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of the general security and prosperity they had enjoyed under his reign, seem willing to bury his frailties in his grave.⁷⁴ While his own hereditary subjects, exulting with patriotic pride in the glory to which he had raised their petty state, and touched with grateful recollections of his mild, paternal government, deplore his loss in strains of national sorrow, as the last of the revered line, who was to preside over the destinies of Aragon, as a separate and independent kingdom.⁷⁵

testimony to his kingly qualities, in a letter written when the writer had no motive for flattery, after that monarch's death, to Charles V.'s physician. (Opus Epist., epist. 567.) Guicciardini, whose national prejudices did not lie in this scale, comprehends nearly as much in one brief sentence. "Re di eccellentissimo consiglio, e virtù, e nel quale, se fosse stato costante nelle promesse, no potresti facilmente riprendere cosa alcuna." (Istoria, tom. vi. lib. 12, p. 273.) See also Brantôme, (Œuvres, tom. iv. disc. 5.) — Giovio, with scarcely more qualification, Hist. sui Temporis, lib. 16, p. 336. — Navigiero, Viaggio, fol. 27, — et alios.

⁷⁴ "Principe el mas señalado," says the prince of the Castilian historians, in his pithy manner, "en valor y justicia y prudencia que en muchos siglos España tuvo. Tachas á nadie pueden faltar sea por la fragilidad propia, ò por la malicia y envidia agena que combate principalmente los altos lugares. Espejo sin duda por sus grandes virtudes en que todos los Príncipes de España se deben mirar." (Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ix. p. 375, cap. ult.) See also a similar tribute to his deserts, with greater amplification, in Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 20, cap. 24. — Gomez, De Rebus Ges-

tis, fol. 148. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 42. — Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 426 et seq. — et plurimis auct. antiq. et recentibus.

⁷⁵ See the closing chapter of the great Aragonese annalist, who terminates his historic labors with the death of Ferdinand the Catholic. (Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 10, cap. 100.) I will cite only one extract from the profuse panegyrics of the national writers; which attests the veneration in which Ferdinand's memory was held in Aragon. It is from one, whose pen is never prostituted to parasitical or party purposes, and whose judgment is usually as correct, as the expression of it is candid. "Quo plangore ac lamentatione universa civitas complebatur. Neque solùm homines, sed ipsa tecta, et parietes urbis videbantur acerbum illius, qui omnibus charissimus erat, interitum lugere. Et meritò. Erat enim, ut scitis, exemplum prudentiæ ac fortitudinis: summæ in re domesticâ continentiæ: eximiæ in publicâ dignitatis: humanitatis præterea, ac leporis admirabilis.***** Neque eos solùm, sed omnes certè tantâ amplectebatur benevolentia, ut interdum non nobis Rex, sed uniuscujusque nostrùm genitor ac parens videretur. Post ejus interitum omnis nostra juvenus languet, deliciis

plus dedita quàm deceret: nec perinde, ac debuerat, in laudis et gloriæ cupiditate versatur.***** Quid plura? nulla res fuit in usu bene regnandi posita, quæ illius Regis scientiam effugeret.***** Fuit enim eximiâ corporis venustate præditus. Sed pluris facere deberent consiliorum ac virtutum suarum, quam posteris reliquit, effi-

giem: quibus denique factum videmus, ut ab eo usque ad hoc tempus, non solùm nobis, sed Hispaniæ cunctæ, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmarit. Hæc aliaque ejusmodi quotidie à nostris senibus de Catholici Regis memoriâ enarrantur: quæ à rei veritate nequaquam abhorrent." Blancas, Commentarii, p. 276.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

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

CHAPTER XXV

ADMINISTRATION, DEATH, AND CHARACTER, OF CARDINAL
XIMENES.

1516, 1517.

Ximenes Governor of Castile. — Charles proclaimed King. — Ximenes's Domestic Policy. — He intimidates the Nobles. — Public Discontents. — Charles lands in Spain. — His Ingratitude to Ximenes. — The Cardinal's Illness and Death. — His extraordinary Character.

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THE personal history of Ferdinand the Catholic, terminates, of course, with the preceding chapter. In order to bring the history of his reign, however, to a suitable close, it is necessary to continue the narrative through the brief regency of Ximenes, to the period when the government was delivered into the hands of Ferdinand's grandson and successor, Charles the Fifth.

Disputes re-
specting
the regency.

By the testament of the deceased monarch, as we have seen, Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros was appointed sole regent of Castile. He met with opposition, however, from Adrian, the dean of Louvain, who produced powers of similar purport from Prince Charles. Neither party could boast a sufficient warrant for exercising this important trust; the one claiming it by the appointment of an individual, who, acting merely as regent himself, had

certainly no right to name his successor; while the other had only the sanction of a prince, who, at the time of giving it, had no jurisdiction whatever in Castile. The misunderstanding which ensued, was finally settled by an agreement of the parties to share the authority in common, till further instructions should be received from Charles.¹

It was not long before they arrived. They confirmed the cardinal's authority in the fullest manner; while they spoke of Adrian only as an ambassador. They intimated, however, the most entire confidence in the latter; and the two prelates continued as before to administer the government jointly. Ximenes sacrificed nothing by this arrangement; for the tame and quiet temper of Adrian was too much overawed by the bold genius of his partner, to raise any opposition to his measures.²

The first requisition of prince Charles, was one that taxed severely the power and popularity of the new regent. This was to have himself proclaimed king; a measure extremely distasteful to the Castilians, who regarded it not only as contrary to established usage, during the lifetime of his mother, but as an indignity to her. It was in vain that Ximenes and the council remonstrated on the impropriety and impolicy of the measure.³ Charles, fortified

1516.
Feb. 14.

Charles proclaimed king.

¹ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 8. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 18. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 150. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 4, cap. 5. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Ximenes.

