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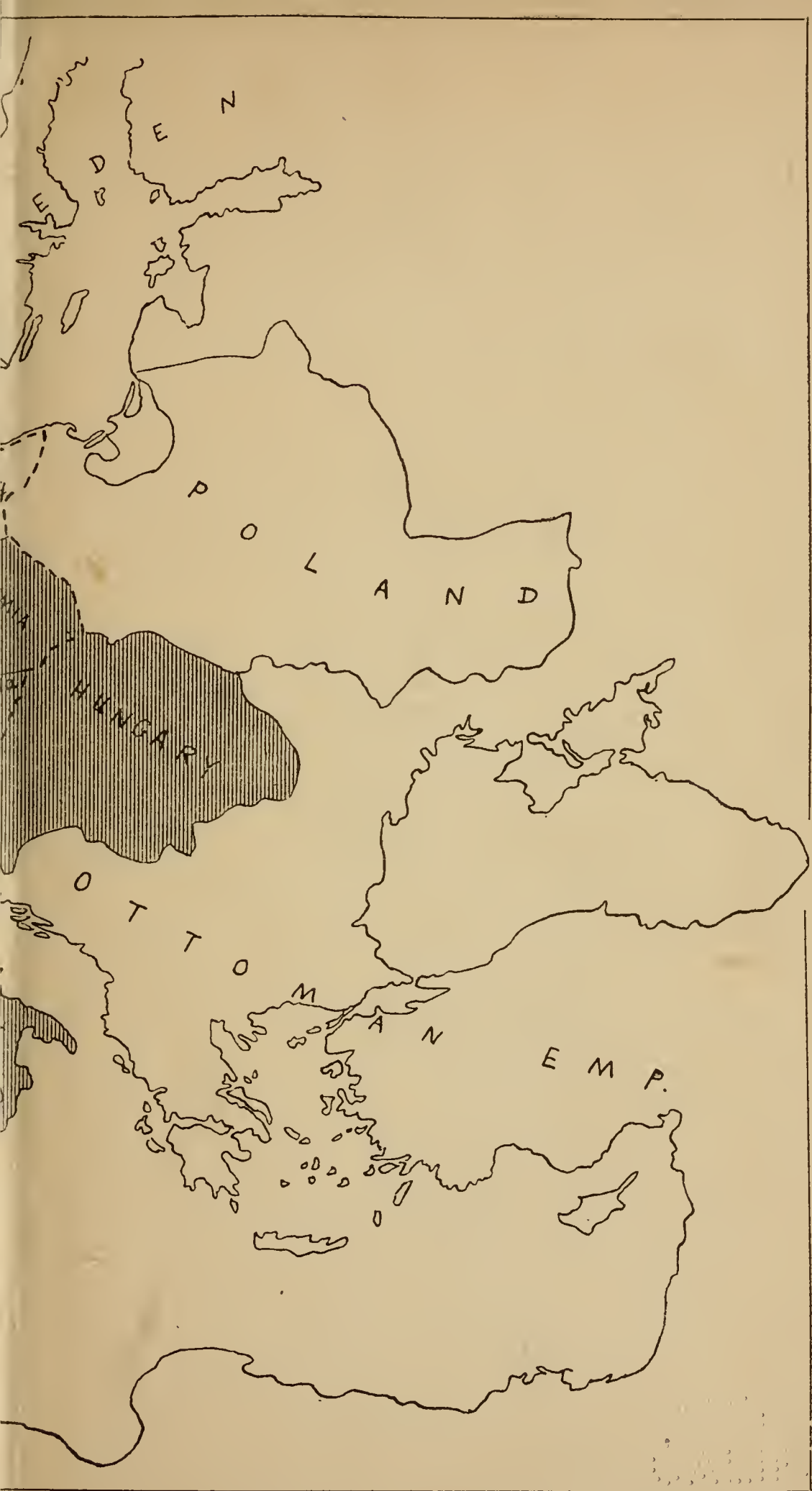
H. Morse Stephens

University of California

Hapsburg Possessions at the
abdication of Charles V. 1557

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (---)





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The Emperor Charles V

A GREAT EMPEROR

CHARLES V, 1519-1558

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

MEN AND WOMEN OF THE ITALIAN REFORMATION.

MAXIMILIAN THE DREAMER.

THE ROMANCE OF A MEDICI WARRIOR.

A PRINCESS OF THE ITALIAN REFORMATION.

ISABELLA OF MILAN.

CHARLES DE BOURBON, CONNÉTABLE OF FRANCE.

COURTS AND CAMPS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

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MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA.

A QUEEN OF QUEENS, AND THE MAKING OF SPAIN.

THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.

THE STORY OF BAYARD.

DANTE THE WAYFARER.

A GREAT EMPEROR

CHARLES V, 1519-1558

BY

CHRISTOPHER HARE

AUTHOR OF

"MAXIMILIAN THE DREAMER," "MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA"

"MEN AND WOMEN OF THE ITALIAN REFORMATION"

"LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE"

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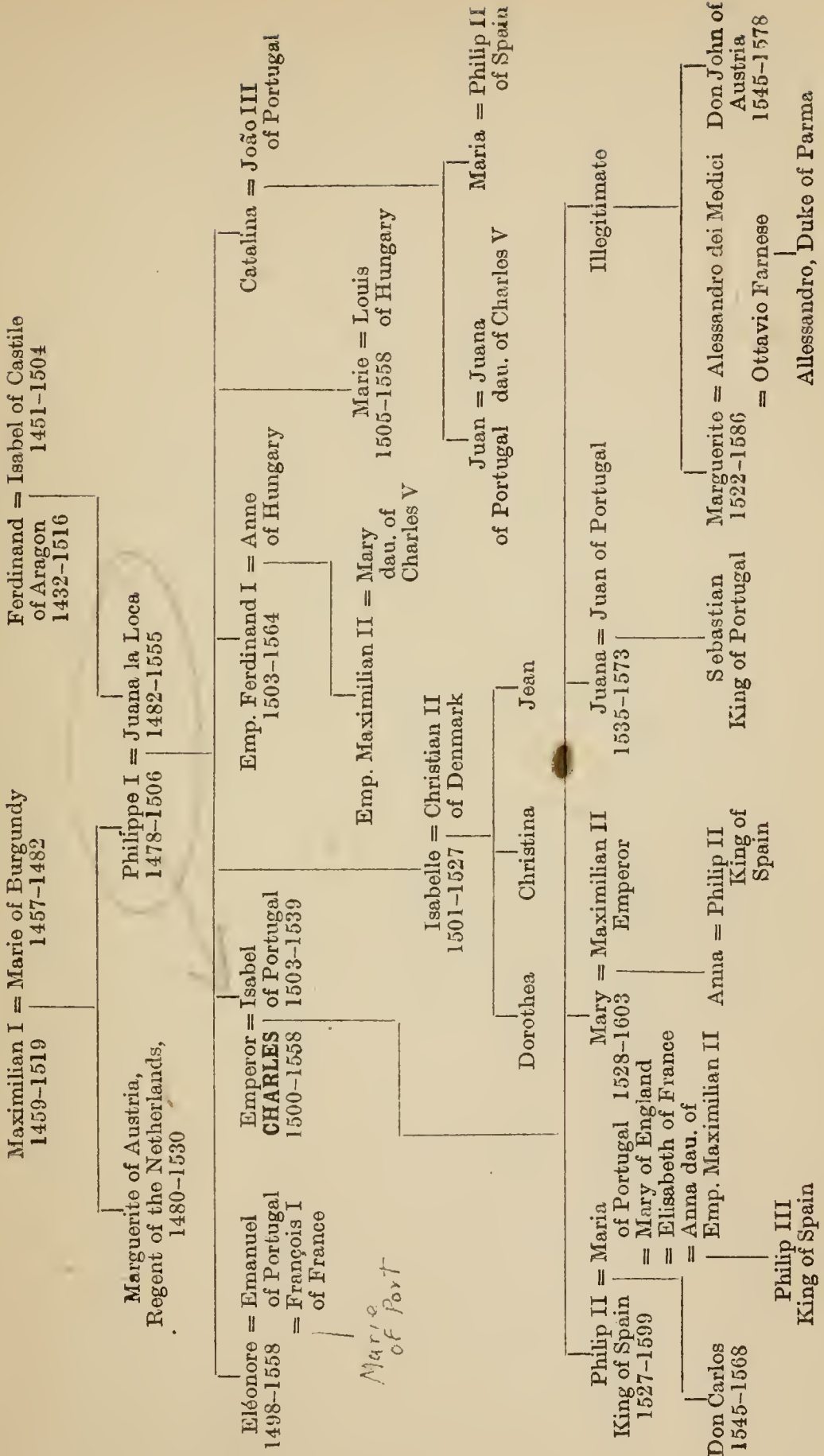
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GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V



Maria of Port



INTRODUCTION

IN my various historical books on the later Renaissance period, the striking figure of Charles V has constantly come to the front. His character has ever been at once so elusive and so attractive a study, that I have at length ventured upon the difficult task of attempting to condense into one volume the personal and political history of the last great Emperor of the Hapsburg line. His life will form a natural sequence to that of his predecessor and grandfather Maximilian.

This work was begun long before the great war of 1914, which has revived such keen and widespread interest in the Hapsburg dynasty, and also in the early history of the Netherlands, now once more the battle-field of Europe.

A GREAT EMPEROR

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF CHARLES V

Birth of Charles V at Ghent—February 24, 1500—Splendid baptismal ceremony—Margaret of York, widow of Charles of Burgundy, one of his sponsors—His father, Philippe of Austria, and his mother Juana of Spain—They travel through France to Spain—Death of Queen Isabel, mother of Juana, who receives homage as heiress of Castile—Death of Philippe in Spain—Mental affliction of Juana.

ON the Feast of St. Matthias, February 24, of the year 1500, there was born, in the old palace of Ghent, a child who was destined to raise the Hapsburg power to its highest point.

Charles V was the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian and Marie of Burgundy, the heiress of Duke Charles the Bold's broad lands in Burgundy, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. To all these he was in the direct line of succession, besides the Hapsburg dominions, while other and richer kingdoms would be his in due time by the strange vicissitudes of fortune. His father, Philippe, Archduke of Austria, with the usual worldly wisdom and good fortune of the Hapsburgs, had married Juana, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain, and at

the time of her son's birth only one frail infant's life was between her and the crowns of Castile and the Aragon, with the uncharted discoveries and possessions of the New World.

Juana's only brother, the young Prince Juan, the heir of Spain, had passed away only three years before, in 1497, and her eldest sister, Isabel, Queen of Portugal, died a year later, after giving birth to a son, Miguel, the looked-for inheritor of the whole Iberian continent. But his death in July 1500 passed on his mother's inheritance to his infant cousin Charles.

All had thus conspired to make this the crowning success of Maximilian's diplomacy. He had formed a double alliance with Spain, by the marriage of Philippe with Juana, and of his only daughter Marguerite with Prince Juan. This devoted princess had already been betrothed to Charles VIII of France from her childhood; she had been educated in that country, and had endured the humiliation of being sent home, while the young King married Anne de Bretagne, already the promised bride of the Emperor Maximilian, who never forgave the Valois prince for thus robbing him of his bride and repudiating his daughter. But hatred had to give way to policy, and the Emperor found himself unable at that time to set Europe in a blaze by war with France; but he strengthened his position by firm alliance with Spain.

It was on August 22, 1496, that Queen Isabel took leave of her daughter Juana at the port of Lareda, from whence this young princess set sail under the

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protection of an armed fleet of 130 ships. She had a very stormy voyage, and the fleet was driven for shelter into the harbour of Portland, where it was discovered that several caravels were missing. When at length she reached the coast of Flanders on Sunday, September 18, the laggard bridegroom was not there to receive her, and she was lodged in the convent of St. Michel at Antwerp until the welcome arrival of the Princess Marguerite and Madame la Grande, as the spirited old lady Margaret of York, third wife of Duke Charles of Burgundy, was called. Meantime the Spanish fleet and the Spanish ladies in attendance were to wait until they could take back Marguerite, the promised bride of Prince Juan. One practical advantage of this exchange of princesses was that no dowry was required on either side.

It was not until October 18 that at last the wedding of the Archduke Philippe and Juana took place at Lille, and soon afterwards they settled in their palace at Brussels. It was an ill-omened marriage from the first between the handsome, self-willed, and dissipated young man of nineteen and the unattractive Spanish girl of seventeen, who from her childhood had been of an uncertain, sullen temper. She had been well educated, but we are told that "her early life had been one course of rebellion," while the rigid Castilian pride which she inherited may have had some part in her future unhappiness, as in that of her next sister, whom we know as Katharine of Aragon, the ill-fated wife of Henry VIII.

Unfortunately for her peace of mind, Philippe's young wife loved him with passionate devotion, only

equalled by the jealousy for which he gave her good cause, in that gay Court of Brussels. However, for a time, outward appearances were kept up, and on November 16, 1498, a daughter was born, who received the name of Eléonore, in memory of the mother of Maximilian. There were great festivities on this occasion, but they were quite eclipsed by those which took place fifteen months later, when, as we have already seen, the hoped-for son and heir was born on February 24 of the year 1500. This was the feast of St. Matthias, and his grandmother Queen Isabel remarked, "Sors cecidit super Matthiam," and she always believed that Charles would inherit Spain. His baptism was a magnificent ceremony, in which the whole city showed the greatest enthusiasm, of which the old chroniclers give us the fullest details.

Margaret of York held him at the font when he received the name of her husband, the great Duke of Burgundy; all the titles of the infant prince were proclaimed aloud by heralds, but it was decided that he was to be called Duke of Luxemburg. Perhaps the most interesting of the royal personages present was the widowed Princess Marguerite, his aunt, who had just returned from Spain, where she had received the greatest kindness and affection. Her lifelong devotion to the interests of her nephew Charles was destined to prove of the highest value to him, and to the Netherlands. Her story has been already fully told elsewhere,¹ and will only be touched upon in so far as needful for the present history.

¹ "Marguerite of Austria," by Christopher Hare.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF CHARLES 5

On July 20, 1500, the death of Don Miguel, the orphan prince of Portugal, made his Aunt Juana heiress of Castile and Aragon. The Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabel, at once sent the news to Flanders, with an urgent request that Philippe and his wife should come to Spain in order to receive homage from their future subjects. But the Archduke had other engagements more attractive at the time, and the journey was put off until the following year. Meantime, Juana's two younger sisters were married; Maria to Emanuel, King of Portugal, and Katharine to the young Prince Arthur of England, to whom she had been betrothed from her childhood. These early engagements were the usual plans of diplomacy, and we find that the baby Charles was promised in marriage to Claude, daughter of Louis XII, by the Treaty of Trent, October 1501. This was the first of the young heir's various matrimonial engagements.

A second daughter, Isabelle, was born to Juana on July 27 of this year, and it was not until September 15 that she and her husband at last started for Spain. At this time there was peace with France, and after travelling through Brabant and Hainault, resting at Mons and Cambrai, they crossed the frontier near St. Quentin, where they had a warm reception. Passing on through Compiègne and its great forests, they were welcomed by the Abbot at St. Denis, and entered Paris in state on November 25. There were great entertainments prepared for the royal visitors when they reached the Court at Blois; and the French King himself accompanied them on

their way south as far as Amboise, from whence they continued their journey to Navarre, travelling to Bayonne through heavy snow-storms. Here their baggage had to be placed on mules to cross the Pyrenees in deep snow, until they reached Vittoria and passed on into Castile. They rested eleven days at Burgos, from whence they went on to Valladolid, Medina del Campo, and Segovia, everywhere receiving a hearty welcome. They did not reach Madrid until March 25, six months after the departure from Ghent, a long and tedious journey in truth.

An illness of the Archduke Philippe caused further delay, and only on May 7 did Juana and her husband meet the Spanish sovereigns at Toledo. Great festivities had been arranged in their honour, but all was turned into mourning by the news of the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, the boy-husband of Juana's youngest sister Katherine. As soon as possible after the arrival of the new Prince of Castile, the Cortes were convoked at Toledo to take the oaths of allegiance; but these proceedings naturally took some time, and Philippe found the etiquette of the Spanish Court so dull and tedious that he and his Flemish courtiers sought amusements which met with serious disapproval. When he set out for Aragon with his wife in August, we find him writing to a friend: "Thank God I have left Toledo, and am on my way to Zaragoza, where we hope to be admitted to the sovereignty of Aragon and its lands. That done, we will make all haste to get our *congé* to return from thence to Flanders."

After a triumphal journey across northern Spain,

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they reached Zaragoza, where for the first time in the history of Aragon the Cortes swore allegiance to a future "Queen proprietor" and to Philippe as her husband, homage being paid to them before the steps of the high altar in the cathedral. This ceremony was scarcely accomplished before the Archduke announced his intention of returning home at once through France, although Spain was now at war with that country. Ferdinand was strongly opposed to this step, but he was at length persuaded to allow his son-in-law to enter into negotiations for peace with Louis XII, although with the strictest instructions and very limited powers. Juana was in delicate health at the time, and he was quite willing to leave her behind, although she was in despair at his departure. He did not attempt to hide his cold indifference to her entreaties, and lost no time in setting forth on his journey, which at least promised him change and excitement.

He was received by Louis XII at his splendid Court of Lyons with crafty friendship, and was readily persuaded to sign a treaty by which, amongst other concessions, he agreed that "all places unlawfully taken in the kingdom of Naples were to be given up to the French." We do not wonder that these terms were at once repudiated by King Ferdinand, and that the Great Captain Gonzalvo continued his conquests in utter disregard of them. On his way home Philippe passed through Savoy and met his sister Marguerite, who, in accordance with her father's political aims, had once more consented to serve the interests of the House of Hapsburg by another

marriage. The young Duke, Philibert le Beau, appears to have been an ideal husband, and it seemed as if the happiness so long denied to her was at last the portion of the Flemish princess. But it was of short duration, for within the space of three brief years the unfortunate Marguerite was once more a widow.

Meantime Juana remained with her mother in a condition of gloom and depression, varied by petulant outbreaks of temper. In March 1503, at the old palace of Alcalá de Henares, her second son was born, called Ferdinand after his grandfather. After this she set her heart upon returning to her husband, and we are told that "she raged like a lioness at being kept in Spain." But she was quite unfit for the long, wearisome journey, and already the dark shadow of mental disease was upon her. We have a curious letter written in June of this year, and signed by three doctors, describing her condition: "The Infanta is very weak and depressed; she sleeps badly, and is not to be moved by persuasion, prayer, or fear."

Queen Isabel, who was in failing health, was greatly distressed about her daughter, who, having moved with the Court to Medina del Campo, insisted upon sailing without the permission of her parents. The Bishop of Cordova was asked to deter her from leaving "as gently and graciously as possible," but in the end Juana was only restrained by force. She had taken advantage of her mother's absence at Segovia to escape from her apartments in the castle, one wild November evening, and hurry half-dressed to the city gate. It was closed against her, but she

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commanded the guard to open the gate to which she clung in frenzied despair. Admiral Henriquez and the Archbishop of Toledo could only succeed in persuading the princess to take shelter close by for the night, and the morning found her crouching by the closed gates. At last the Queen herself arrived, and with much difficulty persuaded her unhappy daughter to go back with her to the castle. Isabel herself never recovered from the terrible shock, and from this time her health rapidly failed.

It proved impossible to detain the Archduchess later than the spring of 1504, when she embarked for Flanders, much improved in spirits at the prospect of rejoining her husband. After a favourable voyage she was received by Philippe at Ghent, and all promised well for a time until, in an ungovernable fit of jealousy, she actually assaulted a lady of the Court to whom he was paying attentions, and caused her rival's beautiful hair to be cut off. This outrage, which nothing could excuse, roused the Archduke to fury; he used the most violent language to his wife, and swore that he would have no more to do with her.

When news of this deplorable incident reached Castile in June, the shock was too much for Queen Isabel in her frail condition; the tender heart of the brave woman broke down beneath overwhelming grief and shame for her afflicted daughter, and from that time there was no hope of her recovery. Her later years had been one long tale of bereavement and sorrow, and the great Queen who had always responded to every claim, and never spared herself in the service of her country, passed away a few months

later, November 25, 1504, to the infinite loss and sorrow of her people. We cannot allude to the fine character of the great Queen without noticing how some of her noble qualities were inherited by her grandson Charles V. In him we shall watch the development of the unshaken love of justice, the high ideal of truth, the tenacity of purpose, the love of peace and the passionate zeal for religion which were so characteristic of the beloved Queen.

Juana was now sovereign of Castile, and was nominally proclaimed in the great square of Toledo while the royal standard was raised by the Duke of Alba, with much pomp of heralds and blare of trumpets. But the astute Ferdinand kept the governing power as regent in his own hands, and required the oaths of allegiance to be taken to him. Philippe, however, lost no time in asserting his right to his wife's inheritance, and sent an imperious message to the King to retire at once to Aragon, and resign the government of Castile to such persons as he should appoint until his coming. At the same time many of the Castilian nobles, and amongst them Don Juan Manuel, Spanish Ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian, entered into secret intrigues with the Archduke, and his cause was so warmly supported that Ferdinand swore to avenge himself.

He first tried to marry Juana, the supposed daughter of Henry IV, on whose illegitimacy Queen Isabel's right to the throne of Castile was founded; but, failing in this, he married Germaine de Foix, a niece of Louis XII of France, in March 1506. This want of respect for the memory of his noble wife

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created much estrangement in Castile, and as soon as Philippe heard of this proposed arrangement he set forth with Juana on his long-deferred journey by way of France, but he was delayed on the way by stormy weather, which drove him on the English coast and into the power of Henry VII, so that he did not reach Spain until a month after the ill-advised wedding.

After much weary discussion, a treaty was concluded, by which it was settled that the government of Castile should be carried on in the joint names of Juana, Ferdinand, and Philippe, while the revenues of the crown and the right of conferring offices should be equally shared by the father and husband of the real Queen. But soon the Castilian nobles declared openly in favour of the young Archduke, and Ferdinand was compelled to resign the regency before he set off for Naples in great state with his young wife.

Meantime Philippe could not induce the Cortes to pronounce Juana incapable of reigning, and the oaths of allegiance were taken to her and to her son Charles as her successor, at Valladolid; but her husband practically assumed absolute power, turning out the loyal friends of the late Queen from offices of State which he gave to his own Flemish followers. He also gave offence to many by his opposition to the Inquisition, and a conspiracy was forming against him when he was suddenly taken seriously ill after over-exertion in his favourite *Jeu de Paume*. He suffered from fever, but his Flemish physician was not alarmed until dangerous symptoms appeared, and on Sep-

tember 25, 1506, the young Archduke died at the age of twenty-eight. As usual in such cases, poison was suspected, but of this there is no reliable evidence.

To Juana the shock was overwhelming, and after the death of the young husband whom she loved with such passionate affection, there could be no doubt of her mental affliction. She insisted upon keeping the body in her own room, laid out in state, splendidly dressed; she sat for hours watching over him in dead silence without shedding a tear; she would listen to no entreaties, and obstinately refused to sign any papers or to appoint a regent for the kingdom of Castile. On All Saints' Day there was a solemn funeral ceremony at the Monastery of Miraflores, after which the widowed princess set forth with the coffin in sad procession towards Granada, only travelling by night, and causing services for the dead to be performed at every church and monastery by the way; this was in the middle of winter, when she herself was in delicate health. On January 14, 1507, there was born to her at Torquemada, a daughter who was named Catalina, after her favourite sister. The story of this young life, overshadowed by her mother's sad fate, is most pathetic.

It was not until July of this year that Ferdinand at length returned to Spain, and was universally accepted as Regent of Castile, where all was tranquil through the wise government of Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. This warlike prelate had also led an army, at his own expense, against the Moors, and annexed Barbary, Oran, and other places on the

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coast, to the crown of Castile. By cunning and treachery, the King of Aragon had moreover taken possession of Navarre. Thus was growing, on every side, the immense realm of the young heir, the future Emperor Charles V.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE OF CHARLES—HIS EDUCATION AT MALINES

Charles proclaimed Archduke of Austria and Prince of Spain, 1507—
He is placed under the care of his aunt, Marguerite of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, with his sisters Eléonore, Isabelle and Marie—The story of his childhood—He is educated at Malines with a view to his great inheritance, and is present at Councils of State and other meetings under the constant direction of his grandfather Maximilian—He is betrothed first to Claude of France, then to Mary, daughter of Henry VII.

To the Emperor Maximilian, the death of his only son, on whom all his hopes were fixed, was a terrible blow. It is true that their political views had been sometimes at variance, but in the complex character of Philippe there was a strong foundation of patriotism. Thus when his hereditary dominions were endangered by the French King's assistance to Charles of Guelders, we find the Archduke writing :

“ . . . If the treaty with me has been broken, be assured that I have not a heart so cowardly, nor are my kindred and possessions in this world of such small account, but I would sacrifice them and my life also, ere I suffer such an outrage to my rights . . . and I protest here before God that if, against my will, I have to make war against the King of France,

on his conscience will rest all the evils ensuing to Christendom. . . .”¹

This turbulent Charles of Guelders was destined to cause much trouble for many years to the ruler of the Netherlands, a position in which Maximilian's daughter Marguerite greatly distinguished herself, during the minority of her nephew. After barely three years of happy married life, the young Duchess of Savoy had returned home, in desolate widowhood, on the death of her beloved husband Philibert II, to whose memory she was building, in the church of Brou, a shrine more beautiful than the world had ever seen. With the gallant courage and self-sacrifice which never failed her, Marguerite had obeyed her father's summons to take up the burden of empire as Regent of the Netherlands for her nephew Charles, who, with his three sisters, was now entrusted to her care.

On Sunday, July 18, 1507, a solemn funeral service was held at Malines in the church of St. Rombault, to the memory of the Archduke Philippe. The picturesque scene rises vividly before us, as the stately processions wind through the ancient city. We see all the guilds of Malines in state costume, the priests, the friars, the deputies of the States, the soldiers, and the loyal populace; with banners and crosses and lighted torches held on high. These prepare the way for the magnificent company of the ambassadors, the bishops, the great nobles and the princes—escorted by gorgeous heralds on war-horses, with the

¹ Letter to Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, written at Valladolid, July 24, 1506.

emblazoned banners of every province and subject State, passing onward to the blare of trumpets and beating of drums. Within the crowded church of St. Rombault the central figure was a boy of seven, Charles, the heir of his father's many lands, who sat in the dim choir, facing the altar, in the place of honour. At the close of the High Mass, when the Bishop of Arras spoke the words: "Et Verbum caro factum est," all the heralds cast down their great banners on the marble floor before the altar. Then King-at-arms of the Golden Fleece threw down his staff of office and cried aloud three times, "Le Roy est mort!"

After a pause of breathless silence, he raised it once more on high, crying aloud: "Vive Don Charles par la grace Dieu archiduc d'Autriche, prince des Espagnes. . . ." Then, one by one, the heralds raised their prostrate banners, waving them aloft and proclaiming, each in turn the long roll of honours: "Prince de Bourgogne, de Lostrick, de Brabant. . . Comte de Flandres, d'Arthorys, . . . Palatin d'Hainault, de Hollande, de Zélande, de Namur, et de Zutphen . . . Marquis du Saint-Empire, Seigneur de Frise, de Salins et de Malines!"¹ The cap of mourning was now taken from the head of Charles, and Toison d'Or took the shining sword from the altar, where it had been blessed by the Bishop, and, holding it up before the young prince, spoke thus solemnly: "Imperial and Royal Prince, this sword is given you from God and from your noble ancestors, that you may

¹ Jehan Le Maire, "Les Funéreaux de feu Don Philippe unique fils de Maximilian."

protect the Most Holy Faith and all your kingdoms. . . .”

Charles took the sword by the hilt with the point raised, and, with uplifted hands, advanced to the high altar, where he knelt in prayer. Thus it was that the boy was admitted to his vast inheritance, in knightly fashion, while from her secluded seat, Marguerite, who was henceforth to take the place of father and mother to him, looked on with tender pride.

In this personal history of Charles V everything connected with his early life and training is of importance. He was not yet two years old when his father and mother went forth on their eventful journey to Spain, and his Aunt Marguerite left Flanders to become Duchess of Savoy. Charles and his two sisters, Eléonore and the baby Isabelle, were left in charge of that wonderful old lady, Margaret of York, usually called Madame la Grande, the third wife of his great-grandfather Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. She was the sister of the English King Edward IV, and when Henry VII of the House of Lancaster came to the throne she carried on the vendetta between the White Rose and the Red, by receiving at her Court all disaffected partizans of the House of York, and encouraging all their conspiracies until it was said of her that she “was aunt to every pretender.” The most important of these was Perkin Warbeck.

The warm-hearted princess had already proved herself a devoted friend to two generations of the House of Burgundy: her step-daughter Marie, the

beloved wife of Maximilian, and their son Philippe, who looked upon her as a mother. She now devoted all her talent and energy to the training of this young Archduke, for whom fortune and diplomacy had combined to prepare so vast an inheritance. His early life was spent in the splendid Dower-palace of Malines, with its spacious grounds and park, where he learnt to ride almost before he could speak. A learned scholar, Juan de Vera, was entrusted with the duty of teaching him to read and write until he was five years old, and we can form some idea of the watchful care with which he was trained for his high position when we find the child, at barely four years old, made use of as a political asset. In the State Papers of Spain a letter from Charles is still preserved dated January 1504, addressed to King Ferdinand, and begging "with humble supplication, that you will send home the princess my mother, because the prince my father is very lonely without her. I commend myself to my beloved brother, the Infant don Fernando¹; my sisters the Infantas doña Leonor and doña Isabel, thanks to God, are in good health, and kiss the royal hands of your Highness. I pray your Highness to forgive the discourtesy of my not writing this with my own hand. . . . From your most obedient grandson and servitor. . . . CHARLES."²

The name is in the boy's own writing. We do not know what influence this letter had, but his mother

¹ Born in Spain the previous March.

² Bib. de l'Acad. de l'Hist. A. 10, fol. 42.

Juana was allowed to return to Flanders shortly afterwards.

Already the burden of coming greatness had fallen upon the infant prince, for he was barely eighteen months old when, to suit his father's diplomacy, he had been betrothed to Claude of France, the baby daughter of Louis XII; and this engagement was renewed in 1502, 1504, and 1505. It was only the beginning of many such negotiations in the coming years, all of which were destined to ultimate failure. Between the rival claims of his two ambitious grandfathers, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the guardianship of Charles can have been no sinecure. The death of the warm-hearted militant English princess, Margaret of York and dowager Duchess of Bourgogne, left the place open for the Emperor's daughter on her return from Savoy in 1507, when she was proclaimed Regent of the Netherlands, and guardian of Charles, Archduke of Austria, with his brother and sisters. The Estates of Louvain had gladly ratified this appointment, for since the death of her brother Philippe, they looked upon her as in the direct line from her grandfather, their great Duke Charles the Bold.

It was in July 1507 that she made her formal entry into Malines and took up her abode in the stately palace. Charles was now seven years old, his sister Eléonore was nine, Isabelle six, and Marie not quite two. As for the brother Ferdinand, a child of four, he had been retained in Spain under the care of King Ferdinand, while the infant Catalina, born after her father's death, could not be removed

from the jealous care of her unfortunate mother, Juana. To the poor boy so tragically deprived of both father and mother, these young sisters gave a warm glow of family life which tempered his naturally cold independence of character, and made him more gentle and loveable. We hear of the children taking part in games and holiday-making; gathering flowers in the summer meadows and dancing together round the traditional bonfire on the Feast of St. John. In the days to come, Charles ever showed the warmest affection for his sisters, who returned it by a passionate devotion which endured to the end of his life.

His eldest sister Eléonore was perhaps his favourite, and with her he shared a strong taste for music,—another bond of sympathy,—for they took lessons together on the clavichord, the viol and other instruments, their teacher being the organist of the Chapel Royal.

From the constant correspondence between Maximilian and his daughter Marguerite, we see the extreme interest which he takes in his grandchildren; he sends them wonderful toys, amongst others a kind of wooden rocking horse, and a sledge for winter use, made like a ship with masts and ropes and the Imperial flag. The childhood of the Emperor is repeated in that of Charles, who delights in war-games, he himself being the leader of the Christian host, while one of his pages is placed in command of the Paynims, and finds cause of complaint in that his side is always beaten.

In the midst of his many travels and constant warfare in some part or other of his dominions, Maxi-

milian always found time to watch over his heir, and control the minutest details of his household. He appointed as Governor, Guillaume de Croy, Lord of Chièvres, while as tutor under him, after Juan de Vera, Louis Vacca, another Spaniard of European reputation, undertook the education of the young prince, for six years, until he was eleven. In his lessons, as in his play, we read the story of Maximilian over again; the boy could not be persuaded to take any interest in scholastic definitions and metaphysical doctrines; he cared nothing for words, and only wanted facts. He had no facility in learning languages, and was only at home in his natural language, French; the future ruler of so many nations would have slowly and laboriously to acquire the means of speaking with them.

On the other hand, Charles showed the utmost keenness in the pursuit of all manly and warlike exercises—riding, fencing, wrestling, while he early became expert at shooting. He was barely ten years old when he greatly cheered his grandfather by showing a passion for his own favourite sport of hunting. Meantime, nothing was neglected in the way of training the boy in the art of government, to prepare him for the great destiny which awaited him. At the age of seven we find him required to make a speech before the assembled “Estates” of Louvain, in order to support his aunt Marguerite’s appeal for a subsidy from the close-fisted burghers. He was also taught the art of diplomacy in letter-writing, and was made use of to serve the aims of his ambitious relations. Thus, in October 1508, we find him writing

to Ferdinand of Spain in order to obtain a post for a certain Pero Ruiz de la Mota : “ To the Catholic and most noble King, my lord. The Emperor has sent me word that I should write to you concerning Maestro Pero. . . . Your humble and obedient grandson, who kisses your royal hands. CHARLES.”

It was in the same year that he was required to write a love-letter to Mary Tudor, sending her at the same time a costly jewel ; for, by his time, the French princess had in the course of events, given place to the daughter of Henry VII, as the betrothed of the young Archduke. A courtly letter to the Pope from Charles at this period is also preserved, and others to King Ferdinand on various subjects. Charles appears to have been actually wedded by proxy to Mary Tudor, and so strong was the desire at this time to make a lasting alliance with England, that Maximilian entered into negotiations for the marriage of King Henry VII with the Princess Marguerite. But this wise lady steadily refused to listen to such proposals, saying that “ already three times she had accepted the marriages arranged for her, and had endured nothing but misfortune.” Louis XII was very indignant at the slight shown to his young daughter Claude, by her engagement to Charles being broken off, after it had been the ground of four different treaties. He sent formal complaints to “ the Pope, the King of Aragon, and all the Christian sovereigns ” ; but these were naturally of no avail.

The Emperor could never forget how the House of

Hapsburg had built up its greatness by fortunate marriages, and we find him giving anxious thought to every possible suitor for his granddaughters. As early as 1509 a Prince of Portugal is suggested for Eléonore, and later Sigismond, King of Poland, while amongst proposed alliances we see the Duke of Guelders, the Duke of Lorraine, Henri d'Albret, son of the King of Navarre, and the Kings of Hungary and Denmark considered as suitable for the younger princesses, whose story will be told in due time. Other projects were also made for Charles, but they all came to nothing, and in the end he arranged his own marriage to please himself and his subjects.

Meantime, under the watchful guidance of his Aunt Marguerite, he was being carefully trained in the art of government ; he was present at every Council, he travelled about the Netherlands to the various cities learning their customs and their needs, when other boys of his age would have been occupied in playing games with their young companions. He had no real childhood, and this early forcing of his intellect and character may have had much to do with the revulsion of feeling in his later years.

As to his personal appearance, we learn that Charles was a fine, handsome boy, well grown for his years, with a broad, intelligent forehead, clear, honest blue eyes, and an aquiline nose ; while the only drawback to his appearance was the heavy under-jaw which was a characteristic of the Hapsburg race. He was courtly and pleasant in his manner, but somewhat cold and reserved to strangers ; he could always

be trusted to tell the truth, and was early noted for a strong sense of justice and also for great tenacity in holding any opinion which he had formed. It will be interesting to trace the growth of his character in the great career which awaited him.

CHAPTER III

WAR WITH GUELDETS—MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA, REGENT OF THE NETHERLANDS

Marguerite of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands—Her correspondence with her father, the Emperor Maximilian—Incessant war with Guelders, under Duke Charles of Egmond, who was supported by France—The Regent's urgent need of men and money—Maximilian at the time engaged in war with Venice, in seeking to regain Milan, and in the attempt to lead a crusade against the Turks—Details of the war with Guelders.

THE history of Charles V, from the death of his father in 1507, to his own early majority in 1515, is the story of the Netherlands, and our best authority for that part which personally concerns him is to be found in the vast quantity of letters which passed between Maximilian and his daughter Marguerite.¹ It was no light task which the young princess of six-and-twenty had so gallantly undertaken, for on every side there were possible foes who watched with unfriendly eyes the growing power of the Hapsburgs.

Under the name of the Netherlands, many duchies, counties, and lordships were included, and the turbulent burghers in the great cities needed a wise and vigilant rule. Internal feuds amongst the various States were a constant source of anxiety; but the definite and persistent rebellion of one of the great

¹ About 550 are still preserved in the archives of Lille.

feudal lords, Charles, Duke of Guelders, gave Marguerite more trouble than anything else. This young prince, whose grandfather Arnold had pledged the duchy to Charles of Burgundy, was helped and encouraged by Louis XII to assert his supposed rights, and take possession of the land of his ancestors, while his people fought with enthusiasm to assert their independence under the brave and ambitious young Charles of Egmond. We shall see that the story of this long struggle of a small State against the power of the Empire takes up an incredible share in the correspondence between father and daughter.

One of the most important of Duke Charles's military stations was the stronghold of Pouderoyen, not far from the Meuse; it was situated on the frontier of Brabant and Holland, was well fortified, and of use for invasions into both States. The men of Bois-le-Duc, assisted by a company from Holland and four hundred mercenaries commanded by Count Jean of Egmond, laid siege to the castle. They built a blockhouse before the place, and sought to cut off all communications; but the garrison had, for captain, the wily old Henri Ens, known as Suyderwint, who was more than a match for the besiegers and held them at bay until the Duke of Guelders arrived and the siege was raised. Marguerite was much annoyed when she heard of this repulse, and she wrote to her general, Jean of Egmond: "It is quite true that we must expect misfortunes, but it seems to me that we have many more by our own fault than by the Divine Will." The fortress was retaken later by Rodolph, Prince of Anhalt, Captain-General of the

Netherlands, after the death of the gallant Suyderwint.

The one unceasing complaint throughout the letters is the absolute want of money for carrying on any successful war. Maximilian was absorbed by vast schemes of conquest, such as driving the French out of Italy, controlling the Pope, regaining Milan, and leading all Europe in a crusade against the Turks. Meanwhile there was never much money in his treasury, and Marguerite found the greatest difficulty in obtaining from the burghers of the Netherlands funds for the defence of their own country. On every side the soldiers make pitiful appeals for the necessaries of life; the garrison of Tiel have no pay, and the greater part have "no coat or doublet or shirt on their backs, and mostly nothing to eat." The same heart-rending story of want and destitution is repeated by all the captains, who insist that "the men will not fight without pay, but either go home or join the other side." Meantime the disastrous guerilla warfare goes on; we hear of a little town being surprised, probably by treachery, then a castle besieged and taken with cruel massacre, a convent burnt to the ground, or merely a company of merchants robbed by foot-soldiers and massacred if they make resistance.

Marguerite has fortunately other interests in life to relieve this constant strain and anxiety. Charles and his sisters are watched over with devoted affection, and, in the midst of his strenuous life, Maximilian never forgets them. In the autumn of 1508 he takes advantage of the visit to Malines of the Pope's Legate,

Cardinal de Sainte-Croix, to arrange for all the children to be confirmed together and receive the Cardinal's benediction. This had been a disastrous year for the Emperor ; the Republic of Venice having refused him permission to pass through her territories with an army to be crowned Emperor in Rome, he had retaliated by making war, and lost one town after another on the northern shores of the Adriatic, until, Trieste having fallen and his generals being again defeated by the Venetian army, he was compelled to submit to a humiliating truce for three years. But diplomacy succeeded where force had failed, and in December 1508 the famous League of Cambray was concluded, ostensibly to settle matters with France and Guelders, but in which the Emperor's secret object was the ruin of Venice. It is interesting to find that the negotiations on his side were trusted almost entirely to his daughter. He instructs her to come to Antwerp with the boy Charles to talk over the subject ; and the young Archduke was also to accompany his Aunt Marguerite to Cambray, protected by an escort of a hundred horsemen and a company of archers, in order that he might be present at the Council.

In the clause which referred to Guelders, it was decided that it should remain in the hands of Duke Charles, with the county of Zutphen ; he was to return all the places he had taken in Holland, and receive in exchange all the strongholds which he had lost in Guelderland. But the Treaty was so much waste paper as far as the turbulent young prince was concerned. He was at that moment in open warfare

with his neighbour, the Bishop of Utrecht, whose house at Kuinder, on the frontier, he had just taken and "fortified for himself, with strong bulwarks." Marguerite remonstrates with him in vain, for in March we hear of fresh aggressions; "he has taken the church of Barneveld and caused it to be fortified," and Maximilian uses very strong language.

But this petty warfare was almost forgotten in the supreme interest of the great European conflict with Venice. The Emperor was compelled to mortgage his jewels and treasures to obtain funds, and, thus engaged, he was not present at the victory of Agnadello, where the army of the Republic was defeated by Louis XII. Marguerite hears the news from her father, May 18, 1509, "that the men of Venice must have numbered 20,000, and the French somewhat more, ten or twelve thousand must have been killed or taken prisoners, and the conquerors gained forty pieces of artillery." Maximilian desires to have good and powerful chargers sent for his own use, and is also anxious to acquire some "galleys which bring spices to Antwerp," as he is in want of ships of war. A little later he writes that his Slavonian men-at-arms have been successful in taking Verona, Vicenza, and other cities, yet he does not reach the camp before Padua until after the middle of August. Padua was most gallantly defended, and the united efforts of the allies failed to take the city either by assault or by investment. In October Maximilian most unwisely raised the siege and returned to the Tyrol. This was the turning-point of the campaign, and before the end of the year

Venice had recovered all that she had lost to Austria.

But, alike in peace and war, the Emperor never loses his interest in all that concerns his grandchildren. He writes from the camp before Padua with minute directions about the young Marquis of Brandenburg, who is to enter the service of the Archduke Charles. In his Court, he had quite a pleasant society of young companions, amongst whom were the two sons of the unfortunate Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and a young Duke of Saxe is also mentioned. There was great anxiety in October 1509 when the young princesses at Malines were taken ill with small-pox, and their aunt, who was at the time with Charles in Brussels, decides to remain there with him in order that he may not be exposed to infection.

The war in Guelderland still smoulders on, breaking out now in one place, then in another, with utter disregard of all treaties. At last, in 1501, a most startling plan is suggested: to buy peace from Charles of Egmond by giving him, as a bride, one of the sisters of the Archduke. The second, Isabelle, a girl of nine, is spoken of, but there is so much opposition from her Spanish grandfather Ferdinand, Henry VIII, and other people of importance, that the incredible alliance is given up. In December Marguerite writes that all negotiations are broken off with Charles of Guelderland; she implores Maximilian to give directions for defending the frontiers of Holland and Brabant, adding pathetically: "With regard to me, Monseigneur, you know that I am a

woman, and that it is not rightly my business to meddle with war. . . .”

The Regent has a most ardent desire for peace, but even her own general, Florent d’Egmond, seems to have other views. The States of Utrecht complain that he has attacked their city and done much damage. The canals were covered with ice at the time, and he would have taken the citadel had not a troop of cavalry from Guelders arrived and given the alarm, seizing the chariots which carried the ladders and other instruments of war, and so preventing the assault. Marguerite expresses her great regret, and orders Egmond to set free his prisoners and to repair the damage. She is very angry, for this general will never give her the chance of a quiet life, and she believes that the constant warfare is partly his fault.

The whole story of this Guelders war would read like a farce if it were not that every one concerned is in such deadly earnest. All the events are described most vividly, with quaint details. Thus, the surprise of Harderwick by the men of Guelders is explained : they met some women in a cart who, not knowing these were enemies, let out the fact of the small number of defenders. Then it was believed that the city gate was opened by treachery, and some men-at-arms escaped with the news to Arnheim, where Duke Charles expresses great astonishment. Really he “did not know there was any war going on except against the infidels . . . and although his men had taken the place without his knowledge . . . he cannot give it up. . . .”

Marguerite certainly has no peace, for in April,

1511, she writes from Ghent that "Flemish merchants, to the number of twenty-four, with a safe-conduct, were on their way to Frankfort, when they were set upon by a hundred horsemen of Guelders, who killed two or three and wounded others, taking the rest to a strong and close prison, in the town of Guelders, holding them to a great ransom exceeding 100,000 florins, which is a great scandal and loss to the aforesaid poor merchants. . . ." There are pitiful complaints from Antwerp and Malines, "which cities will not be satisfied until the road is made safe for their merchants." This raid became a subject of international importance, and many letters passed between the Emperor, Louis XII of France, the Regent of the Netherlands, and various ambassadors. But no compromise was possible with Charles of Guelders, and Marguerite found herself obliged to carry on this petty disastrous war, while the terrible truth was that she had no money to meet the expenses. On every side her generals write, imploring her to send pay for the soldiers or they will give up the citadels and go over to the other side.

Egmond writes: "As you love your land of Holland, send the money!" "Our men are pillaging and devouring the peasants" ("manger le bonhomme" is the vivid expression). Soudenbalch writes: "They were ready to kill me for their pay." Henri de Nassau declares that he has spent all his own money, and asks to resign. Meantime the French King secretly kept the Duke of Guelders in funds, and something happened every day. The important

town of Bommel, on the river Waal, was taken by strategy, with a vessel apparently laden with faggots, while underneath a number of soldiers were hidden. The Bishop of Utrecht gives much trouble, and seems to be playing a double game. Hattem was given up by treachery. On the Zuiderzee the men of Holland, however, chased with sixteen boats the men of Guelders, who fled. But in September 1511 the Regent receives bad news of the taking of Tiel, on the river Waal, and also of the castle of Wisch, in the county of Zutphen.

At length Marguerite applies to Henry VIII for assistance, and a certain number of English soldiers are sent under the command of Edward Poyning, and they give great satisfaction, especially the artillerymen, who "acquit themselves marvellously well, and better than any others in the said army [sent to lay siege to Venloo], for which they deserve much praise." Unfortunately, they are only provided for four months.

The next year, 1512, saw great events happening in Italy, which was then the battle-field of Europe. These only concern our history in so far as Maximilian and his dominions were actually concerned. The Pope, Julius II, had succeeded in forming a "Holy League by which Spain, England, and Venice were to serve him by regaining all the papal lands. The Emperor was induced to make peace with Venice in April; he also allowed the Swiss to pass through the Tyrol and join the Pope's army, while in June he summoned four thousand German *lands-knechte* to leave the service of France.

Marguerite writes to her father to say that both the Swiss and the French wish to cross the domains of Burgundy. She points out what a terrible thing this would be, and insists that steps must be taken to prevent either army from doing so in order "to preserve his poor subjects and country from total destruction and perdition." She makes continued efforts to keep the Netherlands neutral in the coming war. It is owing to her advice that the young Maximilian, son of Lodovico Sforza, is made Duke of Milan; she could not foresee that, three years later, he would be compelled to resign and spend the rest of his life a pensioned exile in France. She is entrusted by Maximilian with most of the diplomatic arrangements with Henry VIII, and has to induce him to advance the sum of 50,000 golden crowns to equip 1,500 German horsemen and provide artillery to help the Swiss. From her own plate and jewels she supplies presents to ambassadors, and bribes of various amounts to everybody!

There is still bad news of the war in Guelderland, and Charles of Egmond succeeds in taking the important city of Woudrichem, at the mouth of the Meuse. The Regent insists upon the city being recovered, and Henri of Nassau describes his plan for the siege. He has stationed boats on the river to guard the approaches, but "the nights are so dark, and our men are so often tipsy, that I fear they will do but little on the watch. Madame must send more men at once, and see that they are paid from next Monday; also there is sore need of provisions. . . ." Woudrichem is ultimately retaken, and many of the

men of Guelders make their escape by the river. Then the towns of Tiel and Wissen are taken, and Marguerite is sorely troubled to find money for her soldiers. In her last letter of 1512 she laments that "three hundred knights of Arnheim are living on the villages and pillaging my poor people of Brabant." However, when she has spent all her own private means, she obtains a grant of 60,000 florins from the States of Flanders. In the frequent letters which she receives from Duke Charles of Guelders, we find a curious mixture of personal respect and friendliness, combined with violent complaints against her generals.

CHAPTER IV

LEARNED TUTORS OF CHARLES—HIS AFFECTION FOR HIS SISTERS

Youthful training and education of Charles—His affection for his sisters, Eléonore, Isabelle, and Marie—His tutors, Louis Vacca and Adrian of Utrecht—Serious scholastic teaching—Influence of his governor, Guillaume de Croy, Lord of Chièvres—Marriage alliances arranged for his sisters—Charles present at the Council of Tournay—He is emancipated at the age of fifteen.

