves sent by his father to do the deed, in Oriental fashion. (*Verdadera, Historia de la Vida y Muerte del Príncipe Don Carlos*, Span. trans., MS.) The doubts of San Real are echoed with formal solemnity by Leti, *Vita di Filippo II.*, tom. i. p. 559.

⁶⁵ Von Raumer, who has given an analysis of this letter of Antonio Perez, treats it lightly, as com-

ing from "a double-dealing, bitter enemy of Philip," whose word on such a subject was of little value. (*Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 155.) It was certainly a singular proof of confidence in one who was so habitually close in his concerns as the prince of Eboli, that he should have made such a communication to Perez. Yet it must be admitted that the narrative derives some confirmation from the fact, that the preceding portions of the letter containing it, in which the writer describes the arrest of Carlos, conform with the

If we reject his explanation of the matter, we shall find ourselves again thrown on the sea of conjecture, and may be led to account for the rumors of violence on the part of Philip by the mystery in which the whole of the proceedings was involved, and the popular notion of the character of the monarch who directed them. The same suspicious circumstances must have their influence on the historian of the present day, as with insufficient, though more ample light than was enjoyed by contemporaries, he painfully endeavors to grope his way through this obscure passage in the life of Philip. Many reflections of ominous import naturally press upon his mind. From the first hour of the prince's confinement it was determined, as we have seen, that he was never to be released from it. Yet the preparations for keeping him a prisoner were on so extraordinary a scale, and imposed such a burden on men of the highest rank in the kingdom, as seemed to argue that his confinement was not to be long. It is a common saying,—as old as Machiavelli,—that to a deposed prince the distance is not great from the throne to the grave. Carlos, indeed, had never worn a crown. But there seemed to be the same reasons as if he had, for abridging the term of his imprisonment. All around the prince regarded him with distrust. The king, his

authentic account of that event as given in the text.

It is worthy of notice, that both De Thou and Llorente concur with Perez in alleging poison as the cause of the prince's death. Though even here there is an important discrepancy; Perez asserting it was a slow poison, taking four months to work its effect,

while the other authorities say that its operation was immediate. Their general agreement, moreover, in regard to the employment of poison, is of the less weight, as such an agency would be the one naturally surmised under circumstances where it would be desirable to leave no trace of violence on the body of the victim.

father, appeared to live, as we have seen, in greater apprehension of him after his confinement, than before.⁶⁶ "The ministers, whom Carlos hated," says the nuncio, "knew well that it would be their ruin, should he ever ascend the throne."⁶⁷ Thus, while the fears and the interests of all seemed to tend to his removal, we find nothing in the character of Philip to counteract the tendency. For when was he ever known to relax his grasp on the victim once within his power, or to betray any feeling of compunction as to sweeping away an obstacle from his path? One has only to call to mind the long confinement, ending with the midnight execution, of Montigny, the open assassination of the prince of Orange, the secret assassination of the secretary Escovedo, the unrelenting persecution of Perez, his agent in that murder, and his repeated attempts to despatch him also by the hand of the bravo. These are passages in the history of Philip which yet remain to be presented to the reader, and the knowledge of which is necessary before we can penetrate into the depths of his dark and unscrupulous character.

If it be thought that there is a wide difference between these deeds of violence and the murder of a son, we must remember that, in affairs of religion, Philip acted avowedly on the principle, that the end justifies the means; that one of the crimes charged

⁶⁶ If we may take Brantôme's word, there was some ground for such apprehension at all times. "En fin il estoit un terrible masle; et s'il eust vescu, assurez-vous qu'il s'en fust faict acroire, et qu'il eust mis le pere en curatelle." Œuvres, tom. i. p. 323.