² Carbajal has given us Charles's epistle, which is subscribed "El

Principe." He did not venture on the title of king in his correspondence with the Castilians, though he affected it abroad. Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 10.

³ The letter of the council is dated March 14th, 1516. It is recorded by Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 10.

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by his Flemish advisers, sturdily persisted in his purpose. The cardinal, consequently, called a meeting of the prelates and principal nobles in Madrid, to which he had transferred the seat of government, and whose central position and other local advantages made it, from this time forward, with little variation, the regular capital of the kingdom.⁴ The doctor Carbajal prepared a studied and plausible argument in support of the measure.⁵ As it failed, however, to produce conviction in his audience, Ximenes, chafed by the opposition, and probably distrusting its real motives, peremptorily declared, that those who refused to acknowledge Charles as king, in the present state of things, would refuse to obey him when he was so. "I will have him proclaimed in Madrid to-morrow," said he, "and I doubt not every other city in the kingdom will follow the example." He was as good as his word; and the conduct of the capital was imitated, with little opposition, by all the other cities in Castile. Not so in Aragon, whose people were too much attached to their institutions to consent to it, till Charles first made oath in person to respect the laws and liberties of the realm.⁶

⁴ It became permanently so in the following reign of Philip II. *Semanario Erudito*, tom. iii. p. 79.

⁵ Carbajal penetrates into the remotest depths of Spanish history for an authority for Charles's claim. He can find none better, however, than the examples of Alfonso VIII. and Ferdinand III.; the former of whom used force, and the latter obtained the crown by the voluntary cession of his mother. His argument, it is clear,

rests much stronger on expediency, than precedent. *Anales*, MS., año 1516, cap. 11.

⁶ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 151 et seq. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1516, cap. 9–11. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 2, cap. 2. — Dormer, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. 1, cap. 1, 13. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 572, 590, 603. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 53.

The Castilian aristocracy, it may be believed, did not much relish the new yoke imposed on them by their priestly regent. On one occasion, it is said, they went in a body and demanded of Ximenes by what powers he held the government so absolutely. He referred them for answer to Ferdinand's testament and Charles's letter. As they objected to these, he led them to a window of the apartment, and showed them a park of artillery below, exclaiming, at the same time, "There are my credentials, then!" The story is characteristic; but, though often repeated, must be admitted to stand on slender authority.⁷

CHAPTER
XXV.Anecdote of
Ximenes.

One of the regent's first acts was the famous ordinance, encouraging the burgesses, by liberal rewards, to enroll themselves into companies, and submit to regular military training, at stated seasons. The nobles saw the operation of this measure too well, not to use all their efforts to counteract it. In this they succeeded for a time, as the cardinal, with his usual boldness, had ventured on it without waiting for Charles's sanction, and in opposition to most of the council. The resolute spirit of the minister, however, eventually triumphed.

His military
ordinance.

⁷ Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 18. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 158. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 2, cap. 4.

Alvaro Gomez finds no better authority than vulgar rumor for this story. According to Robles, the cardinal, after this bravado, twirled his cordelier's belt about his fingers, saying, "he wanted nothing better than that to tame the pride of the Castilian nobles

with!" But Ximenes was neither a fool, nor a madman; although his overzealous biographers make him sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Voltaire, who never lets the opportunity slip of seizing a paradox in character or conduct, speaks of Ximenes as one "qui, toujours vêtu en cordelier, met son faste à fouler sous ses sandales le faste Espagnol." *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. 121.

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over all resistance, and a national corps was organized, competent, under proper guidance, to protect the liberties of the people, but which unfortunately was ultimately destined to be turned against them.⁸

His domestic policy.

Armed with this strong physical force, the cardinal now projected the boldest schemes of reform, especially in the finances, which had fallen into some disorder in the latter days of Ferdinand. He made a strict inquisition into the funds of the military orders, in which there had been much waste and misappropriation; he suppressed all superfluous offices in the state, retrenched excessive salaries, and cut short the pensions granted by Ferdinand and Isabella, which he contended should determine with their lives. Unfortunately, the state was not materially benefited by these economical arrangements, since the greater part of what was thus saved was drawn off to supply the waste and cupidity of the Flemish court, who dealt with Spain with all the merciless rapacity that could be shown to a conquered province.⁹

His foreign policy.

The foreign administration of the regent displayed the same courage and vigor. Armies were established in the southern maritime towns, and a numerous fleet was equipped in the Mediterranean, against the Barbary corsairs. A large force was sent into Navarre, which defeated an invading army

1516.
March 25.

⁸ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 13. — Quintanilla, Arche-typo, lib. 4, cap. 5. — Sempere, Hist. des Cortès, chap. 25. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 159. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

⁹ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 174 et seq. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 18. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 13.

of French; and the cardinal followed up the blow by demolishing the principal fortresses of the kingdom; a precautionary measure, to which, in all probability, Spain owes the permanent preservation of her conquest.¹⁰

The regent's eye penetrated to the farthest limits of the monarchy. He sent a commission to Hispaniola, to inquire into, and ameliorate, the condition of the natives. At the same time he earnestly opposed (though without success, being overruled in this by the Flemish counsellors,) the introduction of negro slaves into the colonies, which, he predicted, from the character of the race, must ultimately result in a servile war. It is needless to remark, how well the event has verified the prediction.¹¹

It is with less satisfaction that we contemplate his policy in regard to the Inquisition. As head of that tribunal, he enforced its authority and pretensions to the utmost. He extended a branch of it to Oran, and also to the Canaries, and the New World.¹² In 1512, the *new Christians* had offered Ferdinand a large sum of money to carry on the Navarrese war, if he would cause

¹⁰ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1516, cap. 11. — Aleson, Annales de Navarra, tom. v. p. 327. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 570. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib 4, cap. 5.