FROM the anxiety and troubles of her Government in the Netherlands, Marguerite could at least turn with satisfaction to the royal children under her care, and she can write to her father in the year 1511 :

“Monsieur my nephew and Mesdames my nieces are in good health and disposition, by the Grace of God ; and I believe that my young prince devotes himself steadily to all good things, even as he grows from day to day. I hope so to watch over him that he may do you credit.”

For the last six years his tutor, Louis Vacca, has given the greatest satisfaction by the care and trouble which he has taken with the boy and his sisters. The princess writes two letters to Maximilian on his behalf, begging that Vacca may be duly recompensed and advanced in salary and ecclesiastical dignities.

A new tutor has been chosen for Charles, the good Dean of Louvain, Adrian of Utrecht; a pious man of advanced age, and a learned scholar who had been professor at that University. If we may judge from the utter inefficiency which he betrayed throughout his later history, he was the last person in the world to attract or interest Charles, with his dull and already antiquated scholastic methods. We know that the prince complained of "being taught as though he were destined to be a schoolmaster."

Besides his tutor, this much-educated boy had a governor and court chamberlain, Guillaume de Croy, Lord of Chièvres, who, since 1509, had been the young prince's "constant companion by day and night—except at dinner." This Burgundian noble was a soldier and a diplomatist; and he appears to have won the affection of his charge by encouraging him in the pursuit of manly games and martial exercises. The astute chamberlain also used his influence to persuade Charles to take an interest in public affairs, to attend meetings at the Councils, and write diplomatic letters, probably from dictation, when he only longed to be out hunting or shooting. This constant self-sacrifice must have had a bracing effect upon the boy's character.

In a letter written some time later by the English envoy, Spinelli, to Henry VIII, there is a curious illustration of the strength of purpose which the young Archduke could show when political interests were at stake. His eldest sister Eléonore, who was destined for the throne of Portugal, had been greatly attracted by the attentions of the brilliant, hand-

some young Frederick Count Palatine, and Chièvres informed Charles one day that his sister had begun a clandestine correspondence, and had that moment received a letter from the Count. It was a terrible blow to the brother, who was devoted to Eléonore and a great friend of her lover, to discover such deception; but he at once seized the letter, and put a stop to the intrigue. "From his constancy in a like affair, many do conjecture in him good stomach and courage, and how that he shall not lightly forget offences, and how he will be fast in his determinations . . .," wrote Spinelli with curious foresight. Other good qualities are attributed to him, such a hatred of flattery, a fierce dislike for all unkind gossip or evil-speaking, and a horror of the effects of drink.

During these early years, we are told of occasional visits paid by Maximilian to the Netherlands when his grandchildren are invited to meet him with their Aunt Marguerite. They all travel in state accompanied by their suite, perhaps to the palace at Brussels, with a company of men-at-arms to guard them. It is a great occasion, and they feast on venison of the Emperor's shooting. There is always much to discuss between the father and daughter; she persuades him to use all his efforts to place Maximilian Sforza on the throne of Milan, lest he should be thought anxious to keep it for himself. There are marriages to arrange for the three princesses, and, unfortunately, there are so few eligible princes, for the alliances must promote the interests of the Emperor. Louis, son of the King of Hungary, would be a suitable husband for Marie, and Christian II of

Denmark is talked of for Isabelle ; both of which marriages are carried out later. Maximilian Sforza is made Duke of Milan in December 1512, by the help of the Emperor.

The year 1513 opens with another treaty between Maximilian and Pope Julius II, who made a pious end of his turbulent life soon after, in February, and he was succeeded by Giovanni dei Medici, who took the title of Leo X. He found himself in the midst of a fierce conflict between France and Spain, in which he was compelled to take part, and therefore renewed the Papal alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon, Maximilian, and Henry VIII. Marguerite has to use all her diplomacy to strengthen the friendship between her father and Henry VIII, and most of their correspondence passes through her hands. Thus the Emperor has drawn out a plan for the invasion of France which he wishes forwarded to the King of England.

“In the first place, Henry is not to land at Boulogne, which is well fortified and defended, so that time would be wasted in trying to take it. No, the landing must be at Crotoy, a few leagues from Boulogne, and our good brother must know that the tide there is three hours low and the other nine hours high . . . and that the sand is so clinging that, for big horses and men-at-arms, it will be needful to have a bridge which may be used in any state of the tide. . . .”

Maximilian then advises King Henry to make his way to St. Quentin and take that city, so as to have provision for his army in all the country

round. "And I will be there in person with a good company of men-at-arms. . . ."

Marguerite succeeded in maintaining the neutrality of the Netherlands in the coming war with France. Meantime Henry VIII selected Calais as his landing-place, and in July he joined the force besieging the fortified city of Thérouanne. The French troops tried to bring provisions for the garrison, but were defeated in the attempt, and the engagement was rather unfairly called the Battle of Spurs, as the relieving force was small and had orders to retreat if attacked. Maximilian had arrived by this time and wrote to his daughter on August 24, that he was present at the taking of Thérouanne. Tournay was the next place besieged, and on the way thither the English King paid a visit to Marguerite at Lille, which was then in Flanders. She writes on September 22, with regard to a proposed meeting of the allied sovereigns at Tournay, that she is willing to ride thither if it is necessary to the service of the Emperor: "mais sans cella, ce n'est le cas de femme veuve de troter et aller visiter armées pour le plésir. . . ."

The Princess, however, bravely overcomes her scruples, and arrives in state at Tournay with her nephew Charles and his suite, which certainly included his constant companion, Chièvres. It was indeed a meeting of most interesting personalities. We can picture to ourselves Marguerite in the demure, nun-like dress which Van Orley painted, calm and wise with the eventful experience of her thirty-three years. We see the stately figure of Maximilian in

his battered armour, ever hopeful and eager, a strong contrast to the gorgeous flamboyant young King Henry VIII, with the cautious and watchful Wolsey by his side. But the interest centres upon the Archduke Charles, a tall, well-grown boy of thirteen, with a natural air of quiet dignity by which he was always distinguished; silent and reserved, but with pleasing, courteous manners. His marriage with Mary Tudor, the sister of the English King, is one of the important subjects of consideration, having been solemnly arranged five years before.

In the private memoirs of Charles, to which we shall often have occasion to refer, he mentions a fact not generally known, that it was at this period when his "emancipation" or coming of age was first settled. It actually came to pass in 1515 when, as he says, "he was recognized as lord in the States of Flanders." At this meeting at Tournay, one very important agreement was signed by Henry VIII; it is addressed to Marguerite as Regent of the Netherlands. "My good sister and cousin, I promise, on the word of a king, never to treat or conclude peace or truce with our common enemies, the French, without your seal and permission, on condition that you on your side will do the same. . . ."

We turn from these political affairs to the domestic life of Charles, and note the constant interest which Maximilian takes in his grandchildren. He visits Brussels, and his first thought is to invite them all to meet him, and gives special directions that the young Archduke's room is to be close to his own. There is much to arrange. Charles is to write some

good letters in "walon," to the King of Aragon his grandfather, to the Queen Juana his mother, and to his brother Ferdinand, on whom he is to bestow the title of Archduke of Austria, for "such is our pleasure." A marriage is next to be considered between the Princess Isabelle, now twelve years of age, and King Christian II of Denmark; the ambassadors are coming to negotiate the matter. All this time there are constant letters about appointments to posts in the household of Charles, to ecclesiastical offices, and other matters. We hear of the death of Anne de Bretagne, the wife of Louis XII, who had always kept up friendly relations with Marguerite and had set her heart upon the marriage of Charles with her daughter Claude, his first engagement. But, after her death, her husband lost no time in marrying Claude to François of Angoulême, the heir to the French throne.

On Trinity Sunday, June 11 of this year, the ill-fated marriage of Isabelle was celebrated by proxy at Brussels, with Christian II of Denmark. Only the year before he had succeeded to the throne, but, as Crown Prince, his illicit love-affair with the daughter of a Bergen inn-keeper had been notorious. A sad future awaited his child-wife, who was only thirteen at this time; but this was hidden in the future, and the wedding was a gay affair in which Charles played the part of host with *éclat*. It was not until the following year that the Archbishop Eric Valdkendorf was sent with a fleet to the Netherlands to fetch the bride, and she had a stormy voyage to her new home. Her sad story will be told hereafter. Her younger

sister, Marie, born in 1505, was already betrothed to the young son of Wladislaw II, King of Hungary and Bohemia. To obtain these kingdoms for the Hapsburgs had always been the desire of Maximilian's heart. He had fought for them in vain, but when Louis was born to Wladislaw and his French wife, Anne de Candolle, in 1506, the Emperor saw his way to secure the countries by a double marriage; Louis should marry his granddaughter Marie, and the sister of Louis, Anne of Hungary, should be the wife of Ferdinand of Austria. In order to ensure this alliance, little Marie was sent on a visit to the Court of Hungary in this year 1514; a most perilous journey, which caused her aunt great anxiety. However, she arrived safely without adventure, returning in due time, but her real marriage did not take place until seven years later.

A curious feature of this period is the confidence of sovereigns in the value of marriage alliances. Louis XII, having been unsuccessful in his last campaign, renews the offer of his daughter Renée to Ferdinand the brother of Charles, who had been brought up in Spain and was under the influence of his grandfather Ferdinand. Marguerite strongly advises her father Maximilian to oppose this suggestion, imploring him to remain loyal to his treaty with England. But already suspicions had arisen in the mind of Henry VIII, and the secret negotiations of France resulted in the astounding bargain that the widowed and elderly King of France should marry Henry's sister, Mary Tudor, a lively young girl of eighteen, the affianced bride of Charles of Austria.

The whole balance of power in Europe was disturbed by this alliance, but Louis XII died within three months and was succeeded, at the opening of the year 1515, by his nephew François I, who carried on his policy and his wars in Italy. This young King of twenty-one was eager to lead his army to battle, and in September, after several minor engagements, he was fortunate enough to win the decisive battle of Marignano, near Milan. He could now make his own terms, and Maximilian Sforza resigned his dukedom and retired to France as a pensioner.

In the spring of this year, 1515, Maximilian held a great meeting of sovereigns at Vienna, when Louis, son of the King of Hungary, was married by proxy to Marie of Austria, while her brother Ferdinand was betrothed to Anne of Hungary. But the most important event of this year for the Archduke Charles was his "emancipation," or coming of age. He was barely fifteen at this time, and various reasons are given for this somewhat premature arrangement. We are told that it was by command of the States-General of the Netherlands, and that it took Marguerite unawares. But, on the other hand, we have the official letter of Charles to the President and Councillors, in which he announces the fact, and orders that henceforth all affairs shall be carried on in his name :

"Very dear and well-beloved. It has pleased the Emperor, my lord and grandfather, to emancipate us and place us out of his guardianship and regency, placing the government of our country and lordships

of these lands over here, in our hands, and consenting that we be received and sworn to the principality and lordship of the same. . . .”

He continues fully to explain and give his commands, and adds :

“ Given under the seal which the Emperor, my lord and grandfather, and we have used during the time of our minority. . . . Written at Brussels, the 8th day of January, 1515.”

We gather from this letter that Maximilian had given the order, and it seems impossible to believe that his daughter, who was on such affectionate terms with him, should not have been told unless there was some underhand court intrigue. It was probable that Chièvres really managed the whole affair, as he had always been very jealous of the Regent's authority, and, from his great influence over his pupil, he now felt sure of having the government in his own hands. His first step was to exclude her from the confidence of her nephew. She was at first refused a seat in the Council, and the Emperor's letters were not shown to her. This was a severe blow, as Marguerite had now ruled the Netherlands for eight years with much wisdom and success, besides spending all her large personal income on matters of state, and giving away most of her splendid plate and jewellery as presents, or bribes, for political services. She at once wrote to Maximilian, sending a full statement of all her accounts, with a list of the payments and gifts she had made out of her private

income. She also gave a detailed account of her government, so successful in all, save that which related to Charles of Guelders, "who broke all treaties and feared neither God nor man . . . until I did not know what to do or provide about it, nor how one could live with him."

It is interesting to know that wiser counsels soon prevailed. The Emperor wrote a most impressive letter to his grandson, pointing out all that his devoted aunt had done for his service, adding that "he was indeed her heart, her hope, and her heir." Charles made full amends, and when he set forth on his triumphal progress through the cities of the Netherlands, he was accompanied by Marguerite and she shared with him the enthusiasm of his subjects, in these "entrées joyeuses."

In commemoration of the young prince's majority, Pope Leo X presented him with the coveted "Golden Rose" that year.

CHAPTER V

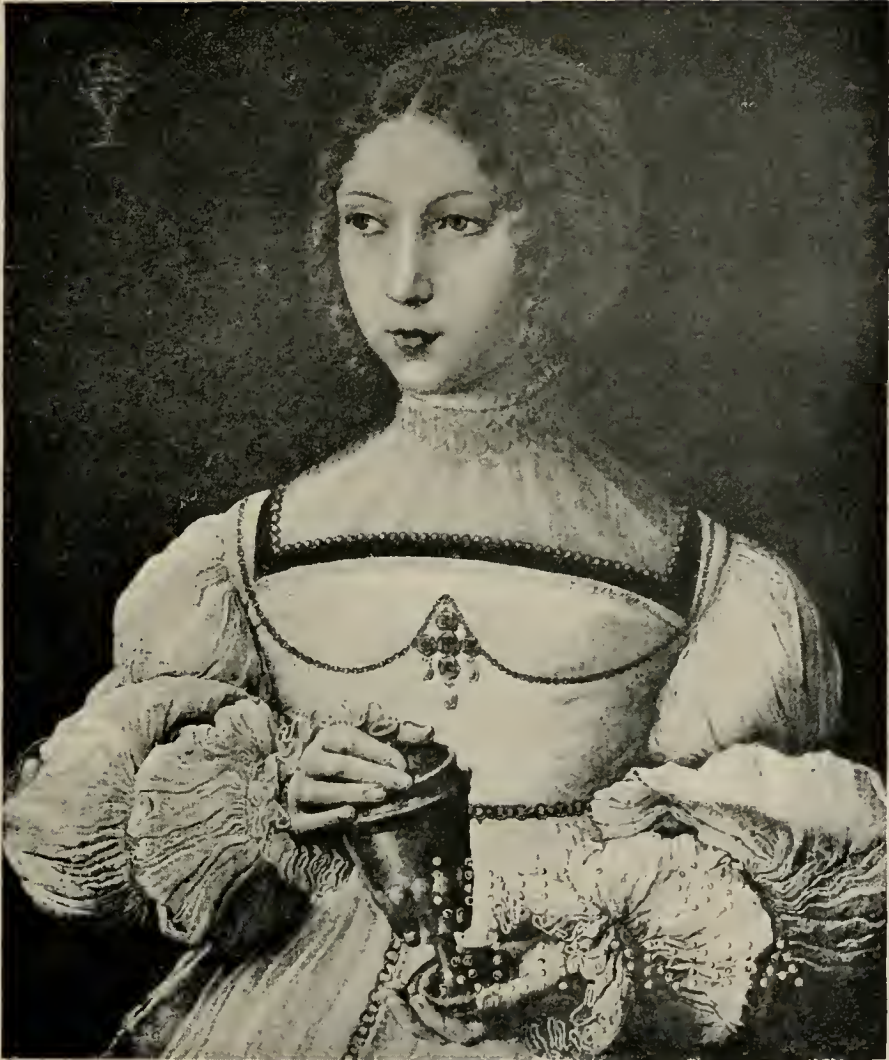
FIRST VISIT OF CHARLES V TO SPAIN—HIS MOTHER, JUANA

Death of Ferdinand of Aragon—February 23, 1516—Charles V pays his first visit to Spain, 1517—His eventful voyage—Death of Cardinal Ximenes—Charles visits his mother, Queen Juana, at Tordesillas—He befriends his young sister Catalina—The oath of allegiance is taken to Charles and his mother, in Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia—Subsidies are voted to the new King—His brother Ferdinand is sent to the Netherlands—Charles V is elected “King of the Romans” at Frankfort—He leaves Spain early in 1520.

THE death of King Ferdinand of Aragon on February 23, 1516, entitled Charles to the prospective crowns of Aragon and Naples, subject, like that of Castile, to his mother's life and capacity to govern. It was a most difficult position for him, and the mistakes he made must be largely attributed to the short-sighted, grasping Flemings by whom he was surrounded and who, with Chièvres at their head, had obtained such strong influence over him. At the memorial service to Ferdinand in Brussels, the herald proclaimed: “Long live donna Jehanne and don Charles, by the grace of God, Catholic Kings,” and the sword of justice was presented to the young prince. This premature assumption of royal rights gave great offence in Spain, where etiquette was always of supreme importance.

Meantime another blunder had been made by sending the pious but incapable Adrian of Utrecht as Governor of Spain, when Castile had already been placed by Ferdinand under the rule of the great Cardinal Ximenes, a patriot and an experienced politician. He felt that his duty to Spain was to support Charles, whom he proclaimed King, subject to the rights of Juana, the "reyna proprietaria," and received with courtesy his envoy Adrian. Ximenes devoted himself with gallant courage, marvellous in a man of eighty, to govern the troubled realm of Castile; he revoked the wasteful and unconstitutional grants from the royal possessions which had been made by Isabella and Ferdinand, thereby making himself extremely unpopular with the nobles, but, with the funds obtained, raising an army which could control them. He was also able to carry on the war in Africa against Barbarossa with partial success, while he held Navarre against François I and wisely dismantled the fortresses so that no enemy could hold the province.

Meanwhile Charles delayed his departure for Spain, where his presence was much needed. We wonder whether he thoroughly realized all that the crown of Aragon would bring him. It comprised the kingdom of Valencia, and the counties of Barcelona, Cerdagne, and Roussillon, all with separate Cortes. Beyond the mainland were the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, and Majorca, each one having a distinct character and government. To these may be added the foreign possessions in Africa and some in America. The nobles in Aragon were rich and



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ISABELLE DE BOURGOGNE, SISTER OF CHARLES V.

By Jan Gossaert (Mabuse).

independent, holding complete authority over their vassals; they had not been kept in subjection to the Crown like those of Castile. Ximenes was a strong and capable ruler, but his authority was questioned; factions broke out amongst the nobles and the great towns resisted the payment of taxes, while there was suspected to be a party in Spain who would try to secure the crown for the younger brother Ferdinand, who was born and brought up in their country and was the favourite of his grandfather Ferdinand.

With regard to the journey to Spain, another complication arose a few months after the death of King Ferdinand. Maximilian joined with England in a war against France, which continued until the Peace of Noyon, concluded on August 13, 1516, by Charles and his minister Chièvres. The young prince was willing to seal it with yet another betrothal, this time with the infant daughter of François I. Maximilian had not been consulted, but he felt bound to ratify the treaty. Yet when peace with France had paved the way for travelling to Spain, it was still necessary for Charles to obtain a safe-conduct from the King of England, and also to raise a large sum to pay the necessary expenses of a voyage in state, with a household of five hundred people, and about three hundred attendants. Probably Chièvres felt more secure of his influence over his master in Flanders than in Spain; in any case Charles did not actually set sail until September 8, 1517, having been delayed for some weeks by westerly winds. He was accompanied by his sister Eléonore and her

attendant ladies. We have a very full account of the long and eventful voyage from a member of the suite, Lorenzo Vital.¹ He describes the magnificent royal ship with its painted sails, the morning and evening prayers, the lively band of trumpets, fifes, and drums. He dwells upon the terrible storms, the alarms from pirates, the burning of the ship which bore the royal horses, and finally the difficulty of landing at the small port of Tazones, when Charles and a few attendants were rowed in the night, up the estuary to Villa Viciosa. The journey through the wild hill country was full of hardships; there were only forty horses for the whole suite, the ladies travelled in ox-carts, and were thankful to sleep on straw in the villages, where the people were at first alarmed at the coming of strangers.

Not until the end of October did Charles meet the Constable of Castile and the nobles who had travelled to meet him. Unfortunately, Cardinal Ximenes was not amongst them, for he was stricken with deadly sickness, and passed away only a week later, without realizing his earnest hope of meeting his sovereign. Under the influence of Chièvres, Charles, who had always felt a warm regard for the wise statesman, had previously written suggesting his retirement in courteous language which could not soften the blow. This may have had a serious effect upon him in his failing health, and we cannot acquit Charles of ingratitude in his thoughtless ignorance of all that he owed to the great Cardinal.

Chièvres was now without a rival, and absolute

¹ "Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays Bas."

master of Spain and the Netherlands. He at once used his power in promoting all his Flemish friends and kinsmen to high places in the State. His nephew, the boy-Cardinal of Croy, he made Archbishop of Toledo, and Jean le Sauvage, already Grand Chancellor of Burgundy, he appointed Chancellor of Castile. Adrian of Utrecht was made Bishop of Tortosa, and later, Cardinal; but he perhaps had some claim as the King's tutor.

On November 18 Charles made a solemn entry into the capital of Castile, Valladolid, with a stately procession. Thirty falconers in the King's livery led the way, with birds on fist; they were followed by the royal guard of halberds, a company of light Spanish lancers, the drum-and-fife bands, and a line of royal chargers led by gaily dressed grooms. Then came the Spanish and Flemish nobles, more halberds and heralds, all the foreign ambassadors, and last the King himself. He was magnificent in a surcoat of crimson silk with gold and silver brocade worn above the steel armour, while he wore on his head a black velvet cap with ostrich-feather plumes, fastened with a great pearl and a ruby. But Vital, who tells the story, was especially proud of the King's splendid horsemanship, for although his horse pranced, "with most of his legs in the air," Charles never swayed or lost his perfect calm.

After this state entry there followed a round of entertainments, and especially tournaments, in which Charles won great admiration, for he was at his best in all such feats of arms. But this was only a brief interlude, as he had much serious work before him.

His first desire was to visit his mother, whose sad condition had long been “ a grief and anxiety to him,” as he had written in a letter dated April 30, 1516, addressed to Cardinal Ximenes, in which he said that “ the most important thing is the care of the Queen, my Lady, and I pray you to make sure that she is very well treated and served in every way. . . .”¹ We have a very interesting account of the meeting between Juana and her son and daughter, Eléonore, when they went to visit her at Tordesillas, in December 1517.²

When she had previously been told: “ The King your son has arrived in Spain,” she replied: “ I alone am the Queen, and my son Carlos is only the prince.” When the royal party arrived at the castle of Tordesillas, Chièvres prepared the way and inquired if the Queen would see her son and daughter, at which she expressed her pleasure. Eléonore paused on the threshold and made a deep curtsy, which she repeated when she reached the middle of the room, and Charles would have kissed his mother’s hand, but she advanced eagerly and embraced them both. Then Charles said: “ Señora, we your humble and obedient servants rejoice extremely to see you, by the grace of God, in good health, and we present to you with all reverence, our honour, respect, and obedience.”

The Queen Juana replied with a smile and a movement of her head. A moment later, taking her son and daughter by the hand, she exclaimed with deep

¹ Original in cypher in the archives of Simancas.

² Doña Juana la Loca, par R. A. Villa.

emotion: "Can you indeed be my children? How you have grown in a short time! Thanks be to God. . . . What trouble and fatigue you must have had, my children, in coming from so far!" Presently she dismissed them with kind words: "You must be weary, it is late . . . come and see me tomorrow." Whereupon they retired and Chièvres was left to explain certain matters. Juana always continued to show much affection to her children, especially to Charles, who was always very gentle and courteous to her. We have a pathetic account of the little daughter Catalina, now ten years old, who had been brought up in those gloomy surroundings, having never left her mother for a day. We are told that she was the most beautiful of the children of Philippe and most resembled him, but must have been disfigured by her loose dress of coarse serge with a white woollen headdress, the same costume as her mother's. She had no companions but the two old servants who waited upon her, and Juana could scarcely allow the child to go out of her sight.

Charles was greatly distressed about his little sister's sad life, and held anxious consultation with Eléonore as to how they could rescue her. It was the more difficult as Juana was at times quite reasonable, but was liable to violent fits of passion, usually followed by deep depression. A plan was formed and carried out some time later, by which Catalina was secretly taken away at night and brought to her sister's care in the palace of Valladolid. She was warmly welcomed, and was the admiration of all the Court, as she appeared "clothed in violet satin

embroidered with gold, wearing the beautiful head-dress of Castile, her train held by a lady of the household," holding the hand of Eléonore, who provided for her every possible delight. But the poor child's happiness was of short duration, for news soon came that the Queen Juana was wild with grief at the loss of her daughter, and vowed that she would neither eat nor sleep until she was found.

The result was inevitable ; at the end of two days Charles took little Catalina, who behaved with heroic sweetness and courage, back to Tordesillas, and told his mother the whole story. She was so thankful to have her child back that she was ready to promise anything, and Charles insisted that his little sister should have some change and amusement, that she must have children of her own age to play with her, "and be taken into the open country to enjoy the pure air when the weather was fine." We see in the many letters preserved, from Catalina to her royal brother, how he watched over her happiness, and did all in his power both for her welfare and that of his mother. Her great and powerful brother was her one hope, and she idolized him. But the young girl never left her gloomy home at Tordesillas, until in 1524, when she had reached the age of seventeen, a marriage was arranged for her with her cousin, João III, King of Portugal.

In the private Memoirs of Charles V we read that, "after seeing his mother at Tordesillas, he went on to Mojados, where he met Don Ferdinand his brother, and received him, showing him great and fraternal love. And, pursuing his journey, His Majesty arrived

at Valladolid, where he convoked the States of the kingdom of Castile and was proclaimed King jointly with the Queen his mother." The Cortes of Castile opened on February 2, 1518. The deputies showed much jealousy of the Flemish nobles; and Charles had to promise that he would observe the customs and privileges of the realm, and promote only Spaniards to offices and benefices. He was crowned at Valladolid, in the presence of the Cortes, on February 7, while the oath of allegiance was taken to both himself and his mother. The Cortes then granted him the generous subsidy of 600,000 ducats.

The Memoirs of Charles then continue the story :

"His Majesty departed with his brother from Valladolid, and on the way left Prince Ferdinand at Aranda, who left that place in order to embark at Santander, and pass from there into Flanders, where he was received by Madame his aunt. His Majesty then continued his journey to Saragossa, where in the same manner the Cortes were convened and he was proclaimed King."

In these few words very important matters are summed up. The people of Spain were extremely unwilling for Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, to leave the country, but Charles had already promised to send his brother to the Netherlands. Also there was believed to be a plot, headed by the Archbishop of Saragossa, a natural son of King Ferdinand, to place the younger brother on the throne. His Spanish grandfather would have done so if he could, and was

with much difficulty prevented from bestowing upon him the Grand-mastership of the Military Orders. This was a position of great importance which came in the end to Charles. With regard to the meeting with the Cortes of Aragon, the young King was opposed by the most obstinate resistance, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the deputies were induced to swear allegiance to him and his mother, after exacting many conditions. He required immense patience and perseverance, before he could obtain any subsidy, and when they made a grant of 100,000 ducats it was at once appropriated by them to the payment of former crown debts.

The self-government of Aragon appears to have been in a chaotic condition. The historian Peter Martyr of Angheria says of the nobles that "their fortresses were the caves of robbers and the sanctuaries of evil-doers," while another authority declared that "robbery and murder went unpunished, for the great lords had gained their possessions by robbery." A just government was the last thing they wanted. It was while he was at Saragossa that the young King made full amends to his Aunt Marguerite, by once more appointing her to be Regent of the Netherlands, by formal deed on August 18, 1518. This gave great satisfaction to the Emperor, who sent congratulations to his daughter in one of the last letters he ever wrote to her. He was in failing health, but all his energies were centred on the supreme effort to secure the succession to the Empire for his grandson Charles. He had already obtained the promises of the Electors of Mainz,

Cologne, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and the Palatinate, but these were only secured by the promise of immense bribes, which would have to be paid later by resources from Spain. We see how important it was for Charles to obtain large subsidies.

From Saragossa he travelled on to Barcelona, the chief town of Catalonia, and here he had still more difficulties with the Cortes, and was kept waiting for months. A tumult broke out on religious grounds, and an attack of plague carried off some of the Flemish nobles. Besides these, the Chancellor Jean le Sauvage, died, and Charles had the good fortune to replace him by Mercurino Gattinara, a man of talent and high principles, who knew Spain thoroughly, was very capable and popular, and proved the best minister the young King ever had. The new year had arrived before Charles was at length proclaimed King, and was voted a grant of money. Meantime, on January 12, 1519, Maximilian had passed away, in the confident hope that his grandson would be elected "King of the Romans"; yet, notwithstanding the enormous sum spent or promised, nearly 6,000 gulden, this was by no means a certainty. François I, the rival candidate, had come into the field with high expectations on account of his superior wealth and the support of the Pope. On receiving the news of Maximilian's death, it was natural that Charles should wish to return as soon as possible to Germany to carry on the struggle. He should have gone on to Valencia, but he gave great offence to the jealous little kingdom by sending his deputy Adrian, now Bishop of Tortosa, to hold the Cortes. Yet, with all

his impatience, the young King found himself obliged to delay his departure for many months.

Meantime his cause, in pursuit of the imperial dignity, was supported with splendid enthusiasm by his Aunt Marguerite, as we learn from her letters and expenses at this time; and fortunately, those great bankers, the Fuggers, came forward generously with a loan of 500,000 florins. Charles himself wrote endless letters to the Electors, the bishops, the Swabian League—every one who might help, even the King of England and the Pope, who at last withdrew his opposition. The popular voice in Germany decided for the grandson of Maximilian, and he was elected at Frankfort on June 28, 1519, as “King of the Romans,” his formal title, until the papal coronation should give him that of “Romanorum Imperator.” The news of his election was received with dismay in Spain, which it was feared would sink into a mere province of the Empire, and be ruled “from the icy ocean of the north.”

In his farewell progress through Spain, Charles had been well received at Burgos, but when he reached Valladolid he found the people in a state closely resembling rebellion; one day the great bell called the populace to arms, and it was with difficulty that his escort made a way for their King through an angry mob. He had given offence by issuing writs for the Cortes to meet at Santiago in Galicia, a distant, unconsidered province; but he at length opened the assembly there on March 30, 1520. Castile had already voted him a liberal subsidy for three years, and now his great anxiety was to have

a definite vote for its continuance during another three years, in order that the tax might be steadily levied during his absence from Spain. But the deputies had come prepared to make trouble, and they were not moved by the conciliatory speech of the Bishop of Badajos, President of the Cortes. In vain he pointed out the great importance of Charles's election to the Empire which would make him the bulwark of Christendom against the infidel and the highest power in the world. He promised that the coasts should be well defended, the army well paid, and justice should be secure. Within three years their King would return and Castile should be "the fortress of his defence, his sword, his delight, and the garden of his pleasure." Charles added a few words in Spanish—with which he was not very familiar—to confirm the President's words, and to add the promise that he would not bestow office on any but those of Spanish birth.

As he could obtain no definite reply to his demand for the continuance of the subsidy, the meeting was put off until April 22, when the Cortes were to meet at Corunna, the port from which Charles was about to embark. Here at length the desired promise was given, after much discussion, on condition that the eighty-eight petitions should be granted. His victory was dearly bought, for it was in reality a political failure. Valencia was in a state of social war, while Toledo and Salamanca were on the verge of rebellion. The final step of the King in appointing Adrian Bishop of Tortosa as Viceroy, with unlimited powers, was looked upon as a crowning insult. The

only redeeming act had been the appointment of a Spanish general in command of the army.

Now that the subsidy was obtained, Charles set sail for Flanders as soon as the north wind suffered him to do so. His two years and five months in Spain had been full of mistakes, for which he would have to pay dearly, but the whole blame cannot rest upon him, or even upon his grasping Flemish advisers, for the seed of revolt had long been sown, in the fierce hostility of the nobles to the growing power of the prosperous towns. The imminent danger was that they might unite against the government of the young King and so set alight the fire of a destructive civil war.

CHAPTER VI

CHARLES V IN GERMANY—DIET OF WORMS

Charles V travels through England and later makes a treaty with Henry VIII at Gravelines—His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle—Diet of Worms—Meeting between Charles and Luther—No compromise possible between the Emperor and the Reformer—Progress of the Reformation in Germany—Rebellion in Spain—The rebels seize Tordesillas and Queen Juana—Charles enlists the help of the Spanish nobles—Success of the royal cause at the battle of Villalar—War with François I—Death of Leo X and election of Pope Adrian VI.

SINCE his election to the Empire, Charles felt more strongly than ever the importance of a firm alliance with England. On his way back from Spain he landed at Dover on May 26, 1520, and was welcomed by Henry VIII, who rode to Canterbury with him the next day, and on Whitsunday attended service in the cathedral. He was warmly received by his aunt, Katharine of Aragon, at this their first meeting to which she had eagerly looked forward. He appears to have made an excellent impression on the English people, by the simplicity of his dress and the courtesy of his manner. But his visit was brief, for Henry VIII was on the point of crossing to Calais to meet François I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, while on the same day Charles set forth from Sandwich for Flanders; but they settled to meet later at Gravelines.

The pompous and showy setting of mediæval

splendour, in the English and French meeting between the two frontiers in June 1520 appears to have had less real influence upon Henry VIII than his later conference at Gravelines with the young King of Spain, which took place on July 14. Here a secret alliance was made between the English King and his nephew, to which the minister Wolsey greatly contributed, and from this time forth he proved a faithful ally to Charles, as we learn from the numerous and confidential letters which passed between them. But this was only one of the many important events of this year. It was already twelve months since the grandson of Maximilian had been elected Emperor, but his delay in leaving Spain and other causes deferred his formal coronation until October 1520. This took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was supported by a splendid suite of German princes and nobles, while the cathedral was thronged with an enthusiastic crowd. Before the high altar the young prince took the usual oaths, was crowned with the golden diadem of Charlemagne, girt with his sword and other insignia, seated on his throne, and duly proclaimed Roman Emperor Elect.

His first duty was to summon the Estates in November, to meet him at that memorable Diet of Worms, where for the first and only time, as Emperor and champion of the Church, he was to meet the arch-heretic, Luther, who was already recognized as a power of great but unknown significance. A mighty task was before him which would have taxed the strength of a wise and experienced ruler, for it was nothing less than the problem of reconciling a new

political rule with the ancient beliefs of Germany, in a time when storms were brewing on every side. The nuncio sent by Leo X to support Charles in his condemnation of Luther was Girolamo Aleander, a scholar and a man of broad intelligence, who was well aware of the mistakes of the Church, but was sternly set against what seemed to him the beginning of religious anarchy.

Now, at this point, it is interesting to remark the impression made by the young ruler of twenty upon a shrewd man of the world. Common repute had prepared him to find a dull, reserved youth, incapable of any initiative, and entirely guided by his Flemish counsellors. But a surprise was in store for the papal legate, who, after a long private audience, wrote thus to the Pope: "They may say what they please, but it seems to me that this prince is gifted with good sense and prudence, far beyond his years; and indeed he has, I believe, much more in his head than appears on his face."

This first solemn Diet of the Empire was indeed a critical adventure for the young monarch, who was called upon to assert his position before all the united power and prejudice of Germany. There were many burning questions facing him, but none was of more immediate urgency than the growing strength of the reforming temper. His own ambassador, Juan Manuel, had written to him from Rome: "Let His Majesty pay more attention to a little monk named Luther." On every side Charles was advised to adopt a policy of conciliation, and even to pay court to the arch-heretic, whose influence was widely

spreading over the Empire. Many nobles, although not professed Lutherans, were ready to defend him, and amongst the most powerful were Frederick of Saxony, who looked upon Luther as the pride of his university, and the Elector Palatine, who was said "to roar like ten bulls" in his cause; while many of the younger princes were supposed to agree with the new doctrines of revolt.

On the other hand, the Pope was using all his influence to obtain the condemnation of Luther unheard. But Charles had too strong a sense of justice to consent to this, and he sent a courteous summons with a safe-conduct to the rebellious monk to appear before the Diet, and defend his doctrines. On his arrival at Worms, Luther was welcomed with enthusiasm by the people, and made his appearance in the great Council-chamber on April 16. On this first day the famous reformer does not appear to have shown his usual courage and eloquence. When questioned concerning his books, he owned that they were written by him, but when he was asked whether he would maintain or retract the doctrines already condemned by the Pope, he begged for time to consider his answer. His friends were surprised and disappointed at this unusual behaviour on his part, but the next day, when again summoned to the audience, he made full amends.

Luther was himself again: he declared that his conscience would not permit him to retract any of his doctrines concerning the Christian faith; he boldly dwelt upon the mistakes and shortcomings of the Pope, and fiercely denied the authority of

Councils, the right to sell indulgences, and other matters. Twice he was interrupted by the Emperor when he used strong language, but, nothing daunted, he knew that his words had struck home, and he left the great hall with the gesture of a pikeman who had dealt his blow. Thus did he launch forth his mighty challenge to Church and Empire in this crucial moment of his highest attainment.

But the last word in this stirring history had not yet been said. It was on the following day that the young Emperor made his great reply as the loyal and gallant champion of that ancient Church of his fathers, which to him was truth undoubted, and of which he remained a faithful son unto his dying day. He had asked for no advice, he would listen to no compromise. He declared that his predecessors, the Christian Emperors, the Austrian Archdukes, the Dukes of Burgundy, had all fought until death for the Catholic Church, in which he too would live and die. . . . "A single monk, trusting to his private judgment, has opposed the faith held by all Christians for a thousand years and more. . . . I am resolved to defend this holy cause with all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and my soul. . . ." He added that, after Luther's reply yesterday, he had resolved never to hear him again; he should be forbidden to preach his evil doctrines and incite men to rebellion. He ended by warning the Estates to bear witness to their faith, as good Christians, and act according to their vows.

His hearers were deeply impressed, but they pleaded for delay and further negotiations with Luther. A

commission of eight was chosen to persuade him to some compromise, but all was in vain; the great reformer would make no concession against the dictates of his conscience, and was ready to lay down his life rather than yield one point in his high ideal of Christian liberty and justification by faith. Persuasion and argument of every kind having failed, Luther was dismissed from Worms on April 25, and on its last day the Diet approved, without a dissentient voice, of the Edict which placed Martin Luther under the ban of the Empire. For the moment Charles had scored a victory, but nothing could stay the mighty overwhelming flood of the Reformation, against which his life was to be one unceasing struggle. The two opponents—both sincere and devoted, and each one in deadly earnest for the faith which he upheld—were never to meet again.

But this dramatic episode must not distract our attention from the other important work of the Diet. If the heresy of Luther was condemned, a strong indictment was also brought against the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church, in which all classes joined. The vital question of the Council of Regency was the subject of prolonged and heated discussion. The form of government which the electors at first demanded would have excluded the Emperor from any greater share in the control of the Empire than any other member of the Council. But Charles showed unexpected insight into the political question, and, with the support of Maximilian's experienced advisers in former contests, he secured an important and decided advantage in the compromise

at last agreed upon. The Council was left with independent authority only during the absence of Charles, and in all ordinary business ; in his presence its chief function was to assist him with advice, while, on the other hand, no alliances were to be made on behalf of the Empire without the consent of the Estates. The Emperor was to choose the President and four other members out of the whole number of twenty-two. The Court of Justice was also reconstituted, and was to sit permanently under the control of the Council in the absence of the Emperor, who chose four out of the eighteen members, and also with the help of the Estates selected the President and two members from the nobles.

Charles was now his own master, for after the death of Chièvres, in this eventful year, he never allowed any minister to rule him. One of his first assertions of authority was to place his brother Ferdinand in an independent position by giving him the five Austrian duchies : Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, and the Tyrol. Later he added to these part of Swabia, Alsace, and Würtemberg. This arrangement was the more desirable as the young prince was about to carry out the marriage already planned in 1516, with Anne the sister of Louis II King of Hungary. It was to be a double alliance, as King Louis married the Archduchess Marie, perhaps the most talented of all the sisters of Charles, whose happy wedded life was to come before long to so tragic an end.

Charles had now been absent for more than a year from his kingdom of Spain, which he had left on

the point of rebellion and where civil war had been raging since his departure. Serious risings had taken place in Segovia, in Burgos, and other important cities, all through the very heart of Castile. The Regent, Adrian of Tortosa, was unfitted to face such troubles; he had but a small army, and no money, besides being in every way incapable of a task which would have needed the courage and energy of a Ximenes. The good bishop wrote pitiful letters to the young King, in which he was not sparing of blame as well as of complaint; but Charles does not seem to have been fully roused to the gravity of the situation until news arrived that the rebels, under Padilla, had taken Tordesillas and that Queen Juana was in their power.

We have a very full and interesting account of her behaviour in this crisis. The coming of the rebels was announced by the firing of cannons and the blaring of trumpets. Padilla and the members of the Junta asked for an audience, to pay their allegiance, and she received them with much dignity, but resolutely refused to sign the papers they presented to her. In vain they used threats and persuasion, and this obstinacy or resolution on her part upset their plans, and prevented them from making the rebellion an excuse for ruling under her name. At this time, August 29, 1520, all seemed in the power of the League, and Adrian wrote to Charles in despair that all was lost.

But Charles would make no terms with the rebels, and by a stroke of wise policy he saved the situation. It was a fortunate inspiration to throw himself upon

the loyalty of the great nobles, and to appoint their nominal leaders, the Admiral of Castile and the High Constable, to share the Regency with Adrian. He put entire trust in them, gave them power to summon the Cortes if necessary, but they were to make no concessions. He also appealed to many of the chief nobles, rousing their chivalry on behalf of their sovereign. The result was most successful, for the war against the King now became a war between the nobles and the commons. Charles may well have felt that this lightened his burden and responsibility, but the nobles had no easy task before them, as the struggle now became a social war, alike in town and country. In many places the peasants rose in arms against their feudal lords, whose city palaces were at the same time pillaged by the bands of the Communes. Moreover, there was division in the royal camp; the Admiral was disposed for compromise, while the Constable keenly supported fighting to the last. Yet even this eager warrior saw that concessions were inevitable; abuses must be remedied, subsidies must be reduced, offices of Church and State must be given only to Spaniards, precious metals must not be exported, and an amnesty must be granted to those who surrendered.

The Constable was much aggrieved that the Emperor should give no help of any kind, and he wrote early in November 1520: "I am amazed that your Highness pays but little attention to the interest and quieting of our kingdoms, for your Majesty has sent me no aid either in the way of money, soldiers, or guns, nor even encouragement by writing." Yet,

in spite of their King's inaction, the princes and knights showed splendid courage and ability in fighting for his cause. There were many strange episodes in this war. To mention only one: the republican Bishop of Zamora, Antonio de Acuña, having fought on the side of the rebels at Valladolid, led his troops towards Toledo, where there was a vacancy in the see, the young Flemish archbishop, Guillaume de Croy, having recently died.

On Good Friday, 1521, Acuña entered the cathedral alone, was recognized and borne in triumph by the assembled people up the nave, seated on the raised throne, and proclaimed archbishop with enthusiasm. Acuña believed the Primacy to be within his reach, for he had much influence at Rome; but he could scarcely consider this a legal election. The Prior Zuñiga was a royalist, and the canons, although threatened with starvation, refused to ratify this outrageous appointment. Outside the walls a fierce conflict was waged between the forces of bishop and prior, who met with success in the end, and Acuña never became Primate of Castile.

Padilla had proved himself a soldier of energy and success for the moment of battle, but he was no strategist; and, having suffered the royalist forces to combine, he lost the critical moment when he could have defeated them separately. He was making for the west, with his pikemen and gunners pressing through a blizzard of rain on muddy roads, when his infantry was overtaken by a spirited dash of the nobles' cavalry, and, in the skirmish which followed, was hopelessly defeated and dispersed in

flight. The leaders were executed and this was practically the end of the war, although Padilla's widow and the fighting Bishop of Zamora held out at Toledo for some months longer.

The news of the Battle of Villalar, as it was called, reached Charles as he was travelling from the famous Diet of Worms to Brussels. But not for this would he change his plans; he always liked to finish one thing at a time, and there was much to settle and arrange in the Netherlands, where he remained during the next twelve months. By an arrangement with his Aunt Marguerite, Charles exchanged all the lands which she had inherited from Maximilian for a sum of 200,000 florins of gold, and he gave her the city and territory of Malines to enjoy during her life. The Princess was able to do good service to her nephew by her eloquent appeal to the Estates for a large subsidy when they met at Mons in the spring of 1521. Charles was always poor, always in need of money, and never more so than at this time, in the strife and rivalry which had already begun with François I. Not content with encouraging the border raids of Robert de la Marck in the Southern Netherlands and those of Charles of Guelders in the north, France was giving help to Henri d'Albret in his invasion of Navarre; but so anxious was the Emperor for peace that war was not declared until the enemy had crossed the Pyrenees.

Charles had a narrow escape at Valenciennes, and Bayard took Mezières; but the success of the Imperial troops in Lombardy and the taking of Milan in November—while two days later Tournay surren-

dered—more than made amends for other losses. The sudden death of Pope Leo X, December 1, 1521, in the hour of triumph when Parma and Piacenza had been won by the Church, seemed to be a blow to the imperial cause. Much would depend on the choice of his successor, and there is strong evidence in the letters of Charles that he sought to obtain the election of Wolsey. But the English Cardinal had no serious chance, and the world was astounded when, after a conclave of fourteen days, it was proclaimed that Adrian of Utrecht, Bishop of Tortosa, had been elected to the papal throne. It appears that after ten “scrutinies,” when no progress was made in the conclave, some friend of the Emperor proposed Adrian, and, the feeling gaining ground that important secret influence was at work, twenty-six votes—the requisite two-thirds—were declared for this almost unknown foreign cardinal. In writing to the Emperor, the new Pope says: “I am more than certain of the joy that you have in my election, but I know that it was not suitable that you should solicit for me, as it would have broken your friendship with Wolsey, who of all is most necessary to the affairs of Italy. . . .”

The good bishop, who was still acting in Spain as the Emperor’s Regent, proved to be of very little service to his old pupil and friend; a dull man with the best intentions, he was still more unpopular in Rome than he had been in Castile, and, taking no interest in mere secular politics, he devoted himself to the thankless task of purifying the Church, and raising another crusade against the Turks.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLES V AND HIS COLONIES—CONQUEST OF MEXICO

Charles returns to Spain, 1522—His sympathy with Las Casas, the champion and “Apostle of the Indians”—Review of the colonies already discovered and in part colonized in America—The story of the conquest of Mexico, told by Bernal Diaz and others, and in the letters of Cortes to the Emperor—Invincible courage and perseverance of Cortes and his companions in their journey, and in their desperate attacks on the Lake City—Crowned with success when the rich Empire of Montezuma is added to the crown of Castile.

It was not until May 26, 1522, that Charles left Calais on his way to Dover, exactly two years since his last visit. He was received with eager hospitality and entertained with feasts and tournaments at Greenwich, in London, and at Windsor, where he signed a treaty on June 19, by which he and Henry VIII bound themselves to make war upon France, Charles engaged to marry the Princess Mary, and obtained a loan of 50,000 crowns. In a letter to his Aunt Marguerite he remarks that “his six weeks in England had seemed like a thousand years,” so anxious was he to return to Spain. He reached the port of Santander early in July, with a strong foreign guard, and writes that he “was received with much humility and reverence.”

Charles was no longer the silent, reserved youth,

passive under the rule of his tutor Chièvres, who had chosen "Nondum" for his motto, to be changed later into "Plus Ultra." In those two years of absence he seemed to have attained his full maturity of judgment and decision, so that henceforth he never suffered any minister to rule him, and he showed tact and ability in his choice of advisers whom he trusted, and was never betrayed. He was not so genial or popular as his grandfather, Maximilian, whom he far excelled in the unwearied perseverance with which he steadily followed out any course of action on which he had once decided. Thus it was that in time he learnt to understand his Spanish subjects, and won their respect as a firm champion of his faith, a kind master, a just ruler, and a lover of peace. But it is as yet too early in the history of Charles to form a complete estimate of his character, which strengthened in force and energy with the passing years.

An event of deep interest to Charles on his return to Spain in 1522 was the arrival of the *Victoria* with survivors from the ill-fated squadron of the famous Magellan, who, after discovering the Straits which bear his name, and later the Ladrones and the Philippine Islands, had given his life in fighting for his country's dominion. The young Emperor lost no time in showing his appreciation of such heroism by generously rewarding the leader, Sebastiano del Piombo, and the gallant crew which had brought home the battered *Victoria*. Charles had been especially concerned in the discoveries of Magellan, for he had warmly favoured the cause of

this Portuguese sailor, at the very time of his coronation at Valladolid, in November 1517. Fortunately, his Flemish advisers agreed with him as to the importance of his colonies, so that the arrangements were carried out under the directions of the Crown. Magellan was to have a royal commission as Captain-General of the Fleet and hereditary governor of all lands discovered; there were to be five ships and 234 men, while the most minute directions were given with regard to the religion, the food, the sanitary care, and every other detail of the crews and the new settlements. Magellan sailed from San Lucar de Barameda, on September 20, 1519, his main object being to discover a strait or open sea which would take him to the Moluccas. After succeeding in his purpose, he passed into the Pacific Ocean, to which he gave the name, as he there enjoyed constant fine weather and favourable breezes.

