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CLOISTER
LIFE
OF THE
EMPEROR
CHARLES V.
—
STIRLING.

SECOND EDITION

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del ministerio de Fomento, del de
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P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
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THE

CLOISTER LIFE



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JUNTA ~~EMPEROR~~ CHARLES THE FIFTH.

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R366

THE CLOISTER LIFE OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES
THE FIFTH.



BY

WILLIAM STIRLING,

AUTHOR OF 'ANNALS OF THE ARTISTS OF SPAIN.'

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON: JOHN W. PARKER AND SON,
WEST STRAND.

MDCCLIII.

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JUNTA DE

Publicaciones de la Junta General de

TO

RICHARD FORD,

AS A MARK OF ADMIRATION FOR HIS WRITINGS,

AND AS A MEMORIAL OF FRIENDSHIP,

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife

CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

THIS WORK IS

INSCRIBED.



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PREFACE.

THE first, and perhaps the best, printed account of the cloister-life of Charles the Fifth, is to be found in Joseph de Siguença's *History of the Order of St. Jerome*. The author was born, about 1545, of noble parents, in the Aragonese city from whence, according to the Jeromite custom, he afterwards took his name. He became a monk about the age of twenty-one, at El Parral, near Segovia, and having studied at the royal college of the Escorial, he obtained great fame as a preacher in and around Segovia, and was made prior of his convent. Removing to the Escorial, he devoted himself to literary labour in the library which was then being collected and arranged by the learned Arias Montano. His reputation for knowledge soon stood so high, that Philip the Second used to say of him, that he was the greatest wonder of the new convent, which was called the eighth wonder of the world. The first of his literary works, a series of discourses on Ecclesiastes, was denounced as heretical before the bar of the inquisition at Toledo; but he defended it so well, that he received honourable acquittal, and returned to the Escorial with an unblemished character for orthodoxy, to write the history of St. Jerome and his Order. The first volume, containing the life of the saint, was published in 1595, in quarto, at Madrid; the second and third, in folio, in 1600 and 1605. The author died in 1606, of apoplexy, at the Escorial, having been twice elected prior of the house.

One of the most able and learned of ecclesiastical historians,

Siguença, for the elegance and simple eloquence of his style, has been ranked among the classical writers of Castille. Like all monkish chroniclers, he has been compelled to bind up a vast quantity of the tares of religious fiction with the wheat of authentic history; but he writes with an air of sincerity and good faith, and when he is not dealing with miracles and visions, he seems to be earnest in his endeavour to discover and record the truth. In relating the life of the emperor at Yuste, he had the advantage of conversing with many eye-witnesses of the facts; Fray Antonio de Villacastin, and several other monks of Yuste were his brethren at the Escorial; the emperor's confessor, Regla, and his favourite preacher, Villalva, filled the same posts in the household of Philip the Second, and were therefore often at the royal convent; the prior may also have seen there, Quixada the chamberlain, and Gaztelu the secretary, of Charles; and at Toledo or Madrid he may have had opportunities of knowing Torriano, the emperor's mechanician.

Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, bishop of Pamplona, printed his well-known *History of Charles the Fifth* at Valladolid, in folio, the first part in 1604, and the second part in 1606. In the latter, a supplementary book is devoted to the emperor's retirement at Yuste. It was drawn up, as we are told by the author, from a manuscript relation in his possession, written by Fray Martin de Angulo, prior of Yuste, at the desire of the infanta Juana, daughter of the emperor and regent of Spain at the time of his death. As Angulo came to Yuste, on being elected prior, only in the summer of 1558, his personal knowledge of the emperor's sayings and doings was limited to the last few months of his life. There can be little doubt that his relation was known to Siguença, whose position as prior of the Escorial must have given him access to all the royal archives.

Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, count of La Roca, printed his *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth*, in quarto, at Madrid,

in 1613. It contains little that Sandoval and others had not already published; but there are a few anecdotes of the emperor's retirement which the author may have picked up from tradition. Being more than seventy years of age at his death, in 1658, he may have conversed with persons who had known his hero. He also may have seen the narrative of the prior Angulo.

Of that narrative a copy exists, or did lately exist, in the National Library at Madrid. It was seen there some years ago by M. Gachard, of Bruxelles.¹ My friend Don Pascual de Gayangos kindly undertook to search for it, but he was not successful in discovering the original document, or even an early copy. He found, however, a manuscript work of the seventeenth century, which professed to embody the account by Angulo. This work, entitled *El perfecto Deseñano*, was written in 1638, and dedicated to the count duke of Olivares; and its author, in whose autograph it is written, was the marquis del Valparaiso, a knight of Santiago and member of the council of war. It is one of the countless treatises of that age, on the virtues of princes, of which Charles the Fifth, in Spain at least, was always held up as a model. The second part, of which a copy is now before me, is entitled, '*Life of the emperor in the convent of Yuste, taken from that which was written by the prior Fray Martin de Angulo, by command of the princess Doña Juana, and from other books and papers of equal quality and credit.*' With exception of a few sentences, and a few trifling alterations, the greater part of this narrative is word for word that of Sandoval. I likewise recognise a few excerpts from Vera. Unless, therefore, we suppose that Sandoval and Vera, anticipating the process adopted by Valparaiso, transferred the document of Angulo to their own pages, we

¹ *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. Première Partie. 1845.

must hold it very doubtful whether the marquess had more than a second-hand knowledge of the narrative of the prior.