¹¹ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 164, 165. — Herrera, Indias Occidentales, tom. i. p. 278. — Las Casas, Œuvres, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 239.

Robertson states the ground of

Ximenes's objection to have been, the iniquity of reducing one set of men to slavery, in order to liberate another. (History of America, vol. i. p. 285.) A very enlightened reason, for which, however, I find not the least warrant in Herrera, (the authority cited by the historian,) nor in Gomez, nor in any other writer.

¹² Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 10, art. 5.

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the trials before that tribunal to be conducted in the same manner as in other courts, where the accuser and the evidence were confronted openly with the defendant. To this reasonable petition Ximenes objected, on the wretched plea, that, in that event, none would be found willing to undertake the odious business of informer. He backed his remonstrance with such a liberal donative from his own funds, as supplied the king's immediate exigency, and effectually closed his heart against the petitioners. The application was renewed in 1516, by the unfortunate Israelites, who offered a liberal supply in like manner to Charles, on similar terms. But the proposal, to which his Flemish counsellors, who may be excused, at least, from the reproach of bigotry, would have inclined the young monarch, was finally rejected through the interposition of Ximenes.¹³

The high-handed measures of the minister, while they disgusted the aristocracy, gave great umbrage to the dean of Louvain, who saw himself reduced to a mere cipher in the administration. In consequence of his representations a second, and afterwards a third minister was sent to Castile, with authority to divide the government with the cardinal. But all this was of little avail. On one occasion, the co-regents ventured to rebuke their haughty partner, and assert their own dignity, by subscribing their names first to the despatches, and

Assumes the
sole power.

1517.

¹³ Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, lib. 2, tit. 2, cap. 5. — Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 11, art. 1. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 184, 185.

then sending them to him for his signature. But Ximenes coolly ordered his secretary to tear the paper in pieces, and make out a new one, which he signed, and sent out without the participation of his brethren. And this course he continued during the remainder of his administration.¹⁴

The cardinal not only assumed the sole responsibility of the most important public acts, but, in the execution of them, seldom condescended to calculate the obstacles or the odds arrayed against him. He was thus brought into collision, at the same time, with three of the most powerful grandees of Castile; the dukes of Alva and Infantado, and the count of Ureña. Don Pedro Giron, the son of the latter, with several other young noblemen, had maltreated and resisted the royal officers, while in the discharge of their duty. They then took refuge in the little town of Villafraza, which they fortified and prepared for a defence. The cardinal without hesitation mustered several thousand of the national militia, and, investing the place, set it on fire, and deliberately razed it to the ground. The refractory nobles, struck with consternation, submitted. Their friends interceded for them in the most humble manner; and the cardinal, whose lofty spirit

Intimidates
the nobles.

¹⁴ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1517, cap. 2. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 189, 190. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 18. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 581. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

“Ni properaveritis,” says Martyr in a letter to Mariano, Prince Charles’s physician, “ruent omnia. Nescit Hispania parere non regi-

bus, aut non legitime regnaturis. *Nauseam inducit magnanimis viris hujus fratris, licet potentis et reipublicæ amatoris, gubernatio. Est quippe grandis animo, et ipse, ad ædificandum literatosque viros fovendum natus magis quam ad imperandum, bellicis colloquiis et apparatibus gaudet.* Opus Epist., epist. 573.

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disdained to trample on a fallen foe, showed his usual clemency by soliciting their pardon from the king.¹⁵

Public dis-
contents.

But neither the talents nor authority of Ximenes, it was evident, could much longer maintain subordination among the people, exasperated by the shameless extortions of the Flemings, and the little interest shown for them by their new sovereign. The most considerable offices in church and state were put up to sale; and the kingdom was drained of its funds by the large remittances continually made, on one pretext or another, to Flanders. All this brought odium, undeserved indeed, on the cardinal's government;¹⁶ for there is abundant evidence, that both he and the council remonstrated in the boldest manner on these enormities; while they endeavoured to inspire nobler sentiments in Charles's bosom, by recalling the wise and patriotic administration of his grandparents.¹⁷ The people,

¹⁵ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 198-201.—Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 567, 584, 590.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1517, cap. 3, 6.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS.—Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 73.

¹⁶ In a letter to Marliano, Martyr speaks of the large sums, "ab hoc gubernatore ad vos missæ, sub parandæ classis prætextu." (*Opus Epist.*, epist. 576.) In a subsequent epistle to his Castilian correspondents, he speaks in a more sarcastic tone. "*Bonus ille frater Ximenez Cardinalis gubernator thesauros ad Belgas transmittendos coacervavit. * * * * Glacialis Oceani accolæ ditabuntur, vestra expilabitur Castilla.*" (*Epist.* 606.) From some cause or other,

it is evident the cardinal's government was not at all to honest Martyr's taste. Gomez suggests, as the reason, that his salary was clipped off in the general retrenchment, which he admits was a very hard case. (*De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 177.) Martyr, however, was never an extravagant encomiast of the cardinal, and one may imagine much more creditable reasons, than that assigned, for his disgust with him now.

¹⁷ See a letter in Carbajal, containing this honest tribute to the illustrious dead. (*Anales*, MS., año 1517, cap. 4.) Charles might have found an antidote to the poison of his Flemish sycophants in the faithful counsels of his Castilian ministers.

in the mean while, outraged by these excesses, and despairing of redress from a higher quarter, loudly clamored for a convocation of cortes, that they might take the matter into their own hands. The cardinal evaded this as long as possible. He was never a friend to popular assemblies, much less in the present inflamed state of public feeling, and in the absence of the sovereign. He was more anxious for his return than any other individual, probably, in the kingdom. Braved by the aristocracy at home, thwarted in every favorite measure by the Flemings abroad, with an injured, indignant people to control, and oppressed, moreover, by infirmities and years, even his stern, inflexible spirit could scarcely sustain him under a burden too grievous, in these circumstances, for any subject.¹⁸

At length the young monarch, having made all preliminary arrangements, prepared, though still in opposition to the wishes of his courtiers, to embark for his Spanish dominions. Previously to this, on the 13th of August, 1516, the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries signed a treaty of peace at Noyon. The principal article, stipulated the marriage of Charles to the daughter of Francis the First, who was to cede, as her dowry, the French claims on Naples. The marriage, indeed, never took place.