The end of his gallant story has been told, and about the same time as Charles learnt the fate of Magellan he also received the famous third letter of Hernando Cortes, full of the stirring adventures of the conquest of Mexico. This may therefore appear to be a suitable moment for giving a brief account of discoveries and conquests in the New World, which were destined to be of such immense importance to Charles V and his Spanish realm.

From his earliest days the young prince must have been familiar with wild and marvellous dreams of adventure in that far-off world whose dim horizon was ever becoming clearer and more vivid. The stream of adventure had swept far and wide even

before the birth of Charles, who was six years old at the death of Columbus—the best-known of that band of gallant pioneers whose heroic story must have pierced the prison walls of the future ruler's strictly trained and over-tutored childhood. And we must remember that all these golden lands already discovered across the Western Seas were to the young monarch no dim abstractions, but his own inheritance from his grandmother Isabel, or his possessions by more recent conquest of the crown of Castile. Moreover, as time passed on, the present became more vivid and exciting than the past. The dark cloud of mystery which rested on the unknown and apparently boundless ocean was lifting day by day, and the heroic exploits of many a dauntless navigator and warrior were adding gems of priceless value to the imperial diadem.

We cannot do more than allude to the splendid daring and unconquerable perseverance of Columbus the Great Admiral, and his companions, which had led the way to discovery and conquest on behalf of Spain. This had made such steady progress that, at the beginning of the reign of Charles V, from the Bay of Honduras along the winding shores of Darien and the South American continent, to the Rio de la Plata, the whole coast had been explored. "The mighty barrier of the Isthmus had been climbed, and the Pacific descried, by Nuñez de Balboa, who took possession of the ocean and all the lands it bounded in the name of his sovereign." The Bahamas and the Caribbee Islands had been discovered and the peninsula of Florida, on the northern

continent. It was at this point that Sebastian Cabot had arrived in his descent along the coast from Labrador, in 1497. It is not too much to say that the eastern borders of both the great continents had been surveyed through almost their whole extent before the year 1518.

It is curious to remember that a Papal Bill of Partition had been signed by Alexander VI, on May 2, 1493, by which the rival claims of the two great naval countries, Spain and Portugal, were to be settled. An imaginary line was drawn from north to south, a hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands. The west was awarded to Castile, the east to Portugal; but, by some crooked diplomacy, the line was moved the next year, so as to bestow the Brazils upon Portugal. In later years we find Charles still accepting this line of demarcation, and warning Magellan not to touch at or explore any land belonging to the King of Portugal, his uncle.

Colonization had by no means kept pace with discovery—although there had been settlements in Darien, in parts of Terra Firma, and elsewhere—until the reign of Charles V, which may be looked upon as a time of conquest and definite organization. From the very first, the young prince followed out the same line of kindly policy towards the natives which Queen Isabel had so strongly supported. On his first arrival in Spain he took the deepest interest in the missionary views of Las Casas, the Evangelist of the Indies; he signed with his own hand the grant for the settlement on the Pearl Coast, in which

the devoted missionary was to have a free hand in forming a colony where the natives were to be treated with even justice and kindly charity. He had long pleaded against the cruel system of "repartimientos" which King Ferdinand had permitted, by which the natives were herded in hundreds and sold to the highest bidder. Las Casas wrote:

"The Christian religion would deal alike with every nation on the globe. It robs no man of his freedom or his rights on the plea that 'he is a slave by nature,' as men say. It would well become your Majesty to banish so monstrous an oppression from your kingdoms, at the beginning of your reign, that the Almighty may make it long and glorious."

We can scarcely wonder that, with so many opposing interests, the colony proved a failure; but all the life of Las Casas was given to the noble work of protecting the "Indians," who looked upon him as their "Father and Protector," and he was always certain of the support of the Emperor.

Much as had already been discovered, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and that splendid land still remained unexplored, until the coming of Hernando Cortes, a young adventurer who went out to Cuba, and when he was offered a grant of land, replied: "But I came to find gold, not to till the land like a peasant." He had the chance of showing his fighting capacity, and was fortunate enough to be made Captain-general of an armada which Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, was sending out to conquer the unknown empire of the west. In his eager enthusi-

asm, Cortes had spent all his own money when he set sail on November 18, 1518, with full directions. He was to remember that, above all things, the Emperor desired the conversion of the Indians; he was to make an accurate survey of the coast, sounding all the bays, to learn all about the character of the people and their civilization, and the natural products of the country, also to send home all he could.

Cortes had to escape in haste to avoid the jealous interference of Velasquez, and, after passing the port of Macaca, he sailed on to Trinidad, collecting gifts and volunteers, also to Havana; and when he reached Cape St. Antonio he took stock of his forces. These were 110 mariners, 553 soldiers, including 32 cross-bow-men and 13 arquebusiers, 200 Indians, 10 heavy guns, 4 lighter falconets, a good supply of ammunition and 16 horses, each said to have cost 400 to 500 pesos de oro. There was a solemn Mass before starting for the island of Cozumel, where a Christian captive named Aguilar was picked up and proved a most useful interpreter; but the adventurers were still more fortunate when, at Tabasco in Yucatan, they received amongst other slaves, a young girl of great intelligence called Marina, who understood the Mexican language. It was through her that Cortes first learnt all about Montezuma, the great Emperor of the Aztecs, whose rule extended as far as the peninsula of Yucatan.

It was on Good Friday, April 21, 1519, that Cortes landed on the desolate, wind-swept, sandy shore of the Mexican mainland, to which he gave the name of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, and it was here that a

camp was made for the army, while provisions were obtained from the Indians near. The Aztec chief of the district was much impressed, and, by desire of Cortes, sent messengers to the great Emperor Montezuma to say that the stranger wished to visit him, and sent presents from his great lord beyond the seas. The reply was not encouraging: "Come not hither; the road is long and dangerous; return to your own country, with our greeting to your King." But at the same time costly gifts of golden articles and precious jewels were sent. A full account of all this is given in the first letter of Cortes to Charles V, and the rich presents, of immense value, were sent later in a special brigantine to the Emperor and reached Spain safely, exciting great interest. Meantime, Cortes had received an invitation from the chief of the Totonacs, a vassal of Montezuma, to visit his city of Cempoalla; and this he gladly accepted, with his small army, as he heard that the Totonacs were weary of the Aztec yoke.

Their hospitable reception was abruptly disturbed by the arrival of an angry command from the Aztec Emperor that the strangers should be sent away. Cortes persuaded the chief to imprison the embassy, and by so doing the Totonacs were compromised and compelled to become the allies of the Spaniards. Some of these last became alarmed, and formed a plot to seize one of the caravels and return to Cuba. But when Cortes heard of this new danger, he swore that there should be no turning back, and his master-stroke of decision was the desperate resolve to sink his ships. This was his answer to the conspirators

—death or victory was now the only chance before them. He made an ardent appeal to his men, and his splendid courage was contagious; there were none who dared to oppose him.

A solemn Mass was celebrated by the priest Olmedo, who had also baptized a number of the Totonacs; it was his custom to give the same name to all who came to the font on one day. Then the army of Cortes—about 400 Spaniards and 3,000 Totonacs and other Indians—set forth on their journey past the desert coast, and onwards towards the mountains. They came to a halt on the way when they faced a massive stone wall, which they learnt was the outer defence of the Tlascalans, the independent mountain republic which had ever defied the Aztecs. War was inevitable with this fierce people, who refused all parley with strangers, and, after two days' fighting against overwhelming numbers, the gallant little army of Cortes had the advantage. The cavalry had proved of great service, for the Tlascalans were much terrified by the strange animal, man and horse combined, as they at first believed. After various awkward episodes, the Tlascalans invited the strangers into their capital, and made what proved to be a firm and most valuable alliance with them.

When the Spaniards left it was with a strong force of their new allies; but they were to meet with many troubles on their way. In Cholula, the land of the great pyramid, they were threatened with foul treachery, and only escaped by the brave Marina having discovered a plot to annihilate them, which

they avenged by a cruel massacre. When they had escaped from the fatal city the way seemed clear before them, and they climbed the great mountain-range from whence the fair valley of Mexico was outspread beneath their feet. They beheld from afar the shimmering lakes, and, rising mysterious in the centre, their longed-for goal, the white walls and towers of the Aztec capital, the unknown Tenochtitlan.

After a steep descent, Cortes and his army at last reached the southern end of the great lake Texcoco, from which stretched the narrow causeway several miles long which reached the island city, along which they were led by their Aztec guides. Perhaps the strangest thing in all this wild adventure was the fact that, after all his fierce refusals, Montezuma should now receive these Spanish invaders with stately courtesy, in the midst of his pomp and splendour. Strong indeed must have been his faith in the mystic Quetzacoatl, "god of the air"—who had disappeared towards the rising sun, promising to return—when he believed his soothsayers, who told him these white men were in the image of the god, "children of the sun," and that their coming meant the end of his empire. Who could fight against fate? It was this superstition, spread far and wide through all the tribes of Mexico, and which had taken such deep root in the heart of Montezuma, which won for Cortes the ultimate victory. "Rest here and rejoice; take what you will, my house is yours," were his final words of welcome.

We have no space to dwell upon the marvels of

that wonderful city, or upon the fascinating subject of Aztec history and civilization. The thrilling story of the conquest of Mexico must be told in as few words as possible. Cortes could not believe that the great chief's friendship would last, and, after a few days, he took the audacious step of seizing Montezuma himself and holding him as a hostage. Even to this ignominy the deluded fatalist submitted, and for nearly six months this unnatural state of things continued until Cortes was suddenly called away by news of an attack upon Vera Cruz. He reached the coast by forced marches, and was able to rout the enemy, but was compelled to return in haste to the lake-city, as his deputy Alvarado, by his foolish and cruel conduct, had roused the people to a frenzied attack upon the Spaniards and their native friends. In vain Montezuma took their side; he was struck by a stone from his own subjects, and died soon after, broken-hearted.

Appalling was the hopeless conflict and the massacre which followed, until at length the shattered remnant of the *Conquistadores* saw that flight was their only hope; they resolved to make their last venture to escape by night along the great causeway. In darkness and disorder they stole forth—many laden with gold and treasure which would cost them their lives—and began the retreat along that fatal causeway. Then, of a sudden, the great drum of the war-god was sounded, the night was filled with savage war-cries, and the Aztecs in their thousands were upon the hapless fugitives. Darts and stones were rained upon them, the bridges were broken,

men and horses were driven into the lake with artillery and treasure, until it seemed that none could survive that awful ordeal. That *Noche Triste*, the melancholy night, lives in the annals of the Conquest as the very lowest depth of disaster.

But the spirit of Cortes was unconquered. He collected his wretched comrades, many wounded and all needing rest and food; he inspired them with his own courage, and within seven days led them over the range to the north of the lake. Here they had to face a host of native warriors, sent to exterminate the invaders, by Cuitlahua, the brother and successor of Montezuma. Then indeed the Spaniards felt that their last day had come, but, encouraged and fearlessly led forward by their indomitable captain, they and the survivors of their Tlascalan allies made a desperate attack, but were driven back again and again. Suddenly Cortes noticed the chief of the Aztecs, borne in a litter, under a golden banner, surrounded by young nobles, and with a quick inspiration he called upon his companions to join in an attack on them. This was so fierce and unexpected that it met with complete success, and the glittering chieftains were all cut down. As the terrible news spread through the multitude, the Indians lost heart, threw down their arms, and fled in disorder. They were pursued and utterly routed; and thus the strange battle of Otumpa was won.

The victorious little army was warmly welcomed at Tlascala, while the fame of their miraculous victory spread through the country, and brought many

allies to these "white gods," who must certainly be the expected "children of the sun." The Tlascalans were now their devoted allies, and when Cortes, undismayed by the fearful past, resolved upon another attack on the "lake-city," their help was invaluable. It was decided to build twelve brigantines for attack on the lakes; a Spanish ship-builder was in the army, who taught the natives to help him; timber was abundant, and Cortes had saved the rigging and ironwork of the ships which he had sunk at Vera Cruz. The vessels were built in the forest, and carried in pieces for sixty miles over plain and mountain to the shore of the lake Tezcuco, by 8,000 Tlascalans. Well might the captain proudly write to Charles V, "I assure your Majesty that the train of bearers was six miles long . . . a marvellous sight to see."

Many months were spent in preparation, and it was not until the winter of 1520 that the valley of Mexico was once more reached by the Spanish invaders and their native allies. A fierce and terrible struggle was before them, for the Aztecs were now governed and led by the nephew of Montezuma, the brave and determined Guatemoc, who, in his deadly hatred of the enemy, had sworn to hold his city until the last stone was thrown down and the last inhabitant slain. With the like unconquerable spirit of Cortes, it became a question on both sides of victory or death.

The Spanish forces consisted at first of about 600 men, 40 cavalry and 80 arquebusiers and cross-bowmen. The rest had sword and target, and a

copper-headed pike; there were nine cannons of medium size. As for the native allies, they were a mixed multitude, computed at about 50,000, armed with bows and arrows. It so happened that, about this time, three brigantines arrived at Vera Cruz with 200 men, artillery, gunpowder, and a quantity of horses, sent against Cortes by the jealous Velasquez, but the spirited adventurer persuaded them to join him in his great enterprise.

His plan of attack was to make his headquarters at Tezcuco, a town on the north-east shore of the great lake, from whence he could conquer the various tribes in the neighbourhood, before his attack upon the capital. The siege then began vigorously by land and water; and the first step was to make a simultaneous attack on the four causeways by which the city received its food supplies. The Spaniards steadily advanced and gained the city walls unmolested, when suddenly the horn of battle was sounded and an overwhelming attack of the Aztecs drove them back in terrible disorder; men and horses were hurled into the lake, and the soldier-writer, Bernal Diaz, relates: "It was only the help of God which saved us from destruction, for we were all wounded."

Cortes himself hung back, with his usual generous devotion, to cover the retreat; and it is probable that he and most of the survivors escaped, from the Aztecs' desire to take them alive for sacrifice, and therefore to spare them for the moment. This horrible fate befell many of their gallant band, and, to add to the disaster, most of the Indian allies deserted,

from belief in an Aztec prophecy that all the invading host would be destroyed within eight days. But undaunted even by this, Cortes waited till the time had expired, and then by taunts and persuasion, the Tlascalans and others were induced to return to his camp. He then made ready for a final attack; and it was settled to advance more slowly and surely; to destroy the causeways and the city itself, step by step, and to fill up the canals, so as to make a complete blockade. This continued with fierce fighting, day by day, for the people disputed every inch of the ground, until at last famine and plague did more to conquer the doomed city than the actual fighting.

Again and again peace was offered to the beleaguered city, but was refused with such fury that the ill-fated messenger was put to death. One last desperate effort was made to pour out their men upon the causeways like a furious tide of battle, but they were driven back with fearful loss by a deadly hail of artillery. No words can describe the horrors of starvation and suffering within the city, where even the chiefs prayed for death: "Do your work quickly; we are weary of life and anguish." The end came with a terrible assault, and a savage massacre of the inhabitants by the Tlascalans, mad with success against their ancient foes, and deaf to all the entreaties of Cortes for mercy. In writing to Charles V he says: "Such were the shrieks and weeping . . . that there were none of us whose hearts did not break."

Thus fell the beautiful lake-city, of which Cortes

gave such a glowing description in his Second Letter to the Emperor. The conquest of Mexico had been practically accomplished by a handful of adventurers, led by a military genius whose story is a marvellous record of heroic courage and endurance. It is fully told by his companion Bernal Diaz, who fought by his side, and also in those famous letters of Cortes to Charles V. The city was taken at the end of July, 1521, and the conqueror's first care was to rebuild the city of Mexico, and on the site of the great temple, where such horrible human sacrifices had once been held, there rose the stately cathedral of St. Francis. The Third Letter of Cortes was written on May 22, 1522, and accompanied a fifth of all the vast treasures of the Aztecs : splendid trophies of gold and priceless jewels, with specimens of the rich products of the country. All these had arrived in Spain soon after Charles returned to his kingdom, and created a great sensation amongst all classes.

At the same time strong complaints against Cortes were received from the jealous Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, which the Bishop of Burgos and other enemies of the gallant explorer strongly supported. All the sympathies of the young Emperor were with Cortes, but so great was his love of justice that he named a Junta to decide the question, with the result that all the acts of Cortes were confirmed and he was made Governor, Captain-General and Chief Justice of New Spain, as the conquered lands were now called. He was also entitled to a coat of arms with three golden crows upon a sable ground, to commemorate his victory over three Emperors of Mexico.

It is interesting to remember that the whole of this expedition was looked upon by those who took part in it as a crusade, and a mission to convert the heathen. They bore with them a standard of black velvet, embroidered with the motto in Latin: "Let us follow the cross, and if we have faith we shall conquer."

CHAPTER VIII

BATTLE OF PAVIA—TREATY OF MADRID

Wise rule of Charles in Spain—His war with François I, whose injustice drives Bourbon to take up arms on the side of the Emperor—His campaign in Provence ; compelled to retreat from lack of support—Bourbon secures the help of Georg von Frundsberg and his landsknechte—Battle of Pavia, where the King of France is taken prisoner—He is sent to Spain—Long negotiations end with the Treaty of Madrid, 1526, by which François is released—Marriage of Charles V with Isabel of Portugal.

A NEW era began for Charles V after his return to Spain in 1522. He had grown in wisdom now that he was no longer controlled by Flemish advisers who, for the most part, sought only dignities and wealth for themselves. From this time he began to take a warm interest in his mother's country, and, as he grew to understand his people, he felt the wisdom of reserving for them all posts of importance and dignity. He won all hearts by his merciful treatment of the rebels who had threatened his rule in Spain ; he granted a liberal amnesty, and, if some of the leaders were exiled, they met with a far lighter punishment than any other sovereign of his time would have exacted for rebellion.

Yet, if there was peace in Spain, the air was heavy with threatening war-clouds all over Central Europe, where Charles had so many varied interests. The

contest for the Empire may have been the first manifest sign of rivalry between the two young sovereigns, Charles and François, although other hereditary subjects of dispute were not wanting. France claimed Naples, Milan, Burgundy, Navarre . . . and had long stirred up revolt against the Netherlands with Charles of Guelders, Robert de la Marck, and the burghers of Liège and Ghent, and against Spain by encouraging Henri d'Albret. The time arrived for open warfare when the French general Bonnivet took Fuenterrabia, and this act of aggression roused Henry VIII and the Pope to join Spain against France. After the death of Leo X and the succession of the peaceful Adrian VI, the war languished for a while, but in the year 1523 the Emperor secured a valuable ally in the person of Charles, Duc de Bourbon. This distinguished general was driven to exile and rebellion by the cruel injustice of François I, who confiscated his lands and threatened his life.¹

The French King had been about to invade Italy in person, but he now sent Bonnivet, who at first achieved some success in the Milanese against the Marchese di Pescara, but did not accomplish the taking of Milan. The French general was a man of narrow views, wilful and obstinate, and it was through these faults that the gallant Bayard was entrusted with the hopeless post of defending the rear in the fatal retreat across the valley of the Sesia, near Novara. The loss of that noble knight, "sans peur et sans reproche," was the greatest

¹ See the full story in "Charles de Bourbon," by Christopher Hare.

disaster of the futile expedition of 1523-24. Meantime the Spaniards had retaken Fuenterrabia, but they were not in sufficient force to invade France.

Henry VIII had sent a large army into Northern France under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, a burly soldier, without much initiative, whose warlike efforts were mainly engaged in burning villages and laying waste the country in Picardy. A stroke of apparent good fortune for François I was the death of Adrian VI in September 1523, and the election of a Medici, Clement VII, who would probably be bribed to join his side. But all who relied upon this wily, vacillating Pope were destined to learn that he would prove but a broken reed.

Meantime Charles had great hopes from the coming of Bourbon to his service, and encouraged him with splendid but vague promises. It was even suggested that a new kingdom of Provence should be formed for him, and that he should obtain as a bride Eléonore the sister of the Emperor, who had married Emmanuel King of Portugal in 1518, and was left a widow four years later. In any case, Charles was eager for the conquest of Marseilles, which would add greatly to the sea-power of his dominions, forming a link between Barcelona and Genoa, and thus giving Spain the command of the Mediterranean. Bourbon, now Commander-in-Chief, eagerly undertook the conquest of Provence, but the French army had already collected in force at Avignon, while Marseilles was so well defended by Renzo da Ceri, and provisioned by the French fleet under Andrea Doria, that the most strenuous attacks failed and

at the last, the soldiers refused to follow their general to the desperate assault of the walls, and the siege was raised.

It was a bitter disappointment to Bourbon, who felt that he had been deceived and deserted. Charles was to have invaded Roussillon, and Henry VIII was to have made a simultaneous attack upon Northern France, but both of them failed to keep their promises, so that François I was free to throw all his strength in defence of Marseilles.

With the rebellious temper of his army, Bourbon had no choice but to retreat to Italy, and on September 29, 1524, the camp was raised, and the army struggled back by the rough Riviera road on which it came. We have a full account of the retreat of the imperial forces, from the Spanish soldier, Juan de Ornaio. He tells how the guns were packed on mules, how the troops were constantly threatened by the pursuit of the light cavalry of Montmorency, who were fiercely driven off, while the soldiers, worn out with fatigue, continued their journey by day and night. The Marchese of Pescara, who was in command of the rear-guard, had on one occasion to set fire to a barn where some of the landsknechte could not be roused from their heavy slumber, when the enemy were in full pursuit.

Still nothing could subdue the undying spirit of Bourbon as he hastened onwards and reached Lodi in time to oppose the French army under the King himself, and take part in the next act of the great drama. But the imperial general Lannoy, seeing the worn-out condition of the troops after their

hurried and weary journey, decided that it would be unwise to risk an engagement. They proceeded to fortify several important places which commanded rivers, such as Alessandria on the Tanaro, Pavia on the Ticino, Cremona on the Po, Lodi and Pizzighetone on the Adda. Pavia was strengthened by a large addition to its garrison, and the command was given to Antonio de Leyva, a brave Spaniard, who proved worthy of Bourbon's confidence. They hastened towards Milan, but found that the Duke Francesco Sforza, in a fit of panic, had already yielded the city to François I and sent him the keys. La Trémouille was placed in possession of the place, and all seemed to promise well for the French cause. But the King had already made the mistake of not at once attacking the depressed imperial army, and he now took another false step by deciding to commence the siege of Pavia.

Bourbon was well aware that the French army was far superior in numbers to that under his command, and he had already written to ask the Emperor if he could send help from Spain. But Charles replied that he was at that time engaged in arranging the marriage of his young sister Catalina, and was also suffering from intermittent fever. We find more particulars in his diary, where he says that he took his young sister to Anyaguia, where he remained until November 4, when she was married to the King João III, the successor on the throne of Portugal of Emanuel the Fortunate. We have already seen the deep interest which he took in the fate of his youngest sister, who had been the constant com-

panion of her unfortunate mother in her sad seclusion. Now that this beautiful young girl had reached the age of seventeen, we feel that Charles must have considered it his duty to arrange a marriage for her, much as he might regret the grief which her loss would be to her mother. Yet even to the shadowed mind of Juana it would be natural that she should thus lose her daughter, for marriage would seem to be more especially the inevitable fate of a royal princess.

Meantime the need for men and money was so great in Italy, that Bourbon took the desperate step of applying to the Duchess of Savoy, a princess of Portugal, who was persuaded to pawn her precious jewels for the sake of the Emperor. The Duc de Bourbon added to this all the valuable gems he himself possessed, and, having secured good letters of exchange, he posted straight to Nuremberg, where he induced Georg von Frundsberg, Prince of Mindelheim, to join him. This famous military leader had been one of the first to declare himself on the side of Luther, and he desired nothing more than to bring his levies into Italy and await a chance of attacking the Pope. Within three weeks 10,000 veteran soldiers had been raised by Frundsberg, and in the Duchy of Würtemberg 6,000 more were collected. Duke Charles was also successful in persuading the Archduke Ferdinand to send 200 landsknechte and 300 horsemen, as we learn in a letter which he wrote to Wolsey from Trent on January 5, 1525. He adds :

“Monsieur, I have heard that the French say that

I retired shamefully from Provence; I remained there during three months and eight days, awaiting battle, for I desired nothing else. . . . Monsieur, I would again tell you that never before had you, nor will you ever have again so good a time for invading the kingdom of France as at present; inasmuch as the King and all the princes of France as well as the chief captains are over yonder (in Italy) and you will meet with no resistance. . . .”

But again he spoke to deaf ears, for Henry VIII once more broke all his engagements, and missed the favourable moment for invading France and supporting the Emperor.

On January 17 the Viceroy Lannoy was able to write to Marguerite of Austria that Monsieur de Bourbon had arrived at Lodi with an army of landsknechte. “He has done the Emperor good service, and His Majesty is greatly indebted to him in every way. . . . I own the same to him, and will pay him all possible honour, for he is well worthy of it.”

At the first sign of failure in Provence, Clement VII had begun to incline towards France, and, while his crafty policy was to play the part of a peacemaker, he made a secret treaty with the French King. Ferrara and Venice, Florence, Lucca, and Siena were all prepared to follow suit and pay homage to the rising sun. Encouraged by this apparent success, François I. was unwise enough to weaken his forces by sending troops to attack Genoa, and others under the Duke of Albany to overawe Naples. Within the walls of Pavia, Antonio de Leyva had inspired the



Anderson photo.

EMPRESS ISABEL, WIFE OF CHARLES V.

By Titian.

citizens and the German soldiers with his own gallant spirit, until the French grew weary of vain assaults and the siege gradually became a blockade. Pescara, meanwhile, with his rested and reorganized army, held the line of the Adda, Bourbon brought up his landsknechte in good order from the Tyrol, and Lannoy, with his mixed following of Italians and Spaniards, was drawing near the French forces entrenched in the great park of Mirabello.

It was at dawn on February 24, the Feast of St. Matthias and the birthday of Charles V, that the famous battle of Pavia began. The imperial leaders had ordered the attack to commence by breaking down the walls of the Mirabello, but they were so massive that the night had been nearly spent before there was room for the armed battalions to pass through. Instead of a surprise, they found the French in battle array, and were met with a fierce artillery attack which drove back the entering host with serious loss. The battle now became general; the Spanish light cavalry led the vanguard, followed by Lannoy with his troops, and Pescara threw his rapid arquebusiers against the French men-at-arms. In perfect confidence of success, the King was in command of his main army, and he led the charge with a gay array of nobles and great captains. Nothing could resist the impetus of those heavily armed cavaliers with their splendid impetuosity; the imperial cavalry was dispersed and the leader slain by the lance of François himself; the men-at-arms of Lannoy were driven back, and a company of arquebusiers and pikemen was broken up. When

the King saw them in flight he gave a cry of triumph and thought the victory was won.

The fortune of battle appeared to be so far on the side of the French; but the enemy, though driven back, was not discouraged. It was Charles de Bourbon, with his indomitable spirit, who rallied the landsknechte and led forward the main body of the army with steady courage, unchecked by the French artillery, which was now partly masked by the forward movement of the Black Bands, whose gallant leader, Giovanni dei Medici, was not there to direct them. With a vehement, overwhelming rush the picked bands of Bourbon charged the knights in their heavy armour, unhorsed and cast them upon the ground, until their ranks were in disorder and the stress of battle fell upon the Swiss mercenaries behind. Shaken by the retreat of the men-at-arms upon them, harassed by the firing of the arquebusiers in hot pursuit, attacked in front by cavalry and on the right flank by Bourbon and his landsknechte, the Swiss battalions gave way after one desperate effort, and seeing the day was lost, turned to flight.

Fighting for pay, caring for neither side, these soldiers were willing to run ordinary risks, but wholesale massacre was not in the bargain. "La guerre devant durer toute la vie, on la menait doucement." When the King of France, fighting gallantly in the midst of a *mêlée*, suddenly became aware that the Swiss were retreating in disorder, he cried in dismay, "Mon Dieu! qu'est-ce?" and rode to try and check the fugitives. But they would not even listen to the commands of their own leaders, and in that

moment of confusion, Antonio de Leyva rode out of Pavia with his light cavalry, his lances, and 5,000 foot-soldiers; he dashed into the company of French men-at-arms who had rallied round their King, and terrible was the slaughter which followed. The noblest names of France were in that roll-call of honour, as the brave knights fell in the service of their King, who seemed to lead a charmed life. He was wounded and his horse was killed under him, but still he fought on until Lannoy, the Viceroy, caught sight of his shining armour and feathered helmet and rescued him—a prisoner to the Emperor.

We have not space to tell the whole story as François told it himself in his long poem written in captivity. It was from the citadel of Pizzigheone that he sent the well-known letter to his mother, Louise de Savoie. “Madame, pour vous faire savoir, comme se porte le reste de mon infortune, de toutes choses ne m’est demeure, que l’honneur et la vie qui est saulve.”

In less than two hours a splendid army had been utterly defeated and almost destroyed. More than 10,000 men were left upon the field of battle, or had been drowned in seeking to escape, for Leyva had caused the bridge over the Ticino to be destroyed. Besides the French nobles who lost their lives on that fatal day, many other famous leaders were taken prisoners, amongst whom were the King of Navarre, the Duc de Nemours, Montmorency, d’Aubigny, the Vidame of Chartres, the Seneschal of Armagnac, and a host of lesser rank. The news of the victory was sent to Charles by a messenger who

arrived at Madrid on March 14. When told the good news, the Emperor remained silent and pale at first, and repeated the words: "The battle is won, the King of France is prisoner!" Then he went alone into his room and remained long in prayer. Only later did he ask for details of the battle. He refused to allow public rejoicings, and the next day went in slow procession, on foot, in a black cape, to the Church of Notre Dame d'Atocha, where he heard a solemn mass. The preacher had taken for his text, "Laudamini nomen Dei vestri, qui fecit nobiscum mirabilia," but he was forbidden to dwell upon the triumph. In fact, the whole behaviour of this young conqueror of five-and-twenty was a marvellous instance of self-control.

He agreed to a truce with France, as "it did not accord with his honour to make war on a King who was his prisoner and could not defend himself. . . ." This was against the advice of his minister Gattinara, who urged Charles to crush France beyond hope of recovery, for no oath or promise would ever be kept by that perfidious nation. But Lannoy, who appreciated the difficulties of maintaining and feeding a great mercenary army, strongly advised peace with France, and eagerly seconded the suggestion of François that he should be sent to Spain in order to discuss conditions in person with the Emperor. The French King was the more anxious to do this, as he had already received a memoir on the subject of conditions of peace which he could not accept. One point on which Charles was firm was his claim to Burgundy, which had been taken by force from

his grandmother Marie of Burgundy on the death of her father Duke Charles the Bold. He also demanded all that had been once ceded by the treaties of Conflans and Péronne; the King of France was to resign his claims in Italy, and he was to restore to the Duc de Bourbon all his privileges and his dominions.

This last clause François was willing to grant with careless indifference, but nothing would induce him to give up Burgundy. He hoped great things from a meeting with Charles, as he had much faith in his powers of persuasion; but it was some time before the Emperor was willing to see his prisoner. The King was kept waiting near Valencia for two months and it was not until August 17 that he was taken to the Alcazar at Madrid. The hoped-for interview with Charles was still delayed, but the ambassadors sent by Louise of Savoie, now Regent of France, had already arrived at Toledo, the seat of the Spanish Court. Their instructions were not to give up any territory, but to offer a ransom and to suggest a marriage of the King of France with Eléonore of Portugal, sister of the Emperor. The gentle, neglected Queen Claude had died the previous year, during her husband's absence in Italy.

As the negotiations made no progress, a safe-conduct was asked for the King's sister Marguerite of Alençon, to come to Spain, and this was granted, although the Emperor repeated that her coming would be useless unless she had power to give up Burgundy. She arrived on September 19, the day after the first visit Charles had paid to his royal prisoner, who was ill in bed. It had been a most

friendly meeting on both sides, and there had been discussion of conditions. It seems that the English ambassadors were much alarmed at the coming of this princess, for they said: "Being young and a widow, as Ovid says of women who go to play, to see and to be seen; and perhaps the Emperor may like her. . . ." But there was no foundation for this fear, as, although he courteously kissed the fair lady and granted her private interviews, she had no influence of any kind over him. As he always declared, he only wanted his own when he laid claim to Burgundy, which was so positively refused.

The French Government was willing to yield all claims in Italy, and to resign the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders. They seriously considered the question of an alliance with Madame Eléonore, which Lannoy strongly urged. When the Emperor mentioned that she was promised to Bourbon, the Viceroy schemed that the princess should be asked whether she would rather be Queen of France or the wife of a fugitive Duke. She gave her preference to the first, as he expected. Charles appears to have been troubled on account of Bourbon, who was invited to Spain and treated with almost princely honours; but the Duke made no secret of his bitter disappointment at the proposed alliance, and the loss of his promised bride.

François, meanwhile, was growing so sick of his imprisonment and so nervous about his health, that he formed the desperate plan of agreeing to everything that was demanded by the Emperor, with the definite intention of breaking all his pledges. Thus it came

to pass that the Treaty of Madrid was signed on January 13, 1526. By this, all claim to Italian provinces was resigned, the suzerainty of Flanders, Artois, and Tournay was given up, as well as places taken on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and François promised not to help Charles of Guelders or Henri d'Albret. The Duc de Bourbon was to have all his dominions restored to him, and, with regard to the cession of Burgundy, the King promised to persuade the French Parliament to agree to it, or, if he failed, he would himself return to prison in Spain. Mass was said, and before the altar François swore upon the Gospel to keep his word, and he also gave his word of honour as a knight to return to captivity within six weeks if the treaty were not scrupulously carried out. This was a formal and deliberate lie, as he had told the French ambassadors his intention the day before.

When all had been thus apparently settled, a few days were spent in intimate friendship between the two sovereigns; and on February 16 they rode to Illescas, near Madrid, where the Princess Eléonore had already arrived; there were stately entertainments, and the alliance was looked upon as a settled fact. Once more the French King renewed his oath as he took leave of the Emperor, who was on the point of going to Seville for his marriage with Isabel of Portugal. "Then, the 18th day of March, the King, accompanied by the Viceroy, Captain d'Alarçon, and fifty horse, came to the shore of the river that divideth the realm of France from the kingdom of Spain, at the same time M. de Lautrec, with the King's

children and the same number of horse, presenting themselves on the other side. . . .” As soon as the two hostages, the Dauphin aged eight and his younger brother, had been given into the care of the Spanish nobles, François sprang ashore, mounted a swift horse, and rode at full speed to Bayonne, where the French Court had come to meet him. He had a gay time, and felt no scruple with regard to the deliberate treachery which he was about to proclaim to the world.

Meanwhile, with a tranquil mind, Charles travelled south for the wedding with his cousin Isabel, which had long been the desire of his subjects, who welcomed it with enthusiasm. The princess brought a dowry of a million ducats; she proved herself a charming and capable wife, whom he grew to appreciate and love with deep affection. He was fortunate indeed to make such a happy marriage of his own choice after the many political betrothals which had been forced upon him from his earliest childhood. The ceremony took place in March, and the honeymoon was spent in Cordova, Granada, and on the beautiful hill of the Alhambra, where the Emperor began to build a magnificent palace, never completed to this day. One result of his southern visit was that he suspended an order of the Inquisition against the Moors of Granada, who had recently been treated with great severity. Possibly he was wanting in imagination and did not realize rumours of oppression from afar, but any personal appeal against harshness or injustice was never made to him in vain.

CHAPTER IX

TREACHERY OF FRANÇOIS AND THE POPE—SACK OF ROME—PEACE OF CAMBRAI

François I repudiates all his solemn engagements and joins the League against Charles V—Vacillation and treachery of Pope Clement VII—The Colonna Raid—Battle of Mohács, defeat of Louis of Hungary by the Turks and his death—Fruntsberg and his German levies invade Italy—Bourbon advances against Rome—Warning sent to the Pope—Death of Bourbon—Sack of Rome—Turn of the tide of war—Imperial success—Peace of Cambrai—Charles crowned at Bologna by Clement VII.

THE Emperor was alone in trusting that the French King would keep his solemn vows; all the other rulers and statesmen in Europe knew his character, and were prepared for his shameful perjury. On gaining his freedom, his first step was to repudiate the Treaty of Madrid as having been forced upon him, and to open negotiations on all sides for war against Charles. But he was too much absorbed in luxurious pleasures to take any personal action, and it was not until the following May, 1526, that the League of Cognac was concluded in which the Pope, Florence, Venice, and Francesco Sforza of Milan joined with France. Henry VIII gave fair words and declared that "he would not fail Italy," but he did nothing more.

The Emperor was most indignant both with the

treachery of François I and the duplicity of Clement VII, who actually invited him to join the League on such terms that Charles declared they were meant for his destruction. In self-defence, he wrote a letter fully stating the evil deeds of the Pope, which he caused to be printed in Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands. All his efforts were needed in Italy, where Bourbon had succeeded Pescara in command of the imperial forces. He was able to defeat the Sforza power and to take possession of the duchy of Milan, which was to be given him by Charles, who now vainly tried to make peace with Clement VII. For this purpose, he had sent as envoy, Ugo de Moncada, a certain fiery old captain who had served under Cæsar Borgia, and who, when he met with no success at the Vatican, turned to the Colonna family, and made common cause with them against the Pope. On September 20 the Colonna, having raised 8,000 peasants in their dominions, marched against Rome, were joined by some Spanish troops under Moncada, and entered the city by the Lateran gate. Clement VII was taken by surprise and fled to the fortress of Sant' Angelo with most of his cardinals, while the Vatican and other palaces were looted. In abject terror, the Pope sent for Moncada and promised to withdraw from the League, to withdraw his troops from Lombardy, and to pardon the Colonna.

But when once the danger was over, Clement made no scruple of breaking his word. He sent for some of his army, but at once made use of them to storm the castles of the Colonna and carry desolation

amongst their helpless peasants with "cruelty worse than that of the Turks in Hungary." We learn from Castiglione, the Papal envoy at the Court of Spain, that it was with horror and dismay that the Emperor heard of the raid upon Rome and the Vatican. At that very time, Charles was in deep distress at the recent news of an overwhelming disaster to all Christendom, the defeat and death of Louis of Hungary with his whole army on the fatal field of Mohács. This gallant young prince was the husband of Marie, sister of the Emperor, and his had been the stern task of defending Hungary, so long the frontier kingdom and bulwark of Europe against the Turk, whose victory placed the whole of Christendom in peril. A messenger had arrived from Ferdinand, who had married Anne of Hungary, sister of the unfortunate King Louis, saying that he "fears Austria will be lost," and imploring immediate help from his brother Charles.

We can quite understand that this awful catastrophe threw all else into the shade, and what a deadly reality it was to the Emperor, whose whole heart had been so long set on inducing all the sovereigns of Europe to join him in a crusade against the infidel. With immense difficulty he had already sent some troops to help his brother-in-law, but they arrived too late. And now he knew not where to turn, with war in Europe on every side, an empty purse, and the knowledge that the King of France was a traitor to the cause of Christendom, and had not only made an alliance with the Sultan but had suggested the invasion of Hungary. So bitter was the Emperor

against François, and his double perjury, that he actually suggested a duel between the two, in which he believed "that God would show His justice without exposing so many Christians to death."

Meanwhile the plot was thickening in Italy and the Pope, in his blindness and folly, his vacillation and treachery, was bringing down upon himself swift and fatal retribution. A new element had entered into the tangled politics of distracted Italy. The Duc de Bourbon, seeing the desperate need for men and money, sought for a new opening in Germany. Some of the Lutheran princes, grateful for a measure of tolerance on the part of the Emperor, encouraged their dependents to join his cause, more especially as Bourbon pointed out that he was fighting against Papal oppression, and also that the cities of Italy were full of untold wealth. Georg von Frundsberg, Prince of Mindelheim, collected a mixed army of Swabians, Bavarians, and Tyrolese, besides a strong contingent of sturdy landsknechte.

In November 1526 these German levies set forth and crossed over to Italy by some little-known passes between the Lakes of Garda and Idro, reaching Frosinone on December 1. Here they were decoyed by Federico of Mantua into the swampy ground on the banks of the Po, near Governolo, and were suddenly attacked by Giovanni delle Bande Nere, with his famous bands, the pick of the Pope's army; but, by their splendid steadiness, the landsknechte escaped from the trap. The gallant Giovanni, the greatest soldier Italy had ever known, was mortally wounded by a ball from one of those new pieces of artillery

which he at once despised and hated as contrary to all knightly warfare.

It is difficult to understand the cautious policy of the Duke of Urbino, who was Captain-General of the Papal forces, for he might have prevented the meeting of the army of Frundsberg with that of Bourbon, which took place at Fiorenzuola on February 7, after which the combined host passed on southwards, living on the country, for they were almost destitute of money or supplies. They reached San Giovanni, near Bologna, at the end of February, and remained here for several weeks in torrents of rain, until a mutiny broke out from scarcity of food, and the soldiers clamoured, with furious threats, for their pay. In vain Frundsberg tried to pacify them with words of hope and promise, but they took no heed, and the shock of this awful moment was too much for the veteran leader. His words failed, he lost consciousness, and fell back, suddenly stricken with apoplexy. He was borne on a litter to Ferrara, and lingered for a while until death brought release. It was a terrible position in which Bourbon found himself with this rebellious host, for whom he was now responsible, although, in fact, he was their servant and not their master.

This was the condition of the camp when the Emperor's ambassador arrived with news that a treaty had been made with the Pope, but the Spanish and German mercenaries were furious at the idea of losing everything after all they had endured, and the envoy, Ferramosca, had to flee for his life. The army clamoured to go forward, and Bourbon had no power

to check the tumultuous advance towards the valley of the Arno. On April 21 Lannoy met the army with 100,000 ducats which he had raised with immense difficulty, but they now demanded twice the amount. Florence was threatened, but the army of the League was at hand, and the motley host turned aside over the passes of the Apennines, by the great high-road to Rome. Bourbon sent a messenger to the Pope on April 7, saying that the troops were determined to advance, and he was a prisoner in their midst. Even then, no one believed in the danger of the situation. Indeed Clement was so full of confidence that, on April 23, he actually revoked the treaty he had made with Lannoy, and again joined the League. It was generally thought that a hostile manifestation might be made against Rome and money demanded, but that the barbarian host would pass on to Naples.

On May 4 Bourbon and the forces had passed beyond Viterbo, and he sent a messenger to the Pope, hoping to receive terms of peace and an offer of money. But no reply was sent to this last appeal, and the fate of Rome was sealed. The attack began on May 6 on the Vatican hill, between the gates of San Spirito and San Pancrazio, where Charles de Bourbon led the way, seizing a ladder and calling on his men to follow him, when he was struck by a shot from an arquebus and fell, mortally wounded.

The Prince of Orange now took the command, but the soldiers, maddened by their long privations followed by this sudden success, were beyond all control, and the scenes which followed were past all

description. The Pope, with some of his cardinals, had barely time to take refuge in the fortress of Sant' Angelo. For eight days the reign of terror continued unchecked, for Bourbon alone might have had restraining power; more than 4,000 people are said to have perished, while all who could escaped by flight.¹ Yet the sack of Rome was but the concentrated horror and final seal of all that Italy had suffered since the fatal coming of the French King, Charles VIII, had let loose the flood of woes untold.

The Emperor was at Valladolid in the midst of the rejoicings on the birth of his son Philip, when news of the siege and sack of Rome was brought by the Imperial Commissioner, and caused him unfeigned dismay and horror. He was deeply distressed to hear of the desecration of holy places and sacred things, and to learn that Spanish soldiers had shown no more respect for them than the Lutheran fanatics who looked upon the war as a religious crusade against "the new Babylon, the city of abominations."

It is interesting, at this point, to consider how far Charles was responsible for the tragic event. In the first place, we must remember that, in those days of slow travel, communication between Spain and Italy took many weeks; for instance, a Papal Brief of June 23, 1526, did not reach Granada until August 30. Thus not until Rome had fallen did the Emperor know that Bourbon and the army were actually on the march towards the city. Weeks would elapse between his receiving news from his

¹ For a full account of the siege and sack of Rome, see "Charles de Bourbon," by C. Hare.

generals, and any orders which he could send them; thus he certainly cannot be blamed for leaving much to their discretion. During all those eventful early months of 1527, Charles undoubtedly hoped to come to terms with the Pope by a show of force; for even as late as April 23, a fortnight before the siege, he sent Bourbon full powers to treat with Clement VII, and had every hope in the success of his negotiations.

The Emperor never made war if he could help it, and now his desire for peace was the more earnest as he was single-handed against all the sovereigns of Europe combined in the League against him. He even condescended to write a letter to the various Courts, explaining that the sad event had been "beyond his knowledge and against his wish," and that he would "rather not have won the victory than that this should happen." In his own private Memoirs he writes that "he had been constrained, for his own defence, to send many men-of-war by whom he had not been well obeyed." He assured Castiglione, the Pope's Nuncio, that Bourbon was not a free agent, but was borne onwards by the desperate host, whom he hoped he might be able to restrain by his presence. Nor can Charles be blamed for the tragic death, in the moment of victory, of the one general who might have kept control over the wild passions of the men who had followed him from their distant homes.

As for Clement VII, as he had kept faith with no one, he could expect trust from none. When he took the sword in hand, he was bound to accept the fortune and peril of war. Least of all could he



Panel by Vasari: Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

POPE CLEMENT VII AND FRANÇOIS I.

Broggi, photo.

look for consideration from the Emperor, when he had taken the side of his bitter enemy François I, to whom he had even given a dispensation for his perjury. In the treatment alike of friend and foe, Clement had shown himself absolutely faithless and unreliable, so that it was clear to the world that the only means of compelling him to keep his word was by the stern discipline of fear.

A difficult question remained before the Emperor : he was anxious to release the Pope, and strong pressure was put upon him by his confessor, Quinones, “ to redress the wrongs of the Pontiff ” ; but he could not give up all that he had won by the dearly-bought victory. After much negotiation, a compromise was arrived at in a treaty on November 26, by which the Papal States were to be restored, although some of them were held as pledges, as well as hostages to ensure the payment of enough money to pay off the invading army. But the terms had not been fully carried out before the Pope made his escape to Orvieto, where he could trust to French protection, as Lautrec, the French general, had large forces in Central Italy. By the Peace of Amiens, signed in August, France and England had made common cause on the side of the Pope, who had to be conciliated that he might consent to the divorce of Henry VIII from Katharine of Aragon.

It was a critical moment for Charles ; every Italian State was against him, and he had lost the command of the sea, for the fleet commanded by Moncada was defeated by the Genoese, who had gone over to France. The Imperial general, Antonio de

Leyva, held Milan with the utmost difficulty as his troops were without ammunition or pay, while the Prince of Orange in Naples found himself in much the same case. The Emperor could not send money, even if he could raise it, for the only banking cities, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, were all his enemies. But in this hour of his deepest need help came from an unexpected quarter. François I, by his careless levity and folly, lost the key of the situation. He sent no help to Lautrec, spending money recklessly on his personal pleasures when his army was starving, and he so insulted the Genoese that Andrea Doria entered the service of the Emperor, and soon the tide of fortune turned. The sea-power was now in the hands of Spain, and so remained with but a brief interval of the later pirate raids supported by France. Genoa was of priceless value as a gate to Italy, and a centre of banking to the rulers of Spain.

Other disasters followed for the French; the death of Lautrec from the plague, which ravaged the French camp before Naples, and soon after the French army was compelled to capitulate. On June 20, 1529, the Spanish general, Leyva, waylaid and defeated the troops under St. Pol, and definitely ensured the possession of Milan for the Emperor. Both sides were now weary of the long strife, and it was Marguerite of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands, who suggested to her nephew Charles that she and the mother of the French King, Louise de Savoie, should meet and discuss terms of peace. This was finally agreed upon, and the neutral city of Cambrai was chosen as the place of meeting, the two

princesses, with their suites, arriving there on July 5, after some months of negotiation. The Congress was a splendid gathering of spiritual and temporal lords, boasting of four sovereign princes, eight cardinals, ten archbishops, thirty-three bishops, eighty-seven dukes and counts, and four hundred nobles of lower rank.

These were the terms of peace, in which Charles and François made a final compromise: The marriage between the French King and Eléonore was to be carried out; two millions of crowns were to be paid as the ransom of the young French princes, while the Emperor reserved his rights to Burgundy, still held by François, who resigned all claims to Italy, and gave up the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois. No demand was made for restitution to the heirs of Bourbon and Orange, while the French King pledged himself not to support the Duke of Guelders or Robert de la Marck. This Treaty of Cambrai, commonly known as "The Ladies' Peace," was solemnly proclaimed in the Cathedral on August 3, 1529.

It really seemed as if universal peace in Europe were at hand, for already, on June 29, the Treaty of Barcelona had been signed by Emperor and Pope, on such terms that Charles ardently hoped the time had come for a crusade against the Turks. Having so far prepared the way, he now set forth on his long-postponed visit to Italy. On arriving at Genoa, he had a splendid reception from the Signoria and the populace, as he landed in stately white attire, followed by his household guards of three nations,

Spanish, German, and Flemish. From Genoa he travelled through Piacenza to Parma, where he received the welcome news of the victory over the Turks in the neighbourhood of Vienna. It had been arranged that he should be crowned Emperor by the Pope at Bologna, and he made a kind of triumphal progress towards that city, receiving homage everywhere on his way.