⁶⁷ "Li più favoriti del Rè erano odiati da lui a morte, et adesso tanto più, et quando questo venisse a regnare si teneriano rovinati loro." Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio, 14. 1568, MS.

upon Carlos was defection from the faith; and that Philip had once replied to the piteous appeal of a heretic whom they were dragging to the stake, "Were my son such a wretch as thou art, I would myself carry the fagots to burn him!"⁶⁸

But in whatever light we are to regard the death of Carlos,—whether as caused by violence, or by those insane excesses in which he was allowed to plunge during his confinement,—in either event the responsibility, to a great extent, must be allowed to rest on Philip, who, if he did not directly employ the hand of the assassin to take the life of his son, yet by his rigorous treatment drove that son to a state of desperation that brought about the same fatal result.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ante, vol. i. p. 433.

It is in this view that Dr. Salazar de Mendoza does not shrink from asserting, that, if Philip did make a sacrifice of his son, it rivalled in sublimity that of Isaac by Abraham, and even that of Jesus Christ by the Almighty! "Han dicho de él lo que del Padre Eterno, que no perdonó á su propio Hijo. Lo que del Patriarca Abraham en el sacrificio de Isaac su unigénito. A todo caso humano excede la gloria que de esto le resulta, y no hay con quien comparalla." (Dignidades de Castilla y Leon, p. 417.) He closes this rare piece of courtly blasphemy by assuring us that in point of fact Carlos died a natural death. The doctor wrote in the early part of Philip the Third's reign, when the manner of the prince's death was delicate ground for the historian.

⁶⁹ Philip the Second is not the only Spanish monarch who has been charged with the murder of his son. Leovogild, a Visigothic king of the sixth century, having taken prisoner his rebel son, threw him into a dungeon, where he was

secretly put to death. The king was an Arian, while the young prince was a Catholic, and might have saved his life if he had been content to abjure his religion. By the Church of Rome, therefore, he was regarded as a martyr; and it is a curious circumstance that it was Philip the Second who procured the canonization of the slaughtered Hermenegild from Pope Sixtus the Fifth.

For the story, taken from that voluminous compilation of Florez, "*La España Sagrada*," I am indebted to Milman's History of Latin Christianity (London, 1854, vol. i. p. 446), one of the remarkable works of the present age, in which the author reviews, with curious erudition, and in a profoundly philosophical spirit, the various changes that have taken place in the Roman hierarchy; and while he fully exposes the manifold errors and corruptions of the system, he shows throughout that enlightened charity which is the most precious of Christian graces, as unhappily it is the rarest.

While the prince lay in the agonies of death, scarcely an hour before he breathed his last, a scene of a very different nature was passing in an adjoining gallery of the palace. A quarrel arose there between two courtiers,—one of them a young cavalier, Don Antonio de Leyva, the other Don Diego de Mendoza, a nobleman who had formerly filled, with great distinction, the post of ambassador at Rome. The dispute arose respecting some *coplas*, of which Mendoza claimed to be the author. Though at this time near sixty years old, the fiery temperament of youth had not been cooled by age. Enraged at what he conceived an insult on the part of his companion, he drew his dagger. The other as promptly unsheathed his sword. Thrusts were exchanged between the parties; and the noise of the fracas at length reached the ears of Philip himself. Indignant at the outrage thus perpetrated within the walls of the palace, and at such an hour, he ordered his guards instantly to arrest the offenders. But the combatants, brought to their senses, had succeeded in making their escape, and taken refuge in a neighboring church. Philip was too much incensed to respect this asylum; and an alcalde, by his command, entered the church at midnight, and dragged the offenders from the sanctuary. Leyva was put in irons, and lodged in the fortress of Madrid; while his rival was sent to the tower of Simancas. “It is thought they will pay for this outrage with their lives,” writes the Tuscan minister, Nobili. “The king,” he adds, “has even a mind to cashier his guard for allowing them to escape.” Philip, however, confined the punishment of the nobles to banishment from court; and the old

courtier, Mendoza, profited by his exile to give to the world those remarkable compositions, both in history and romance, that form an epoch in the national literature.⁷⁰

A few days before his death, Carlos is said to have made a will, in which, after imploring his father's pardon and blessing, he commended his servants to his care, gave away a few jewels to two or three friends, and disposed of the rest of his property in behalf of sundry churches and monasteries.⁷¹ Agreeably to his wish, his body was wrapped in a Franciscan robe, and was soon afterward laid in a coffin covered with black velvet and rich brocade. At seven o'clock, that same evening, the remains of Carlos were borne from the chamber where he died, to their place of interment.⁷²