Treaty of
Noyon.

¹⁸ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 602. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 194. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 18.

Martyr, in a letter written just before the king's landing, notices the cardinal's low state of health and spirits. "Cardinalis gubernator Matrii febribus ægrotaverat; con-

valuerat; nunc recidivavit. ***** Breves fore dies illius, medici autumant. Est octogenario major; ipse regis adventum affectu avidissimo desiderare videtur. Sentit sine rege non rite posse corda Hispanorum moderari ac regi." Epist. 598.

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But the treaty itself may be considered as finally adjusting the hostile relations which had subsisted, during so many years of Ferdinand's reign, with the rival monarchy of France, and as closing the long series of wars which had grown out of the league of Cambray.¹⁹

Charles
lands in
Spain.

On the 17th of September, 1517, Charles landed at Villaviciosa, in the Asturias. Ximenes at this time lay ill at the Franciscan monastery of Aguilera, near Aranda on the Douro. The good tidings of the royal landing operated like a cordial on his spirits, and he instantly despatched letters to the young monarch, filled with wholesome counsel as to the conduct he should pursue, in order to conciliate the affections of the people. He received at the same time messages from the king, couched in the most gracious terms, and expressing the liveliest interest in his restoration to health.

The Flemings in Charles's suite, however, looked with great apprehension to his meeting with the cardinal. They had been content that the latter should rule the state, when his arm was needed to curb the Castilian aristocracy; but they dreaded the ascendancy of his powerful mind over their young sovereign, when brought into personal contact with him. They retarded this event, by keeping Charles in the north as long as possible. In the mean time, they endeavoured to alienate his regards from the minister by exaggerated reports

¹⁹ Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, *Diplomatique*, tom. iv. part. 1, no. tom. i. p. 313. — Dumont, *Corps* 106.

of his arbitrary conduct and temper, rendered more morose by the peevishness of age. Charles showed a facility to be directed by those around him in early years, which gave little augury of the greatness to which he afterwards rose.²⁰

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By the persuasions of his evil counsellors, he addressed that memorable letter to Ximenes, which is unmatched, even in court annals, for cool and base ingratitude. He thanked the regent for all his past services, named a place for a personal interview with him, where he might obtain the benefit of his counsels for his own conduct, and the government of the kingdom; after which he would be allowed to retire to his diocese, and seek from Heaven that reward, which Heaven alone could adequately bestow!²¹

His ungrateful letter.

Such was the tenor of this cold-blooded epistle, which, in the language of more than one writer, killed the cardinal. This, however, is stating the matter too strongly. The spirit of Ximenes was of too stern a stuff to be so easily extinguished by the breath of royal displeasure.²² He was, indeed, deeply moved by the desertion of the sovereign

The cardinal's last illness.

²⁰ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1517, cap. 9. — Dormer, Anales de Aragon, lib. 1, cap. 1. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 43. — Dolce, Vita di Carlo V., p. 12. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 212. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 83.

²¹ Carbajal, Anales, MS., ubi supra. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 215. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 84.

²² "Cette terrible lettre qui fut la cause de sa mort," says Mar-

sollier, plumply; a writer who is sure either to misstate or overstate. (Ministère du Card. Ximenez, p. 447.) Byron, alluding to the fate of a modern poet, ridicules the idea of

"The mind, that fiery particle,
Being extinguished by an Article!"

The frown of a critic, however, might as well prove fatal as that of a king. In both cases, I imagine, it would be hard to prove any closer connexion between the two events, than that of time.

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whom he had served so faithfully, and the excitement which it occasioned brought on a return of his fever, according to Carbajal, in full force. But anxiety and disease had already done its work upon his once hardy constitution; and this ungrateful act could only serve to wean him more effectually from a world that he was soon to part with.²³

In order to be near the king, he had previously transferred his residence to Roa. He now turned his thoughts to his approaching end. Death may be supposed to have but little terrors for the statesman, who in his last moments could aver, "that he had never intentionally wronged any man; but had rendered to every one his due, without being swayed, as far as he was conscious, by fear or affection." Yet Cardinal Richelieu on his deathbed declared the same!²⁴

His death.

As a last attempt, he began a letter to the king. His fingers refused, however, to perform their of-

²³ "Con aquel despedimiento," says Galindez de Carbajal, "con esto acabó de tantos servicios luego que llegó esta carta el Cardenal rescibió alteracion y tomole recia calentura que en pocos dias le despachó." (Anales, MS., año 1517, cap. 9.) Gomez tells a long story of poison administered to the cardinal in a trout, (De Rebus Gestis, fol. 206.) Others say, in a letter from Flanders, (see Moreri, Dictionnaire Historique, *voce* Ximenes.) Oviedo notices a rumor of his having been poisoned by one of his secretaries; but vouches for the innocence of the individual accused, whom he personally knew. (Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Xim.) Reports of this kind were too rife in these days, to deserve credit, un-

less supported by very clear evidence. Martyr and Carbajal, both with the court at the time, intimate no suspicion of foul play.