The coronation of Charles V took place on February 24, 1530, his birthday and the anniversary of the victory of Pavia, and appears to have been a magnificent pageant. The ancient city was gaily decorated, and there was a stately procession to the Church of San Petronio of the rector and doctors of the university in their purple robes, fur collars, and gold chains, followed by the bishops in violet copes and mitres, the cardinals in scarlet silk and lace in attendance on the Pope, borne in his golden chair of state by his guards in red liveries. The coming of the Emperor was proclaimed by his heralds with a flourish of trumpets, and he wore his robes of empire and a flowing mantle of gold brocade over his armour inlaid with gold, riding a Spanish genet. In his military suite, the most striking figures were the men-at-arms of Burgundy, clad in white armour, wearing rich mantles, and mounted on beautiful horses. Charles went through the solemn ceremonial in the Cathedral; he had received the iron crown of Lombardy, and was invested with the imperial insignia and crowned with the diadem of Empire by Clement VII, and the heralds proclaimed him "Emperor of the Romans

and Lord of the whole world." Never had Bologna seen such a gathering of nobles from Spain, from the Netherlands and Italy, while the square round the Cathedral was guarded by 3,000 landsknechte, 3,000 Spanish arquebusiers, and 300 Italian soldiers.

The greater part of Italy was now at the feet of the Emperor; he had received homage from the Duke of Milan, and the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino; he had made peace with Venice, who gave back her conquests and paid a war indemnity. Only Florence remained firm, and refused to receive the Medici. This was really the quarrel of Clement VII, who was implored by Charles to be merciful and to save his native city from destruction; but he was unrelenting, and a ten months' siege was needed to subdue the City of the Lily.

CHAPTER X

DIET OF AUGSBURG—CAMPAIGN OF CHARLES IN ALGIERS

Diet of Augsburg, June 1530—The Emperor's efforts for conciliation between Catholics and Reformers—Death of Marguerite of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands—Her niece Marie of Hungary succeeds to her duties—Ferdinand elected "King of the Romans"—Charles V returns to Spain, 1533—He heads the campaign in Algiers—Taking of Goletta and later of Tunis—The Emperor hailed as the "Saviour of Europe."

BEFORE taking leave of the Pope at Bologna, "the Emperor besought him—as a most important and necessary thing, to remedy the evils in Germany and to fight against the errors which were increasing in Christendom—that he would convoke a General Council, the only means of curing these evils." Thus wrote Charles in his private Memoirs; but a Council was the one thing which Clement VII dreaded. However, he promised to send a Legate to the coming Diet of Augsburg, for which summonses were being issued throughout the States of Germany "praying both Catholics and Lutherans to put away all that was not right, and to join in one true religion."

Passing through Mantua and the territory of Venice, Charles crossed the Brenner and for the first time beheld the beautiful mountains of the Tyrol,

so dear to his grandfather Maximilian. He was warmly welcomed at Innsbrück by the Bavarian princes, and was joined by his brother Ferdinand, now King of Hungary and Bohemia, fresh from his successful repulse of the Turks at Vienna. The friendly feeling between the two brothers, who had never met until they were nearly grown up, had increased very much of late years, and now Charles was anxious to make arrangements for the succession of Ferdinand to the Empire. His own son Philip was a child of three at this time, and it is probable that the Emperor already felt that his world-wide dominion was too great a responsibility to be laid upon the shoulders of one man. As he was himself now fully crowned "Emperor of the Romans," with every pomp and ceremony, his idea was that his brother should be elected King of the Romans, and so make sure of his succession in due time to the Empire.

At Innsbrück Charles received news of the death of his minister Gattinara, in whom he lost a faithful and devoted friend; the Imperial Seal was given to Granvelle, a man of letters, who was useful to Charles in his foreign diplomacy. From Innsbrück the imperial party travelled on to Augsburg, which was reached on the eve of Corpus Christi, and they took part in the solemn procession on the feast-day. The Diet opened on June 25, and the royal speech began by asking for a subsidy for defence against the Turks. After this there followed endless theological controversies, which were made more bitter by the schism in the Protestant camp; one side

headed by Luther and the other by the Swiss Zwingli, who was more modern and tolerant, a humanist as well as a theologian. Luther, being under the ban of the Empire, could not appear in person, and Melanchthon took his place with his celebrated "Confession," which was drawn up in an earnest attempt to approach nearer the Catholic doctrine and farther from that of Zwingli. It was with great difficulty that the Protestant princes were persuaded to sign this mild document, but they hoped that Charles might act as mediator, and induce the Catholics to make concessions.

It was quite true that no one desired peace more than the Emperor, but he had no influence with Campeggi, the Legate, who persisted that force was the only remedy, and that Charles was not the judge of Catholic doctrine but the champion. So the weary contest went on, and there became less and less hope of reconciliation, while the Emperor continued to listen patiently to both sides, never losing his temper and never giving up his efforts for peace. Melanchthon writes that—

"More glorious and marvellous than all his successes was the Emperor's control of his temper. Never a word or an action was the least overbearing; there was nothing grasping, not a sign of pride or cruelty. In spite of every effort to anger him, he listened to the Lutherans with a calm, judicial temper. His private life is a perfect model of continence, temperance, and moderation."

At this point it is interesting to notice the modera-

tion and almost friendly feeling of Luther towards Charles. Various causes had combined to produce this change. In the days of the great revolt of the peasants in 1525, they had used Luther's teaching as an excuse for their excesses, making the "freedom of the Gospel" a pretext for demanding political and social freedom. Alarmed by revolutionary ideas on every side, Luther preached submission to Charles in matters political, and this attitude proved of great value to the Emperor for many years to come. On his journey back to the Netherlands, he lost no opportunity of advocating the election of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans, and this was decided at Cologne before the end of the year. Here also Charles received the sad news of the death of his Aunt Marguerite, to whom he was so deeply indebted for the care of his early life, and for the devotion which she had always shown to his interests as Governor of the Netherlands for so many years. She wrote him a touching letter of farewell on the last day of her life, November 30, 1530 :

"MONSEIGNEUR,—The hour is come when I can no more write to you with mine own hand, for I find myself so ill that I doubt my life will be brief. With a quiet conscience and resolved to bear all that it may please God to send me; with no regret save the privation of your presence, and that I am not able to see and speak to you once more before my death. . . . I leave to you your lands of 'pardeça,' which during your absence I have not only kept as you gave them to me on your departure, but

greatly augmented ; and I return you the government of the same, of which I believe that I have loyally acquitted myself, so that I hope for divine reward, satisfaction from you, Monseigneur, and thanks from your subjects . . . and I pray Monseigneur, that God will give you prosperity and long life. . . . MARGUERITE À MALINES.”

Solemn funeral services were held in the Cathedral of Cologne, in the presence of Charles V, Ferdinand, and their Court, and the eloquent Jean Fabri spoke the praise of the Archduchess in stately Latin. She was laid to rest, according to her wish, in the splendid church of Brou, by the side of her gallant young husband, Philibert of Savoy, whom she had mourned during a quarter of a century.¹ Her nephew Charles felt her loss very deeply. He had learnt to appreciate her skill and devotion as a ruler so well that his first impulse was to choose his sister Marie, the widowed Queen of Hungary, as her successor. This scheme he carried out the following year, although he had some difficulty in persuading Marie to undertake so great a responsibility.

From Cologne, Charles travelled with his brother to Aix-la-Chapelle, and here, in January 1531, Ferdinand was crowned King of the Romans ; this, it was hoped, would place him in a position of more authority to enforce order in his dominions. The Emperor now continued his journey through the Netherlands, visiting all the chief cities and making himself thoroughly acquainted with their condition and

¹ See “Marguerite of Austria,” by Christopher Hare.

requirements. Before the end of the year he assembled all the States and presented to them his sister, the widowed Queen of Hungary, as their new Governor. She had already shown great capacity in dealing with the troubled condition of political affairs after her husband's death, and in the time to come, she fully justified her brother's choice. The establishment of three Councils in the Netherlands for foreign affairs, for justice, and for finance, added much to the strength of her government. Charles left her established in Brussels and travelled on to Ratisbon, where he remained from February to September to assist at the Imperial Diet, which, he says in his Memoirs, "was intended to put in execution that which had been settled at Augsburg: to find a remedy for heresy, and to resist the invasion of the Turks."

While Charles was at Ratisbon, he had a fall from his horse, and was laid up for some time. He was also much grieved at the loss of his young nephew, Jean, Prince of Denmark, who died there. This was one of the three children of Isabelle, the second sister of Charles, who had married Christian II of Denmark, before her brother became King of Spain; and, after a sad and eventful life, had died at Ghent of a broken heart in 1526. Her husband was unfaithful to her; he could be cruel and treacherous, as in regard to the massacre which followed his coronation as King of Sweden. Yet Christian had many of the modern instincts of a good ruler. He abolished the sentence of death against witches, founded hospitals for the sick, encouraged learning,

and tried to make education compulsory in the towns. Also he gave great offence to his people by putting down piracy and making an end of the old "wrecking rights." When the Bishops of Jutland came and complained, saying that the Bible said nothing against wrecking, he replied: "Let the Lord Prelates go home and study the eighth commandment."

Queen Isabelle left three young children to the care of her beloved Aunt Marguerite, after whose death Charles V seems to have loyally taken charge of them. His love for children was a notable trait in his character, and he wrote a touching letter after the death of Jean, aged fourteen: "The prettiest little fellow, for his age, that it was possible to see . . . without disrespect to God, I could wish that his father were, in his stead, welcomed to the kingdom of heaven." Then he adds later: "I am writing to my two little nieces to console them . . . there is no other cure but to find them husbands." This intention was carried out, for in 1534 Christina was married to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and in the following year Dorothea became the wife of the Count Palatine Frederick, who came to Saragossa to seek his bride.

At this time Charles was threatened with troubles on every side. The Turks were advancing towards Vienna, whilst the Christians of Germany were at open variance. Henry VIII had divorced Katharine of Aragon and was in open defiance against the Pope. François I scarcely concealed his hostile intentions, and purpose to break the Treaty of Cambrai as soon

as possible. He was in close league with Clement VII, who had arranged the marriage of his kinswoman, Catherine dei Medici, with the French Prince Henri, and was encouraging discontent against the Empire in Italy. In this dark hour Charles behaved with calm wisdom and decision. As he says in his Memoirs :

“ Thanks to the good-will of the States and their desire to do their duty so long as religious questions were left undisturbed, a strong army was raised with which the Emperor and the King of the Romans advanced towards Vienna, and the Turks retreated, having already had a part of their army defeated by the Count Palatine Frederick. They were driven back with much loss towards Constantinople, so that from that time they were less feared. At the same time, by command of the Emperor, Prince Doria made a diversion by attacking the maritime territories of the Turk.”

He captured many ports in the Ionian Islands and Greece.

After this success, the Emperor was able to travel to Italy in the autumn of 1532. He paid a visit to Mantua in November, and we are told that he made a great impression, attended by his Burgundian guards in their quaint costume, his splendid horses and sporting dogs. He was a striking figure alike in his Spanish suit of black velvet embroidered with gold, and in the simple grey cloth tunic which he wore in his hunting excursions with the young Duke Federico. He was entertained with the theatrical performances, which the Dowager Marchesa, Isabella d'Este, loved

so dearly, and he was so much impressed with the portraits by Titian, that he arranged for the great artist to meet him at Bologna, where Clement VII expected to receive his Imperial Majesty.

The meeting between Charles and the Pope in December was not very satisfactory, for no argument or persuasion would induce Clement to convoke a General Council or give up the French alliance. However, a defensive league was formed of the chief Italian States, although Venice held aloof. Not until April 7 was Charles able to embark from Genoa on his long-looked-for return to Spain. He was met at Barcelona by the Empress Isabel, who had successfully acted her part as Regent during his absence of four years, and she brought with her the children Philip and Mary, to welcome his home-coming.

It was some months later, in the same year, 1533, when Clement VII travelled to Marseilles in state, with Catherine dei Medici, and the papal company was welcomed with military honours and salvoes of artillery. The wedding took place on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28, and the whole French Court was present to do honour to the occasion of the marriage of the young Prince Henri, Duc d'Orleans. Queen Eléonore took the place of honour by the side of the Pope; she had shown the greatest kindness to the French princes during their captivity in Spain, and had proved a most devoted stepmother to them since her marriage. Apparently the French King did not treat her badly, although always unfaithful to her; yet, under the circumstances, her life in France must have been a tragedy.

On the return of Charles to Spain in April 1533, the most important matter for his consideration was the condition of his colonies in North Africa, which were seriously threatened by the increasing power of Barbarossa in alliance with the French. When Solyman had driven the Knights Hospitallers from Rhodes in 1522, the Emperor had given them a new home in Tripoli and Malta, as a kind of outpost of Christianity. There was constant warfare between the galleys of the Knights and the Turkish squadrons, whose power was greatly increased by the successes of the younger Barbarossa, Kheyr-ed-din, who had strongly fortified his pirate state of Algiers by taking from the Spanish the rocky island of Peñon, which had served as a watch-tower in front of the port of Algiers. More than this, he had taken possession of the native state of Tunis, and strongly fortified the town, while his dominion stretched far into the interior.

No name ever struck such terror into the heart of dwellers on the shores of Spain and Italy as that of the invincible Kheyr-ed-din, the most daring of pirates, whose galleys ravaged the coast, from whence he carried off hundreds of Christian slaves. In July 1534 he set forth on one of his famous raids. Starting from the Golden Horn, he attacked Messina, the coast of Calabria, Reggio, and San Lucido, taking 800 prisoners and putting to the sword all the useless inhabitants. The corsairs next set fire to Cetraro de Monaci, burning seven Spanish galleys, and carrying off men and women as slaves. The corsair chief now attacked Sperlonga, the port of Fondi,

where he made a bold attempt to seize the Countess Giulia Gonzaga, said to be the most beautiful woman in Italy, for the seraglio of the Sultan, and she only escaped by a desperate effort at the last moment. Enraged by his disappointment, Barbarossa vented his fury on the unprotected inhabitants, the looting and massacre going on through the night, made more terrible by fire when pillage had done its work.¹

When news of this outrage reached Rome Pope Clement VII was dying, and it was his nephew Cardinal Ippolito dei Medici, who aroused the authorities to immediate action. He took command of a strong force, but it was too late for immediate revenge, for the corsairs had escaped with their booty. But this last outrage excited the wrath of all Italy, and from Naples alone a donation of 250,000 ducats was sent to the Emperor Charles, in the hope that he might rid the land of these hateful infidels and destroy their power for ever.

As we have seen, the moment was propitious for an appeal to Charles, the more so as Muley Hassan, late King of Tunis, was imploring his help against Barbarossa. All that winter preparations were made for a great expedition; Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, caused a galley to be built at his own expense, and a number of great lords followed his example. Andrea Doria, Doge of Genoa, made ready his fleet, and the new Pope Paul III sent twenty-two galleys to join the Italian vessels at Naples in May. On June 11 the Emperor arrived at Palermo with a great company of imperial troops from Spain and Germany,

¹ See "A Princess of the Italian Reformation," by Christopher Hare.



EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By Titian.

Small, faint markings or characters, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, located in the lower-middle section.

and the powerful armada of more than 300 ships set sail for Africa, arriving after a prosperous journey of three days. The supreme command was given to the Marchese del Vasto, and the first attack was made on the Goletta, the twin towers which guarded the channel of Tunis. The knights of Malta claimed the post of danger, and the heavy cannon from their great carack, *St. Anna*, soon made a breach in the fortress, and they gallantly rushed through to plant their banner on the battlements. At length with much loss, Goletta was stormed, in spite of the desperate sorties of the garrison, and the fleet of eighty-two galleys was taken, as well as guns and ammunition.

The question now arose with regard to the attack on Tunis, which was distant twelve miles from the fortress of Goletta. The general opinion was in favour of being satisfied with the capture of the corsair fleet, and returning home. But to this Charles was strongly opposed, and at the last moment his advice prevailed. The army set forth on its march between the lagoon and olive groves, on a day of burning heat, without transport, so that all the guns were dragged by hand, and also with only provisions for five days, so that the very existence of the army was risked unless success should be immediate. Barbarossa came to meet the enemy with a great force, but his cavalry dared not face the Spanish fire, and on the second attack the Berbers refused to fight. Meanwhile, the thousands of Christian slaves in the citadel rose against their tyrant, so that he found himself between two fires, and was

compelled to retreat towards Algiers, where he had left some of his galleys. The town of Tunis was taken and given up to plunder.

When Charles V left in August, he had given up Tunis to Muley Hassan, who was to pay tribute, to free all Christian slaves, to renounce piracy, and to offer annual homage of six Moorish horses and twelve falcons. This treaty looked well on the signed parchment, yet it was really of no value, and the Emperor would have been wiser to keep the city in his own hands. As it was he retained Goletta, Bona, and Biserta. He had been anxious to attack Algiers, but his troops were suffering from disease, and could not stand the tropical heat.

The whole Christian world was elated by this transitory success, and the Emperor was hailed with enthusiasm as the saviour of Europe from the dominion of the dreaded Turk. He had certainly proved himself a gallant soldier, and from this time he was never so happy as when he led his armies to battle.

CHAPTER XI

CHARLES IN ITALY

Charles V visits Sicily and Naples—Listens to the preaching of Ochino—The Emperor is welcomed in his city of Siena—Vain efforts to recover Savoy for his brother-in-law—François I renews his alliance with the Turks—Charles has troubles on every side—Cosimo dei Medici becomes Duke of Florence—Treaty of Aigues-Mortes between the Emperor and the King of France—Charles returns to Spain.

CHARLES V remained in Africa for a while to strengthen his position before he set sail to pay his first visit to his kingdom of Sicily. Here he arrived on August 17, and remained for ten weeks, resting after his arduous labours and making a survey of the fortifications. He held a Parliament at Palermo and received tribute there, travelling on to Taormina and ending his journey at Messina. Before leaving Sicily, he appointed Ferrante Gonzaga, brother of Duke Federico of Mantua, as Viceroy of the island kingdom. On November 3, 1535, the Emperor crossed the straits of Calabria, and three weeks later made a triumphant entry into Naples, where he was hailed as conqueror of the terrible Barbarossa and proclaimed champion of Christendom. All the great nobles gathered together to do honour to their lord, and there appears to have been quite a galaxy of

fair ladies, and, amongst them, Charles specially distinguished Giulia Gonzaga, Countess of Fondi, whom he congratulated on her escape from the corsairs.

Don Pedro de Toledo, the Viceroy, held a splendid Court, and amongst those present was the historian, Paolo Giovio, who writes a very interesting appreciation of Charles V, at this time thirty-five years of age. Amongst other remarks, we find that in the midst of all these beautiful ladies, "His Majesty is as cold as the *tramontana*, [north wind], and flies from all occasion of offending even in thought." But if he was not personally interested in these fair ladies, the Emperor was quite aware of the value of an heiress, in payment of his obligations to one of his valiant generals. Thus he arranged a marriage for Philippe de Lannoy with Isabella Colonna, the young widow of Luigi Gonzaga (Rodomonte) brother of the Countess of Fondi, giving the bride as a dowry a castle and estate in the Abruzzi; having already made the bridegroom Prince of Sulmona. Another still more important wedding celebrated at Naples during the visit of Charles was that of his illegitimate daughter Marguerite with Alessandro dei Medici, Duke of Florence since 1532. This young girl, born many years before the Emperor's marriage, was acknowledged by him, and brought up as a royal princess; she is always spoken of as beautiful and accomplished, and she was a great favourite at Court. Her mother was a certain Marguerite Vander Gheenst.

But, during this winter in Naples, Charles had other interests besides wedding festivities. A series

of sermons were given in the Cathedral of Naples by the famous friar, Bernardino Ochino, and all the city flocked to hear him, as had been the case wherever he preached, in Florence, Venice, Rome, and elsewhere. The Emperor was a constant listener to his preaching, full of zeal and eloquence, which he was wont to say "would draw tears from the very stones." Yet we know that so fierce became the persecution of all whose strong religious fervour could possibly be accused of heresy, that, only a few years later, Ochino was driven to despairing flight from his native land, to avoid the flames of the Inquisition.

While he was at Naples, Charles heard of the death of his niece Christina's husband, Francesco, Duke of Milan. This raised a difficult question as to what should be done with Milan; negotiations with France went on for months, and it formed a serious subject of discussion with Pope Paul III, when the two sovereigns met for the first time at Rome in April 1536. It was on Easter Monday that, in the presence of the Pope, the College of Cardinals, and the ambassadors, the Emperor made his passionate speech in defiance of France, news having arrived that François I had broken all treaties and invaded Savoy.

"If the King of France would not have peace I shall be forced to stake all for all; and whoso wins will buy victory too dearly, for the Turk will be master of Europe, if God do not intervene, for man cannot prevent it. . . . Yea, rather than bring another war on Christendom, I will fight François, man to man,

staking Milan against Burgundy, though this last also is mine by right. Whoso is conquered shall give full aid to the victor for war against the infidel.”

But this second challenge to single combat with his rival was destined to meet the same fate as the first. The peace which he so ardently longed for was not to be gained thus ; for the long-dreaded war had come at last.

From Rome Charles travelled north to his imperial city, Siena, where he was received with enthusiasm, and won golden opinions by his genial kindness, especially to the procession of little children who came to meet him with garlands of flowers. After a short visit, crowded with entertainments, he went on to Florence, where, as at Siena, the beautiful Cathedral interested him more than anything else. He was a guest of his devoted daughter Marguerite, and her husband Duke Alessandro, who was soon to meet with a fate which he probably richly deserved, for there is little doubt that he was guilty of poisoning his cousin, Cardinal Ippolito.

The Emperor passed through Lucca, across the valley of the Magra to Pontremoli, and onwards to Fornovo and over the hills to Borgo San Domino. It was his first sight of this fair land, which he was no more to visit. In his Memoirs he speaks of his anxiety to recover Savoy for his brother-in-law, and mentions that he sent Henri of Nassau against Picardy, leaving a part of his army before Turin. With the troops that remained to him, who were under the command of Antonio de Leyva, he him-

self advanced through Provence and took possession of Aix, and he adds that "this was the first time he had entered France at the head of an army." His motive was not so much conquest, as to induce François I to withdraw his troops from Savoy. With an army of 50,000 men, Charles crossed the river Var which divided Piedmont from Provence on July 25, 1536, and marched on towards Marseilles. But a second time the city proved impregnable, and after fourteen days of bombardment, he was obliged to raise the siege and turn back, having lost half his army. Worst of all, his great general, Antonio de Leyva, had died from the hardships of the campaign.

Charles returned to Genoa, and, after granting the lands of Monferrat to Federico of Mantua, he set sail for Spain, and at length, after delay from stormy seas, and risks of attack from the French fleet, he reached Palamos in safety. As he tells us in his Memoirs, "this was the fifth time he had crossed the Levant, and the fourth time he went to Spain. He travelled at once to Tordesillas, where he found the Queen his mother and the Empress his wife." Juana appears to have been very fond of her daughter-in-law Isabel, who, like Charles, always treated the poor lady with the greatest kindness and consideration.

The end of the year 1536 was not promising for the cause of the Empire. The Count of Nassau had met with some success in Picardy, but he found it difficult to maintain his position, as the war was not popular in the Netherlands and he could not obtain enough funds. The chief reason for the Emperor's

return to Spain was to summon the Estates and raise subsidies ; but every country objected to give money for foreign wars. However, the next year this position was changed when the people of Flanders found their frontiers invaded by the King of France, who took Hesdin, with the result that funds were freely voted by the burghers for self-defence. The attack was driven back, and the Regent Marie insisted upon making a separate peace, or at least an armistice of ten months, between the Netherlands and France, on July 30, 1537.

François I had begun an alliance with the Turks many years before ; when he was a prisoner in Spain he had written a pitiful letter of appeal to the Sultan Solyman II, and had received from him a pompous reply, promising help as to a vassal. Now he was the open ally of Barbarossa, who made use of the French ports as his harbours, from whence his galleys sailed forth to raid the coasts of Italy and Sicily. This alliance of the " Most Christian King " with the infidel could not fail to be a shock to all Christendom, and the Pope was driven into a league with Charles and his brother Ferdinand against the Turks, while still maintaining neutrality with regard to France. All through the next year, 1537, war continued with varying fortune ; Charles of Guelders was active in Flanders, Ferdinand was defeated by the Turks at Assek and was compelled to compromise with Zapolya, leaving him part of Hungary for his life, while Spain had to resist a French invasion of her frontiers. At length both sides were worn out, and were willing that the Pope should make an attempt

at mediation. In June 1538, Paul III went to Nice, but was not admitted within the walls, as the Duke of Savoy feared it might be taken by surprise; he therefore took up his abode at a neighbouring monastery. The Emperor and the King of France would not meet, but they laid their claims separately before the Pope. For some time any arrangement seemed impossible, as François persisted in his demand for Milan to be given to his third son, the Duc d'Angoulême, Henri, the second son being now Dauphin since his brother's death in 1537. On his side Charles refused to treat unless the realm of Savoy were returned to the Duke. At length a truce was settled upon for a period of ten years, on the basis that things should remain as they were. This made no change in the position of either side; it simply meant that they should abstain from fighting.

This breathing-space was an absolute necessity for Charles. He had much to contend with in the government of his vast Empire, where he was met with opposition at the Cortes in Spain, the Estates in the Netherlands, and the Diet in Germany. Nowhere could he obtain grants sufficient for his absolute necessities in peace or war; and in many places, such as the great cities of Flanders, the burghers were on the verge of rebellion. The increasing power of the Lutheran princes in Germany was a cause of growing anxiety, and he was not even certain of the loyalty of his army, for his soldiers had mutinied in Lombardy, in Sicily, and at Goletta. Peace was more especially urgent for him to meet the Turkish menace, and he never gave up his earnest hope of

persuading all the sovereigns of Christendom to join him in a crusade against the infidel.

It has been suggested that, as early as this date 1538, Charles had already begun to feel that weariness of governing which was, in years to come, destined to have so strange and tragic a result.

One of the chief events in Northern Italy during the year 1537 was the murder of the tyrannical and treacherous Alessandro dei Medici, the ruler of Florence who had married Marguerite the daughter of Charles. We have a very full account of the events which took place in this critical hour for Florence.¹ A Council was hastily summoned to discuss the question of a Chief Magistrate, and by the skilful diplomacy of Cosimo dei Medici, the son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, this youth of eighteen was at once accepted as a candidate. The gallant deeds of his father, the greatest of Italian warriors, were remembered, and the fame of his grandmother Caterina Sforza, Countess of Fondi. His only rival appeared to be an illegitimate infant son of Alessandro, whose claims were soon set aside. Cosimo was astute enough to behave with so much deference and humility that the members of the Council felt assured he would be guided by their influence, being so young and inexperienced. The result was not long doubtful; almost before the citizens had heard of the murder, the streets were filled with armed men, amongst them many of the "Black Bands," who shouted "Long live Duke Cosimo and the Medici!"

Cosimo took bold and decided action at once; he

¹ See "Romance of a Medici Warrior," by Christopher Hare.

made sure of the loyalty of Vitelli, the captain of the guard, and the other leaders of troops; he agreed to everything suggested by the Council with meek outward docility but an inward resolve that he would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute power. He at once sent messengers to the Emperor, to inform him of the people's choice of himself as "Capo primario della Citta di Firenze e suo Dominio," and most humbly and respectfully implored the sanction of His Imperial Majesty. Charles might well have taken Florence under his own rule, but he was wise enough to accept the city's choice of this young Medici, who, through all his ambitious and crafty intrigues, saw that it was his policy to prove a faithful vassal of the Empire.

The young Duke soon had an opportunity of distinguishing himself; a few months later he defeated Filippo Strozzi and the *fuorusciti* at the battle of Montemurlo, and when he sent news of the victory to the Emperor he had the assurance to ask for the hand of Marguerite, the widow of his predecessor. His message was graciously received, but he was told that the young princess was promised to Ottavio Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III. This was another piece of policy on the part of Charles, who was anxious to strengthen his alliance with the Pope, and was proposing to invest his son Pier Luigi with Novara.

We have seen how unsatisfactory the Truce of Nice was between France and the Empire, for it settled no disputed question. But its after effects were much more promising. Charles, in his Memoirs, thus tells the story of a curious incident. When he

was at Villeneuve, about a month after the Truce had been signed, Queen Eléonore—

“ Who desired to meet her brother, not having seen him for a long time, and desiring to conciliate the intentions of the Emperor her brother and the King her husband, came to Villefranche with Madame la Dauphine (Catherine dei Medici) and Madame Marguerite as well as other great personages from France, in order to execute her designs.”

Eléonore appears to have been so far successful that, when Charles embarked from Genoa, he promised to follow the coast of France and to arrange a meeting with the King.

“ When he arrived at the port of Aigues-Mortes, the King of France went in a small vessel to meet the Emperor in his galley, and Charles returned the King’s visit in his town of Aigues-Mortes, where he remained until the next day, very well treated and feasted by François, who, not satisfied with the courtesy which he had already shown to the Emperor, insisted upon accompanying him with his two sons and many great personages to the galley, which they all entered together. On both sides there were a thousand compliments and offers, from which resulted a great understanding of good friendship and greater confidence. . . .”

Moncenigo, the Venetian ambassador, gives a vivid account of this meeting, and says that the Emperor joyfully told him of the French King’s friendly assurances and his promise to make every effort in the

cause of Christendom, when once the eight months of his truce with the Sultan had expired. François appears to have given him a diamond ring and to have sworn eternal friendship, with flattering assurances; while Charles certainly believed fully in his sincerity, and hoped that now all his troubles would be at an end. He wrote a private letter to his sister Marie of Hungary, assuring her that now he should be able to resist the infidel with success, and would then be free to devote all his energies to the restoration of Catholic unity.

The Venetian ambassador had done his utmost to persuade the Emperor to visit Venice, where he assured him that he would find much encouragement of his design to organize a crusade. But Charles replied that it was absolutely necessary for him now to return to Spain; he was anxious about the health of the Empress, whom he had not seen for some time, as he had been obliged already to delay his journey home. Moreover, with regard to the crusade, it was essential that he should assemble the Cortes and obtain a grant of money towards the spring campaign which he hoped to organize.

Thus, on leaving Aigues-Mortes after the amazing show of friendliness on the part of the French King, he lost no time, but continued his voyage and landed at Barcelona on July 26 of the year 1538. From thence he travelled at once to Valladolid to meet his wife Isabel; he writes in his Memoirs that he found her better than he expected, but his anxiety was well founded, for the beloved Empress was not destined to live another year, and he never left her again.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONQUEST OF PERU

How Francisco Pizarro sought his fortune in the Indies with Balboa and in Darien—He starts from Panama in 1522 with Almagro, in search of a “fabled land of gold and silver”—Indomitable courage and perseverance of Pizarro; driven back by misfortune again and again, he at length discovers Peru, the land of his dreams—He goes back to Spain for help from the Crown, with specimens of his treasures, and in 1528 is appointed Governor and Captain-General, with all rights of discovery and conquest in the land of Peru—With infinite difficulty and many stirring adventures, he carries this out, and the empire of Atahualpa is added to the crown of Castile.

AFTER dwelling at length upon the wars and anxieties of Charles V in Spain and Italy, in Germany and the Netherlands, it will be well to turn to his growing dominions in the New World. We left the story of Cortes, the discoverer and conqueror of Mexico in the year 1522, when he had attained to his greatest triumph, and was appointed Captain-General and Governor of New Spain. The news had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet at Cuba, and the success of his rival was a death-blow to the Governor, Velasquez.

For a while fortune continued to smile on Hernando Cortes; he carried out his splendid schemes, and in four years Mexico had risen from its ruins, a new

and beautiful city. On the site of the Aztec temple rose a stately cathedral, while massive dwellings sprang up for the increasing population, for Spaniards were encouraged to colonize by grants of land, and the Indians were treated with unusual generosity. But success has too often to bear the penalty of calumny, and evil reports against the Governor found their way to Spain. Charles was slow to believe them, but with his strong sense of justice he sent out a man whom he could fully trust, Ponce de Leon, to make an official inquiry into the various accusations against Cortes, who was meanwhile suspended from his office. But Charles was considerate as well as just, and he wrote a friendly letter to the Governor with his own hand, explaining that he suspected nothing wrong, but only wished to give him an opportunity of refuting the complaints.

But it so happened that Leon died and the official who took his place behaved with so much want of tact that he nearly excited a revolution in Mexico. The High Court for the colonies was so alarmed as to require the return of Cortes to Spain. The Emperor again tried to soften the blow, by explaining to his gallant subject that he wished to consult him on the government of the Indies, and to reward him for his services. When Cortes arrived, Charles paid him every honour, and asked his advice about the condition of the natives, the general administration, and the means to promote colonial agriculture. Cortes was made "Marquis of the Valley of Oajaca," and received broad estates, warmly recognizing his obedience and fidelity to the Crown. At that

moment the Emperor was on the point of leaving Spain, and the conqueror of Mexico accompanied him, with the escort, to the sea-coast where he embarked. Yet Charles took certain precautions, for when Cortes returned to Mexico he found that, although he still retained the military command as Captain-General, the civil government was bestowed upon the distinguished Antonio de Mendoza, who accepted the post of Viceroy.

This was in 1529, when another star had risen on the horizon, and the great deeds of the conqueror of Mexico were overshadowed by the newer discoveries of Pizarro in Peru. We can but briefly tell the wonderful story of adventure and indomitable courage which added one of its richest gems to the diadem of Spain.

Francisco Pizarro was a native of Estremadura in Spain, and, beyond the fact that he was employed in childhood as a swine-herd, we hear little about him until, in the year 1510, he took part in an expedition to the island of Hispaniola. He is supposed to have been born about the year 1471, which would make him nearly forty years of age when his life of adventure began. He next took part in the discovery of the Pacific with Balboa, and helped to form the settlement of Darien. In 1515 he was chosen to cross the Isthmus in order to traffic with the natives on the shores of the Pacific, after several other expeditions which had only resulted in giving him a tract of unhealthy land in Panama. Here, in 1522, he made the acquaintance of Diego de Almagro, a soldier of fortune, about his own age, and the two

men were greatly impressed with wonderful rumours of a land full of gold and silver, which lay beyond the mighty barrier of the Cordilleras. No one knew how far it was, but dark stories were told of the hardships and dangers of the way which led thither.

Probably this made it all the more attractive to the adventurers, and with great trouble they managed to collect funds for an expedition, chiefly with the help of Hernando de Luque, a Spanish priest, who was able to supply a good share of the expenses. In November 1524 they had collected about a hundred men, who set forth under the command of Pizarro, in a caravel which had been left by Balboa, and which was now supplied with stores and equipment. Almagro was to follow later in a smaller vessel as soon as it could be fitted out.

It was an unfortunate time of year, and after they had crossed the Gulf of St. Michael, and steered almost due south for the Puerta de Piñas, they were driven by stormy weather up the river Birú, and landed on a swampy and desolate shore. After a trying experience they returned to their vessel and once more attempted to sail along the coast of the great ocean. Here again they were tossed about on a tempestuous sea for ten fearful nights and days, when it seemed that nothing but a miracle saved the ship from foundering. Once more they were driven back to land on the swampy shore, and as they moved onwards they found nothing but thick forests with matted undergrowth, where a way could only be cut with the axe, and there was nothing but silence and desolation on every side. No

bird or beast was to be seen, but myriads of mosquitoes in the damp oppressive heat made life a misery to the men. Worn out and half starved, they openly expressed their discontent, but Pizarro stood firm, and declared he would have no faint hearts; those who wished should return to Panama, and the caravel should bring back fresh provisions to those who remained with him.

This was at once arranged, and an officer named Montenegro took command of the returning party, which numbered more than forty. Those who were left behind had a terrible time of endurance and suffering both from famine and disease, although their leader exerted himself to the utmost to help and encourage them. It so happened that one evening, when a Spaniard was exploring the forest, he saw a distant light through an opening in the trees, and next morning a strong party accompanied Pizarro in that direction, until they came upon an Indian village with huts built of branches and leaves. They made friends with the natives and were supplied with maize and cocoa-nuts for their present use. Pizarro had enough knowledge of their language to gather from them that there was a rich country farther south, about ten days' journey over the mountains, ruled by a great king whose treasure in gold was beyond all counting, and who was called "The Child of the Sun." The Spaniards were the more ready to believe this as many of the Indians wore rudely made ornaments of gold.

When at last Montenegro returned, after an absence of nearly six weeks, with a supply of pro-

visions, Pizarro and his worn-out companions were eager to return once more to their vessel and to say farewell to the gruesome coast, which they named Famine Port. After they had gone some leagues, they landed farther to the south, and here met with a native tribe which proved hostile, attacked them fiercely with arrows, and they were not defeated without a loss to the Spaniards of five men. It now became desirable to alter their plans, as Pizarro found that their caravel would not face another storm, and it was necessary to send it back for repairs. As he was waiting for its return at a village on the mainland, Almagro arrived and related his adventures while in search of his friend, whose course he had traced, while he also had met with opposition from the natives. They decided to return to Panama and try to raise volunteers for a larger expedition. This was strongly opposed by the Governor, and it was not until the summer of 1527 that at last Pizarro and Almagro set forth with two vessels and a hundred and sixty men.

This time they made a longer cruise, farther out to sea, steering for the Rio de San Juan, the farthest point which Almagro had reached. Sailing up the river, they took some Indian villages on the banks by surprise, carried off a quantity of gold ornaments and took some native prisoners. Almagro was sent back to Panama with these, to obtain more recruits if possible, while Pizarro remained with the rest of the men to form a camp and explore the surrounding country. Once more a time of misery and danger was before the adventurers in that

tropical climate, amid the dank vegetation, the thickets of mangroves where mosquitoes swarmed, and the hills and deep ravines in which they lost their way among the matted trees. Here they were always liable to the attack of treacherous natives who dogged their steps to fall upon any unfortunate straggler. Then came the pangs of famine, when their only resource was in seeking the wild potato root, or strange berries which might prove to be poisonous. As time passed on, the men lost all hope and courage, and it was not until they were on the very verge of despair that the ship of rescue arrived. Never was any one more gladly welcomed than Almagro with his store of provisions, and also with an additional band of eighty volunteers who were eager to join the great adventure.

All past sufferings were forgotten when once more the adventurers set forth on their quest, sailing southwards and keeping near the shore, on which before long they saw signs of cultivation, with towns and villages here and there as they passed the headlands. At one flourishing port, Tacomez, Pizarro and some of the men went on shore, but they could not induce the Indians to listen to their peaceful words, and, finding themselves attacked and surrounded, it was as much as they could do to retreat and return to the ships. A council of war was now held, and again Almagro suggested that he should take the easier task of returning to Panama for more help, while Pizarro with part of the men remained behind. A violent quarrel ensued between the two leaders; but when, at last, peace was made, the men who were

to stay with Pizarro managed by stratagem to send letters of complaint which contrived to reach the Governor. He was furious, and at once sent ships to fetch back every Spaniard and put a final stop to the expedition.

When they reached the island of Gallo, the Governor's message was given, and most of the men were eager to go on board at once. This was the critical moment of the whole enterprise, for to return now would be to give up everything. Pizarro turned to his three special friends, Ruiz the pilot, Ribera the treasurer, and Candia, a Greek. He told them in a low voice that the ship had brought encouraging letters from Almagro and Luque, the priest, promising help. Then he advanced towards his men, who were grouped together. He drew his sword and traced a line on the sand from east to west. "Friends and comrades," he said, "on that side are toil, hunger, storms, and death; on this side, ease and pleasure. There lies Peru, with its riches; here, Panama and its poverty. Choose each man what best becomes a brave Castilian. For my part, I go to the south." So saying, he stepped across the line.¹ He was followed by his three faithful friends, and ten others also crossed the line; their names are preserved in the annals of fame.

The Governor's envoy was furious at the rebellion of Pizarro against his orders, but his threats and persuasions had no effect, and the gallant thirteen remained with their leader. When the ships had set sail, Pizarro and his little band set to work at

¹ Montesinos. "Annales," MS, Año. 1567.

making a raft to cross over to a wooded island named Gorgona, with their stores and provisions and some Indians in their service. Here they found streams of clear water with fish, and the undergrowth of the woods gave shelter to a kind of pheasant and to the hare and rabbit of the country. They were thus in no peril of starvation, but we can imagine rather than describe what it must have been like to spend seven long months on that distant island, watching and looking out day by day for the hoped-for ship which never came. Yet Almagro and Luque had done their best, and it was only with extreme difficulty that permission was obtained at length from the irate Governor for a vessel to be sent, with only enough men as were needed to work her, under the command of Almagro, who also brought stores and provisions. It was a great disappointment to Pizarro that there were no more adventurers, but at least they could now set forth on a voyage of discovery, if not of conquest.

They sailed first to the port of Tumbez, lying in the sheltered waters of a great gulf, with the Cordilleras rising from the fertile plain, and farther beyond, the mighty Andes crowned by the snowy summits of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi. The Spaniards met with a friendly reception at the town of Tumbez, where they were greatly impressed with the abundance of gold and silver, for these precious metals seemed to be used for all household implements, while the temple was dazzling with sheets of gold on the walls, and altars and statues of gold everywhere. The simple inhabitants looked upon the

soldiers in armour as gods, and were terrified beyond measure when an arquebus was let off. When Pizarro left the port his ship was full of presents of bananas, plantains, yucca, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, cocoa-nuts, pineapples, and various game and fish. Passing along the coast, he stopped at other places, and everywhere heard the same story of a city beyond the mountains whose treasure of gold and silver no man could count.

The adventurers felt that they had learnt enough, in this voyage of discovery, to be sure of the existence of this marvellous kingdom of Peru, but they had become more impressed with the necessity of a large and well-armed expedition if there was to be any hope of conquering the Land of the Inca. The only wise plan would therefore be to return and report what they had seen and heard, and then set forth in earnest on an invasion of conquest. They had now reached about the ninth degree of southern latitude, when once more they turned on a northern route and sailed back to Tumbez, from thence steering straight for the harbour of Panama.

An urgent appeal was again made to the Governor to aid them in enlisting volunteers and collecting money for the great adventure ; but all was in vain. At length Pizarro made up his mind to seek help from the crown of Spain ; to tell his story and show the products of the unknown land to the Emperor himself. It was as much as he could do to obtain funds for the journey for himself and his friend Pedro de Candia ; but at length they crossed the Isthmus, embarked at Nombre de Dios, and, after a

favourable voyage, landed at Seville in the early summer of 1528. Here, by the irony of fate, he found himself arrested and put in prison for debt, by reason of some claim on the city of Panama ; this was his reception after twenty years' absence from home. Fortunately his companion, Candia, exerted himself to appeal to the Court, from whence an immediate summons came for his appearance before the Emperor at Toledo. Pizarro was most graciously received, and his story aroused the greatest interest in Charles, who was especially delighted with the llama, the only beast of burden yet known in the New World. He fully appreciated the value of the fine fabrics made from its hair, while the gold and silver ornaments of every kind spoke for themselves. The Emperor was deeply touched at the story of the terrible sufferings of Pizarro and his faithful followers, who had still pressed on with such unconquerable spirit.

Charles promised his support and influence, and recommended the cause of Pizarro to the high consideration of the Council of the Indies, for he was himself soon about to embark for Italy. It is curious that Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, should also have been at the Court of Toledo to demand the redress of his wrongs ; he was at the close of his career, as Pizarro was at the beginning of his mighty contest in Peru. These two men were to go down to fame as conquerors of the North and the South ; those who had been mainly successful in opening the golden gates by which the treasures of the newly discovered lands were to fill the coffers of Spain.

But the Council of the Indies was slow to move, and the gallant adventurer had long to wait and endure the pangs of hope deferred, before the Empress Isabel, who was left as Regent of the realm, took the matter in hand, and on July 25, 1528, signed the memorable *Capitulation* which settled the powers and privileges of Pizarro. He was to have the right of discovery and conquest in the province of Peru, or New Castile as it was called, for 200 leagues south of Santiago; he was to be Governor and Captain-General for life, with other dignities which almost made him a Viceroy. Various posts of honour were granted to all his thirteen loyal companions of the desert island, and the priest Luque was appointed Bishop of Tumbez, and protector of the Indians of Peru. Emigration was to be encouraged, and many rules were made for the protection of the natives, and Pizarro was to take with him a certain number of priests for their teaching and conversion. The new Governor was to raise a force of 250 men, and the Government of Castile would hold itself responsible for the supply of artillery and military equipment.¹

Pizarro left Toledo for his native place, Truxillo, where he found friends and followers, amongst whom were his four brothers. The eldest, Hernando Pizarro, a cruel and unscrupulous man, was destined to have an evil influence in the future. After many difficulties, Francisco Pizarro embarked with a small squadron of three vessels to join his brother Hernando with the rest of the expedition at the Canaries,

¹ Oviedo, "Hist. de las Indias," Parte 3, lib. viii, cap. i.

from whence they sailed on to Nombre de Dios. Here they met Luque and Almagro, who was extremely disappointed to find that most of the honours and titles had been conferred on Pizarro. There was danger of an open quarrel; but, for the sake of the expedition, Almagro was generous enough to forgive what he looked upon as treachery on the part of his friend. But the wound rankled, and was to have serious consequences.

It was not until January 1531 that at length the adventurers set forth from the Bay of Panama on the third and last expedition for the conquest of Peru. A solemn service had been held and the royal standard had been consecrated in the cathedral, but volunteers had been slow to join, and the little army consisted of 180 men, with twenty-seven horses for the cavalry; but the arms, ammunition, and equipment were much better than on any of the former occasions. The weather was stormy at that time of year, and on reaching the Bay of St. Matthew Pizarro resolved to disembark his force and advance along the coast, while the ships accompanied them near the shore. It was a very rough and trying march, but the Spaniards arrived safely at a small town in the province of Coaque, from which the inhabitants fled in terror at their approach. In the deserted huts great treasure of gold and silver was found, and a number of precious stones, for this was the region of emeralds, and Pizarro acquired one the size of a pigeon's egg. So ignorant were the men of their value that many were broken up with hammers, "to test if they were real."

Pizarro was so delighted with this rich booty that he determined to send it back to Panama in the ships, hoping that it would attract many more recruits to join them. The journey was continued through wastes of sand which nearly blinded the men, and soon a strange plague broke out amongst them, from which they had found the natives suffering in the wretched villages they passed. Weary and worn with illness, they murmured bitterly, and it needed all their leader's persuasion to lead them to the shores of what is now called the Gulf of Guayaquil, in which is the little island of Puna, to which Pizarro had his followers taken across in rafts by the natives. Here they were treacherously attacked by the men of Puna, but they managed to take the chiefs prisoners, and gave them over into the hands of their enemies on the mainland, the men of Tumbez, after a battle in which many Indians were killed and four of the Spaniards.

After this followed a weary time of danger and anxiety, until one day, far out on the open sea, two caravels were seen approaching. It was a joyful moment when Pizarro welcomed the new-comers, and found that his band now numbered 300 men. With this force he actually proposed to conquer the rich land of Peru, where he had learnt that the warlike monarch raised by conscription an army of 200,000 soldiers. He trusted much to the fact that he had recently been told there were two opposing rivals for the throne, and he hoped to profit by their quarrel. The late Inca, Huayna Capac, had divided his realm between his two sons. The mild Huascar

inherited the southern part, whose capital was Cuzco, while the warlike Atahuallpa received the northern kingdom, of which Quito was the chief city. There had been a fierce war between the two, and Huascar had been taken prisoner by his brother.

Pizarro now crossed over to the mainland, and, after more fighting at Tumbez, was able to make a settlement there, in a rich valley where later the city of San Miguel was built. Here he left a portion of his men, taking with him 173 soldiers and three priests, for, although he had not the devout enthusiasm of Cortes, he was yet compelled to bear in mind that the pious Emperor desired this expedition to be a religious crusade as well as an enterprise of conquest. The course taken by the adventurers led straight into the heart of the country, through a fertile and pleasant land, while, wherever they passed, the natives welcomed them with friendly hospitality.

But Pizarro had an instinctive feeling that there was a spirit of disaffection amongst some of his followers; and, after five days' journey, they were all summoned by bugle-call to appear on parade before him. As he rode down the line, he carefully watched every face, and then addressed them, telling the soldiers that they were now at the crisis of their fate, and if any were faint-hearted it was not too late to turn back to San Miguel. He would only pursue this great adventure with true and valiant men who, like himself, had no misgivings and went forward in hope and courage.

Of all the company, only nine men declared them-

selves anxious to turn back; the others pushed forward with the eager cry, "Advance! and lead us on!" By this bold stroke Pizarro won the hearts of his men, for he knew they would now follow him to danger or death without a murmur.

The Spaniards now pushed on steadily towards the mountain city of which rumours constantly reached them with news that the mighty Inca Atahuallpa was encamped with a great army in a valley beyond. Envoys were sent on both sides and there were various adventures, the crossing of rivers and other perils, until they reached the foot of the great Andes over which lay their way. They had a friendly Indian as their guide who led them upward by a steep narrow pass, until they encamped on the side of the mountain. They continued at break of day the perilous ascent, often winding by a steep ledge round the rocky flank of the mountain, so narrow that the horseman could scarcely find room to lead his horse by the bridle, while a dreadful abyss threatened him below. As they passed onward through deep defiles with overhanging rocks, they watched anxiously for a sudden attack of the Indians from above which would give them no chance of escape. But all was silent, and so far they were safe.