The coffin was supported on the shoulders of the prince of Eboli, the dukes of Infantado and Rio Seco, and other principal grandees. In the court-yard of the palace was a large gathering of the members of the religious fraternities, dignitaries of the church, foreign ambassadors, nobles and cavaliers about the court, and officers of the royal household. There were there also the late attendants of Carlos,—to some of whom he had borne little love,—who, after watching him through his captivity, were now come to conduct him to his final resting-place. Before moving, some wrangling took place among the parties

⁷⁰ Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30. 1568, MS.

⁷¹ I have before me another will made by Don Carlos in 1564, in Alcalá de Henares, the original of which is still extant in the Archives of Simancas. In one item of this

document, he bequeathes five thousand ducats to Don Martin de Córdoba, for his gallant defence of Mazarquivir.

⁷² Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28. 1568, MS.—Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.

on the question of precedence. Such a spirit might well have been rebuked by the solemn character of the business they were engaged in, which might have reminded them, that in the grave, at least, there are no distinctions. But the perilous question was happily settled by Philip himself, who, from an open window of the palace, looked down on the scene, and, with his usual composure, gave directions for forming the procession.⁷³ The king did not accompany it. Slowly it defiled through the crowded streets, where the people gave audible utterance to their grief, as they gazed on the funeral pomp, and their eyes fell on the bier of the prince, who, they had fondly hoped, would one day sway the sceptre of Castile; and whose errors, great as they were, were all forgotten in his unparalleled misfortunes.⁷⁴

The procession moved forward to the convent of San Domingo Real, where Carlos had desired that his ashes might be laid. The burial service was there performed, with great solemnity, in presence of the vast multitude. But whether it was that Philip distrusted the prudence of the preachers, or feared some audacious criticism on his conduct, no discourse was allowed to be delivered from the pulpit. For nine days religious services were performed in honor of the deceased; and the office for the dead continued to be read, morning and evening, before an audience

⁷³ "Partieron con el cuerpo, aviendo el Rey con la entereza de animo que mantuvo sienpre, con-puesto desde una ventana las diferencias de los Consejos disponiendo la precedencia, cesando assi la competencia." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

⁷⁴ The particulars of the ceremony are given by the Nunzio, Lettera di 28. di Luglio, MS.—See also Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.

among whom were the great nobles and the officers of state, clad in full mourning. The queen and the princess Joanna might be seen, on these occasions, mingling their tears with the few who cherished the memory of Carlos. A niche was excavated in the wall of the church, within the choir, in which the prince's remains were deposited. But they did not rest there long. In 1573, they were removed, by Philip's orders, to the Escorial; and in its gloomy chambers they were left to mingle with the kindred dust of the royal line of Austria.⁷⁵

Philip wrote to Zuñiga, his ambassador in Rome, to intimate his wish that no funeral honors should be paid there to the memory of Carlos, that no mourning should be worn, and that his holiness would not feel under the necessity of sending him letters of condolence.⁷⁶ Zuñiga did his best. But he could not prevent the obsequies from being celebrated with the lugubrious pomp suited to the rank of the departed. A catafalque was raised in the church of Saint James; the services were performed in presence of the ambassador and his attendants, who were dressed in the deepest black; and twenty-one cardinals, one of whom was Granvelle, assisted at the solemn ceremonies.⁷⁷ But no funeral panegyric was pronounced, and no monumental inscription recorded the imaginary virtues of the deceased.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, MS.—Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.—Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28. 1568, MS.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

⁷⁶ Carta del Rey á Zuñiga, Agosto 27. 1568, MS.

⁷⁷ "Digo la missa el Cardenal Tarragona, asistiendo á las honras 21 cardenales ademas de los obispos y arzobispos." Aviso de un Italiano plático y familiar de Ruy Gomez de Silva, MS.