²⁴ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1517, cap. 9. — Gomez, de Rebus Gestis, fol. 213, 214. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 4, cap. 8. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

"Voilà mon juge, qui prononcera bientôt ma sentence. Je le prie de tout mon cœur de me condamner, si, dans mon ministère, je me suis proposé autre chose que le bien de la religion et celui de l'état." Le lendemain, au point du jour, il voulut recevoir l'extrême onction." Jay, Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Richelieu, (Paris, 1816,) tom. ii, p. 217.

fice, and after tracing a few lines he gave it up. The purport of these seems to have been, to recommend his university at Alcalá to the royal protection. He now became wholly occupied with his devotions, and manifested such contrition for his errors, and such humble confidence in the divine mercy, as deeply affected all present. In this tranquil frame of mind, and in the perfect possession of his powers, he breathed his last, November 8th, 1517, in the eighty-first year of his age, and the twenty-second since his elevation to the primacy. The last words that he uttered were those of the Psalmist, which he used frequently to repeat in health, "In te, Domine, speravi," — "In thee, Lord, have I trusted."

His body, arrayed in his pontifical robes, was seated in a chair of state, and multitudes of all degrees thronged into the apartment to kiss the hands and feet. It was afterwards transported to Alcalá, and laid in the chapel of the noble college of San Ildefonso, erected by himself. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, contrary to his own orders, by all the religious and literary fraternities of the city; and his virtues commemorated in a funeral discourse by a doctor of the university, who, considering the death of the good a fitting occasion to lash the vices of the living, made the most caustic allusion to the Flemish favorites of Charles, and their pestilent influence on the country.²⁵

²⁵ Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 12 - 15; who typo, lib. 4, cap. 12 - 15; who quotes Marañón, an eyewitness. — 18. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 215 - 217. — Quintanilla, *Arche-Carbajal*, *Anales*, M.S., año 1517,

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His character.

Such was the end of this remarkable man; the most remarkable, in many respects, of his time. His character was of that stern and lofty cast, which seems to rise above the ordinary wants and weaknesses of humanity; his genius, of the severest order, like Dante's or Michael Angelo's in the regions of fancy, impresses us with ideas of power, that excite admiration akin to terror. His enterprises, as we have seen, were of the boldest character. His execution of them equally bold. He disdained to woo fortune by any of those soft and pliant arts, which are often the most effectual. He pursued his ends by the most direct means. In this way he frequently multiplied difficulties; but difficulties seemed to have a charm for him, by the opportunity they afforded of displaying the energies of his soul.

His versatility of talent.

With these qualities he combined a versatility of talent, usually found only in softer and more flexible characters. Though bred in the cloister, he distinguished himself both in the cabinet and the camp. For the latter, indeed, so repugnant to his regular profession, he had a natural genius, according to the testimony of his biographer; and he evinced his relish for it by declaring, that "the smell of gunpowder was more grateful to him than

cap. 9; who dates the cardinal's death December 8th, in which he is followed by Lanuza.

The following epitaph, of no great merit, was inscribed on his sepulchre, composed by the learned John Vergara in his younger days.

"*Consideram musis Franciscus grande
lyceum,
Condor in exiguo nunc ego sarcophago.
Prætextam junxi sacche, galeamque gal-
lero,
Frater, dux, præsul, cardineusque pa-
ter.
Quin virtute meâ junctum est diadema
cucullo,
Cum mihi regnanti paruit Hesperia.*"

the sweetest perfume of Arabia!"²⁶ In every situation, however, he exhibited the stamp of his peculiar calling; and the stern lineaments of the monk were never wholly concealed under the mask of the statesman, or the visor of the warrior. He had a full measure of the religious bigotry which belonged to the age; and he had melancholy scope for displaying it, as chief of that dread tribunal, over which he presided during the last ten years of his life.²⁷

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He carried the arbitrary ideas of his profession into political life. His regency was conducted on the principles of a military despotism. It was his maxim, that "a prince must rely mainly on his army for securing the respect and obedience of his subjects."²⁸ It is true he had to deal with a martial and factious nobility, and the end which he proposed was to curb their licentiousness, and enforce the equitable administration of justice; but, in accomplishing this, he showed little regard to

His despotic
government.

²⁶ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 160. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 17. — "And who can doubt," exclaims Gonzalo de Oviedo, "that powder, against the infidel, is incense to the Lord?" Quincuagenas, MS.

²⁷ During this period, Ximenez "permit la condemnation," to use the mild language of Llorente, of more than 2500 individuals to the stake, and nearly 50,000 to other punishments! (Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 10, art. 5; tom. iv. chap. 46.) In order to do justice to what is really good in the characters of this age, one must absolutely close his eyes against that odious fanaticism, which enters

more or less into all, and into the best, unfortunately, most largely.

²⁸ "Persuasum haberet, non alia ratione animos humanos imperia aliorum laturos, nisi vi facta aut adhibita. Quare pro certo affirmare solebat, nullum unquam principem exteris populis formidini, aut suis reverentia fuisse, nisi comparato militum exercitu, atque omnibus belli instrumentis ad manum paratis." (Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 95.) We may well apply to the cardinal what Cato, or rather Lucan, applied to Pompey;

"Prætulit arma togæ; sed pacem armatus amavit."

Pharsalia, lib. 8.

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the constitution, or to private rights. His first act, the proclaiming of Charles king, was in open contempt of the usages and rights of the nation. He evaded the urgent demands of the Castilians for a convocation of cortes; for it was his opinion, "that freedom of speech, especially in regard to their own grievances, made the people insolent and irreverent to their rulers."²⁹ The people, of course, had no voice in the measures which involved their most important interests. His whole policy, indeed, was to exalt the royal prerogative, at the expense of the inferior orders of the state.³⁰ And his regency, short as it was, and highly beneficial to the country in many respects, must be considered as opening the way to that career of despotism, which the Austrian family followed up with such hard-hearted constancy.

But, while we condemn the politics, we cannot but respect the principles, of the man. However erroneous his conduct in our eyes, he was guided by his sense of duty. It was this, and the conviction of it in the minds of others, which constituted the secret of his great power. It made him reck-

²⁹ "Nullâ enim re magis populos inolescere, et irreverentiam omnem exhibere, quam cum libertatem loquendi nacti sunt, et pro libidine suas vulgo jactant querimonias." Gomez quotes the language of Ximenes in his correspondence with Charles. *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 194.