Day by day they seemed to be climbing upward towards the sky, while the pine forests were left behind and the rocky path became more bare and desolate, until at length the weary travellers reached the topmost summit of the pass. Here on this bleak plateau, with the snow-clad peaks above them, in a piercing bitter wind, they spent the night and next

morning received an embassy from the Inca, who expressed his willingness to receive the strangers. From his own scouts Pizarro learnt that an army of 50,000 troops was encamped around Atahuallpa, and that there was every reason to fear treachery. However this might be, there was now no retreat possible, and the little band of Spaniards continued their steep downward way in the descent of the Andes from the eastern side. The hardships they met with were almost as great as in the ascent, and it took them seven days before they suddenly came in sight of a broad, fertile valley outspread before them. Below them rose the white walls of Caxamalca, and farther beyond could be seen a mighty array of tents and a great glimmer of shining lances.

When the city was reached, it was found to be silent and deserted. Pizarro at once decided to encamp there, while he sent on his brother Hernando, with thirty-five horsemen, the finest cavaliers in his company, to pay his respects to the great Inca and invite him to visit the envoy of the mighty Emperor Charles, at the city of Caxamalca. This daring move was carried out successfully; with great difficulty the Inca was approached, and, proudly confident of his absolute command of the situation, he condescended to accept Pizarro's invitation. He had been much impressed by the feats of horsemanship of the Spanish cavalry, which had alarmed some of his suite, but which he watched with apparent indifference.

The visit of the Inca was awaited by the Spaniards with intense anxiety, for with their small force of

armed men to face a mighty, well-trained army, what could be the result but absolute disaster, if their fears of treachery were justified? That night Pizarro held a council of war; and when all the important soldiers had made their various suggestions, he startled them by a desperate project. It was nothing less than to lay an ambush for the splendid Inca of Peru, and in the face of his whole army to take him prisoner.

Dumb with amazement, his companions could scarcely realize the idea of such a daring and unscrupulous plan, but not one voice was raised in protest against such a masterpiece of diplomacy. There followed a time of anxious waiting before the Inca actually arrived, seated on a throne of massive gold which was borne on a gorgeous litter by eighty of his greatest nobles. A stately figure in his royal robes, with his ornaments of gold, and a necklace of immense emeralds, Atahualpa reached the central square of the city, which was crowded with his retinue of over 5,000 warriors. He asked where the Spaniards were, and the chaplain of Pizarro came forward with a Bible in one hand and a crucifix in the other, and began to explain, by means of an interpreter, the Christian religion, ending by advising him to become a vassal of the great Emperor Charles.

The Inca had listened with impatience, and angrily replied that he would be no man's vassal, for he was the greatest prince in the world. He seized the Bible which the friar had held up as his authority, and angrily threw it to the ground, exclaiming that he would have an account of all the doings of these

strangers, and full satisfaction for his wrongs. At these threats, Pizarro gave the signal; a cannon was fired, and the sound of a trumpet summoned all his men to a sudden and violent attack on the palanquin of the Inca. A fearful scene of bloodshed and horror followed, and success was long doubtful, but at length Atahualpa was a prisoner, and the hosts of the Indians fled in consternation.

This was in fact the central moment and the culminating point of the conquest of Peru. We have not space to dwell upon the story of all the vicissitudes and the terrible battles lost and won by the Spaniards. Attempts were made to play one royal brother against the other, and the gentle Huascar lost his life. Gold beyond the dream of avarice and precious treasures were grasped by the adventurers, but they were dearly bought by cruel treachery and fierce quarrels amongst the leaders. On some pretext the unfortunate Inca Atahualpa was put to death, but this cruel deed brought no peace to the conquerors, who before long had civil war amongst themselves. The fine old veteran, Almagro, was defeated, and tried for his life, when, to the eternal disgrace of all concerned, a verdict of death was returned against him, and he was executed in July 1538.

Three years later Francisco Pizarro himself was assassinated by the adherents of Almagro, and thus his story ends in bloodshed and disaster. As we have seen, the great adventurer was a man of dauntless courage and stubborn perseverance; a most fortunate adventurer in his conquest. But his ruling



MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA.

motives were avarice and ambition ; he did not, like Cortes, devote himself to the civilization of his conquered foes, but oppressed them in every way, while he suffered the fair country to be pillaged by his soldiers, and the wretched natives were driven as slaves to toil in the mines. The brothers of Pizarro gave trouble to the Crown, but in 1542 Charles did his utmost, with the advice of Las Casas, in passing laws to protect the Indians.

The Emperor was always on the side of mercy, and we are told by those who have deeply studied the subject that it is owing to his wise policy that "from Northern Mexico to Southern Chili the Indians have been suffered to survive and to form the greater part of the population." His repeated instructions to the Conquerors were to keep faith with the people and to deal gently with them, especially in the way of conversion. He had much to contend with in the cruelty and greed of the colonists, but he was always strongly on the side of the oppressed, and gave the warmest encouragement to all the reforms suggested by Las Casas and to missionary enterprise.

CHAPTER XIII

CHARLES RETURNS TO SPAIN—DEATH OF HIS WIFE

The Emperor in Spain—Difficulty in obtaining supplies from the Cortes—Death of his wife, the Empress Isabel, to his lasting grief, 1539—Insurrection of Ghent—Charles travels to the Netherlands, through France, against the advice of his friends—Chronicle of his journey.—He is met at Valenciennes by his sister Marie of Hungary, the Regent, and his niece Christina—Later life of her father Christian II of Denmark.

IN order to carry out his plan of a crusade, Charles V sent out a summons to the States-General of all his provinces of Castile, to assemble at Toledo, where he travelled with the Empress on September 21, 1538. Here the Emperor was destined to meet with disappointment, for the Cortes were in an obstinate mood, and refused to carry out any of his suggestions for paying the immense debt which he had incurred in the recent wars against France and the Turks. This was not the first time that the delegates had refused to raise extra taxation for war expenses, for they had done so ten years before, in 1528, when the clergy and the nobles were disposed to be on the side of the Pope. They had, however, then granted a liberal subsidy.

It is well to remember that the Cortes of Castile had no real legal authority, and only represented

eighteen towns. Ferdinand and Isabel indeed had never summoned them for many years, but Charles, with his inherent love of order and justice, persisted in doing so, and it was even made a cause of complaint. As the usual grant was paid in three annual instalments, the obvious plan was to summon the delegates every three years. The Emperor suggested on this occasion, in the autumn of 1538, that besides the usual tax of one-tenth of the value of all objects sold, there should be a tax on meat to pay the ordinary expenses of government. This would leave the share paid on gold and treasure from the New World, and other resources, for paying the great war debt incurred. The Cortes replied to this demand by insisting that he should live entirely in Spain, that he should reduce the expenses of his Court, and that he should promise universal peace.

Of course this last was an impossible demand, and was the more unreasonable as the recent war expenses had been incurred mainly for the sake of Spain, in the protection of Navarre against the French and the successful expedition against Tunis. The discussion at Toledo went on for three months, and the clergy would have agreed, but the nobles absolutely refused to allow the tax. The towns also protested against paying duty on meat, but offered a subsidy if the Emperor would withdraw the demand and also promise that offices and titles should not be sold in future.

Charles was deeply hurt by the failure of his plan, and when he dismissed the clergy and nobles from the meeting he inwardly resolved never to summon

them again. He had specially invited them on this occasion in the hope that they would agree with him. Fortunately for the Crown of Spain, it had other revenues. By the wise foresight of his guardians, Charles had been appointed, in succession to his grandfather Ferdinand, Head and Grand Master of the three great Military orders, whose large property was of immense value to the reigning sovereign. He also received export and import duties of one-eighth, and one-fifth on all the gold, silver, and other treasures from the new colonies. Large amounts were pouring in at that time, from Peru especially. A great proportion of the salt-works and mines in Spain were also the property of the Crown, which likewise received custom-house duties from the frontiers. Last but not least, the Church paid a large contribution towards the revenue; two-ninths of the tithes, and occasionally, with the Pope's permission, a tenth of the whole ecclesiastical income derived from Spain. It was therefore very important to be on good terms with the Pope.

Since his return to Spain, Charles had received disquieting news from his sister Marie, the Regent of the Netherlands, but it was quite impossible for him to leave Spain, as the Empress was in very delicate health, and her condition caused increasing anxiety. She had been much distressed by the loss of her favourite sister Beatrice, the year before; the wife of Charles III, Duke of Savoy. Isabel was not long to survive her, for on May 1, 1539, a fifth child was born to her, a son who scarcely survived his birth, and she passed away to the exceeding

grief of her husband. As he writes in his Memoir, many years afterwards: "It pleased God to call her to Himself, of which we may be certain, seeing His great mercy."

The Emperor had knelt by the bedside of his loved wife for hours, and when all was over he could not face the demands of ordinary life, but retired to the Monastery of the Hieronomites outside the walls of Toledo, there to be alone with his sorrow and devote himself to prayer and fasting. From that time, every morning of his life began with a mass for the soul of the dead Empress. It is quite possible that at this period he first began to indulge the hope of giving up the cares of State and devoting himself to a life of seclusion. He remained in the Monastery until June 27, nearly two months, and then returned to Toledo, where splendid funeral rites were held, amid the general mourning of the people, who were devoted to their Empress. It is interesting to remember that this had been by no means a marriage of inclination. After the many political betrothals which had been made for the young prince, he had at length, at the age of twenty-six, yielded to the very strong desire of his subjects for an alliance with Portugal. His cousin Isabel appears to have been a very charming woman; beautiful, as we can see from Titian's famous portrait of her, and extremely intelligent, as we perceive from the admirable way in which she governed the realm of Spain during her husband's absence.

Charles had the highest opinion of her judgment, and when he made his will in February 1535—as

he told his son Philip later—he and the Empress had decided that he ruled over too many provinces for one sovereign, for the absence of their lord made his people discontented, so his wish was that his Burgundian provinces should be governed by his second son if one was born to him, and failing this, by his eldest daughter. We can gather from this how deep must have been his disappointment when little Don Juan died in infancy, and the last nameless prince scarcely saw the light of day. Yet so great was the devotion of Charles to the memory of his lost wife, that no persuasions could induce him to marry again. Isabel left three children surviving her; Philip born in 1527, Mary born in 1528, and Juana born in 1534, whose story will be told in due time, as at this time they are still quite young. Under a reserved and calm manner Charles had a warm and affectionate nature; he was unchanging in his devotion to his friends, and indeed this constancy was often a serious danger to him during the early years of his reign. In the case of his domestic affections, his intensely loyal and tenacious character is especially worthy of notice. After the death of his wife he could never hear her name without emotion, and his love remained so strong to the last that on his death-bed he asked for her portrait, and he passed away pressing her crucifix to his heart.

It was at Madrid, in July 1539, that Charles received definite news of the insurrection of Ghent, and at once sent a deputation under the Prince of Orange to support the authority of the Regent, and began to make arrangements for his own journey

to the Netherlands. His first idea was to embark at Barcelona and go by sea, but he received a very pressing invitation from François I that he should travel through France, offering every security for his safety, and a warm welcome; assuring him that he should look upon it as a token of friendship. The Emperor could not possibly feel any real confidence in his treacherous foe, and an anxious letter from his sister begged him to have guarantees in writing, but after some hesitation Charles decided to accept. As a further security, he received letters of invitation not only from the King and Queen Eléonore, but also from the Dauphin and his brother, and from the Cardinal of Lorraine and the High Constable; all were in the most affectionate strain, and promised he should not be troubled with political matters.

The Emperor left his son Philip, a boy of twelve, the nominal Regent of Spain, with a paper of instructions to be carried out in case of accident. This was an elaborate expression of his proposed matrimonial arrangements with France. The Duke of Orleans was either to marry the daughter of Ferdinand of Austria, and receive Milan as her dowry, or he was to have as wife the Infanta Mary, with Burgundy as her wedding gift. Or there was another way to unite the houses of Hapsburg and Valois. If Mary married Orleans, Ferdinand's second son should have the French princess Marguerite as his bride, with Milan as her dowry. The Emperor's son Philip should then marry Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarre, and so settle the disputed rights of that

province. In these elaborate and complicated marriage arrangements we are reminded of Maximilian's constant policy with regard to alliances. All this diplomacy was only in the air, but Philip was advised to carry it out in case of his father's death.

In the Itinerary of the Emperor, written in Flemish by his private secretary, Vandenesse, we have a very full account of the journey through France, which evidently made a great impression upon him.

After all had been carefully settled for carrying on the government in Spain during his absence, the Emperor sent his Prime Minister, M. de Granvelle, in advance to the King of France, at Loches, to await his own arrival there, while he himself set forth on November 12. He arrived at Valladolid on the 20th, and from thence proceeded on "by post." He took a large suite of nobles besides the gentlemen of his household, secretaries, and attendants. His Majesty had previously sent on his equerry, Dandelot, from Madrid, with twenty-five beautiful Spanish horses, destined as a present for King François. Passing through Burgos, Vittoria, and St. Sebastian, the Emperor was met at Fuenterrabia by the Duke of Orleans, second son of the King of France; and they remained there for the night in the same quarters together. On November 27 they passed the night at Bayonne, and here were joined by the Dauphin, the Constable, and other princes and nobles. They all travelled on together through Aix, to Langon, from whence they sailed to Bordeaux. "On the 4th of December at noon, they were at Camignan, and at night at Montluc." This constantly repeated

chronicle of the stately journey through France appears to show that they rode all the morning, paused for midday dinner, and then continued the journey till evening. Probably the term "by post" would mean that relays of fresh horses were provided on the way.

So the journey continued, day by day, until at length, on December 10, at noon, they reached La Roche and arrived in the evening at Loches, where the Emperor was warmly welcomed by his sister Eléonore and the King of France, who awaited him at the entrance of the Château, attended by a great company of Cardinals and Princes. Amongst the ladies present at the grand reception of Loches were the Dauphine Catherine dei Medici, and Marguerite the daughter of François. After some splendid banquets and a few days' rest—

"The Emperor and all the party which had arrived with him—the King travelling in a coach, as at that time he could not ride, and the Queen in a litter—went at noon to a house called the 'Pavillon'; at night they rested at Senéchaux, and on the evening of the 14th they reached Amboise. Here, in the King's palace, there is a winding staircase, so constructed that you may ride on horseback to the top of it. In the centre of this winding staircase a machine had been contrived, which, by burning slowly down to the bottom, was to give light to all those riding up and down. No sooner, however, had the Emperor got half-way up the staircase, than the whole mass suddenly caught fire, and, there being no

opening at the top, occasioned such dreadful heat, mingled with smoke, that the Emperor and all the persons present, narrowly escaped suffocation. . . . Still, however, no lives were lost ; but the King was so enraged at this awkward chance, that he would have immediately caused the man who lit the fire to be hanged, if the Emperor had not interposed to prevent it."

This is the story as told by Vandenesse, but knowing the treacherous character of François, we could not wonder if doubts had arisen. In any case, Charles was safe. We hear of hunting-parties near Chambourg, of a visit to Fontainebleau, and of a trip by water to the Bois de Vincennes. On New Year's Day, the "distinguished assembly" reached Paris. The Emperor, as usual, paid his first visit to the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, and then proceeded to the royal palace, where the time was spent in festivities until the "Fête des Rois." On January 15, 1540, the Emperor set forward on his journey, and the French Court accompanied him to St. Quentin, where Charles took leave of the King and Queen, while the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, with their suite, rode with him as far as Valenciennes, where the whole party was received and entertained by the Regent, Queen Marie of Hungary, who had with her Christina, the widowed Duchess of Milan. The French princes and gentlemen were feasted until the 24th, when they took their leave and returned to Cambrai.

Evidently Marie of Hungary was following in the

footsteps of her Aunt Marguerite, not only in the arduous and difficult task of governing the Netherlands, but also in taking the place of a mother to her niece Christina. Her father, the deposed King of Denmark, Christian II, was still in the dungeon of Sönderborg, after a stormy and erratic career. He had played fast and loose with the Reformation; he had encouraged Lutheran doctrines in Denmark, he became embroiled in hopeless contests in Sweden, his people forsook their allegiance, and, as we have already seen, he lost heart and fled from his capital, embarking for Flanders with his young wife, Isabelle of Austria, the sister of Charles. They took with them the three young children—Jean, Dorothea, and Christina, who after the death of their mother were adopted by Marguerite, her devoted aunt. Jean died at the age of fourteen, Dorothea was married to Frederick II, Elector Palatine, who vainly sought help to assert his wife's claim to the crown of Denmark. Christina had married Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and was now a widow.

Christian II had continued in vain to dispute the throne of Denmark with his successor Frederick. He wore out all his friends with his appeals; he invoked his powerful brother-in-law the Emperor, without much success; and at last, late in the year 1529, he decided to give up his reformed doctrines, which had been of so little service to him, and he was formally received into the Roman communion. This was three years after his wife's death, in poverty and exile, and after that Christian became more reckless. In 1531 he made a despairing attempt

to appeal to Frederick of Denmark, and trusted himself, on the strength of a safe-conduct, into the hands of his uncle's commander, Knud Gyldenstjerne. The result was his imprisonment at Sønderborg, where he remained for seventeen years, and only left one captivity for another less severe, which lasted till his death in 1559. Such was the tragic fate of Isabelle's husband.

CHAPTER XIV

REBELLION OF GHENT—TROUBLES IN GERMANY

The rebellion of the men of Ghent—Their treacherous offer to France—They yield to the personal authority of Charles V, who exacts punishment and deprives the city of its special privileges—Fresh trouble with the new Lord of Guelders—Powerful Protestant League of Schmalkalden—Steady progress of the Reformation in Germany—Revolt of Lübeck and Peace of Hamburg.

THE rebellion of Ghent was of quite sufficient importance to demand the presence of the Emperor himself. The Regent, Queen Marie of Hungary, had endured a long period of anxiety, during which she had acted with promptness and decision. The trouble had begun as far back as the invasion of Artois by the French, in 1537, when the Regent had applied to the States-General of the Netherlands for a large subsidy, enough to pay the expenses of an army of 30,000 men for six months. Marie felt the importance of this grant so much that she was present at the meeting, with all the chief nobles of the land. Brabant was the first to agree to the vote, and the other provinces did the same, but the deputies of Flanders asked for delay to appeal to the constituencies. Finally three of the divisions—Bruges, Ypres, and le Franc—agreed to pay their share, but the burghers of Ghent refused to tax themselves, although the Regent declared that the

grant of three quarters out of four was binding upon the fourth. She insisted that law and reason were both on her side, as the money was absolutely necessary for the defence of the country, and she pointed out that the vote of a majority was always binding upon the rest of the States, according to rule and custom and every precedent.

Ghent always claimed special privileges, and declared that she was liable to no taxation which had not received her special assent through her own deputies. Of course if this were granted, it would make combined action impossible, and no sovereign could be expected to permit it. The municipal constitution of Ghent consisted of the Patricians, or men of property, the seventeen wards of the Guild of the Weavers, and fifty-two Lesser Guilds. The chief resistance to the tax appears to have come from the Patricians, for the other citizens, although they voted against the subsidy, suggested that they would send their town militia to join the army, and would pay for its support.

The Regent indignantly replied that an untrained militia would be of no value to oppose regular troops, but at length she was willing to accept half the tax. This was at once refused, and Marie, with a high hand, caused any men of Ghent who were in Antwerp or Brussels to be arrested, on the ground that individuals were responsible for the debt of their city. She also ordered that the districts outside Ghent should pay their share of the levy. The city of Ghent appealed to the Emperor in Spain, but he sent back the envoys to make their application before

the High Court of Malines, the supreme judicial Council of the Netherlands. This was unwise on the part of Charles, as it made the grievance more definite, for they knew, as well as he did, that the cause would be decided against them. He might at least have listened to their remonstrances himself, although it was of course quite impossible that he should grant the privilege of not being liable to taxation, when all the other provinces had consented to pay. Such a concession would at once put an end to any joint action in politics, and would destroy all authority.

The result was that when the Court of Malines had condemned the men of Ghent to pay, they openly rebelled, cast all scruples to the winds, and placed their city in a state of defence. But they went farther than this; they committed an act of treachery by applying to the King of France, and promising that if he would join them against the Emperor, they would help him to recover Artois and Picardy, the French provinces which Charles still held. Ghent had already drawn the subject-cities of Alost, Oudenarde, and Courtrai into the rising, and was in open rebellion. Perhaps François had not enough confidence in the power of the rebels, or he may have hoped to get more by intrigue from Charles; in any case, he not only refused the offer of the men of Ghent, but informed the Flemish Government of their treason.

The revolution had begun on the question of electing the new masters of the Guilds. The lower bodies of the citizens refused to give the usual list

of three candidates, and insisted upon the punishment of the late aldermen for not having carried out the decrees of their town council.

They seized the gates, and, having got the upper hand, began an era of mob-law and pillage. The government of the town weakly yielded to the violence of the democratic party, and consented to build new fortifications and organize the men into companies under captains who had fought in past days of revolt. The Regent Marie made a last attempt to win over the rebels; she sent the President of the High Court of Malines, an important official, to try to negotiate with those in authority. But the men of Ghent seized the ambassadors and threatened them with death unless the demands of the city were granted. The Queen was absolutely constrained to yield to the demand that the aldermen should be deposed, and that in future the magistrates should take an oath dictated by the people. However, under her seal of office, she wrote the words: "*Par force et pour eviter plus grand mal ay consenty à cette commission.—MARIE.*"

The citizens of Ghent now had the insolence to command the other cities of Flanders to admit no troops under imperial orders; they insisted that the Regent should recall every soldier from the dominions of Ghent, and that she should surrender all citizens who had fled to her for refuge. Can we wonder that Marie wrote urgent letters to her brother, that "it was a question of being master or varlet," and that his presence in the Netherlands was an absolute necessity?

Charles was now thoroughly roused, and he sent the Count de Roeulx to announce his coming. But on his arrival, the envoy's life was in danger, for by this time the worst passions of the democrats had been awakened, and it was reported that a day had been fixed for pillaging the wealthy citizens, the churches, and the monasteries.

As we have seen in the last chapter, Charles reached Valenciennes on January 21, 1540. A deputation from Ghent awaited him, but received no words of encouragement, only heard stern truths, and sadly returned with the grim message that he meant to make an example of the rebellious city. Now thoroughly alarmed, the noisy democrats of Ghent made no attempt at resistance; they simply waited in fear and trembling for the blow to fall. The rebellion had been quelled at once by the news of the Emperor's coming with strong military forces; 3,000 German landsknechte, and the cavalry of the Netherlands led by the flower of their nobility. The great legal authorities of the States, the Privy Council, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece were all summoned to consider the legal aspect of the case. Most imposing of all, the Emperor arrived in state, on February 14, with all the pageant of a splendid Court; the Regent Queen Marie, his sister, King Ferdinand his brother, the Duchess of Milan, and a noble company of princes, ambassadors, and bishops.

The solemn trial of the city took place before all these witnesses; every act of rebellion and violence was brought forward, and all the leaders who had taken part in them were tried for their lives. The

course of justice was slow and sure, for it was not until April 21 that Charles gave sentence, sitting on his throne of state, with the great doors of the Palace of Justice thrown wide open that all might hear. Nine of the ringleaders were condemned to be executed on the spot where the unfortunate magistrate had been put to death. Ghent was pronounced guilty of disobedience, sedition, rebellion, and high treason. Her constitution with all her rights and privileges was forfeited, and she was to lose her control of the surrounding territory and the subject towns. A fortress was to be built at the city's expense to prevent rebellion in the future. The disputed subsidy was to be paid and a large fine in addition.

On a certain day and hour, solemn submission and humiliation were required. Thirty of the chief burgesses must come before the Emperor, bare-headed, in mourning costume, with cords round their necks, followed by about 150 other members of guilds in like attire, to pray for mercy from the Emperor and the Regent. This act of humiliation was carried out on May 3, and in consideration that Ghent was the city of his birth, and had always been very dear to him, Charles consented to grant forgiveness to the suppliants.

The punishment of the rebellious city was severe, but we can scarcely call it revengeful, when we consider how a Valois or a Tudor would have treated such deliberate treason and treachery as the men of Ghent had been guilty of. There had been real danger if the King of France had thought it wise

policy to seize his opportunity. As it happened, this unsuccessful insurrection gave Charles the opportunity of destroying local privileges which stood in the way of common defence against the Turk or other foes of the Empire. On this occasion the Emperor had availed himself of his opportunity, without doubt or hesitation, and from this time forth the Netherlands were more easy to rule. It was a fortunate addition to his prestige at this time, for the difficulties which so long continued with the indomitable Charles of Guelders seemed to have become more serious in Guelders since his death in 1538. The Estates of the Duchy had at once elected William de la Marek, the eldest son of John, Duke of Cleves, who died the following year, leaving William the lord of four duchies—Cleves, Berg, Julich, and Guelders. His sister, Anne of Cleves, had been married to Henry VIII late in 1539 and was divorced the next year.

The new Duke of Cleves, with his Protestant tendencies, was a dangerous neighbour in Guelders for Charles; and he became more threatening when François I betrothed to him the child Jeanne d'Albret in July 1540.

The project which Charles had so carefully explained to his son Philip, of settling affairs with France by one of several alternative schemes of marriage, had not come to pass, for the question had been decided by the refusal of François to make any compromise. Charles had meant his son Philip to marry Jeanne and thus settle the question of Navarre, and the French King showed his hostility by inter-

vening to bestow her upon the Duke of Cleves. Charles retaliated by investing Philip with the Duchy of Milan, in October 1540, while he left the matter of alliances to be settled later as circumstances might permit. In the private Memoirs of Charles we see how very strongly he felt about the constant strife with Guelders, and how earnestly he had hoped that the death of the rebellious Duke would enable him to assert his authority in the election of a new governor. Now the question seemed more involved than ever, but the Emperor expresses his conviction that he will be able to obtain redress at the coming Diet of Ratisbon, where he had summoned the Estates to meet him.

Nine years had passed since he had last been face to face with his German nobles and delegates, and meanwhile great changes had taken place. In 1534 Würtemberg had been regained by the Protestant Duke Ulrich, and Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had been compelled to acknowledge his defeat, only reserving the provision that the duchy was to be held as a fief of Austria. Everywhere the Lutherans had made steady progress, and their gain in Würtemberg was said to have done more for them "than Luther could do by a thousand books." The wild pretensions of the Anabaptist revolt in Münster alarmed both the Catholic and Protestant authorities, and it was ultimately put down with violence and bloodshed on both sides. The spirit of unrest had spread to the Netherlands, Marie of Hungary having to suppress a fanatical revolt in Friesland, for the Anabaptists were dispersed in

many lands, even extending their influence to England and America.

The next revolution which disturbed Germany during those eventful ten years of the Emperor's absence was the attempt of democracy in the great trading cities to command the shores of the Baltic. Lübeck was the centre of this movement, and the working classes were led by the demagogue Wullenwever, a man of great energy and strength of character. His first attacks having proved successful in expelling many patrician families, he next turned to using his influence over the mob, for reviving the sea-power of Lübeck, which, with other Baltic cities of the Hanseatic League, had lost its prosperity through competition with Denmark, and in a lesser degree with Antwerp and Bruges. He saw his opportunity in the democracy of the peasants and artisans of Denmark; and Henry VIII, in far-off England, was persuaded to join the Lübeck rebellion against Rome and the Hapsburgs, and he actually sent ships towards Copenhagen. But when the fortune of war turned against Wullenwever, he actually had the audacity to turn for help to Charles V, who was supporting the claim of his niece Dorothea and her husband Frederick, Count Palatine, to the throne of Denmark.

But the end was at hand; the Hanseatic Diet declared against Lübeck, and by the Peace of Hamburg in 1536 Christian III was recognized as King of Denmark, Lübeck had her ancient privileges restored, and Protestantism reigned supreme in this year. The Emperor at a distance had taken little

part in this conflict, but he watched its course with interest and anxiety, as it so deeply concerned the trade interests of the Netherlands, whose loyalty depended much upon their prosperity. Charles had always felt the importance of Denmark; indeed that was the reason why he had been willing to arrange the unfortunate marriage of his sister Isabelle with the ill-conditioned Christian II. Fortunately for the prospects of peace, the present King, Christian III, desired nothing better than to be left alone, and in this he was entirely of one mind with the Emperor.

One of the greatest obstacles the orthodox party had to contend with was the powerful League of Schmalkalden, formed in 1530 by the Protestant Princes and burghers for self-defence in the law-tribunals. The original members were the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Brunswick-Lüneburg Dukes, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the two Counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Magdeburg and Bremen. Other cities joined the League later, amongst them were Göttingen, Goslar, and Einbeck. In December 1535 the League undertook to admit all who would subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg, and received the cities of Augsburg, Frankfort, Hanover, and Kempten under its protection, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Reichkammergericht or Imperial Chamber.

The Lutherans increased in power on every side. Even in the States which called themselves orthodox there was a strange state of things. In Catholic monasteries there were scarcely any monks to be found; thus in the splendid abbeys of Regensburg

there were only one or two brethren, and often only about twenty people present at mass in the beautiful cathedral. There were so few candidates for the priesthood that the Bishop of Laibach only ordained seventeen priests in eight years, and at Passau there were only five ordained in four years. At Nüremberg, a loyal city which called itself Catholic, the town council altered the mass, put an end to festivals, allowed marriage of the clergy and the sacramental cup to the laity.

King Ferdinand himself advocated these latter changes, and he complained to the Pope's Nuncio that he could not find a confessor who was not of evil life, a drunkard, or an ignoramus. The spirit of reform was in the air, and even Rome was affected by it, for Paul III had begun his rule by creating a group of reforming Cardinals, and he sent Vergerio to Germany to see if it would be possible to come to terms with the Lutherans.

At last it was suggested that a Catholic League should be formed in imitation of that of the Lutherans, and on June 10, 1538, the League of Nuremberg was started, and its members were the Emperor, King Ferdinand, the Archbishops of Salzburg and Mainz, and the Dukes of Bavaria, Eric and Henry of Brunswick and George of Saxony. This last, Duke George, takes a very high place amongst the noblest men of his time. An earnest Catholic, he yet felt keenly the need for reform, and he never feared to speak his mind boldly and frankly, both to Protestant and Papist. His loyal devotion to the House of Hapsburg was hereditary, for in time

of conflict his father had pointed to his Order of the Golden Fleece, and declared: "This do I cherish in my heart and wear ever on my breast." Unfortunately for his cause, the gallant Duke George of Saxony died in April 1539, after one last appeal for peace at the Colloquy of Frankfurt.

His successor joined the Protestant League, which had been strengthened by the support of the Margrave John of Brandenburg, and that of the towns of Ratisbon and Heidelberg. Still more important was the new convert William of Cleves, already chosen Duke of Guelders, who in 1539 succeeded to his father's estates, and was now a far more formidable enemy to the Emperor than Charles of Guelders had ever been.

It so happened that a discreditable incident of this period brought a fresh ally into the Catholic side. The bigamy of Philip of Hesse—which he declared was a compromise arrived at with the assent of the chief Protestant divines—caused such a scandal that the Landgrave quailed before it, and sought to make terms with Charles V, and to return to the orthodox faith in order to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, and so set his scruples at rest for ever. Philip ultimately concluded his bargain, gave up his alliance with England, France, and Cleves, and promised to take the side of the Emperor on all political questions.

CHAPTER XV

DIET OF RATISBON—SECOND EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS

Diet of Ratisbon convoked by Charles V, "to find a remedy for religious troubles"—Contarini sent as Legate, by request of Charles—The Emperor passes through Italy and leads the expedition against Algiers—Delay of the fleets in starting; violent storms and strong resistance of the Turks result in defeat—Courage and spirit of Charles—The Turks raid the Mediterranean coast, and Christian slaves are sold at Marseilles—Peace of Crépy, between Spain and France, 1544.

ON February 23, 1541, Charles V arrived at Ratisbon, where he "had convoked a Diet in order to find a remedy for religious troubles, and to establish concord." He had taken leave of his sister Marie of Hungary at Luxemburg early in January, and had travelled through Metz, Neustadt, and Speyer, where his minister de Granvelle joined him, having returned from the Conference at Worms, where there had already been preliminary discussions between the Catholics and the Protestants, but without arriving at any decision. Morone had been the Papal Legate at Worms, but the Emperor had specially requested that Cardinal Contarini should take his place at the Diet of Ratisbon.

Gaspero Contarini was a man of great learning and wide study, not only in theology, but in every branch

of philosophy. He had been one of the members of that most interesting society called the "Oratory of Divine Love," which had been formed in Rome, 1523, on the principle that the reform of the Church must be built upon the religious reform of the individual. Full of zeal and devotion, the members pledged themselves to devote more time to private and public prayer, and by religious reading and meditation to do all in their power to deepen and spiritualize the foundation of Christian life. After the sack of Rome in 1527, Contarini and others had formed a community of the same kind in Venice, of which city he was a native. Contarini had also helped later in drawing up the famous "Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia." Gaspero had long been an intimate friend of the Emperor's, for as early as 1521 he had been sent by the Republic as ambassador to Charles at Worms, and had become so great a favourite that he was taken to the siege of Tournay in the Imperial suite, and from thence to England and on to Spain.

After the sack of Rome, he was sent on an embassy from Venice to Clement VII, and was able to serve his country not only with the Pope, but later with the Emperor at Bologna. Again, in 1538, Contarini accompanied Paul III to Nice to meet Charles V, so that when he came to the Diet of Ratisbon as Legate, he was warmly welcomed as an old friend both by Charles and his brother Ferdinand. No one could have been better suited than this Cardinal to bring the momentous discussions between the different religious sides to a satisfactory end, for indeed at

this moment there seemed more hope of agreement than ever before, as earnest men on both sides felt that the peace of Europe hung upon their decision.

The Diet opened on April 5, when there was a solemn service in the cathedral, attended by the Emperor, the States, and the Court; from there they went to the Council-House, where the Count Palatine Frederick and de Granvelle presided, both anxious for peace. The three Catholic divines chosen were Johann Eck of Ingolstadt, fierce in argument; Julius von Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg; and Johann Gropper, these two last holding very moderate views; while on the Protestant side were Melanchthon and the Hessian ministers Martin Bucer, who had drawn up a most attractive scheme of agreement, and Pistorius. The conference lasted nearly a month, and the committee agreed on several points, such as the marriage of priests, and the use of the cup for laymen, while some sort of understanding was reached on the difficult subject of "justification." On this vexed question, Contarini wrote a tract while at the conference, in which he came to the conclusion that the doctrine of "justification by faith" was the foundation of the Christian religion. There was in the discussion a constant difficulty about the expression "by faith alone." Faith must be living and active, and justification must depend both on inherent and imputed righteousness. In point of fact no real agreement was effected, for each side had a different meaning for the words. Before the end of the Conference, even Contarini despaired of conciliation, but for this failure neither side can be blamed, for the

differences were too great to make it possible for a combined religion between the Papists and the Protestants.

In point of fact the opposition of both parties was as much political as religious. As Contarini shrewdly said: "There is scarcely a man, or very few, who serve God with honest heart." He believed that personal aggrandizement and ambition were the main motives even of the Catholic princes. They feared that reunion would increase the Imperial power, and it was certainly for this very reason that Charles desired it, as thus common action against the enemies of Christendom would be possible. The failure of the Conference was a great disappointment to the Emperor, and he even went so far as to cause the toleration proposal to be submitted to Luther by friendly princes. This was answered by the demand that all the points "should be purely and clearly preached," which broadly hinted at the simple fact that the words were capable of two meanings.

In his Memoirs the Emperor remarks about this Diet of Ratisbon, that—

"After many controversies, very few things had been decided upon, and still fewer had been executed. Moreover, although the report had spread that the Turk was preparing to invade Austria, no measure had been taken to oppose that invasion. . . . The Emperor had already made great preparation and maritime provision to undertake, on his return to Spain, an expedition against Algiers."

Charles therefore left Ratisbon, and went to Italy, meeting the Pope at Lucca, to discuss means for opposing the Turks, but there was no result. He went on to Spezia and waited there for the fleets to join him ; and although he knew that it was already very late in the year for the expedition, he felt that he could not put it off, after all the expense which had been incurred, the money having been especially voted for this purpose by Spain, where the greatest anxiety was felt at the successful raids of the corsairs.

It was already the middle of October before Charles was able to start from Spezia, with Andrea Doria in command of the fleet of Genoa, while the Spanish galleys had been collected at Majorca and sailed on to meet the Emperor on the African coast, to the west of Algiers. Stormy weather prevented the fleets meeting until October 23, when about 20,000 infantry were landed some miles from the city, but were only provided with supplies for three days. The next day the Spanish and German troops, with the Emperor at their head, took possession of the high ground south of Algiers, but during the night a terrible storm came on with heavy rain, in which the tents were blown down, while the arquebuses and ammunition were soaked through. To make matters worse, the garrison of Algiers chose this terrible moment for a sortie in which the Italians who were guarding the shore suffered severely. The heavy tempest drove a hundred ships and fourteen galleys ashore, and Doria was compelled to retreat. With his shattered fleet, he sought the shelter of Cape Metafuz, and meantime the whole

Spanish force had been compelled to move down from the higher ground.

Under the guidance of Charles himself, this move had been successfully accomplished, and the army had encamped on the sloping ground. We have a vivid account of this dangerous adventure in the Itinerary of the secretary Vandenesse, in which the splendid personal courage and resource of his master are taken as a matter of course.

“A terrible storm was renewed, both by sea and land, and the Emperor moved nearer the shore, in order to obtain provisions and ammunition from the ships. But this proved impossible, and His Majesty marched onwards with the army through a swampy country, where he had a broad river to pass, and was annoyed the whole time by the Arabs, both on his flank and rear. . . . He afterwards reached Metafuz, where the galleys which had escaped from the storm were at anchor.”

It is interesting to know that Hernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, had joined this expedition from Spain. He is said to have strongly urged a counter-attack on Algiers with Spanish and German troops. But this was found to be impossible in the exhausted state of the troops, who had lost all their supplies and most of the artillery. On November 4 the Emperor reached the harbour of his town of Bugia, from which the Imperial galleys made desperate attempts to leave the harbour, but were forced by violent storms and contrary winds to turn back.

It was not until November 23 that Charles at last got off, and landed at Majorca on the evening of the 26th, and at length reached Carthage in December. His son Philip and his daughters hurried to welcome him, for they had been alarmed by the rumour that his galley had been lost at sea. He appears to have had indeed a very narrow escape. In writing to his sister Marie, Charles attributes the disaster of this enterprise largely to the delay of his fleets in starting. He certainly had severe material losses, but his wonderful spirit and calm courage in the midst of the most serious danger gave him a great military reputation throughout Europe. Yet he never had the opportunity of personally retrieving his failure in the expedition against Algiers, which was to pass to France and not Spain.

François I, notwithstanding his ten years' truce with Charles, at once took advantage of his failure in Africa to take him by surprise at an unguarded moment. His forces, and those of his ally the Duke of Cleves, invaded Artois and Flanders, harassed Brabant and besieged Antwerp, while the Duke of Orleans took possession of Luxemburg. An attack was also made upon Roussillon by the French, but they were driven back by the Spaniards under the Duke of Alva, and the siege of Perpignan was a complete failure. From this time the tide of war turned in favour of Charles; the Netherland troops recovered Luxemburg, and this was the time chosen by the Pope to treat of peace between France and Spain, on terms which the Emperor most indignantly rejected as we see in his Memoirs.

Meantime François had renewed his alliance with the Sultan, who sent Barbarossa into the Mediterranean, with a fleet of 180 galleys and 10,000 men to devastate and lay waste the coast of Italy. He burnt Cotrone, Reggio, and other towns, where his corsairs committed the most horrible atrocities with the full assent of the French envoy, who was on board the great galley of the pirate admiral. Barbarossa finally set sail for the port of Marseilles, where he was received with honour and congratulations by the French Governor, the Comte d'Enghien. We can scarcely wonder at the indignation of Charles that "the Most Christian King" should be the ally of such barbarians and infidels. Nor was he alone in this feeling of horror at such an alliance, which spread throughout Protestant Germany, and induced the Diet to vote liberal supplies for the defence of Christendom against the Turk. This was also the deathblow to the hopes of François I that Germany would combine with him against the Emperor.

The Turkish menace still increased both in Hungary and from the corsairs on the coast of the Mediterranean. In April 1543 Solyman was advancing towards Vienna and Barbarossa was ravaging the Tuscan shores. But Charles was now better prepared for resistance. The previous year his son Philip had married Doña Maria of Portugal, and received with her a large dowry, while the galleys from Mexico had brought over a precious store of gold and silver, which he was able to take as a loan. Early in 1543 Ferdinand of Austria had presided at a Diet at Nüremberg, which implored the Emperor

to return from Spain and defend Germany and the Netherlands, and this Charles was preparing to do.

He left Spain under the regency of Philip, with a Council chosen to advise and help him ; but he can scarcely have foreseen that he would never more return to reign as sovereign in the land which he had learned to love so well. He sailed for Genoa, with 4,000 of his famous Spanish infantry, and only just managed the voyage in time, as the corsairs under Barbarossa were already on the way. His sister, Marie of Hungary, was aware of the perils of the sea, and awaited news of his crossing with intense anxiety. Since he embarked from Barcelona on May 1, Charles had been nearly a month in the Mediterranean, pausing at Marseilles and Savona. On June 21 he reached Busseto, where Pope Paul III came in state to meet him, with thirteen cardinals, and a suite of 500 foot and 200 light horse. There was a conference between the Pope and the Emperor which lasted for three days, but produced no result, as Paul appears to have made unsuccessful efforts to obtain Milan or Siena for his family. The Emperor would not even be persuaded by the entreaties of his daughter Marguerite, who begged for the Duchy of Milan for her husband Ottavio Farnese. But Cosimo, Duke of Florence, had been more successful in his influence on Charles, who highly valued the assistance he had given already. On the promise of Cosimo to undertake the defence of the coast of Tuscany against the attacks of Barbarossa, and to advance a large sum of money towards the expense of the war in Flanders, the Emperor granted him the

restitution of the fortresses of Florence, Pisa, and Livorno, which he had long anxiously desired.

The Bishop of Cortona, Giovanni Ricasoli, was sent at once with the promised sum of 100,000 ducats, and on July 3 Cosimo took formal possession of the fortress of Florence; and when those of Pisa and Livorno had been duly taken over by procuration, the Duke felt at last that he was an independent prince, free from all control in his own dominions.

He had scarcely returned to Florence when news reached him that the fleet of Barbarossa was off Corsica and approaching the coast of Tuscany. He at once sent a messenger in haste to Otto da Montautata, with orders to collect his bands, to the number of 4,000, and to advance towards the sea, and at the sight of this strong force the pirate captain did not think it prudent to land. The fleet returned towards Corsica, and for the moment the corsair danger had passed. Piombino, on an exposed promontory, was strongly fortified; watch-towers were built on every hill-top, and the whole coast of Tuscany, as far as Pietrasanta, was put in a state of defence.

The Turkish fleet had moved on towards Marseilles, where it was joined by a French squadron of forty ships under the Duc d'Enghien, and together, Christians and infidels, they set sail towards Nice, then in the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. Besieged by this strong force, Nice was in great danger; the Emperor was far away, engaged at war with the Duke of Cleves, and the only succour which could come to the beleaguered city was from the Imperial general Alfonso del Guasto who rapidly approached

by land, and Andrea Doria who brought up his galleys by sea. They came too late to save Nice, which had been compelled to capitulate on a solemn assurance of most favourable terms. But Barbarossa kept no promises; he plundered the town in the night, burnt part of it, and actually carried away 5,000 of the inhabitants as slaves, against all the laws of civilized nations. The citadel had held out, and was saved by the arrival of del Guasto and Doria. As for the corsairs and the French, they returned under Barbarossa to Toulon, where they stayed the winter, and for many months Christian slaves—a great part of the population of Nice—were sold openly in this city of the “Most Christian King” François I.

The surrender and treacherous destruction of Nice had taken place on September 8, 1543, and the same day marked the final triumph of the Emperor over the Duke of Cleves, who ceded to him the Duchy of Guelders, for so many years a centre of rebellion, and the county of Zutphen. But Charles was a generous foe, and he suffered the Duke to retain his hereditary lands of Cleves; and when he had broken off his alliance with France and given up his promised child-bride Jeanne d’Albret of Navarre, Charles promised to bestow upon him Marie the daughter of King Ferdinand, his own niece, and the marriage took place in 1546. We see the importance for the Emperor of having a fast friend in his powerful neighbour.

But the war with France was still vigorously carried on, and Charles had need of all the help he could secure. Luxemburg was again lost and retaken, the battle of Ceresole in Piedmont proved a

barren victory for the French, and at length Henry VIII took definite steps to help in the invasion of Picardy, but he spent seven weeks to accomplish the siege of Boulogne. Charles, with his army of 50,000 men, which he had been able to raise by concessions to the Protestants at the Diet of Speyer, advanced into France and threatened Paris. He was so near the capital that his cavalry reached the very walls, and the citizens began to flee in dismay. France was isolated, having only now the Pope and the Sultan for his allies, for by giving up the claims of his niece Dorothea, the Emperor had detached the Kings of Denmark and Sweden from the hostile coalition. The capture of Boulogne on September 14, 1544, probably decided the French to make peace, and Charles was quite willing to come to terms. His mixed army was of inferior quality, had dwindled with disease and lost all heart. Especially we are told that his German horse, accustomed to one heavy trot, was only useful in the shock of battle by mere weight, and was of no use for scouting or skirmishing. Ultimate success against the trained army of the Dauphin which was advancing towards Paris was very doubtful, and the wise Granvelle strongly urged his master to take advantage of a temporary success by making peace.

There had often before been talk of giving the Duke of Orleans a bride and a dowry, and now the Emperor was compelled definitely to face the dilemma. The suggestion was that he should give his eldest daughter, the Infanta Mary, who had now reached the age of twenty, or his niece, the second daughter

of Ferdinand, and that her splendid dowry should be either the Netherlands or Milan. There was very great opposition in Spain against yielding the former, as France would then become so strong that she could deprive Spain of her valuable trade with the Baltic and the North Sea. Charles himself hated the idea of giving up, under any pretext, his hereditary provinces and was far more disposed to consider Milan, which was comparatively a recent conquest. After a great deal of heated discussion, during which the Emperor became quite ill with mental worry, he at last decided for the cession of Milan. The Peace of Crépy had been signed in September 1544, six months earlier, and by this François renounced all claims to Naples, Flanders, and Artois, and he agreed to work for the union of the Church and against the Turks. The Emperor was to retain his hold on the Duchy of Milan until a son was born to his niece. The King of France was to give his second son a splendid appanage of French counties on his marriage.

But this event never took place. The vices of all the Valois princes, François I and his sons, were notorious; and the licentious life of the Duke of Orleans undoubtedly hastened his premature end on September 9, 1545. It was indeed a merciful escape for the young Austrian princess; and thus it was that Milan was saved to the Hapsburgs for centuries to come. With their possession of Spain and the Netherlands it proved invaluable as the key of Lombardy; the highway between those distant possessions when the frequent wars with France prevented a long sea voyage.

CHAPTER XVI

RIVALRY OF CHARLES V AND FRANÇOIS I

The rivalry between the Emperor Charles V and François I, King of France—Brief review of its incidents, tracing the origin in the hereditary strife between Burgundy and France, the position of the two realms and various alliances—The two sovereigns are rivals to the end—Study of their different characters.

AT this point in the history of Charles V when the Peace of Crépy had just been signed, the last treaty between himself and François I, whose ignoble life was near its close, it is a moment to consider the hereditary feud between these two princes, which has all the dramatic interest of predestined doom. The rivalry of Charles and François had its origin in the ancestral hostility of Burgundy and Valois, which arose long before the fatal battle of Nancy, when Charles the Bold was slain beneath its walls, and Louis XI seized the Duchy of Burgundy from the hands of his young daughter Marie. This was the most northerly portion of the Burgundian kingdom, and had always been a fief of the Crown of France. When Maximilian of Austria won the heiress of Burgundy for his bride, the feud was adopted by the House of Hapsburg, and thus it was that Charles V inherited from his grandfather Maximilian the duty of revenge.

Yet as we have followed the history of the various lands over which Charles held sovereign rule, we see everywhere the paramount importance of peace and not war. Peace was absolutely necessary for the commerce of the Netherlands, the looms of Flanders; the iron-works of Namur and Liége, and the prosperity of the trade-guilds. Only in peace could the great work of settling colonies in the newly discovered western world be carried on; and without peace the unity of the Empire was impossible. Moreover Charles himself always avoided war if possible; he was "not greedy of territory, but most greedy of peace and quiet," as the Venetian ambassador said of him. All his wars were defensive; and to carry out the one desire of his heart in a great crusade against the Turks, peace in Europe was the first necessity. Yet lover of peace as he was, the Emperor was driven to war all his life, and, utterly worn out by it, was at length compelled to give up his Empire to secure some measure of peace before his end.