The Jesuit Pedro Ribadeneira, in his *Life of father Francisco Borja*, printed in quarto, at Madrid, in 1592, gave a long and circumstantial account of the interviews which took place in Estremadura between that remarkable man and Charles the Fifth. Born in 1527, and in very early life a favourite disciple of Loyola, Ribadeneira had ample opportunities of gathering the materials of his biography from the lips of Borja himself. He is not always accurate in his dates and names of places, but I do not think that his mistakes of this kind are sufficiently important to discredit in any great degree the facts which he relates.

These are the principal writers who have treated of the latter days of Charles the Fifth, and who might have conversed with his contemporaries. From their works, Strada, De Thou, Leti, and later authors, writing on the same subject, have drawn their materials, which, in passing from pen to pen, have undergone considerable changes of form.

Our own Robertson has told the story of the emperor's life at Yuste with all the dignity and grace which belongs to his style, and much of that inaccuracy which is inevitable when a subject has been but superficially examined. Citing the respectable names of Sandoval, Vera, and De Thou, he seems to have chiefly relied upon Leti, one of the most lively and least trustworthy of the historians of his time. He does not appear to have been aware of the existence of Siguença—the author, as we have seen, of the only printed account of the imperial retirement which can pretend to the authority of contemporary narrative.

A visit which I paid to Yuste in the summer of 1849, led me to look into the earliest records of the event to which the ruined convent owes its historical interest. Finding the subject

but slightly noticed, yet considerably misrepresented, by English writers, I collected the results of my reading into two papers, contributed to *Fraser's Magazine*,¹ in 1851.

An article by M. Gachard, in the *Bulletins* of the Royal Academy of Bruxelles,² afterwards informed me that the archives of the Foreign Office of France contained a MS. account of the retirement of Charles the Fifth, illustrated with original letters, and compiled by Don Tomas Gonzalez. Of the existence of this precious document I had already been made aware by Mr. Ford's *Handbook for Spain*; but my inquiries after it, both in Madrid and in Paris, had proved fruitless. During the past winter I have had ample opportunities of examining it, opportunities for which I must express my gratitude to the president of France, who favoured me with the necessary order, and to lord Normanby, late British ambassador in Paris, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who kindly interested themselves in getting the order obeyed by the unwilling officials of the archives. As the Gonzalez MS. has formed the groundwork of the following chapters, it may not be out of place here to give some account of that work and of its compiler.

At the restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh to the throne of Spain, the royal archives of that kingdom, preserved in the castle of Simancas, near Valladolid, were entrusted to the care of Don Tomas Gonzalez, canon of Plasencia. They were in a state of great confusion, owing to the depredations of the French invader, subsequent neglect, and the partial return of the papers which followed the peace. Gonzalez succeeded in restoring order, and he also found time to use his opportunities for the benefit of historical literature. To the *Memoirs of the*

¹ Nos. for April and May, 1851.

² *Bulletins de l'Acad. Roy. des Sciences et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. lère Partie, 1845.

Royal Academy of History he contributed a long and elaborate paper on the relations between Philip the Second and our queen Elizabeth; and he had prepared this account of the retirement of Charles the Fifth, and had had it fairly copied for the press, when death brought his labours to a premature close. His books and papers fell into the hands of his brother Manuel, for whom he had obtained the reversion of his post at Simancas. At the revolution of La Granja, in 1836, Manuel being displaced, was reduced to poverty. The memoir left by Tomas appearing saleable, he offered it to the governments of France, Russia, Belgium, and England, at the price of 10,000 francs, or about 400*l.*, reserving the right of publishing it for his own behoof, or of 15,000 francs without such reservation. No purchaser occurring, he was forced to lower his demands, and at last he disposed of it, in 1844, for the sum of 4000 francs, to the archives of the French Foreign Office, of which M. Mignet was then director.¹ Of what possible use this curious memoir could be in the conduct of modern foreign affairs, it is difficult even to guess; but it is due to M. Mignet to say, that both during his tenure of office and since, he has taken every precaution in his power to keep his prize sacred to the mysterious purpose for which he had originally destined it.

By the terms of his bargain M. Mignet acquired both the original MS. of Gonzalez, and the fair copy enriched with notes in his own hand. The copy contains 387 folio leaves, written on both sides, the memoir filling 266 leaves, and the appendix 121. There is also a plan of the palace, and part of the monastery of Yuste.