⁷⁸ "Oracion funebre," writes the follower of Ruy Gomez, "no la

Soon after the prince's death, Philip retired to the monastery of St. Jerome, in whose cloistered recesses he remained some time longer secreted from the eyes of his subjects. "He feels his loss like a father," writes the papal nuncio, "but he bears it with the patience of a Christian."⁷⁹ He caused despatches to be sent to foreign courts, to acquaint them with his late bereavement. In his letter to the duke of Alva, he indulges in a fuller expression of his personal feelings. "You may conceive," he says, "in what pain and heaviness I find myself, now that it has pleased God to take my dear son, the prince, to himself. He died in a Christian manner, after having, three days before, received the sacrament, and exhibited repentance and contrition,—all which serves to console me under this affliction. For I hope that God has called him to himself, that he may be with him evermore; and that he will grant me his grace, that I may endure this calamity with a Christian heart and patience."⁸⁰

Thus, in the morning of life, at little more than twenty-three years of age, perished Carlos, prince of Asturias. No one of his time came into the world under so brilliant auspices; for he was heir to the noblest empire in Christendom; and the Spaniards, as they discerned in his childhood some of the germs

hubo, pero yo hizo estos epitaphios y versos por mi consolacion." Ibid.

Whatever "consolation" the Latin doggerel which follows in the original may have given to its author, it would have too little interest for the reader to be quoted here.

⁷⁹ "Il Rè como padre ha sentito molto, ma come christiano la

comporta con quella patienza con che dovemo ricevere le tribulationi, che ci manda Nostro Signore Dio." Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 24. 1568, MS.

⁸⁰ Raumer has given an extract from this letter, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 149.

of future greatness in his character, looked confidently forward to the day when he should rival the glory of his grandfather, Charles the Fifth. But he was born under an evil star, which counteracted all the gifts of fortune, and turned them into a curse. His naturally wild and headstrong temper was exasperated by disease; and, when encountered by the distrust and alienation of him who had the control of his destiny, was exalted into a state of frenzy, that furnishes the best apology for his extravagances, and vindicates the necessity of some measures, on the part of his father, to restrain them. Yet can those who reject the imputation of murder acquit that father of inexorable rigor towards his child in the measures which he employed, or of the dreadful responsibility which attaches to the consequences of them?

CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF ISABELLA.

Queen Isabella.—Her Relations with Carlos.—Her Illness and Death.—Her Character.

1568.

THREE months had not elapsed after the young and beautiful queen of Philip the Second had wept over the fate of her unfortunate step-son, when she was herself called upon to follow him to the tomb. The occurrence of these sad events so near together, and the relations of the parties, who had once been designed for each other, suggested the idea that a criminal passion subsisted between them, and that, after her lover's death, Isabella was herself sacrificed to the jealousy of a vindictive husband.

One will in vain look for this tale of horror in the native historians of Castile. Nor does any historian of that day, native or foreign, whom I have consulted, in noticing the rumors of the time, cast a reproach on the fair fame of Isabella; though more than one must be allowed to intimate the existence of the prince's passion for his step-mother.¹ Brantôme tells

¹ Besides Brantôme, and De Thou, elsewhere noticed in this connection, another writer of that age, Pierre Matthieu, the royal his-

us that, when Carlos first saw the queen, "he was so captivated by her charms, that he conceived, from that time, a mortal spite against his father, whom he often reproached for the great wrong he had done him, in ravishing from him this fair prize." "And this," adds the writer, "was said in part to have been the cause of the prince's death; for he could not help loving the queen at the bottom of his soul, as well as honoring and reverencing one who was so truly amiable and deserving of love."² He afterwards gives us to understand that many rumors were afloat in regard to the manner of the queen's death; and tells a story, not very probable, of a Jesuit, who was banished to the farthest Indies, for denouncing, in his pulpit, the wickedness of those who could destroy so innocent a creature.³

A graver authority, the prince of Orange, in his public vindication of his own conduct, openly charges Philip with the murder of both his son and his wife. It is to be noticed, however, that he nowhere intimates that either of the parties was in love with the

toriographer of France, may be thought to insinuate something of the kind, when he tells us that "the circumstance of Isabella so soon following Carlos to the tomb had suggested very different grounds from those he had already given as the cause of his death." (Breve Compendio de la Vida Privada del Rey Felipe Segundo, MS.) But the French writer's account of Philip is nearly as apocryphal as the historical romance of San Real, who, in all that relates to Carlos in particular, will be found largely indebted to the lively imagination of his predecessor.