Most of the wars of his reign were caused by the enmity of François I, who was always the aggressor. It has been suggested on behalf of this unprincipled foe, that he was alarmed at the increasing power of Charles, whose territories touched the boundaries of France on all sides. The Netherlands stretched along the northern boundary, until they reached the lands of Prince-bishops and Electors. Lorraine on the east was German. Switzerland was German, but always disposed to rebel against Burgundy and Austria, which gave an opening to the King of France which he was not slow to use, while farther on Savoy

was a highway to Italy. The sea and the Pyrenees were two barriers, but they could be crossed. Italy soon became a field of battle for the rivals, as François claimed Milan and Naples, and the fatal lure of Italy acted upon him as upon Charles VIII and Louis XII. Ambitious, ruthless, and false, devoid of all moral scruples, he threw himself with a light heart into this foreign war, with full assurance of success and glory.

Thanks to the repressive policy of his predecessors, the young King of France had all the resources of his subjects absolutely under his control; both of the Church and the laity. He could impose what taxes he thought well, and was always sure of ample subsidies from his wealthy kingdom. His own dominions were compact and well adapted for defence; he had a well-trained army, excellent cavalry and artillery, and ample funds to engage Swiss or German mercenaries. Such was the enviable position of François I, when at the age of twenty-one he came to the throne of France in 1515. If there was a shadow upon his prosperity, it may have been that the gentle and homely Claude had been forced upon him as a wife by her father Louis XII; yet this would be of small account to a prince whose fickle and dissolute taste was ever passing from one fair object to another.

Very different in every way, alike in his dominions, his resources, and character, was his rival Charles, who, as a lad of sixteen, came into the last of his great possessions by the death of his grandfather Ferdinand on January 23, 1516. If the King of France was

ruler of a compact kingdom, easy of defence, that of Charles was far different. From his father Philippe he had inherited the provinces of the Netherlands and the Burgundian possessions, with an exposed and complicated frontier; and therefore it was only by holding Lombardy that he could safely travel to his great kingdoms of Castile and Aragon with all their dependencies, including the lands of the two Sicilies. In 1519, to all these he added the inherited lands of the Hapsburgs in Eastern Europe, widely spread out, with foes on every side. As for the resources of Charles, a large revenue was collected both in Spain and the Netherlands, but was mostly claimed by the expenses of internal government. It was always with the greatest difficulty that the sovereign could obtain a subsidy for war from the Cortes of Castile or the States of the Netherlands. As for his army, the Spanish infantry was famous throughout Europe, and the regular troops of the Netherlands had been well organized and could always be relied upon, which was more than could be said of the soldiers levied in Germany and Italy. Charles could never obtain enough money or forces of his own or induce other sovereigns of Christendom to join him heartily enough to carry out the great desire of his life, an effective crusade against the Turks, of whom François was an ally during most of his reign.

To compare the moral character of the two rivals would be an insult to Charles, of whom Melanchthon said that "his private life was a model of continence and temperance, and that domestic discipline, of old so rigorous among German princes, was now only

preserved in the Emperor's household." The gay, frivolous, scandalous Court of François I was notoriously a complete contrast to this picture. Deep religious feeling, honesty of purpose, and strong self-control were some of the most striking characteristics of Charles, and there was warm feeling under his cold, reserved manner. It has been said of him that he never deserted a Minister whom he had once trusted, and that he never lost or gave up a friend. On the other hand, we may say that François, with all his pleasant ways and charm of manner, could never be trusted by man or woman, that he never made or kept a true friend, and that his treachery often cost him dearly, as in the disastrous consequences of his treatment of the Duc de Bourbon. François thought only of pleasure, and had no sense of responsibility, while his extravagance in pursuit of his unworthy amusements was almost incredible. In this too he was a contrast to Charles, who was almost too economical in his personal expenses, although he could make a fine show with his Court on State occasions. In many respects his character strongly resembled that of his grandmother, Isabel of Spain; he had her deep religious feeling, her ardent desire for a Crusade, her persistence in any plan she thought right, and her wise instinct and judgment in choosing capable Ministers and remaining loyal to them.

The first definite conflict between François and Charles was with regard to the Imperial election. Maximilian before his death was anxious to secure it for his grandson, as a rightful and natural succession

to his own position. The French King at once entered the field and Leo X was disposed to take the side of France. The struggle was renewed after the death of Maximilian; and after large sums of money had been spent on both sides the Pope withdrew his opposition and on June 28, 1519, the Electors at Frankfort, with one consent, voted for Charles. After this war was inevitable between the two rivals, and, as we have seen, it continued at intervals during nearly forty years and over half Europe. There were many ups and downs, but the first salient success was that of Pavia, when, with the help of the relentless Bourbon, the French King was taken prisoner and his army was destroyed. During eleven months François remained in captivity, and there were long and tedious negotiations before the Treaty of Madrid was signed. Charles had insisted upon the surrender of his hereditary domain of Burgundy, for although he was never aggressive, he was very tenacious of his rights. He also demanded the restitution to Charles, Duke of Bourbon, of his possessions, and indeed he could not have done less for his valuable ally. There were other conditions which the French King more readily granted, but these two points he was inwardly resolved never to yield, notwithstanding all the solemn promises he made.

Perhaps Charles was the only person who believed in the sincerity of François, for no one else trusted him. The world was justified in expecting treachery and want of faith, for the French King was no sooner free than he repudiated everything he had sworn and joined the so-called "Holy League" against

Charles which had been formed by the Pope and Henry VIII, the Venetians and other Italian States. This breach of a sworn treaty was a terrible blow to Charles which he never forgave, and it embittered all subsequent transactions between the two sovereigns. So strongly did the Emperor feel the deadly insult, that he actually proposed to his foe to settle the matter by the knightly ordeal of single combat. But this was never realized, for the world had long outlived the old ideals of chivalry. Meantime the war continued, with renewed force, in Italy especially, and the next striking event was the taking and sack of Rome in 1527.

During the long contest between Spain and France, Henry VIII had added to the tangled intrigues by taking now one side and then the other, somewhat on the principle of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, for he usually took part against the aggressor. Two years later, chiefly by the mediation of Marguerite of Austria, the Peace of Cambray was concluded, by which the marriage arranged between François and Eléonore the sister of the Emperor, was carried out, the two sons of the French King, who had been kept as hostages, were released, and Charles reluctantly gave up his demand for Burgundy. The lull in the storm lasted for some years, but all the time the French King had been secretly preparing for another war, and had formed a close alliance with the Sultan, encouraging in every way the piracy of the corsairs on the southern coasts. This was his reply to the eager attempt of the Emperor to start a crusade against the infidel. François also did his

best to undermine the Imperial interests amongst the Protestant princes of Germany. It was not until both sides were weary of the strife, which raged alike in Italy and Picardy, that a truce was concluded for ten years, again by the interposition of the princesses on both sides, Eléonore, Queen of France, and Marie of Hungary, who had succeeded her aunt Marguerite as Governor of the Netherlands.

But the ten years' peace did not last longer than three, and Charles was attacked in five different quarters: Artois, Brabant, Luxemburg, Piedmont, and Roussillon; besides this he had already serious troubles on hand in Germany. To make the contrast more vivid between the two sovereigns, we find that when the Emperor, at the head of his forces, was actually on the way to attack Paris, the French King and his Council were occupied and taken up with quarrels between his mistresses and those of the Dauphin.

After a devastating but unprofitable struggle on both sides, the two rivals suddenly made peace once more, and this was signed at Crépy, near Meaux, on September 18, 1544. Again the arrangement was complicated by matrimonial alliances, the most important being the proposed marriage of a daughter of King Ferdinand with the Duke of Orleans, with Milan for her dowry, but this came to nothing as the young French prince died in the meantime. Another futile condition was the promise of François to contribute to the never-ending war of Charles against the invading Turks. We may rest assured that this peace would not have been more lasting than the

former ones, but the House of Valois was never long-lived, and little more than two years later the King, whose health had long been broken up, ended his dishonourable life, on March 31, 1547, leaving a successor as abandoned as himself in his son Henri II.

CHAPTER XVII

DIET OF WORMS—WAR OF RELIGION

Diet of Worms, 1545—Open rebellion against Charles V of the Lutheran princes—Protestant League takes arms against the Emperor—His gallant defence of Ingolstadt—He wins the battle of Mühlberg—John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse taken prisoners—Death of Henry VIII—Death of François I, 1547—Rebellion in Hungary after the death of Anne the wife of Ferdinand—Peace in Germany for a time—High-water mark of the Emperor's prosperity.

AFTER the Peace of Crépy, September 1544, Charles was free to turn his attention to Germany, where he realized the steady advance of the Protestant doctrines and the danger to the Church of Rome. He was at all times a zealous Churchman, but toleration was forced upon him as a political necessity, while his strong desire for the reform of the Church was blindly opposed by the Pope. He showed his religious zeal by calling upon all his subjects to conform to the "Confession of Louvain," but this met with but little response. Before attempting force in any way, it was needful to come to terms with the Pope, who had accumulated large funds on the plea of a crusade. This might be used either against the Turks or the heretics.

A Diet was opened at Worms, where Charles arrived in 1545, having been delayed by an attack of the gout,

to which he was frequently liable. Here he met with opposition at once, for the Lutherans refused to vote a subsidy, saying they cared little "whether their wives and children were carried off by the Turks or the Catholics." It was in vain that Charles promised that he would not suffer the Council to interfere with the rights of any estate, and that if the Council of Trent should fail to accomplish the work of reform, he would take other measures. But he could not prevent the meeting of the Council to which Europe had now agreed, and he begged the Lutherans that they would be reasonable.

His appeal was unsuccessful, and the breach was widened by the Protestant preachers. Luther, at that moment in his last illness, freely denounced the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church; he called upon the Emperor "to head a war of religion against Pope, Cardinals, and all the Sodom of Rome. . . ." Another minister called upon Charles "to shake off Papal tyranny and destroy the temporal power." This was the temper of the Protestants when the Council of Trent held its opening sitting on January 7, 1546; the first decrees of the Council were laid before the Diet of Ratisbon in April, and utterly rejected by the princes. There was evidently to be no compromise, and open war could not be long delayed.

There was division in the Protestant camp, but those who openly fought against the Papal cause were John Frederick of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, Ulric, Duke of Württemberg, and the free cities. The Elector Palatine was Protestant and neutral, for the present, while the princes who continued faithful to



FRANÇOIS I.
By Titian.



Charles, although they held Lutheran opinions, were Maurice of Saxony, Joachim the Elector, John of Brandenburg-Anspach, Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach and Baireuth, and other Brandenburg princes. The Emperor had declared that he desired the restoration of order, in the secular meaning, throughout Germany. He had made every effort to maintain peace, as he shows in his letter to Marie of Hungary on June 6 :

“ MY DEAR SISTER . . . You know what I told you when I left Maëstricht, that I would do all in my power to establish some order in the affairs of Germany and to make some advance towards its pacification, avoiding to the uttermost the path of force. Accordingly, on my journey I did all that I could towards this end, especially in connection with our cousin the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave, and others. Ever since my arrival here I have never ceased to make every conceivable effort to induce the Lutherans and other sectarians to agree to some method of pacification, yet notwithstanding all my efforts, there has been no result whatever. . . .”

On July 15 the Protestant League published the reasons for taking up arms, and the next day Philip of Hesse began hostilities by moving his army to the south in order to attack the Emperor, who was still at Ratisbon, with a force of about 8,000 infantry. The advancing enemy had 50,000 men altogether, but Charles, nothing daunted, at once put Philip and the Elector under the ban of the Empire. They retaliated by sending a herald to renounce their allegi-

ance, treating him as a pretender, and naming him Charles of Ghent. Charles moved to Landshut, where he met the troops sent by the Pope, 12,000 foot and 500 light horse; he then passed on by a hazardous night march to Ingolstadt, where he fortified a strong camp, with the determination, as he declared, to remain in Germany, alive or dead. To add to his difficulties, his German soldiers were mostly Lutherans who hated the levies from Spain and Italy, and showed special aversion to the confessor of the Emperor, whom they blamed as being the cause of this civil war.

In this perilous position Charles showed splendid courage and spirit. He had but 32 guns with which to reply to the Lutheran bombardment of 110, but he gallantly rode round the trenches, calling upon his men to stand firm, and assuring them that artillery made more noise than real damage. We find in his Memoirs how much he appreciated the help of his cavalry in the trench work. When Granvelle and his confessor tried to persuade the Emperor to take more care of himself, he replied that no sovereign had ever been killed by a cannon-ball, and if it were his fate to be the first, thus to die would be better than to live.

Meantime the Count de Buren was marching to support Charles with the forces of the Netherlands, but he was not certain where to find him. With splendid strategy Buren escaped the hostile army on the watch for him, and crossed the Rhine in safety, passing defiantly onwards to Ingolstadt, almost within sight of the enemy. The Emperor was now

able to take the offensive, and he occupied Donauworth, where the great bankers, the Fuggers, were on the Catholic side, and then passed on to Nördlingen. The territory of Count Palatine Otto Henry was taken possession of, and the Imperialist army moved on towards Ulm. But the city was too strong to be taken at once, and as the autumn advanced the climate began to tell on the Spanish and Italian troops, and supplies fell short. But in spite of sickness and desertion, Charles would not retire into winter quarters ; he waited for the princes to quarrel amongst themselves, and their unnatural union with the Protestant towns to come to an end. Trade was being ruined, and the wealthy cities of the Baltic had held aloof, as well as the Northern princes.

The cause of the Emperor was advanced in Saxony by Maurice, the cousin of the Elector John Frederick, who carried out the ban of the Empire, and with the help of King Ferdinand obtained the Electorate for himself, occupying the whole domain except the fortified towns of Wittenberg, Gotha, and Eisenach. This news caused great alarm to the League, and John Frederick returned home to fight his cousin, leaving only 9,000 soldiers to protect the Swabian cities. Thus it was that the deliberate strategy of Charles won the day against the immense strength of his enemies, and they were compelled to come to terms. But John Frederick succeeded in regaining his possessions and driving away his cousin Maurice, so that honours were divided. Still the Emperor had the final triumph, for he was able to take possession of the southern cities and the great fortress of Ulm

which had been the head-quarters of the Protestant League. The princes came one after another to make submission, and amongst them was the old friend of Charles, the Elector Palatine, who had married his niece Dorothea. The Elector bowed low before his Emperor, who sadly reproved him. "Most of all it has grieved me that you should be the companion of my foes, when we were friends in youth." But after a while Charles relented and granted him full forgiveness.

Other princes did not escape so easily. Ulrich of Württemberg had to receive a Spanish garrison in each of his fortresses, and to pay a large indemnity. The old Elector of Cologne had to give up his see, and other nobles were let off with a money payment. The Emperor was far more lenient to the cities; he raised very moderate amounts from Ulm and Augsburg, where he promised to respect the Lutheran faith, while Strasburg escaped all punishment. In February 1547 Ferdinand lost his wife Anne of Hungary, and was alarmed by a general revolt in Bohemia, where it was argued that he was only Prince Consort. He eagerly entreated his brother Charles to come to his help, as his mere presence would be as valuable as an army. The Emperor was ill at the time with his recurring gout, and he was hampered by the loss of all the Papal troops, which had only been promised for six months. Paul III was indeed at this time alarmed at the Emperor's success and was disposed to make alliance with France. He caused also much inconvenience by moving the Council to Bologna. Yet in spite of all these obstacles, Charles nobly rose

to the occasion, and was carried in a litter from Nördlingen to Regensburg, having left strong garrisons at Augsburg, Ulm, and Frankfort. When he arrived at Eger, he received the news of the death of François I, and here he was joined by Ferdinand, Maurice, and the Prince of Brandenburg, and remained for Easter.

We have a very full account of all this campaign in the Emperor's own Memoirs, and he speaks very highly of the devotion and success of his captains in the work of the advance guard. His army now consisted of 18,000 infantry and 800 horse, and after nine days of constant marching they reached the banks of the Elbe and discovered that John Frederick was on the other side of the river, not three leagues off, guarding the bridge of Meissen. Charles tells us that he now decided that the men should have a day's rest after their long march, but scouts were sent to Meissen the next morning and discovered that the enemy had decamped at midnight, after destroying the bridge. "God knows how he repented having rested that day, for he feared that he should not overtake the enemy." The Elector had retired down the river as far as Mühlberg, hoping to make a stand under the walls of Wittenberg, while he kept in touch with the left bank by means of his bridge of boats.

The Emperor here showed splendid strategy. He set forth on the march with his army from 3 a.m. before dawn of April 23, and as the mist cleared about eight in the morning the bridge of boats was seen hanging from the opposite bank where the enemy was encamped. A gallant little company of Spaniards

swam the river with swords between their teeth, put the sentries to flight and brought the boats safely across. With the help of a village lad a ford was discovered close by which the light cavalry could cross ; each man carrying an arquebusier on the saddle behind him. The fog had been so thick that the enemy was not aware of the approach of the Imperial army, and when Charles and his brother had also crossed the ford, with the water up to the girths of their horses, the Elector, taken by surprise at his breakfast, hastily gave orders to withdraw the infantry and the guns, while he covered the retreat himself with his cavalry. He would have been wiser to defend his strong position, as it took a long time for the greater part of the Emperor's forces and munition to cross by the bridge of boats.

The light-horse cavalry and the Hungarians were sent forward in pursuit, followed by the advance guard, while Charles and Ferdinand kept closely in their rear with a strong force. About nine miles from Mühlberg, the Elector's cavalry turned to face the pursuers with fine courage, but met with such a fierce attack that the retreat soon became a headlong flight. So the day passed, in one long rear-guard action, and nearly half the Saxon army was left on the field or taken prisoner, losing all the artillery and baggage. The Elector John Frederick showed splendid personal courage, for when he was surrounded in the wood through which his soldiers had fled, he fought gallantly alone against the horsemen of Italy and the troopers of Hungary, until he was wounded and forced to surrender. When the

general returned from the pursuit of the flying host, he brought John Frederick into the presence of the Emperor. Various accounts are given of the meeting, but it appears to have been somewhat stormy. Charles had been on horseback for twenty-one hours, was utterly worn out and in pain, so he may be forgiven if he did not show his usual courtesy. But his temper soon recovered and he gave minute directions for the care of his prisoner, treating him with princely honour, and allotting to his service a doctor, a barber, a valet, and two pages.

Some zealous Roman Catholics, and amongst them the Confessor, urged the sentence of death, but Charles would not listen to them. The punishment, however, was severe to his cousin Maurice in the loss of the Electorate, to which other property was added; and John Frederick was kept a prisoner. Duke Ernest of Brandenburg shared his fate, and we hear of the two princes beguiling their captivity by playing chess together.

On May 23 the Emperor and his following marched into Wittenberg, the central stronghold of Protestantism. Luther had been buried a year before in the stately church, and we are told that when the Bishop of Arras suggested that the bones of the heretic should be cast to the winds, Charles replied: "I war not with the dead, but with the living." To the city came Sibylla the Elector's wife, to pray for mercy; she was most graciously received, but did not obtain her husband's pardon. We cannot wonder at this, for the Elector had piled up a long list of most serious offences against his feudal lord. For

thirty years he and his kindred had opposed the House of Hapsburg in every possible way. His uncle had done his best to prevent the election of Charles as King of the Romans; he had been the protector of Luther against the ban, and had encouraged every form of warfare by word and deed against the orthodox faith. His father had been the cause of forming the hostile League of Schmalkalden. John Frederick himself had been the persistent foe of all the Emperor's plans for peace and union; he had sought help from France and England, he had helped the Duke of Cleves to usurp Guelders, and had encouraged rebellion against Ferdinand in Bohemia. There was indeed much to forgive.

Meantime, as the war continued, the Imperial army had been forced to raise the siege of Bremen, and Eric of Brunswick had been defeated near Drakenburg. This encouraged the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, to continue the contest a little longer, but at length he surrendered on condition that his person should be safe and that he should not suffer perpetual imprisonment. His lands should be left untouched and free to hold the Lutheran faith; but he was to pay an indemnity, to give up his artillery and dismantle most of his fortresses. Unfortunately, two of the Electors, Maurice and Joachim of Brandenburg, had been so eager in persuading Philip to surrender that they had gone beyond the Emperor's word, and promised that he would only be a prisoner for a few days. This misunderstanding led to an accusation of treachery when Charles made it plain that the Landgrave was to be a prisoner for the present, and

this was a source of much future trouble. We see in the Emperor's Memoirs how keenly he felt the imputation on his honour; and in his whole account of this war we recognize his splendid military qualities, of which his indomitable courage was not the least.

Thus, although he knew the Netherlands were threatened both east and west, he wrote to his sister Marie to keep guard on her frontiers, but to send every man and gun that could be spared to the front. Although ill and in almost constant pain, he took part in all the perils of his men, "snatching a little sleep in his litter behind a bastion." When all his ministers advised him to move into winter quarters, he refused to give his enemies the least chance of outstaying him, and faced the bitter cold and wet and the hardships they entailed with quiet heroism.

The war now seemed almost at an end, for in the north-east of Germany the Dukes of Pomerania made peace, while Ferdinand had reduced the rebellion in Bohemia. Magdeburg, however, still held out, and Charles, hardly realizing its importance, thought it wiser not to risk an assault. He was satisfied with his successes, and indeed no Emperor since Frederick II had been so powerful throughout Germany. "War has lasted long enough," as he remarks; "and now it is needful to settle the affairs of the nation by gentle means and with the collaboration of the representatives of the Empire." He therefore resolved to convoke a Diet where he might once more attempt to carry out his ideas of peace and conciliation, and thus reap some reward for his victories.

CHAPTER XVIII

COUNCIL OF TRENT MOVED TO BOLOGNA—STORY OF SIENA

Intrigues of Paul III—His attempt to install the Inquisition in Naples
—Opposition of the people, who are supported by the Emperor
—Stormy Council of Trent, 1546—Paul III removes the Council
to Bologna—The eventful story of Siena—Contest of Spain and
France for possession of the city—Final siege and heroic defence
before Siena yielded to Duke Cosimo as vassal of the Emperor.

DURING the war in Germany the feud between the Pope and the Emperor increased in bitterness. Paul III wished to treat the enterprise as a Crusade against the Protestants, giving indulgences to all who prayed for its success, the legate Farnese bearing the cross and his brother Ottavio the consecrated sword. This was by no means the view of Charles, who had many Lutherans on his side, and earnestly desired to make peace by a compromise between the hostile religions. A large Papal subsidy had been promised, but the delay in sending any part of it was a great source of trouble. The Italian soldiers sent were of very little use, but even so it was a most unfriendly act of the Pope to recall them at the most critical moment of the campaign. This was in January 1547, when Charles had just lost his ally Henry VIII to whom he had promised "to be a

father to his son Edward." On the other hand, Paul III was intriguing with the French and suggested a war to place Mary on the throne of England. This Charles absolutely protested against, and, as we have seen, his position became stronger on this point when in March the death of François I left his country with a less-definite policy.

It was fortunate for the Emperor that he had strong allies in Italy during all this time of disturbance, when it was impossible for him to give the personal attention so much required for his Italian possessions. There was serious trouble threatened at Naples when, in May 1547, Paul III, who had organised the Inquisition in Rome, July 21, 1542, thought that now would be a good opportunity for extending its powers to Naples. He sent a Brief to that city "commanding that all cases of heresy be judged by the tribunal of the Inquisition." The Imperial Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, knowing the temper of the people with regard to the Inquisition, did not dare to publish the Brief in the usual way, by sound of trumpet, but he had it quietly put up on the door of the Archbishop's palace, and then retreated to his castle at Pozzuoli, at the foot of Monte Nuovo, to await the result. He was not kept long in suspense; the Brief was at once torn down by the people, who refused to give up the ringleaders, and marched in tumult through the streets. They sent the Viceroy a deputation carefully chosen by the popular magistrates, and of this a certain Antonio Grisone was the spokesman. He earnestly pointed out to Don Pedro how hateful the very name of the Inquisition was to the citizens,

and implored him not to place upon the loyal people this intolerable oppression.

The Viceroy received the deputation with courtesy, and made a most diplomatic reply, assuring the people that neither the Pope nor the Emperor would oppose their wishes, and finally the deputation returned in peace to Naples. But this security did not last long. Some months later another edict, using much stronger language with regard to installing the Inquisition, was posted up on the gates of the Archbishop's palace. The whole city rose in uproar, and with cries of "To arms! To arms!" rushed to tear down the Pope's Brief. The nobles joined with the multitude in their hatred of the Inquisition, and protested that they would all resist to the death against it, at the same time declaring their faithful allegiance to the Emperor.

This was open rebellion, and the Viceroy could not ignore it. He returned to Naples determined to put it down with a strong hand. A certain Tommaso Aniello, a native of Sorrento, who had been foremost in tearing down the edict, was arrested, but the populace assumed so threatening an attitude that the magistrates thought it prudent to release him. Toledo then sent secretly to Genoa for Spanish troops to occupy the fortress of Castel Nuovo, from where they entered Naples and fired on the inhabitants, killing men, women, and children. The Neapolitans rang the great bell of San Lorenzo as a summons to arms, and all was tumult and confusion until the night closed in. The magistrates decided to send an embassy to the Emperor; but meantime, during the

next fifteen days, deadly skirmishes continued between the soldiers and the people, who, to show that this was no mere seditious rising, hoisted a banner on the belfry of San Lorenzo with the Emperor's arms and took the same watchword as their foes: "Spain and the Emperor."

It was an unspeakable relief to both sides when at length the envoys returned from the Court at Augsburg where Charles was at that time, and the Viceroy was able to assure the desperate inhabitants that "it was not the intention of His Imperial Majesty to insist upon the establishment of the Inquisition, and that he was willing to forget the past on account of their personal loyalty to himself." The Emperor kept his word, and no further attempt during his life was made to establish this hated tribunal at Naples.

We have already alluded to the trouble and annoyance which Paul III caused to the Emperor with regard to the Council of Trent which he had so long and eagerly desired. It proved to be the surest means of promoting discord between them, for although Trent was a German town, yet the Protestants refused to recognize the Council, for they were well aware that nothing was done there without reference to the Pope, whose only wish was to bring it to an end. In August 1546 he had given his legates secret authority to remove the Council from Trent, and, to the great indignation of the Emperor, this plan was actually carried out in March 1547, and the Council was transferred to Bologna, where it would be more absolutely under the control of the Pope himself. This took place at the critical moment

in the war when Charles was already on the march to Mühlberg. He turned to Girolamo Verallo, the Pope's legate, and, losing all control of temper, he complained that the Pope was an obstinate old man, bent on the ruin of Christendom. He would listen to no explanations, but declared that he would not argue the matter, adding: "Go away, go away; for I can no longer believe a word spoken by you or the Pope! Go away, talk about it to Arras."

The Spanish bishops had remained at Trent, and Charles refused to recognize the meeting at Bologna. He threatened to supersede it by a national synod, for he declared that so deeply interested was he in obtaining religious unity, that even in time of battle against his foes his thoughts were ever full of it. However, his relations with the Pope became more strained as time passed on, and the fact that the Emperor's Viceroy, Ferrante Gonzaga, was supposed to have incited the rebellion in Piacenza when Pierluigi Farnese was murdered did not add to the chance of peace with Paul III his father. This took place in September 1547. Gonzaga, now Imperial Viceroy of Milan, showed himself aggressive in many ways; he repeated the old game of stirring up the Colonna against the Pope, and concerted with Florence an attack upon the Papal city of Perugia. Also, with the aid of Duke Cosimo of Florence, he occupied Elba and Piombino. Gonzaga would have made the visit of Prince Philip to Genoa an excuse for building an Imperial fortress there, but Charles forbade that anything should be done to disturb the position of his old friend Admiral Doria.

The story of Siena now plays an important part. There had been great changes since that fair spring day in 1536, when Charles had paid a visit to the beautiful hill-city which he had taken under his protection. He had received a splendid reception and won golden opinions by his friendly courtesy, but the succession of Spanish governors must have done much to disillusion the hopes of the people. When the Emperor in 1543 gave up the citadel of Florence to Duke Cosimo, the governor was made deputy ruler of Siena. Wishing to obtain the city for himself, he tried to make alliance with the Piccolomini, and encouraged the faction of the Noveschi, chiefly composed of the burgher nobility, to recover their old dominion. In consequence, they made an attempt to murder the leaders of the Popolani at a bull-fight; but this having failed, the Noveschi rose in arms in February 1546, with cries of "Imperio e Nove! Imperio e Nove!" trusting to the support of the Spanish garrison. But the whole of the city rose in fury against them; many were massacred and the rest fled in company with Don Giovanni de Luna and his soldiers.

Rejoicing in their new-found freedom, the people placed the government of Siena in the hands of a committee of ten, consisting of the Captain of the people and three representatives from each of the Monte, excepting the Monte dei Nove. This small assembly was to have all the authority of the "Balìa," the former governing body of forty representatives. For two years the city appears to have lived in a fool's paradise, "with processions and festivities in

the Campo, the citizens being all joyous, thinking that they had conquered and imagining that never again would any one molest them.”¹

But a bitter awakening was in store for them. When the Emperor had a little leisure from his pressing affairs in Germany, he turned his attention to rebellious Siena, and sent as their governor Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. At first the people appealed to the Pope and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Charles V, but at length, in a great measure by the mediation of Duke Cosimo, they were induced to admit a garrison of Spaniards, in September 1548. Mendoza, who arrived in October, restored the Noveschi, replaced the “Balia” of forty members, and insisted on choosing half of them himself. He behaved in the most despotic manner, quartered his soldiers in the churches of San Francesco, Sant’ Agostino, San Domenico and the Servi; he ordered all the weapons and arms in the city to be brought to San Domenico, while all the artillery was collected in the Piazza by the side of the Campanile. He ruled the Republic with a rod of iron and became “a foe to Italy, to Heaven, and to the world, and thought to make himself in Siena second to God.”

Satisfied that the Republic was under his absolute control, Mendoza now announced that it was the will of the Emperor to build a citadel at the city wall, and that the men of Siena were themselves to provide the materials. At this terrible news of the coming deathblow to their liberty, all the citizens, high and low, were thrilled with horror and dismay. The

¹ Sozzini.

disaster must be averted at any cost; the tower must not be built. It was decided that an appeal should be at once made to the Emperor himself; and two of the most important men of Siena were sent to him at Augsburg, in November, with petitions signed by more than a thousand of the citizens. But they felt this was not enough, and, with wistful memory of the past, they determined once more to dedicate their city to the Blessed Virgin, and trust in her power to guard her own.

On the following Sunday, the Signori, with the Captain of the city at their head, went in procession to the Duomo with the keys of the city, and fifty maidens to whom they promised dowries for the sake of the Holy Mary. A solemn mass of the Holy Spirit was sung, and then the Captain made a long and devout prayer of dedication.

“ If ever in times past, Immaculate Mother of God, our Patroness and Advocate, with compassionate prayers thou hast moved the mercy of thine only begotten Son towards this thy most devout city, may it please thee to-day, more than ever to do so. . . .

“ Behold, most Sacred Virgin . . . the souls of the Sienese people, repentant for all past errors, kneeling and prostrate before thy throne to beg mercy and deliverance from the projected Castle. . . . Further, I consecrate to thee the city; I present to thee anew the keys, as to her who is the safest and most powerful to guard them. . . . Open with them the heart of Cæsar, removing from it his needless design. Dispose him rather to preserve devout and faithful subjects

to his Cæsarian Majesty . . . that we may rejoice without end in our cherished liberty. . . .”

The appeal to the Emperor was in vain ; now that he had given up the fortresses of Florence and others to Duke Cosimo, he was resolved to have one strong place in Tuscany. He was courteous to the ambassadors and assured them that he was having this fortress built for the defence of Siena’s liberty, but he would not listen to their remonstrances, and sent them away lamenting : “ We must drink this bitter chalice.”

They returned to find the foundations of the castle laid on the Poggio di San Prospero, where Mendoza in his mantle of red cloth was constantly hurrying on the work. Then a strange thing happened ; amongst the labourers was seen a ghostly figure, the hermit Brandano, who had wandered round Italy preaching repentance ; he was clad in sackcloth with a halter round his neck, a crucifix in one hand and a death’s-head in the other. He had appeared in Rome on the eve of the sack of the Eternal City, foretelling the coming destruction, and had been thrown into the dungeons of the church. Here at Siena he stood upon the hill-top, wailing aloud : “ Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain,” until he was banished ; but his words were not forgotten.

In the absence of Don Diego a conspiracy was formed to admit a large force of French and Italians, who fired the Porta Romana one evening in July 1552, and entered Siena. The Spaniards, supported by

troops sent by the Duke of Florence, fortified themselves in San Domenico and in Camollia, with the fortress behind them. There was fighting all night, and the defenders were driven back, and many Spaniards were killed; "and so by the grace of God all the city was free." At the beginning of August the citadel capitulated, by the intervention of Cosimo, and the defenders were allowed to retire with their arms and baggage to Florence. The French at once took possession and made over the fortress to the Republic, amidst great rejoicings and shouts of "Liberty! Liberty! France! France!" Then the nobles and the poorer citizens alike all set to work at destroying this menace to their liberty with pickaxes and other tools until, "in the space of one hour, more was broken down than would have been built in four months."

The people of Siena, rejoicing in the thought of their freedom, gave themselves up to games and amusements, with full confidence that the French garrison would protect them. When Cardinal d'Este arrived in November as Lieutenant of the King of France, he set to work on new forts outside the Porta Camollia, and the citizens helped in the building "always gladly to the sound of drums and trumpets," but some wise men noticed that these forts were so built that they might serve to bombard the city as well as defend it.

Meantime, Imperial troops were collecting in the kingdom of Naples, and in the early part of 1553 a great army of Spaniards and others under Don Garzia de Toledo, invaded the domain of the Re-

public. Pienza and Monticchiello were taken, and Montalcino was besieged for two months and defended with great heroism until, on a rumour of the Turkish fleet having arrived off the coast of Italy, Don Garzia burnt his camp and hastened to the defence of Naples. There were great rejoicings and solemn thanksgivings in Montalcino "thus saved as by a miracle."

Before long a conspiracy was formed in Siena by the intrigues of Duke Cosimo in order to admit his soldiers by the Porta Ovile and drive out the French. But this was discovered, and the Captain of the people and two priests in high office at the Duomo were beheaded as the chief conspirators. Early the next year, the King of France, Henri II, sent Piero Strozzi, as his Vicar-General, and this gave Cosimo an excuse for openly attacking the city, as one of the conditions of the last peace had been that Siena was to receive no "Fuorusciti," and of these exiles Strozzi was one of the most notorious. The army of Florence now joined with that of the Emperor under the command of the Marquis of Marignano and, on the night of January 26, 1554, suddenly took possession of the forts outside the Porta Camollia. This was the beginning of that last and terrible siege in which Siena rivalled the splendid heroism which Florence had displayed twenty-four years before; and met the same fatal end, the death of her liberty. During fifteen months of suffering and desolation for the unfortunate city, the war was carried on between France and Spain, for possession of the gallant republic.

Blaise de Montluc, who was in command of French

and Swiss troops, could not speak highly enough of the spirit of the people, and the women of every class who worked with picks and shovels to help in the fortifications. But the fortune of war was on the side of the Imperial troops, who drove back sorties with terrible loss to the besieged, and would not suffer the "useless mouths"—crowds of women and children who were starving in the city—to pass through their lines. As time passed on, the situation became desperate, but with heroic endurance the people held out until the food was actually exhausted, and the citizens of Siena at last surrendered to Duke Cosimo, who took possession in the name of the Emperor. Of the 40,000 inhabitants, only 6,000 remained on that April day of 1555, and so pitiful was their condition that even the soldiers of France were moved to tears at the sight "of this misery and desolation of a people who had shown themselves so devout for the conservation of their liberty and honour."¹

With this chronicle of heroic courage, we must leave the last great Republic of the Middle Ages, for her fate will henceforth cease to be part of the history of Charles V.

¹ See "Romance of a Medici Warrior (Cosimo II, First Grand Duke of Tuscany)," by Christopher Hare.

CHAPTER XIX

THE " INTERIM " PROPOSED AT DIET OF AUGSBURG

Charles V at the height of his power and success in 1547—The " Interim " suggested as a means of conciliation between the Pope and the Protestants—Alarm in Augsburg, where the Diet of 1547 was sitting—War of Parma—Discord between Charles and Ferdinand concerning the succession to the Empire—Suggestion that Philip should succeed his uncle Ferdinand.

IT was in the year 1547 that Charles V may be said to have attained the very height of his power and greatness. He had successfully asserted his supremacy in Germany; he had outlived his rivals François I and Henry VIII, his two most important foes in Germany were his captives, he had overcome all resistance in Spain, and his Viceroys were dominant in Italy. It seemed as though there had never been a more propitious moment to carry out his ideals. Like his grandfather Maximilian, Charles was at heart a visionary, and his dream had long been to assemble a General Council with supreme power to win the Lutherans back to the old Faith, and to reform the Pope and the Church. Then he could look forward to the day when united Christendom would march under his banners against the Infidel, whom he would utterly conquer and would himself be crowned in Jerusalem.

But the glorious vision was never to be realized ; the Emperor's apparent triumph was deceptive and the future was full of menace, and would, in the end, overwhelm him in a sea of troubles. Many a time had he been warned already that he was fighting against the tendencies of the age. In vain had he hoped for Protestant submission to the Council of Trent, but, ever sanguine of ultimate success, he was now devoting all his efforts to the drawing up of that famous compromise, the " Interim," which he fondly hoped would satisfy alike the Pope and the Lutherans, so that henceforth peace would rest upon the troubled land.

After a futile discussion by a mixed committee, Charles entrusted the great work to three chosen representatives, Michael Helding, suffragan Bishop of Mainz, of high Catholic views, Julius von Pflug the Erasmian Bishop of Naumburg, and John Agricola a moderate Lutheran. After months of arduous diplomacy, this was the compromise drawn up, under the name of the " Interim." The use of the cup to the laity was conceded, also clerical marriage, and a modified form of the doctrine of " Justification by Faith." Pflug denied some of the powers of the Pope, and tried to explain away the idea of the Mass as a sacrifice, to satisfy the Lutherans, but the seven Sacraments were retained, also the worship of the Virgin and Saints, fasts and processions ; while the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed.

When in this form the Interim was proclaimed as an edict on May 15, 1548, we have a vivid account of the result at Augsburg by an English Ambassador at

the Court of Charles V. The ministers of the city refused to say Mass in their churches :

“ They would rather offend man than God, and were compelled to leave the city, which remained desolate. In most of the shops, people were seen in tears ; a hundred women besieged the Emperor’s gates, howling and asking in their outcries where they should christen their children and where they should marry ? For the churches where the Protestants did by thousands once communicate are locked up, and the people, being robbed of all their godly exercises, sit weeping and wailing at home. . . .”

There was no unanimous approval in the Diet of Augsburg, which had been sitting for some months ; and the College of Princes, after an appeal to the Pope, who replied that “ the Emperor had nothing to do with doctrine,” gave their definite opinion that “ the Interim only applied to Protestant territories.” Charles was most indignant at this attempt to ruin the whole scheme, and he did his utmost to enforce it. The Diet of Augsburg, called the Armed Diet, as Charles had some of his troops with him, lingered on without much result. The spread of Lutheran opinions had been on so great a scale throughout Germany, that if the Emperor had been like Henri IV, without religious scruples, he would have become a Protestant himself. But instead of buying a kingdom with a Mass, he was in effect willing to lose a kingdom for a Mass.

Charles had in his mind another remedy for the troubles of the Empire ; he earnestly desired to form

a league of all the German States, after the fashion of the Swabian League. This had been brought up before the Diet, and all its valuable qualities set forth, but both princes and Electors saw that it would do much to increase the Hapsburg power, and strongly opposed it; the proposal to bring the subject before a committee was rejected and the fate of the proposed League was sealed. But Charles was more fortunate in securing a great improvement in the Imperial Chamber of Justice, by a better code of principles and the choice of judges of high character. Indeed, it has been well said that "once more, after the lapse of centuries, the Emperor reappeared as the fount of German justice." If he had failed in his struggle for religious unity throughout the Empire, at least it must be conceded that he was the only power who honestly worked for conciliation. He had sought as a peacemaker to put an end to the theological discord which had wasted the resources of Germany for a generation. His foes might argue that the motive of Charles was not religion, but universal rule for himself. To this we cannot give a better answer than the words of his minister Granvelle to the Venetian ambassador:

"There are certain ill-disposed persons whose constant talk is that Cæsar is bent on absolutism and the subjugation of Germany; but now all the world will realize that he does not covet the property of others, and that he will not take for himself a morsel of Germany, but will be content with regulating her disorders."

An alliance had already been arranged between Maximilian the eldest son of Ferdinand, and Mary the elder of the Emperor's two daughters, who had been left in Spain. It was now decided that Maximilian should travel to that country to meet his bride, and that the wedding should take place there in order that the young Archduke might remain as Regent of the realm, during the absence of Philip, who was to join his father. On June 11 Maximilian took leave of the Court and set forth on his journey to carry out the arrangements of his father and uncle. The Emperor remained at Augsburg until the recess of the Diet at the end of June, and on July 12 he left on his journey towards the Netherlands, pausing in Bavaria to have some hunting on the way. He ultimately arrived at Louvain on September 16, and was here met and warmly welcomed by his sister Marie, the Governor of the Netherlands. They travelled on together to Brussels, which the Emperor made his head-quarters, and where the Assembly of the States of the Netherlands met on the 25th. This was a very important meeting, for there were matters of great importance to be considered. Early in November Charles had the pleasure of receiving the widowed Queen of France, Eléonore, who from that time took up her abode with her sister Marie, to whom she was devotedly attached.

On November 10, 1549, Paul III died, having at length been persuaded to give a partial assent to the Interim, so that the Roman Catholic princes of Germany could not entirely oppose it. The new Pope Julius III seemed disposed to be friendly to the

Emperor, and it was not long before he promised to allow the Council to meet again at Trent. In point of fact, his chief desire was to have a peaceful time and enjoy his new dignity with a life of ease and pleasure. But this was no easy matter in those troublous days, and he soon found himself involved in the famous war of Parma, which had been seized by the late Pope's grandson Ottavio Farnese, the husband of Marguerite, the Emperor's daughter. Julius had been at first persuaded to acknowledge Ottavio as Duke, but he soon regretted having alienated property which he might have kept for the Papacy, and commanded that Parma should be given up to him under pain of excommunication. As the Pope and the Emperor were then to some extent allies, Ottavio placed himself under the protection of Henri II of France, and then began a long and tedious war, in which Ferrante Gonzaga, Viceroy of Milan, took the lead on the side of the Emperor. The French troops assembled at Mirandola, and Gonzaga seized Brescello near Parma, from the Cardinal d'Este. Giambattista del Monte, the nephew of the Pope, who was in command of the Papal army, was ordered to join forces with Ferrante Gonzaga, against the Duke. But no success was achieved, for meantime Bologna had been attacked by the French, and help having arrived for the Imperial side from Mirandola, the French were compelled to retreat. The whole country had been ravaged to no purpose, as no definite result was obtained for the moment.

Charles himself was chiefly occupied during most of the year 1549 in making a stately tour through the

Netherlands, to introduce his son Philip to the various cities as their future lord, to whom they were called upon to pay homage. In the Itinerary written by the Secretary Vandenesse we have full particulars of the Imperial progress through Louvain, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Dunkirk, St. Omer, Arras, Lille, Valenciennes, and many other places. The young heir was everywhere well received, for under the rule of Charles the trade of the Netherlands flourished, and the wealth of such centres as Antwerp and Amsterdam increased year by year through the connexion with Spain and the Indies. But beneath the surface of this prosperity there were seeds of trouble which were destined to bear fruit in the coming reign of Philip, as religious causes of discord were growing with the increase of Protestant teaching. For the present there was peace under Charles, who had been brought up in the country and was looked upon with affection as a grandson of the beloved Marie of Burgundy. But Philip was a Spaniard and would always be a stranger and out of sympathy with the people of the Netherlands. Marguerite of Austria and her niece Marie were wise and considerate governors in touch with their subjects, but a very different class of rulers was destined to succeed them in the future.

The Imperial progress had ended on September 12, when Prince Philip received the homage of Antwerp, and the Emperor returned to Brussels, where he remained for the winter. At the end of May 1550 "he took leave of Queen Marie, his sister, and left Brussels for Germany to be present at the Diet. The

Emperor, while passing on horseback through the principal square, turned back to take an affectionate leave of the people, giving strong expression to his emotion and sorrow." He travelled by slow degrees onwards to Germany with his son, received with stately hospitality wherever he broke his journey, until he reached Augsburg on August 8, his brother Ferdinand having arrived there before him. Here he had the sorrow of losing his faithful friend and minister, Nicolas Perronet de Granvelle, his companion for so many years. On July 26 the Diet opened, but it cannot be considered of great importance, as it was almost a continuation of the previous "Armed Diet." The long absence of Charles in the Netherlands had not been favourable to his cause; the Roman Catholic Reformation had been a failure, for nobody within the Church wanted to be reformed, and all the vested interests were against it. The Interim was defied on every side; there had been many promises but little performance; in some places, such as Augsburg, riots had broken out; in others, like Strasburg, the clergy had been stoned. The more earnest and zealous Lutheran preachers had fled to Switzerland or England, and there were not enough to take their place amongst those who had accepted the Interim. The proud city of Magdeburg still held out, after having defied the ban of the Empire for two years, and it was not likely that the Diet would prove subservient in the way of money grants, which were absolutely needful for even the defence of Germany.

Another matter which troubled Charles at this

period was the question of the succession to the Empire. At the time when he so generously obtained the election of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans, in the year 1531, his son Philip, born the year of the sack of Rome, was only four years old. But now the situation was changed; and doubts crossed his mind as to whether he had wronged his heir by depriving him of the chance of the Empire. It is possible that he felt it the more strongly at this time, when he had so recently made a triumphal progress through the Netherlands, and had everywhere seen Philip hailed as the future sovereign. He began to have great hopes of his son, who was full of courage and intelligence, and he was tempted to return to his original idea that the whole power of the Hapsburgs should remain in one hand.

He had spoken of this subject to his brother before, but now he made a definite suggestion. This was that the Electors should be persuaded to choose Philip as the successor of Ferdinand. But Charles met with strong and unexpected opposition to this plan, which the King of the Romans looked upon as an unjust robbery from his own brilliant, popular son Maximilian. Ferdinand forgot how much Charles had already done for him and began to complain of various grievances. He had not yet obtained Würtemberg to which he laid claim, and he had not received the help he needed to recover Transylvania. It did not take much to produce a quarrel between two brothers who had not been brought up together as children, and indeed had never met until the arrival of Charles in Spain, when rival politicians had

encouraged jealousy and suspicion between them. It says much in their favour that they had since been such good friends, but now there seemed danger of a great breach in their harmony. The trouble spread to young Maximilian, who was at this time acting as Regent in Spain, and who began to believe that he had been sent away to give Philip a better chance. He was already disappointed that he had not received the Netherlands as a dowry with his cousin Mary, but only the promise of a sum of money which he had not yet obtained. He refused to remain any longer in exile, and we find that, "on the 17th of October 1550, the Cardinal of Trent set out for Genoa to meet the Archduke Maximilian, who was returning *alone* from Spain."¹

The family quarrel was becoming a serious matter, and when Ferdinand wrote Charles an annoying letter, repeating that "he owed more to his soul and his conscience than to his brother," Charles, almost in despair, implored his sister Marie to come and make peace between them. Although tortured with gout, he wrote the following postscript to her with his own hand.

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"Gladly would I have written this whole letter myself. Although I might plead in excuse that much writing is most painful with my gout, I will confess . . . that the strain on my feelings and my reason have been more than I could endure. I

¹ "Itinerary of the Emperor," by Vandenesse.

assure you that never in the past or present have I felt anything so keenly . . . as I have felt and am feeling my brother's behaviour to me. I am most touched and hurt by the fact that, for all his professions, I cannot trace in his face any sign of shame or repentance. It has come to this, that my only refuge is to turn to God, and pray Him to grant Ferdinand good-will and understanding, and to myself strength and patience, in the hope that we may one day be in harmony, and that if your coming does not serve to convert my brother, it may at least serve to counsel and console me in my grief. . . .

“ Your dear brother,

“ CHARLES.”

Marie of Hungary was touched to the heart by this appeal; she was passionately devoted to both her brothers and understood them thoroughly, for while quite agreeing with the arguments of Charles, she could thoroughly sympathize with Ferdinand. The wise sister made peace between them as no one else could have done; and a compromise was settled by which Philip should be succeeded in the Empire by his cousin Maximilian, and they should both be elected at the same time. As it happened, they might have spared their dispute, for nothing would induce the Electors to listen to a plan which would interfere so much with their future liberty. In fact the German princes had only found all their prejudices increased by the arrival of Philip. They saw in him a typical Spaniard, dull, proud, reserved and ungracious in his ways, and the scattered garrisons of

Spanish soldiers in Germany had already taught the people to hate the Spaniards with a deadly hatred.

But in the meantime the brothers had come to an amicable arrangement, and Ferdinand's secret suspicion, that Philip might be placed before him in the succession, was laid to rest, while Charles remained in confident expectation that his wishes would be carried out in the future.