³⁰ Oviedo makes a reflection, showing that he conceived the cardinal's policy better than most of his biographers. He states, that

the various immunities, and the military organization, which he gave to the towns enabled them to raise the insurrection, known as the war of the "comunidades," at the beginning of Charles's reign. But he rightly considers this as only an indirect consequence of his policy, which made use of the popular arm only to break down the power of the nobles, and establish the supremacy of the crown. *Quincuagenas*, MS. dial. de Xim.

less of difficulties, and fearless of all personal consequences. The consciousness of the integrity of his purposes rendered him, indeed, too unscrupulous as to the means of attaining them. He held his own life cheap, in comparison with the great reforms that he had at heart. Was it surprising, that he should hold as lightly the convenience and interests of others, when they thwarted their execution?

His views were raised far above considerations of self. As a statesman, he identified himself with the state; as a churchman, with the interests of his religion. He severely punished every offence against these. He as freely forgave every personal injury. He had many remarkable opportunities of showing this. His administration provoked numerous lampoons and libels. He despised them, as the miserable solace of spleen and discontent, and never persecuted their authors.³¹ In this he formed an honorable contrast to Cardinal Richelieu, whose character and condition suggest many points of resemblance with his own.

His disinterestedness.

His disinterestedness was further shown by his mode of dispensing his large revenues. It was among the poor, and on great public objects. He built up no family. He had brothers and nephews; but he contented himself with making their condition comfortable, without diverting to their benefit

³¹ *Quincuagenas, MS., ubi supra.* Mr. Burke notices this noble trait, in a splendid panegyric which he poured forth on the character of Ximenes, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's table, as related by Madame d'Arblay, in the last, and not least remarkable of her productions. (*Memoirs of Dr. Burney, vol. ii. pp. 231 et seq.*) The orator, if the lady re-

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the great trusts confided to him for the public.³² The greater part of the funds which he left at his death was settled on the university of Alcalá.³³

He had, however, none of that pride, which would make him ashamed of his poor and humble relatives. He had, indeed, a confidence in his own powers, approaching to arrogance, which led him to undervalue the abilities of others, and to look on them as his instruments rather than his equals. But he had none of the vulgar pride founded on wealth or station. He frequently alluded to his lowly condition in early life, with great humility, thanking Heaven, with tears in his eyes, for its extraordinary goodness to him. He not only remembered, but did many acts of kindness to his early friends, of which more than one touching anecdote is related. Such traits of sensibility, gleaming through the natural austerity and sternness of a disposition like his, like light breaking through a dark cloud, affect us the more sensibly by contrast.

He was irreproachable in his morals, and conformed literally to all the rigid exactions of his severe order, in the court as faithfully as in the cloister. He was sober, abstemious, chaste. In

ports him right, notices, as two of the cardinal's characteristics, his freedom from bigotry and despotism!

³² Their connexion with so distinguished a person, however, enabled most of them to form high alliances; of which Oviedo gives some account. *Quincuagenas*, MS.

³³ "Die, and endow a college or a cat!"

The verse is somewhat stale, but expresses, better than a page of

prose can, the questionable merit of such posthumous benefactions, when they set aside the dearest natural ties for the mere indulgence of a selfish vanity. Such motives cannot be imputed to Ximenes. He had always conscientiously abstained from appropriating his archiepiscopal revenues, as we have seen, to himself or his family. His dying bequest, therefore, was only in keeping with his whole life.

the latter particular, he was careful that no suspicion of the license which so often soiled the clergy of the period, should attach to him.³⁴ On one occasion, while on a journey, he was invited to pass the night at the house of the duchess of Maqueda, being informed that she was absent. The duchess was at home, however, and entered the apartment before he retired to rest. "You have deceived me, lady," said Ximenes, rising in anger; "if you have any business with me, you will find me to-morrow at the confessional." So saying, he abruptly left the palace.³⁵

He carried his austerities and mortifications so far, as to endanger his health. There is a curious brief extant of Pope Leo the Tenth, dated the last year of the cardinal's life, enjoining him to abate his severe penance, to eat meat and eggs on the ordinary fasts, to take off his Franciscan frock, and sleep in linen and on a bed. He would never consent, however, to divest himself of his monastic weeds. "Even laymen," said he, alluding to the custom of the Roman Catholics, "put these on when they are dying; and shall I, who have worn them all my life, take them off at that time!"³⁶

His monastic austerities.

Another anecdote is told in relation to his dress.

³⁴ The good father Quintanilla vindicates his hero's chastity, somewhat at the expense of his breeding. "His purity was unexampled," says he. "He shunned the sex, like so many evil spirits; looking on every woman as a devil, let her be never so holy. Had it not been in the way of his professional calling, it is not too much to say he

would never have suffered his eyes to light on one of them!" Archetipo, p. 80.

³⁵ Fléchier, Histoire de Ximenes, liv. 6, p. 634.

³⁶ Quintanilla has given the brief of his Holiness *in extenso*, with commentaries thereon, twice as long. See Archetipo, lib. 4, cap. 10.

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Over his coarse woollen frock, he wore the costly apparel suited to his rank. An impertinent Franciscan preacher took occasion one day before him to launch out against the luxuries of the time, especially in dress, obviously alluding to the cardinal, who was attired in a superb suit of ermine, which had been presented to him. He heard the sermon patiently to the end, and after the services were concluded, took the preacher into the sacristy, and, having commended the general tenor of his discourse, showed under his furs and fine linen the coarse frock of his order, next his skin. Some accounts add, that the friar, on the other hand, wore fine linen under his monkish frock. After the cardinal's death, a little box was found in his apartment, containing the implements with which he used to mend the rents of his threadbare garment, with his own hands.³⁷

His economy of time.