² "Aussi dit on que cela fut cause de sa mort en partie, avec d'autres subjects que je ne dirai point à ceste heure; car il ne se pouvoit garder de l'aimer dans son ame, l'honorer et reverer, tant il la trouvoit aymable et agreable à ses yeux, comme certes elle l'estoit en tout." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 128.

³ "Luy eschappa de dire que c'avoit esté fait fort meschamment de l'avoir fait mourir et si innocemment, dont il fut banny jusques au plus profond des Indes d'Espagne. Cela est tres que vray, à ce que l'on dit." Ibid., p. 132.

other; and he refers the queen's death to Philip's desire to open the way to a marriage with the Princess Anne of Austria.⁴ Yet these two authorities are the only ones of that day, so far as I am aware, who have given countenance to these startling rumors. Both were foreigners, far removed from the scene of action; one of them a light, garrulous Frenchman, whose amusing pages, teeming with the idle gossip of the court, are often little better than a *Chronique Scandaleuse*; the other, the mortal enemy of Philip, whose character—as the best means of defending his own—he was assailing with the darkest imputations.

No authority, however, beyond that of vulgar rumor, was required by the unscrupulous writers of a later time, who discerned the capabilities of a story like that of Carlos and Isabella, in the situations of romantic interest which it would open to the reader. Improving on this hint, they have filled in the outlines of the picture with the touches of their own fancy; until the interest thus given to this tale of love and woe has made it as widely known as any of the classic myths of early Grecian history.⁵

⁴ Apologie, ap. Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. par. 1. p. 389.

Strada, while he notices the common rumors respecting Carlos and Isabella, dismisses them as wholly unworthy of credit. "Mihi, super id quod incomperta sunt, etiam veris dissimilia videntur." De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 379.

⁵ At the head of these writers must undoubtedly be placed the Abbé San Real, with whose romantic history of Don Carlos I am only acquainted in the Castilian translation, entitled "Verdadera

Historia de la Vida y Muerte del Principe Don Carlos." Yet, romance as it is, more than one grave historian has not disdained to transplant its flowers of fiction into his own barren pages. It is edifying to see the manner in which Leti, who stands not a little indebted to San Real, after stating the scandalous rumors in regard to Carlos and Isabella, concludes by declaring: "Ma come io scrivo historia, e non romanzo, non posso afirmar nulli di certo, perche nulla di certo hò possuto raccorre." Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 560.

Fortunately, we have the power, in this case, of establishing the truth from unsuspecting evidence,—that of Isabella's own countrymen, whose residence at the court of Madrid furnished them with ample means of personal observation. Isabella's mother, the famous Catherine de Medicis, associated with so much that is terrible in our imaginations, had at least the merit of watching over her daughter's interests with the most affectionate solicitude. This did not diminish when, at the age of fifteen, Elizabeth of France left her own land and ascended the throne of Spain. Catherine kept up a constant correspondence with her daughter, sometimes sending her instructions as to her conduct, at other times, medical prescriptions in regard to her health. She was careful also to obtain information respecting Isabella's mode of life from the French ambassadors at the court of Castile; and we may be quite sure that these loyal subjects would have been quick to report any injurious treatment of the queen by her husband.

A candid perusal of their despatches dispels all mystery,—or rather, proves there never was any cause for mystery. The sallow, sickly boy of fourteen—for Carlos was no older at the time of Isabella's marriage—was possessed of too few personal attractions to make it probable that he could have touched the heart of his beautiful step-mother, had she been lightly disposed. But her intercourse with him from the first seems to have been such as naturally arose from the relations of the parties, and from the kindness of her disposition, which led her to feel a sympathy for the personal infirmities and misfortunes of Carlos.