CHAPTER XX

TREACHERY OF MAURICE OF SAXONY—FLIGHT OF CHARLES V

Charles dictates his Memoirs—Treachery of Maurice of Saxony—The Emperor driven to flight from Innsbrück across the Brenner to Carinthia—Treaty of Passau—Battle of Sievershausen—Death of Maurice—War with France—Death of Edward VI, 1553—Charles arranges the marriage of his son Philip with Mary of England, another ambitious Hapsburg alliance.

IN this personal history of the Emperor Charles V, a new light is thrown upon his character by a certain episode of this year 1550. Since the days of his childhood, when he certainly showed no love of study, we have had no occasion to refer to his literary tastes. But in fact, Charles is said to have been an insatiable reader, chiefly of chronicles and romances of chivalry, while he called the "Memoirs of Commines" his breviary. He was also greatly devoted to the Books of the Maccabees, Daniel, and Esdras, and he always travelled with copies of Philo and Josephus.

On his journey from the Netherlands to Augsburg, in the month of June 1550, while sailing slowly up the Rhine, Charles suggested to his faithful attendant and private secretary Guillaume Van de Male, that he would dictate the Memoirs of his life, from the year of his accession to the throne of Castile, 1513,

until the present day. He had "kept notes of all that was worthy of remembrance." During five days, from June 14 to 18, he devoted himself to this work, which he appears to have finished later in the year, during his stay at Augsburg. It is worthy of notice that, in the midst of constant worries and anxieties, while suffering at the same time from ill-health, he should have found relief and interest in this autobiography, which shows his inmost thoughts and impressions, reveals his feelings of indignation towards his rival François I, his opinion on the conduct of Paul III, and other details of his varied life and experience. Perhaps the most interesting pages are those where he gives a full account of his campaigns in 1546 and 1547, dwelling upon the causes of the war, showing his eager spirit and courage, the intense interest and pleasure which he takes in warlike manœuvres, and his ambition to acquire military renown.

To these Memoirs, written at the high-water mark of his success, we have already alluded on various occasions, and shall give later a full account of the manner in which they were entrusted to his son Philip, and the fate which befell them.

As the year 1550 drew towards its close, the supremacy of the Emperor was threatened on every side. He most unwisely attempted to force the Interim on Magdeburg, by a regular siege, and it was still more unfortunate that he should have entrusted Maurice of Saxony with this task. The character of this young prince may be somewhat of an enigma, but there seems little doubt that, as he

had already betrayed his cousin John Frederick, so now on undertaking this siege, it was with a deeply laid plan of treachery towards Charles. He had already shown himself a thoroughly selfish and unscrupulous man, who had sacrificed the Protestant interests for his own purposes, and who would shrink from nothing to satisfy his own secret and ambitious plans. History accuses him of craftily deceiving the Emperor, and while professing loyal service, of acting as his most deadly enemy.

The siege of Magdeburg was allowed to linger on from November 1550 to November 1551, and Maurice took advantage of his commission to spend the Imperial money in collecting strong mercenary forces under his sole authority, while he privately bargained to add the garrison of Magdeburg to his army. He made secret agreements with North German Princes, and on October 5, 1551, he signed a convention with France against the Emperor, whom he was lulling into false security with artful promises. The coming of Henri II of France into the league was a most serious matter, for he was well supplied with money and soldiers. He was at that time cruelly persecuting the French Protestants, so that he could scarcely call it a religious war, but he declared himself the champion of German liberty, and in the Treaty of Chambord, January 1552, he promised a monthly subsidy and an immediate attack upon Lorraine. In return he was promised the Imperial bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun, the keys of Lorraine. This treaty had been signed by Maurice and his allies, William of Hesse and John Albert of Mecklenburg.

Meantime Charles was at Innsbrück, devoting his attention to the Council of Trent, two days' journey distant, which Julius III had summoned on May 1, 1550. The Emperor was extremely anxious to have a large and representative body of Protestant divines, and he sent safe-conducts to a large number in the different States. Melancthon agreed to attend, and travelled as far as Nüremberg, but then changed his mind; other Lutherans were, however, sent by their princes. Many Spanish bishops arrived, the three ecclesiastical Electors from Germany, and several bishops, together with theologians from Louvain University. The Papal Legate and some Italian bishops were there to support the Pope's views, and the Bishop of Verdun from Lorraine, but the French Church was quite unrepresented, as Henri II protested against a Council held in a German city. Probably very few besides Charles expected any satisfactory result in the way of religious peace. One side was dependent for very livelihood on the continuance of old abuses, while the other side insisted upon thorough reform throughout the Church. The Roman party with the Legate at their head privately resolved that nothing should be settled, and by roundabout means they succeeded. We cannot wonder that the Lutherans complained loudly that this was not the open, tolerant Council which they had been promised, and that Charles felt deeply disappointed with both parties.

Before February 1522 the Electors and the Bishops were leaving with various excuses, and on March 5 the Emperor gave permission for the Council to be

suspended for two years, and after some warm debates this was settled, at the very time when the Pope made peace with Ottavio Farnese, who was under the protection of France, and thus became openly hostile to the Empire. Charles was now threatened with dangers on every side, and, beyond a small guard, he was himself absolutely unprotected at Innsbrück, for he had sent away his 3,000 Spanish soldiers; partly to fight the Turks in Hungary, and the rest to help Julius III in the war of Parma.

Still, it cannot be said that he was not warned, for his sister Marie of Hungary had written to him again and again, in the strongest language. She had long been convinced of the treachery of Maurice of Saxony, and as early as October 1551 she had told him of the conspiracy with other German princes and with France; she had implored him not to listen to false excuses; she had insisted that if her brother did not act immediately, he would lose not only Germany, but the Netherlands, and in March 1552 she had finally protested: "This incredulity, this refusal to believe our warnings, may cost you very dear." Ferdinand had also written to express his alarm and suspicion, and by this time the ministers of Charles were becoming awake to the danger. In the letters of the younger Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, to Queen Marie, we learn that Charles was in ill-health at this time, in a state of languor and depression which affected his mind and body.

He had other causes of anxiety besides the trouble in Germany; the rebellion of his son-in-law Ottavio Farnese was a heavy blow, and he was greatly dis-

turbed by the news from England. There was a rumour that the young King Edward VI was to marry the French princess Elisabeth, and the persecution of Mary roused such indignation in her cousin the Emperor, that he would have made war against England in her defence, had it been possible. But all his military power was engaged elsewhere; a war of exhaustion was going on in Transylvania, where Ferdinand could scarcely hold his own. The Sultan had begun to give trouble, for his pirate captains had ravaged the southern coasts, attacked Malta, and carried away the population of Gozo as slaves. Elated with success, they had then sailed on to Africa, and forced the Knights Hospitallers, the sea-guards of Christendom, to capitulate at Tripoli, in August 1551.

Disaster threatened on every side. The widowed Christina of Denmark, the Emperor's niece, had been driven out of Lorraine by the French King, who carried off her young son Charles as a hostage to Paris. Henri II had then proceeded to take Toul and Metz, and marched on to Strassburg, where strong resistance was offered. At the same time, Maurice of Saxony threw off his mask and openly published a manifesto against the Emperor. His ally, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Culmbach, did the same in much stronger language, and after the proclamation of war, the two princes, with an army of 30,000 men, marched upon Augsburg, where they were welcomed by the democracy, while the garrison fled.

With his enemies only two days' journey distant, Charles was at length roused to action. He made up

his mind to escape to the Netherlands on May 6, and left behind a letter to his sister Marie in which he says :

“ The road to the Netherlands is closed for an army, or even for my household. . . . My health is not equal to the journeys I have been wont to take . . . yet as I must either risk great disgrace or great danger, I choose this last, since it is in the hands of God. . . . Thus I have resolved to start to-night for the Netherlands. . . . I would sooner die or suffer captivity in doing my utmost, than live any longer in dishonour. . . . ”

Charles set forth at midnight with only six attendants, but next day he found the road was blocked, his health broke down, and he secretly returned prepared to face the worst. However, on the evening of May 19, news reached him that the pass at Ehrenberg, his last defence, had been taken by storm, for the men had scrambled over the rocks commanding the blockhouses “ like so many chamois.” But a mutiny in the Elector’s camp gave Charles a few hours’ start, and he fled from Innsbrück, in the company of John Frederick of Saxony, to whom he gave his freedom. They fled across the Brenner in driving rain and snow, the Emperor being carried in a litter. The torches were blown out by the gale, the little party was utterly exhausted, and some of the baggage mules were lost. At length they arrived at Bruneck, where the inn was short of food, and with great efforts reached Villach in Carinthia, where for the moment the fugitives were safe from pursuit. It was indeed

an ignominious flight for the great Emperor so lately the arbitrator of Europe, thus barely to escape from a young Elector of his own making at the head of an insignificant army.

The Council of Trent was broken up in alarm, the Fathers of the Church declining, as they said, to argue on questions of religion with armed soldiers. An engagement had already been made with Ferdinand for a congress with the German princes, and they met at Passau from May 26 to August 2. The chief articles of the treaty, to which Charles felt compelled to agree, were :

“That a Diet should be held to settle religious disputes within six months, and meantime both sides should agree not to interfere with each other’s religion; the admission of Protestants as members of the Imperial Chamber, the security of the Protestants to be provided for, and both parties to forgive injuries done in the war.”

Charles was now thoroughly roused, and in a fine warlike temper he set forth in defence of Lorraine, while Maurice consented to join the army of Ferdinand in defence of Hungary.

The Emperor had at once prepared for war with the greatest vigour; he sent orders to Philip for men and money from Spain, Marie sent all she could raise in the Netherlands, and, now that the war of Parma was over, there were the Italian forces at his disposal. As his army gathered round him, he became once more the eager-spirited general, and decided to advance at once, although it was already October,

and to besiege Metz, the key of Champagne and Lorraine.

All this time Albert Alcibiades had been ravaging the country on his own account with 20,000 lawless soldiers, until he had become a danger alike to friend and foe and was put under the ban. But Charles thought it a pity to waste good fighting material, and he accepted the advances of Albert, who had been refused as an ally by the French. There may have been good military reasons to welcome an addition to his forces, but this alliance with a wild freebooter was a serious political mistake, which alienated the best of the German princes.

Charles was keenly aware of the false position in which he had placed himself, for he thus laments in a letter to his sister: "God knows what I feel at finding myself brought so low as to treat with the said Marquis, as I am now doing; but necessity knows no law." Albert Alcibiades appears to have been a typical Hohenzollern, it is curious to note: "the most unscrupulous robber that recent German history had known."¹ His troops were certainly useful in the siege of Metz, but the city was so ably defended with an inner line of earthworks, that the Emperor could not induce his men to storm the place. The weather was terribly cold and wet there in the swamps of the Moselle, and the soldiers died of sickness and famine, until at length by New Year's Day the siege was raised in time to prevent a fresh attack from the invading French army. After this failure, which was very bitter to him, the Emperor's health

¹ Armstrong.

failed, and it seemed as though his fighting days were over. But in April fortune smiled upon him once more and he was fortunate enough to take the city of T rouenne on June 6, a gem in the crown of France, by a sudden and brilliant feat of arms.

The next success in this campaign of 1553 was in August, when the gallant young Emanuel Philibert of Savoy took the city of Hesdin, and captured the old enemy of Charles, Robert de la Marck, who had so long opposed him. The French King now thought it time to invade the Netherlands in person, and marched upon Cambray, when Charles, notwithstanding his ill-health, set out from Brussels to join his army, and was in sight of Mons and the French army, when Henri II retreated, and soon after the two armies were, in the usual way, disbanded for the winter.

The Emperor soon had good reason to regret his alliance with Albert Alcibiades, who now returned to his brigand habits, carrying fire and sword through the Franconian cities, the sees of Wurzburg and Bamberg, and the people of N uremberg. His robber warfare had made him enemies on every side, who now turned against him, and he was thoroughly defeated in the battle of Sievershausen on June 9, 1553. Here Maurice of Saxony, who led the attacking forces, was killed; and after all the trouble he had himself given, we are surprised to hear that he was only thirty-two. Albert fled to France, and ultimately died in exile in 1557. We thus take leave of two notorious characters in the history of Germany. But the death of Maurice did not restore John

Frederick of Saxony to his rights, for the Saxon Electorate passed to Augustus, the brother of Maurice, and the rightful lord, who had been so unjustly treated, died within the year, of grief and disappointment. Of him Roger Ascham writes, that "he was one in all fortunes desired of his friends, revered of his foes, favoured of the Emperor, loved of all." And another writer proclaims him as "the example of constancy and very mirror of true magnanimity in these our days to all princes."

The next event of importance in 1553 was the death of Edward VI, on July 6, and for a brief period the succession seemed in doubt. But Charles had every confidence in the triumph of his cousin Mary, and he at once grasped the idea of another splendid Hapsburg marriage: his son Philip should marry the Queen of England. He was reminded that he had been betrothed to her himself in 1521, and it was suggested that as the Princess was now thirty-seven years of age she would be a more suitable wife for himself than for Philip, who was only six-and-twenty. But the Emperor had resolved never to marry again, and he wrote to his ambassador in England:

"If we were of suitable age and health, and we thought it would be to her advantage, there is no alliance in the world that we should prefer to a marriage with the Queen. Our health, however, is such . . . that it would seem a very poor compliment to offer our own person. . . . You know, moreover, the resolve which we long ago formed to remain in our present condition. . . ."

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After the death of his beloved Isabel, he had vowed never to marry again.

It is true that arrangements were already being made for a marriage of his son with another younger cousin, Maria of Portugal, the daughter of Queen Eléonore, but her brother John III had delayed it, not to lose her immense dowry from Portugal. This was now set aside, and, in order not to lose the close alliance with Portugal, Charles offered his younger daughter Juana as a bride for Prince Juan, the eldest son of King João III of Portugal, who had married Catalina, the youngest sister of the Emperor. This marriage took place, but the young princess had but a brief taste of wedded life, for her husband died within a year, and when Juana had given birth to her son Sebastian, now heir to the throne of Portugal, the young widow left him to the care of his grandparents, and hastened back to Spain, the old home on which all her affections were fixed. She was passionately devoted to her father, and also to his unhappy mother Juana, whom she constantly visited and watched over with affectionate sympathy to the end. We shall find her later taking up the responsibility of Regent of Spain, during the foreign visits of her brother Philip, after her father's abdication.

Charles thoroughly understood that there would be opposition in England to the Spanish marriage, chiefly amongst the Protestants. He wrote most interesting letters of advice to Mary at this critical moment. He advised her to appeal to her people, in a full and free Parliament, and she must show her tolerance to contradict the plea of her enemies that

“ true religion was at stake.” Above all he advised her to be “ une bonne Anglaise,” and show her patriotism, and he wished her to be very cautious in making changes in favour of the Catholic Church. Any untimely zeal and severity would be most dangerous for the popularity of the marriage. The great point which the Emperor pressed was the very important advantage of a close connection between England and the Netherlands, whose commerce was so valuable. He even suggested to his son that an arrangement might be made for an heir of Philip and Mary to inherit England and the Netherlands, while Don Carlos, the son of his first marriage, might have the Spanish and Italian possessions.

The wedding ceremony took place, after all the negotiations were ended, in July 1554, at the Cathedral Church of Winchester; and when it was concluded, proclamation was made of the future titles of Philip and his bride: “ King and Queen of England, France, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Castile, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders and the Tyrol, etc.”

In the marriage treaty Philip had agreed to every suggestion made by the English Parliament, and it was solemnly sworn that no foreigner should interfere in the government of England. On the part of Philip, it was of course no marriage of inclination, but one solely of policy and ambition to which he sacrificed his own personal feelings. But to Charles it was a matter of deep satisfaction, as in a way a method of atonement for his having been able to

accomplish so little on behalf of his unfortunate aunt Queen Katharine, for whom his sympathy and affection had passed on to her daughter Mary. The gloom which hangs over the future of this ill-fated marriage is more one of personality than of circumstance, when we consider the respective characters of both Philip and Mary.

CHAPTER XXI

DIET OF AUGSBURG—ABDICATION OF CHARLES V

Diet of Augsburg, 1555—Inconclusive and unsatisfactory religious peace—Death of Julius III—Pope Paul IV makes a League with France—Fortune of war with Charles V, who takes Picardy and makes peace with Henri II—Conquest of Guelders—Death of Queen Juana—Charles goes through a solemn abdication of the Netherlands on behalf of his son, October 22, 1555—He also resigns the Grand-Mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, to Philip.

THE Diet of Augsburg which, after many delays, was at length opened by Ferdinand on February 5, 1555, marked alike the failure of the policy of conciliation and the close of the actual reign of Charles in Germany. Conscious of personal failure in spite of his high ideals, and suffering from increasing ill-health, he had placed the responsibility of this Diet upon his brother, as though he felt the sceptre already drop from his hand. In the long Conference which followed, the main principle was to demand religious peace at any price. But the Lutherans, who were in strong force, insisted upon too much, for they wished complete toleration and every legal obstacle to the spread of their doctrine to be removed, while they would allow no such privileges to Catholics in Lutheran territories. To this their opponents would not consent, and the



ELÉONORE OF AUSTRIA, SISTER OF CHARLES V.

Musée Condi, Chantilly.

struggle continued for months. It was suggested that each secular Prince should choose his own religion, and his decision was to bind all his subjects. In the end peace was granted, with various reservations, and was to be permanent. But in reality, only a truce was concluded, because both sides were tired of fighting, and the so-called Peace of Augsburg published at the end of the Diet, September 25, 1555, rested on false grounds, although this futile conclusion after forty years of conflict has been spoken of, with some foundation, as the "birth of religious liberty."

The whole Council had been like a bad dream to the Papacy. Julius III died while it was sitting, in March 1555, when all his thoughts were engaged in adding fresh beauties to his *Villa di Papa Giulio*, near the Porta del Popolo, by which he is chiefly remembered. His successor, Marcello II, was a Pope of blameless life, and zealous for reform, but he only lived three weeks after his election, and was followed by the stern Caraffa, Paul IV, who at once showed himself the ruthless foe of the Emperor. The new Pope had in his earlier days been a member of the famous "Oratory of Divine Love," a company of pious men, many of them of advanced religious views. He now looked with suspicion on all his old companions, and by his means most of them were brought under the ban of the Inquisition, a tragic roll-call of noble and devoted men.¹

The fierce and resolute old Pope—he was seventy-nine at his election—now at once made a league with

¹ See "Men and Women of the Italian Reformation," Christopher Hare.

France in order to drive out Charles from Naples and Milan, and to deprive the Emperor's ally, Duke Cosimo dei Medici, of Florence and its territories. But the Imperial position in Italy had been greatly strengthened by the capture of Siena after its long and heroic defence, although a few of its defenders with some of the French garrison still held the hill city of Montalcino. The fortune of war was also on the side of Charles in the fight for Corsica, where the French were defeated by the gallant Andrea Doria and his Genoese fleet, supported by Spanish troops.

All these successes prepared the way for peace with France, which would make it possible for the Emperor to carry out his long-desired plan of abdication. Born at the beginning of the century, February 24, 1500, Charles had endured the heavy burden of empire from his early years—we can scarcely call it his childhood, for in fact he never had one. From the time of his father's death, which made him nominal King of Spain, as a boy of barely seven years old, he had attended every Council of State, and had been strictly trained for his high position. His reign had been one long struggle to carry on the dynastic policy of his race; and having accomplished all that was in his power, his desire was now to consolidate his possessions and to ensure their continuance to his heir. There still remained certain tasks before him, of which the most pressing was to check the aggressions of the new Pope against his friends, for Paul IV had inexcusably taken possession of the Colonna dominions. He wrote to his am-

bassador at Venice that he had sent an ambassador to His Holiness, to point out, "with all gentleness and humility," the bitter complaints which he had to make. He could not allow his allies and subjects to be oppressed, and "if the furious behaviour of His Holiness is continued, we shall hold ourselves free towards God and the world, and not responsible for the misfortunes which may follow."

One supreme satisfaction remained to Charles, that he had been able to close his military career with some measure of personal triumph and success. The last time he was in the field, when the French were advancing on Namur, the Emperor, refusing to listen to any cautious advice, led his army at the utmost risk to defend this important place. Sir John Mason, the English envoy, wrote that he showed the same reckless courage which he had done in Algiers and elsewhere, and then the envoy became eloquent on "the courage and skilfulness of Charles V in entering Namur, a town of no great strength but most important for checking the enemy's advance, against the advice and persuasion of all his captains." On that occasion, Henri II, finding his advance checked, hastily retreated, leaving Picardy in the hands of his enemies.

Another event of importance had occurred which finally left Charles free to carry out his purpose of abdication. On April 13 of this year 1555, the unfortunate Queen Juana, his mother, had passed away at Tordesillas, after her long widowhood and sad affliction of forty-nine years. Her youngest daughter Catalina had been her constant companion

until, at the age of seventeen, the princess was married to João III King of Portugal, in 1524. In later years, her granddaughter Juana, the younger daughter of Charles V, showed great kindness and affection for the afflicted Queen, until, by a curious coincidence, she too was snatched away by a Portuguese marriage with Don Juan, the only surviving son of Catalina. But after barely a year of married life, the young Juana returned to Spain, leaving her infant son, born a fortnight after his father's death, to the care of her aunt Catalina. She was thus able to watch over the last months of her grandmother's life, and by her loving care, the Padre Borja, a devoted priest and friend of Charles V, was able to soothe and comfort the dying Queen, who passed away in her right mind, full of hope and peaceful confidence in her God.

This happy end was a great comfort to Charles, who had been much troubled by his mother's unhappy state and her repugnance to all religious feeling when in her fits of mania and despondency. He had always been full of care and affection for her, as we see by the many letters preserved¹; he paid her frequent visits when in Spain, and always went to see her before leaving the country and immediately after his return. After his mother's death, he wore mourning until the end of his life.

As it was in the Netherlands that Charles began his reign, it was there that he took the first step towards ending it. It was the land of his birth and of all his early memories, and of his vast dominions

¹ "Vita de Juana la Loca," Rodriguez Villa.

it was the one which had proved most loyal to him. The Low Countries had been well and wisely governed under the rule, first of his aunt Marguerite, then of his sister Marie, both of whom were of the same nationality as the people and full of sympathy and understanding for their wants. Thus in time of war with France, knowing the absolute importance of peace for their fisheries and their trade, they had often been able to arrange a separate truce. As King of Spain and lord of the Indies, Charles had been able to give great assistance to their foreign commerce, and it was in his reign that Antwerp rose to the first rank as a trading city. She may almost be said to have taken the place of Venice as Queen of the sea.

Another point for which the Emperor deserved the gratitude of the Netherlands was that he succeeded in obtaining for them internal peace in the place of constant and harassing civil war. The greatest offender was Charles of Egmond, Duke of Guelders, whose constant aggressions made the life of the Regent Marguerite a burden to her, as we have already seen in the constantly repeated complaints in her letters. Charles of Egmond was irrepressible to the last, for he could be bound by no treaty, and when his end was drawing near he conceived the desperate plan of leaving his estates to France. But the Estates declared against this treachery, and when the old Duke died in 1558 they elected the heir of the Duke of Cleves. We wonder whether Charles of Egmond ever remembered those far other days, when he was present at the wedding of Maximilian with Marie of Burgundy, 1477, where he and his sister

carried torches before the bride. It was when the young prince fought under Maximilian that he was taken prisoner by the French King and lured away from his allegiance, to a lifetime of rebellion.

The newly elected lord of Guelders, William the brother of Henry VIII's Queen Anne of Cleves, did not long keep the duchy to which Charles had a lawful claim, and his sister the Regent Marie implored him to assert it at once. The Emperor temporized for a time and then tried to press his rights by diplomacy ; but William of Cleves disregarded the Treaty of Gorkum which gave Charles as Duke of Brabant the reversion of Guelders and Zutphen and persisted in his usurpation with help from the French. However, he was utterly defeated in 1543, and the disputed provinces became part of the Netherlands, completing the full number of seventeen provinces, some purchased and others conquered, but now one compact whole. Thus was peace assured under one ruler, and an end of destructive civil war, although one source of discord was not entirely removed. We have not space to dwell upon the great ecclesiastical territories, ruled by their rich fighting Bishops, who were capable of disturbing the peace of the land. To some extent they were remodelled by the Emperor, but, in so far as he failed to carry out his designs there remained dark forebodings of religious strife in the days to come.

It was only in the Netherlands that Charles went through a solemn formal abdication. On October 22, 1555, he made his first renunciation by resigning the Grand-Mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The most illustrious of the knights of that Order being assembled, he bestowed the insignia and the power of the Grand Master on his son Philip, saying to him: "I now make you chief and sovereign of the most noble Order of the Fleece of Gold; keep it and maintain it in dignity and honour, even as I, my father, and my ancestors have kept and maintained it. May God give you grace to do so in all increase and prosperity!" He then called upon the knights to serve his son faithfully, and on his son to love and honour the knights who had been the valiant companions of his wars, the steadfast support of his States, and to whom he bore a singular affection on account of the zealous assistance he had ever received from them in all his need and perils. . . .

Three days later, the knights of the Golden Fleece, the ambassadors, and a company of other important nobles assembled in the great hall of Brussels, hung with the famous tapestries of Gideon, which was filled in the background by the deputies of the Province in serried rows, to the number of a thousand. Here the Emperor arrived with his sister Queen Marie, and his son, followed by Eléonore, Queen of France, Christina of Lorraine, the Duchess of Savoy, and the Prince of Orange, and they took their seats under a lofty dais on the western side of the stately hall.

After a speech of introduction by the Privy Councillor, there was breathless silence until Charles addressed the great assembly, speaking from his notes, as he stood before them leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange. He told how forty years

before, in this very hall, the Emperor Maximilian his grandfather had declared his minority at an end when he had reached the age of fifteen. The next year, King Ferdinand had died, the father of his dearly-loved mother, and she, being by her infirmity unable to rule by herself, he had been obliged to go to Spain to help her. Soon after, his grandfather Maximilian also passed from this life, and he became a candidate for the Empire, not from ambition, but in the interests of his dominions, and in order to devote all his strength to the defence of Christendom against the Turk, and the growth of the Christian religion. . . .

“ My life has been one long voyage. Nine times have I been to Germany, six times to my Spanish realm, seven times to Italy, and the Netherlands I have visited ten times ; four times have I entered France, twice have I crossed over to England, and again twice to Africa ; and in order to accomplish all this, my navies have taken me eight times across the Mediterranean and three times across the Ocean. . . . This time will be the fourth voyage, to end my days in Spain. . . .”

Then he went on to speak of the great anxieties of his reign, of all the wars in which he had taken part, alluding with a touch of pride to his final success in Picardy. He spoke of his failing health, he was weary of the heavy burden of Empire, and his son had now reached man's estate.

“ I commend him to you ; render to him the love

and obedience which you have always shown towards me. . . . Be ever united amongst yourselves, uphold justice and maintain the laws. . . . I may have made mistakes in my government . . . but I dare affirm that never with my consent has any wrong been done to any of my subjects. If any one can justly complain of having suffered, I bear witness that it has been without my knowledge, I declare before all the world that I regret it from the bottom of my heart, and I implore those present, as well as those who are absent, to forgive me.”

The Emperor next turned towards his son with great tenderness, and called upon him to defend the faith of his ancestors and to rule his subjects in peace and justice. Then no longer able to stand from fatigue, his voice trembling with emotion, he sank back on his seat. He had been listened to in deathlike silence, hiding a depth of emotion which broke forth as the speech came to an end. We are told by one who was present on this solemn occasion that “the hearts of all were touched by the words of the Emperor; many wept and others sobbed aloud, while the prevailing deep feeling was shared by the sisters of the Emperor and those around him, while for myself, my face was bathed with tears.”

After the Pensionary of Antwerp had made a speech on behalf of the Estates, expressing their grief at losing a prince so much endeared to them, Philip knelt before his father, declaring himself unworthy of so great an honour. He then received the investiture in due form, and the Bishop of Arras

addressed the great company present on behalf of Philip, whose knowledge of French was not good enough to do so himself. It next came to the turn of Marie, Queen of Hungary and Regent of the Netherlands, to announce her resignation of the high office which she had held for nearly twenty-five years, since the death of her aunt Marguerite. Her brother Charles spoke once more to thank her warmly for her valuable services, which he deeply regretted that she should feel called upon to resign. The Pensionary replied with high praise, and expressed the feeling of love and gratitude which her people had felt for her. The meeting was then closed.

The solemn transmission of the Netherlands from Charles V to his son Philip II was completed the next day by a written agreement, signed by the hand of the Emperor and made known to all the provinces. At the same time and in the same hall, all the deputies swore allegiance to their new King, who also on his side vowed faithfully to observe their laws, to respect their customs, and to maintain their privileges. He also appointed as their Governor his cousin Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy. No one could foresee that ten years later Philip would break away from his father's principles of government, in a manner so tragic for his subjects in the Netherlands and so disastrous for himself.

The abdication of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté was followed a few months later by other resignations, carried out more simply and with less pomp. On January 16, 1556, the Emperor gave up the Kingdoms of Castile, of Aragon, of Sicily and all

their dependencies, to Prince Philip, who received them with much the same formula as the first gift. All the documents concerning these resignations were drawn up with the most minute care, and signed by all the representatives of the countries concerned, and the same motives were given as in the case of the Netherlands. In the solemn deed, amongst other things, Charles declares that—

“ As a King who recognizes no temporal superior, and who anticipates his death, I renounce in favour of you my eldest son the Kingdoms and Lordships of Castile and Leon, of Granada and Navarre, of the Indies, of the islands and Terra-Firma of the Ocean ; also the Grand-Masterships of Santiago, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara, of which we have the perpetual administration, by virtue of Apostolic authority. . . .”

This deed of gift was made known at once to all the countries concerned, for the Emperor wrote to all the prelates and all the nobles, and gave command that in all the cities flags should fly and all solemnities be carried out as when a new sovereign is proclaimed. He also sent word to his daughter the Infanta Juana, who was confirmed in the regency of Philip, that she should see to the proclamation being everywhere made. We have an account of the proceedings in Valladolid where the Infant Don Carlos, aged eleven, preceded by the King-at-arms, and followed by all the members of the Councils, himself inaugurated the sovereign authority of his father. On a great raised platform, in the Plaza of Valladolid, he unfurled the

royal standard, and raised it with his childish hand with the help of his tutor and his majordomo, while the people joined in the national cry: "Castile! Castile for King Philip our lord!"

After his abdication of Spain, the Emperor wrote a touching letter to his old friend Andrea Doria, the sea lord of Genoa and the Mediterranean. He deeply regretted not being able to meet him once more, and begged him to serve Philip with the same courage and devotion as he had shown to himself. He also repeated the assurance of his warm friendship and gratitude for the past, and expressed earnest wishes for his health and happiness. Charles never forgot any of his old friends, and at this solemn moment of his fate he sent for Ferrante Gonzaga to take leave of him, as well as other devoted servants of the Empire, to whom he was deeply attached.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LAST JOURNEY OF CHARLES V

Last days of the Emperor in Brussels—He takes leave of his daughter Marie and her husband Maximilian—He selects his suite for Yuste: Luis de Quijada, Guillaume Van Male, Doctor Mathys, and others—His final parting from his son Philip at Ghent—Charles takes his last journey to Spain, where his sisters Eléonore and Marie follow him—He visits his daughter Juana at Valladolid and travels on to Jarandilla in the Valley of Plasencia, where he spends the winter.

WHEN Charles had resolved to carry out his design of abdication, he left the royal palace of Brussels, in order to take up his abode in a small house in the park of Brussels, then an outlying part of the wild forest of Soigne, where he had spent much of his childhood, and which was full of memories for him; now a kind of half-way dwelling between a palace and a monastery. This pavilion consisted of only one story and a few rooms and stood near the Louvain-gate, where the national palace of Belgium has since been built. Here the Emperor lived for some months, engaged in making his final arrangements, and suffering much from ill-health. It was here that the Emperor received the French envoys, amongst whom was the Admiral de Coligny, to witness the ratification

of the Truce of Vaucelles, in his character as Emperor, a dignity which he had not yet resigned. The French ambassador found him in a room hung with black, wearing a citizen's gown of black serge, and sitting at his writing-table, in the midst of the most simple surroundings. He was in mourning for his mother, and everything around him was of the same sombre hue.

When the French King's letter was given to him, it was with great difficulty that Charles managed to break the seal with his fingers distorted by gout. Turning to the Admiral with a pathetic smile, he said: "What will you think of me? Am I not a gallant knight to break a lance, I who can scarcely break open a letter." In this truce the Emperor had taken the greatest interest, as he trusted that it would be an important step towards leaving his dominions as a peaceful inheritance to his son.

Charles was still Emperor, for both Ferdinand and his sister Marie had implored him to wait for his resignation until a suitable moment when Ferdinand could ensure his succession. The journey to Spain appears to have been delayed partly on this account and also from reasons of ill-health. Charles was careful to give Ferdinand all his imperial authority, although the final resignation was not carried until a short time before his death. It was the fiery, passionate old Pope, Paul IV, who gave the most trouble at this time. He had such an exaggerated idea of his Papal authority that he declared he had the right to depose any sovereign in Europe, and his abuse of the Emperor was more virulent than any Lutheran had ever

dreamt of. Unfortunately, Paul did not confine himself to words, but used his utmost efforts to drive the Spaniards out of Italy which he once more made a battlefield.

Charles was disappointed in his hope of a personal farewell from his brother Ferdinand, to whom he wrote most affectionate letters, but who was unable to leave his complicated duties in Germany. However, the Emperor was cheered by the coming of his nephew Maximilian and his daughter Mary, who came to Brussels and spent a fortnight with him. His next step, in preparation for his departure, was to select a certain number of his most devoted friends and attendants to share his seclusion. The most important was Luis de Quijada, his Chamberlain, who had been his close companion for thirty-four years, having come to him as a young page, and having followed him in all his wars, where he had fought bravely by his master's side. It is from his constant letters and memoirs that we have the fullest and most trustworthy account of the last years of Charles. This faithful and devoted Castilian, who had at once the greatest admiration and the most profound attachment for Charles, was to be the head of the little colony at Yuste, where it was his task to preserve the etiquette of a Court with the discipline of a regiment.

We have already had occasion to allude to Van Male, who had the privilege of writing down from dictation the Emperor's Memoirs, during that memorable voyage on the Rhine. Van Male had entered his service in 1550, as attendant, and from

that time became absolutely indispensable to his master, by his keen intelligence as well as his untiring devotion. He seems never to have left Charles by night or day, he read aloud to him during the long sleepless hours, and was always ready to listen to his memories of the past and his wishes for the present. At Yuste his services were not only comforting, but indispensable.

The Emperor took with him a young doctor, Henri Mathys, an intelligent and pleasant companion, and also a distinguished Italian mechanic, Giovanni Torriano, as head clockmaker, with assistants under him. These are some of the most interesting members of the selected suite. A certain number of nobles, who were intimate friends, were to accompany the Emperor as far as the monastery of Yuste.

It was not until August 8, 1556, that Charles at last set forth from Brussels, with his son Philip, who accompanied him as far as Ghent and there took leave of him—for ever. He then travelled on with his two sisters, Eléonore of France and Marie of Hungary, who were now inseparable and who had decided to follow, into his last seclusion, the brother to whom they were so devoted. Passing down the canal from Ghent they reached the sea where a fleet of fifty-six ships awaited them. On September 17 Charles sailed from Flushing on his last voyage. His ship was the *Bertendona*, and his sisters followed with their suite in the *Faucon*. An English fleet joined them near Portland and escorted them as far as the coast of Brittany, from whence they had a good voyage to the port of Laredo. The imperial

cabins appear to have been built on deck, and the bed was hung from the ceiling to be independent of the waves. The Emperor seems to have arrived at Laredo before he was expected, and the necessary arrangements for his reception were not ready; but as soon as the news reached the Princess Juana, she hastened to send the sums required for the payment of the fleet, and provisions of all sorts for her father's table.

It was a slow and tedious journey, as the Emperor could only travel by easy stages, on account of his health. On the level ground he was carried in a horse-litter, but when he had to cross the mountain path of the great Sierra which divides the woods and pastures of Biscay from the broad plains of Old Castile, he was borne by two men in a chair. By his side rode Luis Quijada, on whose care the arrangements for this difficult journey all depended. The rest of his attendants followed on horseback, while the two Queens, his sisters, travelled also in horse-litters a day's journey behind, as it would have been impossible to find night accommodation for so large a party together. On the fourth day Charles reached Medina de Pomar on the southern slope of the mountains, and here he rested for a day. In the minute account which we have of this journey it is curious to note that almost everywhere Charles was met with a plentiful supply of choice provisions. This was an attention which he thoroughly appreciated, for he was a true Fleming and had the appetite of his country and also of his period, as those who have studied the bills of fare of Tudor sovereigns will appreciate. In

the Emperor's case, this taste for good living was most unfortunate, with his hereditary disposition to gout.

In spite of the Emperor's wish for a quiet journey, here at Medina, as later at Burgos and Valladolid, the nobles and councillors crowded to do him homage. He continued his journey across a bleak table-land for several days, until he reached the undulating heaths and oak-woods which led to the ancient city of Burgos. Here the Constable of Castile met the Imperial party with hospitable offers, and the cathedral bells rang a peal of welcome, while the two days spent at Burgos were like a perpetual levée of noble visitors.

It was October 16 when Charles set forth on his way, first along a deep valley by the right bank of the river Arlanzon, whose broad shallows often spread across the road. Passing onwards through the vineyards and orchards of Torquemada, he took six days of short journeys to reach Valladolid, the prosperous capital of the Spanish realm, where he was received in the court of the splendid palace by his daughter Juana, the Regent, and his grandson, Don Carlos, a boy of eleven, whom he had never met before this coming to Spain. It is interesting to note that Charles does not seem to have been favourably impressed by the boy, who soon revealed the sullen and passionate temper which kept him in constant rebellion against his aunt Juana. She had found it impossible to control his mischievous and cruel tastes, and it was already feared that he had inherited the mental tendencies which cast so deep a shadow

over the life of Queen Juana the mother of the Emperor. It was at this time that Charles remarked to his sister Eléonore: "It seems to me that he is very excited; his face and his temper do not please me, and I do not know what he may become in time." This seems almost a premonition of the unfortunate boy's tragic fate.

At Valladolid, amongst his many visitors, Charles specially welcomed the Prior of Yuste, and the General of the Order of St. Jerome, Fray Franciscò de Tofiño, with whom he made thoughtful arrangements about the music of his chapel. Tofiño had specially chosen, amongst all the monasteries of his Order, monks who were most distinguished by their beautiful voices in order that they might form part of his choir at Yuste. The Emperor had always been a passionate lover of music and in all his journeys he was always accompanied by his choristers and their organ, which was even taken on the Tunis expedition. We are told that he could always detect a false note among his singers, and he was so accomplished a musician that he was able to point out plagiarisms in a Mass composed for him. This love of music was always a great bond of sympathy between himself and his elder sister.

During the fortnight which he spent at Valladolid, Charles had long and serious conversations with his daughter the Regent, on the affairs of the kingdom. He wished to give her the benefit of his parting advice, so he said—but, in point of fact, he continued to take the deepest interest in all that happened, and every post brought despatches from him at Yuste

with more words of counsel, so long as he was able to dictate them. He was a very good judge of character, and he could not have chosen a better head of the government than Juana, during her brother's absence. After her brief married life of only thirteen months and her sad widowhood, she had vowed never to marry again, and had left her infant son Sebastian, who as presumptive heir could not leave Portugal, to obey her father's request. Her Court was governed with a monastic spirit; she did not encourage marriage amongst her ladies, but was willing that they should enter the convent *la Scala Cœli* of *Abrojo*, where she was wont herself to retire at intervals for prayer and meditation, until after her father's death, at the age of twenty-three, she was able to found a religious House of her own.

It was as late in the year as November 4 when the Emperor left Valladolid after taking an affectionate farewell of his daughter, and of his sisters who were to follow him later. By slow marches, he arrived on the 11th at the little village of *Tornavacas*, at the foot of a narrow pass which led over the mountain to the *Vera de Plasencia*; this he decided to cross the next morning, rather than take a round of four days' journey by the road to Plasencia. It was a rough, difficult climb, and seemed almost impossible for an invalid, for the rocky path was torn up by mountain torrents; there were deep crevasses and very sharp ascents. But Charles persisted; a number of peasants from the valley were sent on with picks and shovels to smooth the way, while the bearers took it by turns to carry him in a climbing chair or on their shoulders.

The faithful Quijada was by the Emperor's side, never leaving him while he directed the operations.

At length the summit was reached from whence the glorious view of the Vera de Plasencia was outspread before him, on which he gazed for a while in silence, then turning towards the gorge which he had just ascended, he said : " Non pasaré ya otro en mi vida, sino el de la muerte." (" I shall not cross another pass, save that of death.")

The downward path was easier than the climb uphill, and Charles arrived in good time at Jarandilla below in the valley, where he took up his abode in the country house of the Count of Oropesa, until such time as his own dwelling at Yuste would be ready for him. His room had a sunny aspect opening on a covered gallery, where he spent much of his time, as he had a pleasant and extensive view of fruit trees and undulating green meadows, while immediately below him was a garden planted with orange and lemon trees, and full of flowers. It was now the middle of November and the weather soon became cold and stormy, the rain falling all day long, and Yuste on its wooded hill-side seemed to be always shrouded in a thick damp mist. His attendants began to be very gloomy, as they were sure the damp and constant mist could not possibly suit their master. Quijada wrote to the Regent that there fell more rain in an hour in that valley, than in a whole day at Valladolid. The sisters of Charles became anxious about his choice of an abode, but Charles would listen to no complaints. He had chosen the Monastery of Yuste and there he would go. Still, for

one reason or another—his ill-health, and the slowness with which his new dwelling progressed—he remained, in fact, three months at Jarandilla.

During this time he watched the course of events in Flanders and in Italy with the greatest interest. So fierce was the old Pope's hatred of Spanish rule, that he actually invited the Turks to land in Sicily, while he lured the French across the Alps by the most tempting hopes of Naples and Milan. Philip II at once took strong measures and gave the military command of the Netherlands to the gallant young Duke Emanuel of Savoy, who was already the civil governor. The Duke of Alva was placed at the head of the army of Naples, full of fierce resolution to win back the laurels which he had lost before Metz. Despatches arrived almost every day to Jarandilla, but meantime Charles had also other matters to engage his attention.

His sister Eléonore, when she had left Portugal after the death of her husband, had not been allowed to take her young daughter Maria with her, as it was not the etiquette for an unmarried Infanta to leave the land of her birth. This had always been a great sorrow to Eléonore, who, as Queen of France, had found it impossible to go to Portugal to see her daughter and had vainly tried to arrange a marriage for her. King João III, the half-brother of Maria, put every difficulty in the way of her passing within her mother's influence, as he wished to keep control of her large dowry, and all the Emperor's negotiations on behalf of his sister Eléonore failed for the time.

During the three winter months, from the beginning

of November, Charles remained at Jarandilla, in constant expectation that his new abode at Yuste, adjoining the Monastery, would be ready for him. Here he received many visitors, but none were so welcome to him as his old friend the Duke of Gandia, who had joined the new Society of the Jesuits and was now known as Fray Francesco de Borja. A man of high character and reputation, he had distinguished himself in the highest positions of State as Viceroy of Catalonia, and other great offices, and was also an accomplished scholar and a famous soldier. But the pleasures and honours of the world had early lost their attraction for him, and after his wife's death he obtained the Emperor's permission to resign his high position and devote himself to a life of piety. So great was his passionate devotion to the welfare of the poor and afflicted, and so marvellous the charm of his eloquent preaching, that he was looked upon as another St. Francis.

He knew that his old friend the Emperor had not approved of his joining the Society of Jesuits, looking upon it as a new and untried Order ; but that was in fact the reason why Fray Borja had chosen it, out of humility, little foreseeing its future power and greatness. It was a striking meeting at Jarandilla of these two old friends who, from different reasons, had given up the world and its attractions. They had a long and interesting conversation, and Charles reminded his companion that he was one of the first to hear of his intention of retiring to Yuste, as long ago as the year 1542. For three days Fray Borja remained with the Emperor and he departed with

great regret, promising to visit his lord again at any time his counsels were needed. He was able later to undertake important missions both for Charles and for his two sisters ; his last visit to Yuste was in the summer of 1558, not long before the Emperor's death, and he it was who preached the most eloquent and touching funeral sermon at Valladolid, on the text : " Lo ! then would I wander far off and remain in the wilderness," a subject on which the priest and the late Emperor were so fully agreed.

CHAPTER XXIII

CHARLES V AT YUSTE

Charles enters his last home at Yuste, adjoining the Monastery, on a slope of the Estremadura—His garden, his love of birds and flowers—His pictures by Titian, his maps, library, and mechanical pursuits—Constant news arrives from the outside world—The keen interest of Charles in the wars of Italy, Flanders, and the coast of the Mediterranean—Visits of his sisters Eléonore and Marie—Don John of Austria, a mysterious child.

IT was on February 3, 1557, that Charles V made his final entry into his last home at Yuste. Early in the afternoon, he bade farewell to the Flemish friends and attendants who had accompanied him from Brussels. Besides the payment due to them, he made them presents in remembrance of their faithful service, and they took leave of him with deep emotion. But as an eye-witness remarks: "Their sorrow was only equalled by the sad forebodings of those who were about to be buried in the same gloomy solitude as their master."

The Monastery of Yuste is situated on a wooded slope of the mountain chain of the Estremadura, on the northern side of a valley covered with orchards and mulberry gardens and well watered by the streams of mountain snows, from one of which, the Yuste, the place is named. The order of St. Jerome

had been founded in 1374, and the present monastery had been built in 1498, on this picturesque site, about two leagues west of Jarandilla and seven leagues east from the beautiful city of Plasencia. Here eight hours of the twenty-four were devoted to religious services, a hospital was maintained for the sick, quantities of food were daily given to the poor, and the refectory boards were spread many times a day for the guests, rich or poor, who were waited upon by the monks in their white woollen tunics and brown mantles.

It was the greatest event in the history of the monastery when the Emperor's cavalcade halted at their gates. The bells rang out a peal of welcome, and the Prior came forward to meet the royal guest, who was lifted from his litter to a chair in which he was carried to the door of the church, where he was met by the whole brotherhood in procession, chanting the *Te Deum* to the solemn notes of the organ. At this moment, the forty halberdiers who had escorted the Emperor from Valladolid cast down their pikes upon the ground, in token that all worldly rule was at an end. Meantime, Charles was carried to the front of the high altar, and when the service was ended he made an inspection of the convent, and then retired to his new home, to enjoy the rest which he had so long desired.

This house, which had been in process of building for several years, was close against the south wall of the church, and consisted of two stories, which faced the garden and the midday sun. The Cabinet of Charles had a most picturesque view, from the garden

richly planted with fig and almond, orange and lemon trees, to the magnificent valley of the Vera de Plasencia, the winding river, and in the far distance the blue mountains of the Guadalupe. A corridor led from the Emperor's room to the garden, and his favourite walk was on the western terrace, where the setting sun poured a golden light over the mountains and the plain. Close by was a private gate at the end of a short alley of cypresses which opened out into the vast forest of oak and chestnut trees beyond, where, at a short distance, the hermitage of Belem was a constant point of attraction for the imperial recluse. Here he could always be sure of the absolute peace and seclusion which had been the dream of his busy life. Charles took the greatest interest in this convent garden, which was kept for his exclusive use; the ground near the windows was filled with roses and carnations, and many rare plants and shrubs were planted under his directions. He always had a great love for flowers, and it is to him that we owe the Indian pink, which he had noticed on the shores of Tunis and sent home to Spain. Later his garden was embellished with a massive fountain formed from a single block of fine stone, and Torriano made for him a beautiful sundial which was placed near his favourite seat. Charles was also very fond of birds, and loved to watch them and study their ways. A story is told of him that once during the camping out in his wars a swallow was found to have built a nest and laid her eggs on his tent, and he ordered that it should be left behind, in order not to disturb the nest.

The Emperor had so arranged that his bedroom on

the first floor should be built actually adjoining the church, so that a passage could be made direct from the chancel ; and through the glass door he could see the high altar from his bed, and by opening it hear Mass if he were ill, or did not wish to take his place amongst the monks. He could also listen to the singing of the splendid choir, which was always a great enjoyment to him. Music had always been a passion of his, and he could always notice a wrong chord or the new voice of some intrusive stranger. The keen taste for art and science which he had cultivated in his busy life had now in his leisure a greater charm for him than ever. Titian had always been his favourite painter, and Charles had treated him with generous appreciation. He had brought with him to Yuste many masterpieces of the artist ; several portraits of himself at all ages, of the Empress Isabel, of his son Philip, of his daughters Mary and Juana, of Marguerite of Parma, and of his grandchildren. Most of these were hung on the walls of his apartments, but the splendid picture of the "Trinity," with himself and his family in adoration, was placed over the high altar of the church and within sight from his bed. The famous "St. Jerome" of Titian was the altar-piece of his private oratory.