With so much to do, it may well be believed, that Ximenes was avaricious of time. He seldom slept more than four, or at most four hours and a half. He was shaved in the night, hearing at the same time some edifying reading. He followed the same practice at his meals, or varied it with listening to the arguments of some of his theological brethren, generally on some subtle question of school divinity. This was his only recreation. He had as

³⁷ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 219. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 2, cap. 4.

The reader may find a *pendant* to this anecdote in a similar one recorded of Ximenes's predeces-

sor, the grand cardinal Mendoza, in Part II. Chapter 5, of this History. The conduct of the two primates on the occasion, was sufficiently characteristic.

little taste as time for lighter and more elegant amusements. He spoke briefly, and always to the point. He was no friend of idle ceremonies, and useless visits; though his situation exposed him more or less to both. He frequently had a volume lying open on the table before him, and when his visiter stayed too long, or took up his time with light and frivolous conversation, he intimated his dissatisfaction by resuming his reading. The cardinal's book must have been as fatal to a reputation as Fontenelle's ear-trumpet.³⁸

I will close this sketch of Ximenez de Cisneros with a brief outline of his person. His complexion was sallow; his countenance sharp and emaciated; his nose aquiline; his upper lip projected far over the lower. His eyes were small, deep set in his head, dark, vivid, and penetrating. His forehead ample, and, what was remarkable, without a wrinkle, though the expression of his features was somewhat severe.³⁹ His voice was clear, but not agreeable; his enunciation measured and precise. His

³⁸ Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, ubi supra. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 13. — Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, lib. 2, cap. 5, 7, 8; who cites Dr. Vergara, the cardinal's friend.

It is Baron Grimm, I think, who tells us of Fontenelle's habit of dropping his trumpet when the conversation did not pay him for the trouble of holding it up. The goodnatured Reynolds, according to Goldsmith, could "shift his trumpet" on such an emergency also.

³⁹ Ximenes's head was examined some forty years after his interment, and the skull was found to be

without sutures. (Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 218.) Richelieu's was found to be perforated with little holes. The abbé Richard deduces a theory from this, which may startle the physiologist even more than the facts. "On ouvrit son Test, on y trouva 12 petits trous par où s'exhaloient les vapeurs de son cerveau, ce qui fit qu'il n'eût jamais aucun mal de tête; au lieu que le Test de Ximenes étoit sans suture, à quoi l'on attribua les effroyables douleurs de tête qu'il avoit presque toujours." *Parallèle*, p. 177.

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demeanor was grave, his carriage firm and erect ; he was tall in stature, and his whole presence commanding. His constitution, naturally robust, was impaired by his severe austerities and severer cares ; and, in the latter years of his life, was so delicate as to be extremely sensible to the vicissitudes and inclemency of the weather.⁴⁰

Parallel with
Richelieu.

I have noticed the resemblance which Ximenes bore to the great French minister, Cardinal Richelieu. It was, after all, however, more in the circumstances of situation, than in their characters ; though the most prominent traits of these were not dissimilar.⁴¹ Both, though bred ecclesiastics, reached the highest honors of the state, and, indeed, may be said to have directed the destinies of their countries.⁴² Richelieu's authority, however,

⁴⁰ Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 18. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 218.

⁴¹ A little treatise has been devoted to this very subject, entitled "Parallèle du Card. Ximenes et du Card. Richelieu, par Mons. l'Abbé Richard ; à Trevoux, 1705." 222 pp. 12mo. The author, with a candor rare indeed, where national vanity is interested, strikes the balance without hesitation in favor of the foreigner Ximenes.

⁴² The catalogue of the various offices of Ximenes occupies near half a page of Quintanilla. At the time of his death, the chief ones that he filled were, those of archbishop of Toledo, and consequently primate of Spain, grand chancellor of Castile, cardinal of the Roman church, inquisitor-general of Castile, and regent.

Notice of
Galindez de
Carbajal.

Dr. Lorenzo Galindez de Carbajal, one of the best authorities for transactions in the latter part of our History, was born of a respectable family, at Placencia, in 1472. Little is gathered of his early life, but that he was studious in his habits, devoting himself assiduously to the acquisition of the civil and canon law. He filled the chair of profes-

sor in this department, at Salamanca, for several years. His great attainments, and respectable character recommended him to the notice of the Catholic queen, who gave him a place in the royal council. In this capacity, he was constantly at the court, where he seems to have maintained himself in the esteem of his royal mistress, and of Ferdi-

was more absolute than that of Ximenes, for he was screened by the shadow of royalty; while the latter was exposed, by his insulated and unsheltered position, to the full blaze of envy, and, of course, opposition. Both were ambitious of military glory, and showed capacity for attaining it. Both achieved their great results by that rare union of high mental endowments and great efficiency in action, which is always irresistible.

The moral basis of their characters was entirely different. The French cardinal's was selfishness, pure and unmitigated. His religion, politics, his principles in short, in every sense, were subservient to this. Offences against the state he could forgive; those against himself he pursued with implacable rancor. His authority was literally cemented with blood. His immense powers and patronage were perverted to the aggrandizement of his family. Though bold to temerity in his plans,

nand after her death. The queen testified her respect for Carbajal, by appointing him one of the commissioners for preparing a digest of the Castilian law. He made considerable progress in this arduous work; but how great is uncertain, since, from whatever cause, (there appears to be a mystery about it,) the fruits of his labor were never made public; a circumstance deeply regretted by the Castilian jurists. (Asso y Manuel, *Instituciones*, Introd. p. 99.)

Carbajal left behind him several historical works, according to Nic. Antonio, whose catalogue, however, rests on very slender grounds. (*Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. ii. p. 3.) The work by which he is best known to Spanish scholars, is his

"*Anales del Rey Don Fernando el Católico*," which still remains in manuscript. There is certainly no Christian country, for which the invention of printing, so liberally patronized there at its birth, has done so little as for Spain. Her libraries teem at this day with manuscripts of the greatest interest for the illustration of every stage of her history; but which, alas! in the present gloomy condition of affairs, have less chance of coming to the light, than at the close of the fifteenth century, when the art of printing was in its infancy.

Carbajal's *Annals* cover the whole ground of our narrative, from the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, to the coming of Charles V. into Spain. They are plainly written,

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he betrayed more than once a want of true courage in their execution. Though violent and impetuous, he could stoop to be a dissembler. Though arrogant in the extreme, he courted the soft incense of flattery. In his manners he had the advantage over the Spanish prelate. He could be a courtier in courts, and had a more refined and cultivated taste. In one respect, he had the advantage over Ximenes in morals. He was not, like him, a bigot. He had not the religious basis in his composition, which is the foundation of bigotry. — Their deaths were typical of their characters. Richelieu died, as he had lived, so deeply execrated, that the enraged populace would scarcely allow his remains to be laid quietly in the grave. Ximenes, on the contrary, was buried amid the tears and lamentations of the people; his memory was honored even by his enemies, and his name is revered by his countrymen, to this day, as that of a Saint.

without ambition of rhetorical show or refinement. The early part is little better than memoranda of the principal events of the period, with particular notice of all the migrations of the court. In the concluding portion of the work, however, comprehending Ferdinand's death, and the regency of Ximenes, the author is very full and circumstantial. As he had a conspicuous place in the government, and was always with the court, his testimony in regard to this important period is of the highest value as that of an eyewitness

and an actor, and it may be added, a man of sagacity and sound principles. No better commentary on the merit of his work need be required, than the brief tribute of Alvaro Gomez, the accomplished biographer of Cardinal Ximenes. "Porro Annales Laurentii Galendi Caravajali, quibus vir gravissimus rerumque illarum cum primis particeps quinquaginta ferme annorum memoriam complexus est, haud vulgariter meam operam juverunt." De Rebus Gestis, Præfatio.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

Policy of the Crown. — Towards the Nobles. — The Clergy. — Consideration of the Commons. — Advancement of Prerogative. — Legal Compilations. — The Legal Profession. — Trade. — Manufactures. — Agriculture. — Restrictive Policy. — Revenues. — Progress of Discovery. — Colonial Administration. — General Prosperity. — Increase of Population. — Chivalrous Spirit. — The Period of National Glory.

WE have now traversed that important period of history, comprehending the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century; a period when the convulsions, which shook to the ground the ancient political fabrics of Europe, roused the minds of its inhabitants from the lethargy in which they had been buried for ages. Spain, as we have seen, felt the general impulse. Under the glorious rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, we have beheld her, emerging from chaos into a new existence; unfolding, under the influence of institutions adapted to her genius, energies of which she was before unconscious; enlarging her resources from all the springs of domestic industry and commercial enterprise; and insensibly losing the

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ferocious habits of a feudal age, in the refinements of an intellectual and moral culture.

In the fulness of time, when her divided powers had been concentrated under one head, and the system of internal economy completed, we have seen her descend into the arena with the other nations of Europe, and in a very few years achieve the most important acquisitions of territory, both in that quarter and in Africa; and finally crowning the whole by the discovery and occupation of a boundless empire beyond the waters. In the progress of the action, we may have been too much occupied with its details, to attend sufficiently to the principles which regulated them. But now that we have reached the close, we may be permitted to cast a parting glance over the field that we have traversed, and briefly survey the principal steps by which the Spanish sovereigns, under Divine Providence, led their nation up to such a height of prosperity and glory.

Policy of the
crown.

Ferdinand and Isabella, on their accession, saw at once that the chief source of the distractions of the country lay in the overgrown powers, and factious spirit, of the nobility. Their first efforts, therefore, were directed to abate these as far as possible. A similar movement was going forward, in the other European monarchies; but in none was it crowned with so speedy and complete success as in Castile, by means of those bold and decisive measures, which have been detailed in an early chapter of this work.¹ The same policy was

¹ Ante, Part I., Chapter 6.

steadily pursued during the remainder of their reign; less indeed by open assault than by indirect means.²

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Among these, one of the most effectual was the omission to summon the privileged orders to cortes, in several of the most important sessions of that body. This, so far from being a new stretch of prerogative, was only an exercise of the anomalous powers already familiar to the crown, as elsewhere noticed.³ Nor does it seem to have been viewed as a grievance by the other party, who regarded these meetings with the more indifference, since their aristocratic immunities exempted them from the taxation, which was generally the prominent object of them. But, from whatever cause proceeding, by this impolitic acquiescence they surrendered, undoubtedly, the most valuable of their rights,—one which has enabled the British aristocracy to maintain its political consideration unimpaired, while that of the Castilian has faded away into an empty pageant.⁴

Depression
of the nobles.

Another practice steadily pursued by the sove-

² Among the minor means for diminishing the consequence of the nobility, may be mentioned the regulation respecting the "privilegios rodados"; instruments formerly requiring to be countersigned by the great lords and prelates, but which, from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, were submitted for signature only to officers especially appointed for the purpose. Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, lib. 2, cap. 12.

³ Ante, *Introd. Sect. 1.*

⁴ A pertinent example of this

policy of the sovereigns occurred in the cortes of Madrigal, 1476; where, notwithstanding the important subjects of legislation, none but the third estate were present. (Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 94.) An equally apposite illustration is afforded by the care to summon the great vassals to the cortes of Toledo, in 1480, when matters nearly touching them, as the revocation of their honors and estates, were under discussion, but not till then. *Ibid.*, p. 165.