For the hangings of his own bedroom Charles preferred black, which was mostly covered with pictures, but he had brought from Flanders sets of beautiful tapestry, worked with figures in allegory, landscapes, or flowers, which hung on the walls of the other apartments. From the inventory taken after his death, we find amongst the works of art several

fine silver pieces of Tobbia and Cellini, and crucifixes of gold and silver with various curious jewels and relics. But that which was most interesting to Charles was the wonderful collection of clocks of all kinds and scientific instruments made under the direction of his famous mechanician Giovanni Torriano. The Emperor also took the greatest pride and interest in his rare and precious maps; one was a sea-chart sent him by Prince Doria, and he had strangely weird maps of Italy, Spain, Flanders, Germany, Constantinople, and the Indies, by means of which he could follow in his retreat all that happened in the far-off world.

His library was of less importance than his pictures; it consisted mainly of books on science, history, Christian philosophy, and religious practice. Amongst these were three copies of the "Consolations" of Boethius, in Spanish, Italian, and French; Cæsar's "Commentaries" in Italian; the "War in Germany," written by Avila under the Emperor's directions; the "Meditations" of St. Augustine, and the "Chevalier Délibéré" of Olivier de la Marche, which Charles had himself translated into Spanish. His devoted secretary, Van Male, never ceased to bewail the loss of the fine library which had been left behind, in that hurried flight from Innsbrück across the snows of the Brenner. Amongst other favourite books of Charles, we should mention the "Cortigiano" of Baldassare Castiglione, and the "Memoirs" of Commines.

In this calm retreat of Yuste, news from the outside world arrived with unbroken regularity, as couriers

from Italy and the Netherlands brought tidings of the renewal of war, and the end of that peace which the Emperor fondly hoped he had bequeathed to his son. He had watched with the keenest interest from afar the progress of the Duke of Alva in Italy, his occupation of the Papal States, and his menace to Rome itself; but when at that critical moment Alva had not dared to follow the example of Bourbon, but had weakly promised the Caraffa a truce of fifty days, great was the indignation of Charles. He saw that this fatal truce would give the Duke of Guise time to arrive and join his forces with those of the Pope, and all the advantages of the campaign would be lost. The Emperor, in a frenzy of impatience, sent dispatches every day to his son Philip at Brussels, and to his daughter Juana at Valladolid, pressing her to put the frontiers of Spain in a state of defence, to raise at once large sums for levies of troops and expenses of the war, and above all to send Spanish soldiers to her brother, for they were "the best fighters in the world." He also wrote her a long letter with full particulars of every kind, especially as to the means of raising sufficient money. The result of all this excitement for Charles was a serious attack of gout. Later he received with great satisfaction the news of successes in the Netherlands and the victory of St. Quentin, but it was a disappointment to him that Philip was not present himself at this engagement. The messenger who brought the good news of the victory received a gold chain and a sum of money.

All these events in the outside world only concern

us so far as they have an influence upon the Imperial recluse. During the early part of the year 1557, after his coming to Yuste, the Emperor's health seemed greatly improved, and he was able to enjoy his peaceful life, his fair garden with all its attractions, and the congenial friends who came to visit him. He spent much of his leisure time that summer in his garden, adding raised terraces and parterres of flowers and orange trees. From the water of the stream he had two fish-ponds made, one stored with tench and the other with trout. Amongst his poultry he had some Indian fowls, and he delighted in an aviary of pet birds; he also had a wonderful talking parrot and two beautiful rare Eastern cats, which had been given him by his sisters.

Amongst the most interesting of his visitors was Juan Jinés de Sepúlveda, who came to stay with him in March. He was one of the Historiographers Royal, who had formerly been chaplain to the Emperor and tutor to Prince Philip. He had recently retired to his estate near Cordova to continue his Annals of the reign of Charles, and to cultivate his garden. Charles received him with warm interest, and together they admired the flowers and discussed the great history. Sepúlveda had come by the same mountain road as Charles, and had not thought to survive it. The ascent, he said, was like Hesiod's path of virtue, "long and steep and rugged," but alas! it had led, not to an easy plain, but to a still more fearful descent.

Another welcome guest at Yuste was Don Luis de Avila, the historian and warrior whose honest en-

thusiasm for his master was unbounded. He ends his German Commentaries with a glowing sentence which rings out like a trumpet-blast : “ The splendour of this war demands a nobler pen than mine . . . yet I but write what I have beheld with mine own eyes of the great deeds of my Emperor, who as far excels in fame the great captains of past ages, as he excels them all in valour and in virtue.” Charles loved to talk over his campaigns with the old soldier who had fought in them and written their story. He had no personal vanity, and on one occasion when one of these historians wished to have an opinion on some point in his history, Charles remarked : “ I do not wish to read or hear what has been written about me. Others will read that when I am dead.”

Later on in September, the Emperor had a long and welcome visit from his sisters Queen Eléonore and Marie of Hungary. They had travelled with him to Spain in order to be near him and had spent much time with the Regent Juana, their niece, at Valladolid. The castle at Jarandilla was prepared for their reception, and here they arrived after a journey of ten days, and remained for some months. Both sisters were absolutely devoted to Charles ; indeed, Marie was accustomed to say that “ he was all she had in the world, next to God.” The Queen of Hungary was a splendid horsewoman and was very fond of hunting ; she was a woman of great intelligence and strength of character, and Charles was never weary of discussing with her projects for the good of the Netherlands. He would have been glad to obtain her help in the regency of Spain during the absence



DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

of Philip, but Juana was most jealous of any interference, for she knew that if her strong-minded aunt were consulted she would have no further voice in the matter. The elder sister Eléonore was in delicate health, and her chief anxiety at this time was to persuade her daughter Maria, Infanta of Portugal, to come and stay with her. To see once more her only child, from whom she had been parted so many years, was the one desire of the poor mother. But this hope was still deferred, both by the pretexts of the King of Portugal and also by the Infanta's unwillingness to come to Spain, where she had hoped to be the Queen of Philip II.

During the winter of 1557, Charles suffered from several serious attacks of illness, and they were probably aggravated by the damp and mist of his convent home. Early the next year, he was greatly troubled by the alarming news of the Turkish corsairs on the shores of the Mediterranean, who were assisted by the French fleet. Reggio and Sorrento were surprised and sacked, while a most violent attack was made upon the Island of Minorca, which succeeded in destroying the town of Ciudella. Strong efforts were made to protect the coast of Andalusia, and the Emperor was so alarmed and eager for news that he gave orders that he was to be called at any hour of the night when a courier arrived from the Mediterranean. However, the attacks were at last repelled, and news came that the Turkish fleet had sailed for the Levant.

At this time, when the whole coast of Spain was in terror of the Turks, it so chanced that their future

conqueror might have been found bird-nesting in the woods of Yuste. He was none other than Don John of Austria, an illegitimate son who had been born to the Emperor at Ratisbon in 1545, some years after his wife's death. The mother was a young girl named Barbara Blömberg, and the boy, who was called Geronimo, was carefully educated by order of Charles, but was never, during the Emperor's lifetime, publicly acknowledged as his son, although the secret was confided to one or two trusted friends. He was first placed in the charge of a certain Massi, a favourite musician at the Court, who took him to Spain, where he ran wild with village children, and was taught to read by the curé. When he was nine years old, he was entrusted by Charles to the guardianship of the devoted Luis de Quijada and his wife Maddalena, who brought him up with tender affection as though he had been her own child; at first in their country estate near Valladolid, and later in the new home of the Major-domo in the village of Quacos, just below Yuste. Here the bright, handsome boy passed as a young page, but the great interest taken in him by the Emperor—who constantly invited Maddalena with her young charge and treated her with the highest favour—aroused some curiosity and suspicion at Court.

Traditions long lingered, in the villages around, of the blue-eyed lad with the gallant bearing and courtly manners, who had his full share of mischief and adventure in the woods and orchards of the neighbourhood. Charles had openly acknowledged his illegitimate daughter Marguerite, born long before

his marriage, and had made her Duchess of Florence and later of Parma; and if he did not act in like generous manner to "Geronimo" during his life, at least he made the fullest acknowledgment and provision for his son, who was to make so great a name in History, in his final directions before his death, and by a document executed at Brussels in 1554, which he left in charge of Philip. This gave full particulars about the birth of "Geronimo," requested that he should be educated as became his birth, and expressed a hope that he should enter one of the reformed monastic Orders. But he was to have free choice, and lands worth 30,000 ducats in the kingdom of Naples were to be settled upon him and his heirs.

The famous Don John of Austria always had a respectful admiration for the great Emperor, whom he was to know too late as his father, and his latest request, before his early death at Namur, 1578, was to be buried by his side. He asked this favour of his brother Philip as the reward for all that he had done for the cause of Christianity and the Spanish realm; on the mountains of Granada, in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the sands of Tunis, and on many another glorious field of battle. This wish was granted, and the gallant conqueror had a place in the Escorial by the side of Charles V. His adopted father, the brave veteran Quijada, had already fallen on the field of battle by his side, and left his widow Doña Maddalena to the loving care of Don John, who always treated her as his "dearest and most honoured mother." No other descendant of the Emperor Charles could

compare in character or splendid qualities of valour with this young prince, and had he been the heir to the throne of Spain instead of the faithless, cold-hearted Philip, the history of Europe might have been very different.

CHAPTER XXIV

LAST DAYS OF CHARLES V—HIS DEATH

Charles takes leave of his sister Eléonore, who travels to meet her only daughter, Maria of Portugal—Death of Eléonore—Charles resigns the Empire, to which his brother Ferdinand is elected—Failing health of Charles, and disturbing war news—Fray Borja and other religious friends visit him—Last days of Charles V—His death—Deeply mourned and lamented by his family, his friends, and attendants—A brief estimate of his character.

THE year 1558 ushered in fresh trouble and anxiety for the Emperor at Yuste. He was in ill-health himself, for the damp cold of the hill-side did not suit him, and there had been much sickness amongst his household. He had persuaded his sisters, Eléonore of France and Marie of Hungary, to leave him and travel farther south to a warmer climate in December. This they had done the more willingly as negotiations had been made with the King of Portugal for the long-hoped-for meeting of Queen Eléonore with her daughter the Infanta. She had declined to come to Jarandilla, near Yuste, as had been first arranged, and she suggested Badajos, a cathedral city to the south-west of Estremadura, and close against the frontier of Portugal, as the place of meeting. Her mother was willing to agree to anything for the sake of

once more embracing the daughter whom she had not seen for so many years. It was a weary journey for Eléonore, who was in failing health, but the two Queens travelled by slow degrees to Badajos, where the Infanta Doña Maria arrived in great state, having been met at the frontier by a company of Spanish nobles as a guard of honour, while an ambassador from the Emperor and the Princess Juana brought friendly congratulations.

The Infanta remained at Badajos for twenty days, but she was proof against all the love and tenderness which was bestowed on her by her mother and her aunt, and absolutely refused to remain in Spain with them, or even to pay a visit to the Emperor. She seems to have willingly received all their splendid presents, Queen Eléonore giving her jewels to the value of 50,000 ducats, while her aunt the Queen of Hungary had brought her priceless furs and state costumes, besides rich tapestries and other precious household gear. The proud and cold-hearted princess was quite untouched by her mother's loving entreaties, and when the day which she had fixed for her return arrived, Doña Maria showed no sign of concern as she took an eternal farewell of the weeping Queens.

The sorrow and disappointment proved a death-blow to Queen Eléonore, in her fragile state of health. She had not travelled more than three leagues on her return journey with her sister, when she was taken seriously ill at the ague-stricken town of Talaveruela ; news was sent to the Infanta, who refused to return from the frontier, and a few days later the gentle, good, tender-hearted lady passed away ; her life had

been one long sacrifice to the House of Hapsburg. When the news of her death reached Charles, he deeply mourned for the loss of his favourite sister, and the shock had a bad effect upon his health. His attendants did not dare to tell him that a courier had arrived with news that Oran was again threatened by a Turkish fleet, for they had seen how much he had been affected by the recent tidings of the taking of Calais by the Duc de Guise.

When his sister the Queen of Hungary joined him in March, it was a most pathetic meeting in which they both sought consolation in sad memories of their lost Eléonore. The Emperor was unable to leave his bed when she arrived, but gradually improved enough to sit out in his sunny corridor. He was very anxious to persuade Marie once more to undertake the government of the Netherlands where she had been so successful, in order to help her nephew Philip II. This she was most unwilling to do, both on account of her health, and also possibly because she did not approve the methods of the new King. At this time arrangements were at length being carried out for the final renunciation of the Empire, which had been postponed again and again from Ferdinand's doubts of securing the succession. It was not until the beginning of May that Charles received the papers which set him free from all the last of his earthly honours, as his brother had been definitely elected to take his Imperial title. He now caused all the coats of arms to be removed from his apartments, and ordered the name of Ferdinand to take the place of his in the prayers of the Church.

“As for me,” he said to his confessor, “the name of Charles is enough for me, because I am nothing henceforth.”

It seemed as though a great burden had been lifted from his shoulders and he might henceforth be free from all cares of State. Yet in fact, his anxious glance still continued to range over the whole horizon of Spanish and Imperial policy; from the war in Flanders and the troubles of Italy to the garrisons of Africa and the signal towers on the coast of Spain. Nor did he neglect the welfare of the Indies, for he still kept in touch with Las Casas, who had returned to Spain in 1551, and he took the deepest personal interest in his mission settlement. He had already given Philip minute instructions that the natives should be governed with justice, and supported in all their just claims, and that they should be secured to the service of God only by the gentle means which the great “Apostle of the Indians” had found so successful.

The rest and solitude to which Charles had looked forward in his retirement proved in truth to be but an idle dream. He still watched with eager anxiety the course of the war on the frontiers of the Netherlands, where at that very time, June 1558, the strong fortress of Thionville had been taken by the Duc de Guise, while the whole coast had been ravaged and Dunkirk taken by assault. The news was as serious from the South, where the Turkish fleet of 120 galleys having descended upon the Gulf of Sorrento and carried off 4,000 captives, had passed on by the Islands of Elba and Corsica to ravage Minorca, where

a great part of the population was borne off to slavery.

Charles was in despair at these reverses, for he had never ceased warning his son of the necessity of strengthening the fortresses and maintaining the garrisons, while he himself had done his utmost to raise the needful funds in Spain. But fortune favoured Philip in his extremity, for the French King weakly and unwisely delayed taking advantage of his victories, and on July 13 his army was defeated at Gravelines by the Count of Egmond. The joyful news was at once sent to Charles by his son, who was strongly urged to push on and besiege Calais. This was not done, and the Emperor did not live to see the triumph of Philip in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, the following winter.

It is a curious tribute to the trust and veneration in which he was held by his family, that his daughter Juana was most earnest at this time in her entreaty that he would receive under his care and influence the young Prince Carlos, who was of a most difficult disposition and entirely beyond the control of herself or his tutors. Philip also was strongly of the same opinion and joined in the appeal to his father to receive the troublesome boy at Yuste. Although he had already formed a most unfavourable opinion of his grandson, Charles willingly consented to his coming, but his increasing illness prevented the plan being carried out, and the unfortunate young prince was not checked in his course, probably aggravated by congenital insanity, which brought him to so tragic an end.

The Emperor's health had rallied during the early summer and he greatly enjoyed the cherries and strawberries from his own garden. During his retirement he had always been plentifully supplied with choice provisions, game and especially fish, for which he had a great liking, but it never suited him, and the doctor Mathys often complained that he was not convinced of the necessity for changing his usual varied diet. During this last year of his life, the Emperor appears to have devoted more time than ever to the religious services in the monastery chapel, where the splendid music and the singing of his unrivalled choir had a constant attraction and charm for him.

When his devoted friend Fray Borja came to visit him in the month of July, Charles told him how deeply he regretted that he could not sleep on the ground or endure other penances as he would have wished, although he longed to keep the monastic rule as far as his infirmities would permit. At that time his health was steadily failing, and already several serious attacks of illness had warned him that he was not long for this world. He had always been a sincerely religious man, with deep inward spiritual feeling; but the unwonted isolation of the conventual life at Yuste with its constant rhythmical succession of ceremonies may have had a benumbing effect upon his sense of proportion; more especially now, amid the shadows of approaching death.

Thus when news reached Charles, in this year 1558, that deadly heresy had invaded his own land of Spain, that even some of the most revered and trusted of

his own preachers and confessors had joined the hostile camp, we find that his attitude towards those who dared to attack the Sacred Faith of his ancestors had become that of a friar with all its narrow intolerance. At the same time, the warlike spirit of a captain who had led armies to victory was aroused to put down this rebellion against his God, as he honestly deemed it; and his mind was set upon driving out the foe who, in his hours of weakness and pain, seemed to rise up before him as an abstract incarnation of the evil one.

Far different had been the wise comprehension of the Emperor in the prime of his health and strength when, as the warm friend of Las Casas, he had earnestly supported all the merciful efforts of the "Father of the Indians." Or again when we find him yielding to the appeal of the people of Naples who protested against the Inquisition in their city. More striking still do we find this toleration in his German Empire, where his opposition to the Protestants had been more political than religious. At that time his hatred of schism had shown itself in unwearying attempts to induce the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans to cease their contest and find some compromise by which they could meet each other half-way. Impossible as this proved to be, it gives us a measure of the tolerance of Charles towards the freedom of thought which he tried to understand and argue with, employing the most learned divines on both sides to discuss every aspect of technical theology for long weary months. We cannot forget that when at Wittenberg it was suggested that he should destroy

the tomb of Luther, he indignantly replied: "I contest with the living, not the dead."

The days of Charles V were drawing to an end, but it was not until the month of August that his physicians became seriously uneasy about him. The season had been very unhealthy, and there had been much sickness in the neighbourhood of the monastery. The extreme heat had been very trying to the sick man, who was attacked with fever, and on August 28, after a terrible thunderstorm, there came a change for the worse, and he was carried from his couch on the open gallery to his bed, which he was never to leave again. He was quite collected in mind and added certain codicils to his will, also giving full directions to his devoted Major-domo Quijada, concerning the special gifts for all his friends and attendants as tokens of remembrance and gratitude. Towards the end, he made private arrangements for his last store of ducats to be secretly sent—possibly as atonement for a sin long repented of—to Barbara Blömberg, the mother of Don John of Austria, who had long since been provided for with a pension and had married a burgher of Ratisbon. Charles also left many charitable gifts, for the release of Christian captives, for many private charities of his own, and for the poor. He gave full directions with regard to his burial, with the special command that he should rest by the side of his dear wife.

Charles was hovering between life and death when the news reached Yuste of the disastrous defeat and destruction of his Spanish army in Africa, by the treachery of their ally, the Dey of Fez. All the

positions on the coast were threatened and Oran was in the utmost peril; but the great sovereign who had so gallantly fought in defence of his African possessions was spared this bitter knowledge. All his failing strength was devoted to his religious duties, and he himself chose the psalms and prayers which were read, as well as chapters from the Gospel of St. Luke. It seems a curious irony of fate that the champion of the Roman Catholic Church, in its strictest form, should have been attended in those last hours by the ministry of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who was soon to be attacked by the Inquisition for his views on Justification by Faith, and on the authority of the Scriptures as superior to the traditions of the Church. Moreover, Charles himself would not have been safe from reproof, as he possessed the only Bible in the neighbourhood of Yuste, in a French translation. His favourite book of piety by Constantino Fuentes was, later, condemned by the "Holy Office."

In the early hours after midnight of September 21, it was plain to all around the dying man that the end was at hand. After the last sacred offices his chaplain bade him rejoice that the saints were watching over him, as he had been born on the Feast of St. Matthias, and was passing away on that of St. Matthew, who for the sake of Christ had forsaken the world, even as the Emperor had given up all his worldly possessions and honours. Presently he asked by signs for the crucifix which the Empress had held in the supreme moment of passing from life to death, which he raised to his lips and then pressed against

his breast. As the clock struck two, he breathed his last with the name of Jesus on his lips. "This was the end of the greatest man who has ever been or shall ever be," was the requiem of his devoted Luis de Quijada, who was inconsolable for the loss of his beloved master, and knelt for long intervals weeping by his bedside.

Never was any one more deeply loved and sadly mourned, not only by his near relations, but by his ministers, his friends far and near, his attendants, and all his environment. His sister Marie Queen of Hungary was broken-hearted by his death; yet for his sake she was even then setting forth on her way to the Netherlands, to sacrifice herself by undertaking once more the arduous task of government. But it was not to be; she had long been suffering from heart complaint and the shock of her brother's loss brought on another and more violent attack. She wrote to Philip on October 8, that she had yielded to his father's wish and was already on her journey to Flanders, but the recent paroxysm of her illness had been so severe that "she might well escape this voyage." In this she was a true prophet, for she passed away on October 18, twenty-seven days after the brother who had been the devotion of her life.

Although the death of Charles V made less sensation than his abdication, it yet recalled him to the attention of the world which, for the last two years, had almost forgotten the great Emperor. Magnificent funeral services were held throughout his late dominions and more especially wherever members of

his family were to be found. All the churches resounded with chants of lamentation and funeral orations. His brother the Emperor Ferdinand at Vienna; his youngest sister Catalina, Regent for her grandson the four-year-old King Sebastian of Portugal, at Lisbon; his daughter Juana and all the Court of Spain at Valladolid, her sister Mary with her husband Maximilian in Bohemia; King Philip II at Brussels; all joined in the solemn memorial celebrations to the honour and glory of the late Emperor.

Of the next generation, there were living at this time the unfortunate Don Carlos eldest son of Philip, Rudolf and Mathias the sons of Mary and Maximilian, who were not destined to achieve distinction in any way, and Sebastian of Portugal, who was to die gallantly fighting the Moors at the age of twenty-four. His illegitimate descendants inherited more of the finer qualities of Charles, for his son Don John of Austria was to make a splendid name in history, and his grandson Alexander of Parma, the son of his beloved eldest daughter Marguerite, was also to prove a gallant soldier and a distinguished statesman.

The character of Charles V has revealed itself in the course of this history, and we realize that only a great sovereign and a great man could have kept together so immense an empire for forty years, and have left each one of his dominions richer and stronger for his rule. His colonies across the Atlantic had cause to bless his wise government, for we are told on the best authority that "only through his whole-hearted support of the views of Las Casas have the Indians from Northern Mexico to Southern Chili

been suffered to survive and to form the major part of the population.”¹ The Emperor Charles was merciful in disposition, and although he was a good soldier and at his best in time of battle, yet all his wars in Europe were defensive, and it was well said of him by the Venetian ambassador that “he was not greedy of territory but most greedy of peace and quiet.” Throughout the varied and often trying events of his reign, he showed great energy and persistency, combined with power and force of character.

It would be interesting to trace the qualities which he inherited from his ancestors of various races. In him was revived the chivalrous valour in battle of his great-grandfather Charles the Bold of Burgundy, whom he is said to have strongly resembled in person. He showed at times the political astuteness of Ferdinand of Aragon, and still more vividly the earnest passion for justice and the steadfast devotion to the religious Faith of his race which distinguished his grandmother, Isabel of Castile, “La Catolica.” We find in Charles the same fine taste for art which distinguished his grandfather Maximilian, and in his first visit to Italy the pictures in the churches of Mantua and elsewhere gave him keen pleasure. The unfinished palace at Granada remains as a relic to show his appreciation of Italian sculpture and architecture. A portrait by Titian gave him so much pleasure that he at once appointed him as the Court painter, and for twenty years delighted in his masterpieces. The splendid portraits of the great master

¹ Armstrong, “Emperor Charles V.”

give us the Emperor his patron in all his various aspects and immortalize his memory. If he was not handsome, at least his face always gives us an impression of force and of a kind of royal dignity.

We have already seen how, as in the case of Maximilian, music was a passion with him from early life, what an instinctive taste and judgment he showed, and what a lasting delight it was to him through all his anxieties, even to the very end. When he wished to give his aunt Marguerite a suitable gift he could think of nothing more precious than a selection of Mass music. Charles took the greatest interest in everything connected with geography, and a fine collection of the curious maps of the period was treasured by him at Yuste. He is perhaps best remembered for his love of mechanics and the wonderful clocks of all kinds made for him by Giovanni Torriano of Cremona, often under his own personal direction. The wisest philosophy would have encouraged the recluse in these mechanical pursuits and in his never-failing love of birds and flowers, to lighten the burden of anxious thoughts and memories.

As we take leave of the most triumphant of the Hapsburgs, the last great Emperor, we find that he had well justified his proud motto, "Plus Ultra," and we can safely leave his character to the final verdict of History. This record of his life and doings may well end with his own words¹: "I do not wish to read or hear what has been written of me. Others will read that when I am dead."

¹ Spoken to the Chronicler Sepulveda.

CHAPTER XXV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING CHARLES V

Various sources of information for the History of Charles V—Official Historiographers of his life reviewed—Valuable and interesting work of Sepulveda and Paolo Giovio—A mine of information in “diplomatic sources”; letters of ambassadors from every Court of Europe and directions to them, from Spanish, German, and other ministers of Charles—An immense collection of letters written by or to the Emperor, and all his family, his ministers, etc., found in all the Public Archives of Europe—Most valuable are the private “Memoirs” of Charles V, translated by the learned French Professor, Morel Fatio—Allusion to other historians.

A FULL bibliography of the Life of Charles V would be so enormous, if it enumerated all the books on the subject, as to be quite unsuitable for the general reader. In its place I will attempt to give a *résumé* of the various sources of information available for this history, as such a course will be more interesting and of more practical value. In this I am following the plan of one of the latest and most learned historical critics of the present day, Alfred Morel Fatio, Member of the Institute, Professor of the College of France and Director of the “Practical School of High Studies” in Paris. His important work, which is an introduction to the “Memoirs” of Charles V and a new translation from the Portuguese published in 1913, is the last word on this difficult subject.

The sources of information may be thus enumerated. First in point of time come the official Historiographers of the reign of Charles V; the Court Historians who were supposed to write down the story of the Emperor's deeds and the events of his life and reign. Amongst these the most important were the following.

Antonio de Guevara was born in 1480 of a noble family in North Castile, and was taken by his father at the age of twelve to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabel, where he had the post of page to the royal children. After the death of the young prince Juan and that of Queen Isabel, the gay young courtier resolved to give up the world and become a Franciscan friar at Valladolid. In 1523 he was made preacher at the royal chapel, and in 1526 he received the appointment of Historiographer to Charles V, in succession to Peter Martyr of Angheria, who had written almost exclusively the "Story of the Indies."

Guevara was a man of literary tastes and imagination, more suited for a novel-writer than an historian. In his "Life of Marcus Aurelius," he completely deceived his contemporaries by inventing a correspondence with fictitious Romans. In his "Epistolas Familiares," he forged a number of letters from Castilian cities during the rebellion, and between royal personages and others. He was with the Emperor in Tunis in 1535 and travelled through Italy with him, but his "Chronicles" appear to have made no progress, and after his death when his papers were examined only casual notes and a few copies of documents were found, all in disorder.

Yet his imaginary letters are of value, as they give a vivid idea of the people he knew and of the customs and institutions of old Castile. Some historians, such as Sandoval, have treated his letters as genuine. About 1539, Charles appears to have been disappointed at not seeing more result of his work, and appointed another chronicler.

A very different writer was Juan Jinés de Sepulveda, his successor. He was an Andalusian, born in 1490, who studied the philosophy of Aristotle in Bologna under Pomponazzi, and found a patron in Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi. He was also an excellent classical scholar, and an eloquent orator. Charles V was much impressed with a spirited address in which Sepulveda called upon the Christian sovereigns to make war on the Turks; he was also greatly interested in meeting the speaker at Bologna, and never forgot him. Thus it was that in 1536 he appointed Sepulveda his chronicler at a time when he felt that there were great deeds to keep note of, and a keen observer of talent was needed to chronicle important events.

Sepulveda accepted the post with enthusiasm; "he would follow Cæsar, he would live the life of camps, he would think and write within the sound of cannon, and the trumpets of war. He would willingly sacrifice his learned studies that posterity might thank him for describing events, not from hearsay, but from actual sight." He began his writings with the "glorious campaign of Tunis." "De Rebus Gestis Caroli Quinto" relates all the political and warlike deeds of the Emperor, and

also tells the story of the Spanish nation under his rule. Some of his remarks on the character of the Emperor are specially interesting. He speaks of extraordinary tenacity and perseverance; that Charles was firm in a decision once made and nothing could turn him from his purpose. He desired a virtuous and learned clergy and often raised unknown men to high posts. Ambitious and a lover of true glory, he had no petty vanity.

Sepulveda was too honest and truthful to please Philip II, who refused to have the "Chronicles" published. They did not see the light until 1780, when the MS. was found amongst some old papers in the Academy of History at Madrid.

The next Historiographer was Pedro Mexia, an essayist, who wrote in "the vulgar tongue." He only lived two years and six months after his appointment, carrying on the history to 1530. He gives a good account of the "Comunidades of Castile" and writes in so conscientious a manner that we regret not having a more complete history from his pen.

The somewhat doubtful fame of the next Chronicler, Florian of Ocampo, rests upon his "Crónica general de España," of which the greater portion is concerned with events long before the Christian Era. As Morel Fatio remarks that in *this*, "Ocampo a menti avec une rouerie incroyable," we may feel very doubtful as to the value of the contemporary portion of his work and correspondence.

After this a certain "Barnabé Busto" is mentioned in the catalogue of the "Escorial," but the next

Historiographer of note is Juan Paez de Castro, a very distinguished philologist of the University of Alcalá, who received his appointment, as well as that of chaplain, in 1555. This was only a year before the abdication of the Emperor, and de Castro was a man of so much learning and so much accuracy, that he was only able to show some of his laborious work fourteen years later. In his learned essay on the "Method of Writing History," he says that the historian must possess profound and universal knowledge; he must be a moralist and have a great gift of eloquence to paint the past and make it live again; he should also be a combination of a poet and a philosopher, not sounding a trumpet like the verses of Homer, but with a smooth and easy style. He must study facts and trace the reason of them, and his instinct must pierce the motives of all the characters who appear upon his scene. No one life could be long enough to accomplish all this, but Paez has earned our gratitude by the copies of documents, the notes, and the critical analysis which he has left.

Passing on from other unimportant chroniclers, we come to one who just missed this distinction, but is more worthy of note than most of the official historians. Paolo Giovio deserves a high place from his "*Historiæ sui temporis*," which rises far above most writers on the subject. We will only touch upon the points in this work which allude to Charles V. He met the Emperor for the first time at Genoa in 1529, in the prime of his youth and success. Giovio was surprised at his gentleness and affability; and describes him as full of dignity and self-control, with

superb muscular development, well proportioned, his face of a silvery pallor, an aquiline nose, and the prominent chin of his race. He alludes also to his singular patience, perfect justice, and rare modesty.

Charles was evidently greatly attracted by Giovio and employed him on many diplomatic missions in Italy. The historian tells many interesting stories of Charles which we have no space to quote. Their last meeting was at Busseto in June 1543, when the Emperor was about to begin his war in the Netherlands with William of Cleves, and he said to Giovio: "Take up thy pen and hasten to write about my past actions, for this coming fight will find you a new and great task." Charles never returned to Italy, but Giovio sent his account of the conquest of Tunis to him for correction. The intimate relations of this historian with all the distinguished men of the period add greatly to the value and interest of his writings, which have been fully appreciated and made use of by later students of the period.

For the "Life of Charles V," there is an invaluable mine of information in "Diplomatic Sources," the letters of all the ambassadors from various countries who appeared at the Court of the Emperor and also those sent by Charles to other sovereigns. The Venetian records are rich in personal descriptions.

"Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto." Collected by E. Alberi.

"Relationen Venetianischer Botschafter . . . im XVI Jahrhundert." J. Fiedle and various others.

The letters of the Papal Legates, Vergerio, Giovanni Morone, Aleander, Verallo, and others are of the greatest value. The same may be said of the correspondence of the Ambassadors of Charles in foreign Courts, and especially in England and France.

The "Calendars of State Papers," both Foreign and Domestic, in England, Spain, and Venice, are rich in information. Spain boasts the priceless "Colección de documentos ineditos para la historia de España," and also the "Collection relating to the Discovery, Conquest, and Organization of the Colonies of South America."

But almost more interesting in this personal history of Charles V are the immense collections of letters both public and private of the Emperor himself with all his family and ministers. Amongst these we may mention :

"Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V with the Ambassadors at the Courts of England and France." To this is added the "Itinerary of Charles from 1519 to 1551," by his secretary Vandenesse. W. Bradford.

"Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V." Collected by K. Lanz.

"Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, sur les affaires des Pays Bas." Collected by L. Ph. C. Van den Bergh.

All the letters concerning Queen Juana, in "La Reina Doña Juana la Loca, por Antonio Rodriguez Villa," most valuable documents.

"Correspondance de Charles Quint et d'Adrien VI." L. P. Gachard.

“Les Pays Bas sous Charles-Quint,” J. Juste, with the letters of Marie of Hungary.

“Lettere di Principi.” Collected by G. Ribier.

“Lettres et Mémoires d’État.” Sleidin.

Besides many other letters which have been preserved, we must add: the “Papiers d’État du Cardinal Granvelle.” C. Weiss. “Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l’Autriche.” E. Le Glay. “The Diaries of Mario Sanuto.” “Lettres sur la vie intérieure de Charles Quint.” Guillaume Van Male, Secretary of Charles V.

“Retiro, estancia y muerte del emperador Carlos Quinto en el monasterio de Yuste.” (*Relacion historica documentada*). Collected by Don Tomas Gonzalez.

These two last are the standard sources of information concerning the retreat and death of the Emperor. It may be well to mention here that they contain no allusion to the oft-told tale of the premature funeral obsequies said to have been arranged by Charles before his death. Nor are they spoken of by any of the Court attendants in their letters or diaries. The monk who started the legend fixes the date on August 31, when there is absolute proof that the Emperor was confined to his bed. His supporters suggest that the 30th may have been meant, but on this date the Doctor Mathys, who is made by the Friar to take an important part in the ceremony, was sent away by Charles on an errand to Jarandilla. The daily letters of the Major-domo Quijada, the Secretary Gaztelu, and the Doctor Mathys, who mention all the usual religious ceremonies at Yuste,

are absolutely silent with regard to the sham funeral, which the Church of Rome would have forbidden.¹

There are several chroniclers who wrote the life of Charles V very soon after his death, such as Alfonso de Ulloa, the author of "Historia del Emperador Carlos V, escrita in lengua etrusca," Bernardo Tasso, Lodovico Dolce, Lorenzo de Padilla and Alonso de Santa Cruz, who also recorded events which they might have heard of from eye-witnesses.

But of supreme interest are the "Memoirs of Charles V," dictated by himself to Van Male, to which we have already made frequent allusion in these pages. We have already seen how they were written in 1550 and 1551; beginning on the Rhine and finished in Augsburg, during the many months of the Emperor's residence there. These "Memoirs" covered the period from 1516 when Charles left Flanders for Spain, until the month of September 1548. They have a curious history, for although their existence was known to many people, they completely disappeared, and it is believed that the original MS. may have been destroyed by Philip II. But in the year 1620, the learned Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove discovered in the National Library of Paris a Portuguese translation of these "Memoirs" which had been missing for so long. The Baron published a French translation under the title of "Commentaires de Charles-Quint," 1862, but this work left much to be desired. We are fortunate in having a new and most careful translation, published in 1913 with the Portuguese text opposite each page;

¹ M. Mignet, "Charles Quint," p. xvii.

a work for which we cannot be too grateful to the distinguished French Professor Morel Fatio, enriched as it is with full notes and references.

The letter which is placed at the head of these "Memoirs" of Charles V was written by his own hand in Spanish. "This letter His Majesty sent to Germany with the said 'Memoirs' to the King Philip his son, who was then Prince of Spain."

"This history is the one which I wrote in the vulgar tongue when we were taking the voyage on the Rhine, and which I finished at Augsburg. It is not such as I should have desired, and God knows that I have not written it from vanity. If He should be offended by it, the offence which I have committed is caused by my ignorance and not my ill-will. . . . I trust that He may not be offended with me on account of this writing. . . . May it please him to restrain His anger and to rescue me from the difficult position in which I find myself! I have been on the point of burning the whole of this history; but because, if God grants me life, I propose to rewrite this in such a way as to serve Him, and also to avoid the risk of its being lost, I send it to you. Preserve it in a safe place over yonder and do not let it be opened until . . .

"I, THE KING."

"INNSBRÜCK,
"1552."

This letter must have been written in May 1552, when the news reached the Emperor that the revolted Maurice of Saxony was hurrying over the Bavarian

Alps to surprise him. To "avoid risk" to his precious "Memoirs" he sent them to what he trusted would be the safe guardianship of his son, before he rose and fled over the snows of the Brenner to a refuge in Carinthia. We have every reason to believe that the MS. arrived in safety. As to the time when it was to be opened, apparently Charles had not yet decided, and broke off abruptly.

It is quite possible that a portion of the "Memoirs" which were dictated to Van Male may have been amongst the papers which were seized by the faithful Luis de Quijada immediately after the Emperor's death, and perhaps some day the full story may be revealed and the original MS. may be discovered. Meantime, we are thankful that the Portuguese translation has preserved these extremely interesting historical memoirs by Charles himself.

Of modern writers, the Belgians Alexandre Henne and M. H. Pirenne deserve special mention, as historical science is well advanced in their country, and the Belgian archivist, L. P. Gachard, has made invaluable use of the archives of Simancas. With regard to the dealings of Charles with the German people, Janssen is a safe authority, and Giuseppe de Leva for Italy, while Ranke is a valuable and much-quoted authority. The well-known "Life of Charles V" by Robertson is thus alluded to by Stirling Maxwell, the author of that charming book, the "Cloister Life of Charles V": "Robertson has told the story of the Emperor's life at Yuste with much dignity and grace, and still more inaccuracy." In this connection we must again allude to Tomas

Gonzalez, who was in a most favourable position for accurate study, as he was Canon of Plasencia in 1815 and was commissioned by Ferdinand VII to put in order the Historical Archives at Simancas. His book entitled "Retiro, estancia e muerte del emperador Carlos Quinto en el monasterio de Yuste" (*Relacion historica documentada*) consists of letters of the Emperor, of his son Philip, his daughter Juana, his Major-domo Luis Quijada, his secretary Martin de Gaztela, and his doctor Henri Mathys, who followed Charles to the monastery. Also letters of Luis de Avila (commander of Alcantara), Carranza, Molina, Fray Borja, and others.

A later work on the same subject is that of M. Mignet, Secretary of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, who has made a careful study of all available authorities.

With regard to the extremely interesting "Life of Charles V" by Armstrong, published in 1902, Morel Fatio writes: "M. Edward Armstrong divise le règne en un certain nombre d'épisodes, à propos desquels l'auteur nous expose ce que sa connaissance de l'histoire générale et l'utilisation de beaucoup de travaux de detail lui ont appris."

With regard to a special study of the American colonies of Spain in the reign of Charles V, there is the fine "Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar."

"The Letters of Cortes to Charles V" in the *Archivo de Indias*.

"Historia General de las Indias." Las Casas.

“Conquista di Mejico.” Antonio de Solis (1684).

“Historia de las Indias,” Oviedo, and “Historia de Tlascalala,” Camargo; not to mention the well-known books of Prescott and others on the Conquest of Peru and the Conquest of Mexico, which have brought the stirring tale of adventure and conquest within reach of us all.

CHRONOLOGY

1500. Birth of Charles V at Ghent, February 24.
1501. Birth of Isabelle, sister of Charles.
1503. Death of Pope Alexander VI, succeeded by Julius II.
Birth of Ferdinand, brother of Charles.
1504. Death of Queen Isabel of Spain, grandmother of Charles.
1506. Death of Philip I, father of Charles.
1507. Catalina, sister of Charles, born.
1509. Accession of Henry VIII, King of England.
1513. Death of Pope Julius II, Leo X succeeds.
1515. Death of Louis XII of France, succession of François I.
Battle of Marignano.
Isabelle of Austria marries Christian II of Denmark.
1516. Death of Ferdinand, King of Spain, grandfather of Charles.
Treaty of Noyon.
1517. Charles V goes to Spain.
1519. Death of Emperor Maximilian, Charles elected as his
successor.
Eléonore marries João III of Portugal.
1520. Luther excommunicated.
Charles V in England.
Field of the Cloth of Gold.
Charles V crowned at Aachen.
Straits of Magellan discovered.
1521. Defeat of the Comuneros at Villalar.
Diet of Worms.
Luther put under the ban of the Empire.
War of Milan.
Death of Pope Leo X.

1522. Adrian VI of Utrecht elected Pope.
Luther at Wittenberg.
Battle of the Bicocca.
Charles V in England.
Treaty of Windsor.
Conquest of Mexico completed.
Rhodes captured by the Turks.
1523. Christian II and his family compelled to fly from Denmark.
Death of Pope Adrian VI, election of Clement VII.
1524. Peasants' Rising in Germany.
Invasion of France.
François I crosses the Alps.
1525. Battle of Pavia.
François I taken prisoner.
1526. Treaty of Madrid.
François set at liberty.
Marriage of Charles V with Isabel of Portugal.
Death of Isabelle of Denmark.
League of Cognac.
Diet of Speier.
Battle of Mohács.
Defeat and death of Louis of Hungary.
Raid of the Colonna on Rome.
Ferdinand becomes King of Bohemia and Hungary.
1527. Sack of Rome.
Death of Bourbon.
Birth of Philip II.
1528. France and England declare war on Charles.
Siege of Naples by Lautrec.
Mary born, daughter of Charles V.
1529. Treaty of Barcelona.
Charles V in Italy.
Peace of Cambrai.
Siege of Vienna by the Turks.
1530. Coronation of Charles V by the Pope at Bologna.
Charles in Germany.
Diet of Augsburg.

1530. Confession of Augsburg.
 Eléonore marries François I.
 Florence taken after a long siege.
 Death of Marguerite of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands.
1531. Ferdinand elected King of the Romans.
 Mary of Hungary appointed Regent of the Netherlands.
 Henri of France marries Catherine dei Medici.
 League of Schmalkalden.
1532. Inquisition established at Lisbon.
 Religious Peace of Nürnberg.
 Charles in Italy.
 Second Conference at Bologna.
 Conquest of Peru.
1533. Marriage of Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn.
1534. Society of Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyala.
 Death of Pope Clement VII.
1535. Expedition of Tunis, in which Charles takes part.
 Charles V in Sicily and Naples.
 Juana born, daughter of Charles V.
1536. Treaty of François I renewed with the Sultan Solyman.
 Third war between Charles V and François I.
 Invasion of Provence by Charles V.
1537. Cosimo dei Medici becomes Duke of Florence.
1538. Truce of Nice between Charles V and François I.
 Catholic League of Nürnberg.
 Death of Duke Charles of Guelders.
1539. Revolt of Ghent.
 Death of the Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V, May 1.
1540. Marriage and divorce of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves.
 Capitulation of Ghent.
1541. Solyman takes Buda.
 Expedition against Algiers.
1542. Fourth war between Charles V and François I.
 John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse overrun
 Brunswick.
 The Inquisition established at Rome.
1543. Barbarossa again in the Western Mediterranean.

1543. Expedition of Charles against the Duke of Cleves.
Conquest of Guelders.
1544. Diet of Speier.
Battle of Cerésolle.
Siege of Boulogne.
1545. Birth of Don John of Austria.
Council of Trent.
1546. Death of Luther.
Diet of Ratisbon.
Alliance of Charles V and Maurice of Saxony.
League of Charles V with Pope Paul III.
The Schmalkaldic War.
1547. Death of Henry VIII (January).
Death of François I (March).
Succession of Edward VI in England, Henri II in France.
The Council moves from Trent to Bologna.
Battle of Mühlberg (April).
Diet of Augsburg.
1548. Mary Stuart betrothed to the Dauphin.
The Augsburg "Interim" proclaimed.
1549. Council of Bologna suspended.
Death of Paul III.
1550. Julius III elected Pope.
Maurice of Saxony trusted to execute the Ban of Magdeburg.
1551. War of Parma.
Council reopened at Trent.
Tripoli taken by the Turks.
War in Saxony.
Capitulation of Magdeburg.
1552. Treaty of Chambord.
Invasion of Lorraine by France.
Flight of Charles V from Innsbrück (May).
Suspension of Council of Trent.
Treaty of Passau.
Siege of Metz.
1553. Capture of Téroouanne.

1553. Battle of Sievershausen.
 Death of Maurice of Saxony.
 Death of Edward VI, Mary succeeds to throne of England.
1554. Albert Alcibiades driven from Germany.
 Marriage of Philip II of Spain and Queen Mary of England.
1555. Diet of Augsburg.
 Religious Peace of Augsburg.
 Death of Julius III, election of Paul IV (Caraffa).
 Fall of Siena.
 Abdication of Charles V at Brussels.
1556. War between Paul IV and Philip II of Spain.
 Charles V resigns the throne of Spain.
 Duc de Guise in Italy.
1557. Philip II and Mary of England go to war with France.
 Battle of St. Quentin.
 Charles V retires to the Monastery of Yuste.
 Queen Catalina, Regent of Portugal for her grandson Sebastian.
1558. Calais is taken by the French.
 Charles V resigns the Empire.
 Ferdinand of Austria is elected Emperor.
 Death of Eléonore of Portugal, widow of François I.
 Death of Charles V at Yuste, September 21.
 Death of Marie of Hungary, sister of Charles.

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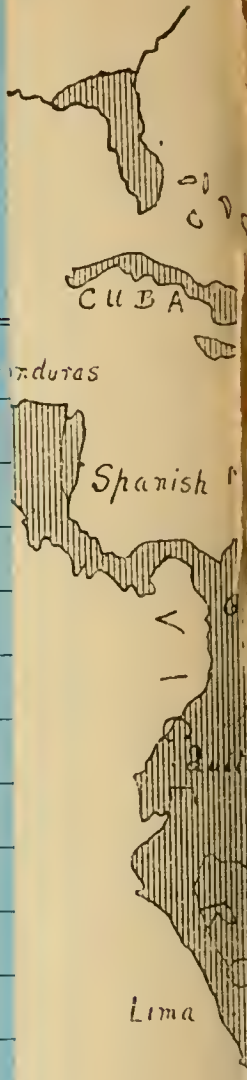
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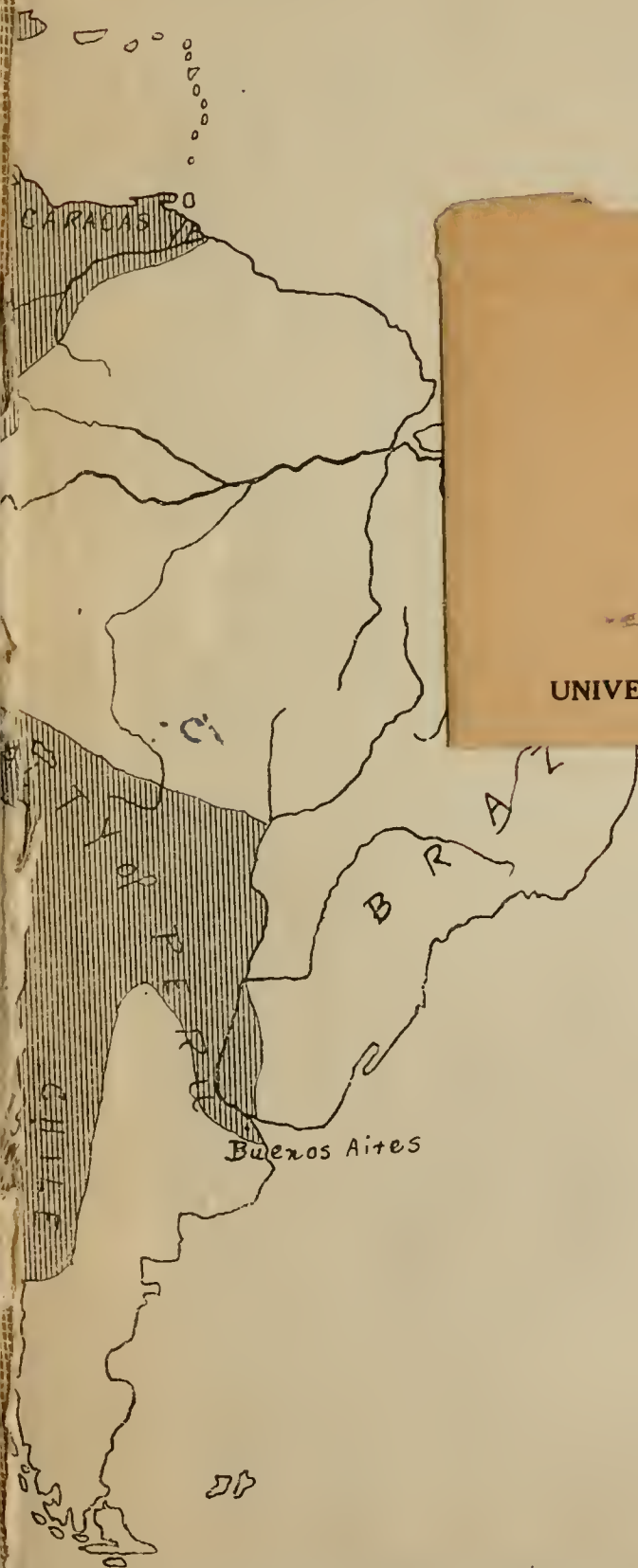
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