The memoir is entitled '*The retirement, residence, and death*

¹ I am enabled to state the exact sum through the kindness of M. Van de Weyer, Belgian minister to the court of England, who obtained the information from M. Gachard.

*of the emperor Charles the Fifth in the monastery of Yuste; a historical narrative founded on documents.*¹ It commences with an account of many political events previous to, and not much connected with, the emperor's retirement; such as the negotiations for the marriage of Philip the Second with the infanta Mary of Portugal, and afterwards with queen Mary of England; the regency established in Spain during his absence; the deaths of queen Juana, mother of the emperor, and of popes Julius the Third and Marcellus the Second; the truce of Vaucelles; and the diplomatic relations of pope Paul the Fourth with the courts of France and Spain. But the bulk of the memoir consists almost wholly of original letters, selected from the correspondence carried on between the courts at Valladolid and Bruxelles, and the retired emperor and his household, in the years 1556, 1557, and 1558. The principal writers are Philip the Second, the infanta Juana, princess of Brazil and regent of Spain, Juan Vazquez de Molina, secretary of state, Francisco de Eraso, secretary to the king, and Don Garcia de Toledo, tutor to Don Carlos; the emperor, Louis Quixada, chamberlain to the emperor, Martin de Gaztelu, his secretary, William Van Male, his gentleman of the chamber, and Mathys and Cornelio, his physicians. The thread of the narrative is supplied by Gonzalez, who has done his part with great judgment, permitting the story to be told as far as possible by the original actors in their own words.

The appendix is composed of the ten following documents referred to in the memoir, and of various degrees of value and interest.

- 1 *Instructions given by the emperor to his son at Augsburg, on the 9th January, 1548.*

¹ *Retiro estancia y muerte del emperador Carlos Quinto en el monasterio de Yuste; relacion historica documentada.*

- 2 }
 3 } *Speeches pronounced by the emperor at Bruxelles during*
 4 } *the ceremonies of his abdication.*
 5 }
- 6 *Letter from the cardinal archbishop (Siliceo) of Toledo to the princess-regent of Spain, 28th June, 1556.*
- 7 *Extract from the inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to the emperor at his death.*
- 8 *Protest of Philip the Second against the pope, 6th May, 1557.*
- 9 *Justification of the king of Spain against the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Ferrara.*
- 10 *Will of the emperor, with its codicil.*

Of these papers, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, and perhaps some of the others, have already been printed: of No. 7 I have given an abstract in my appendix.

Notwithstanding the minute information which Gonzalez has brought to light respecting the daily life of the emperor at Yuste, some doubt still rests on the question whether Charles did or did not perform his own obsequies. Gonzalez treats the story as an idle tale: he laments the credulity displayed even in the sober statement of Siguença; and he pours out much patriotic scorn on the highly-wrought picture of Robertson. The opinions of the canon, on all other matters carefully weighed and considered, are well worthy of respect, and require some examination.

Of Robertson's account of the matter, it is impossible to offer any defence. Masterly as a sketch, it has unhappily been copied from the canvas of the unscrupulous Leti.¹ In everything but style it is indeed very absurd. 'The emperor was bent,' says the historian, 'on performing some act of

¹ *Vita dell' invitissimo imp. Carlo V.* da Gregorio Leti. 4 vols. 12mo. Amsterdam: 1700, iv. 370-4.

‘piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of
‘Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and un-
‘common as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak
‘and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own
‘obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be
‘erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics
‘marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in
‘their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was
‘laid in his coffin, with much solemnity: The service for the
‘dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which
‘were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears
‘with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been
‘celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprink-
‘ling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the
‘assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then
‘Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment,
‘full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity
‘was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of
‘the ceremony, or the impressions which the image of death
‘left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he
‘was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long
‘resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of
‘September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and
‘twenty-five days.’

Siguença's account of the affair, which I have adopted, is
that Charles, conceiving it to be for the benefit of his soul, and
having obtained the consent of his confessor, caused a funeral
service to be performed for himself, such as he had lately been
performing for his father and mother. At this service he
assisted, not as a corpse, but as one of the spectators; holding
in his hand, like the others, a waxen taper, which, at a
certain point of the ceremonial, he gave into the hands of the
officiating priest, in token of his desire to commit his soul to
the keeping of his Maker. There is not a word to justify the

tale that he followed the procession in his shroud, or that he simulated death in his coffin, or that he was left behind, shut up alone in the church, when the service was over.

In this story respecting an infirm old man, the devout son of a church where services for the dead are of daily occurrence, I can see nothing incredible, or very surprising. Abstractedly considered, it appears quite as reasonable that a man on the brink of the grave should perform funeral rites for himself, as that he should perform such rites for persons who had been buried many years before. But without venturing upon this dark and dangerous ground, it may be safely asserted that superstition and dyspepsia have driven men into extravagances far greater than the act which Siguença has attributed to Charles. Nor is there any reason to doubt the historian's veracity in a matter in which the credit of his order, or the interest of the church, is no way concerned. He might perhaps be suspected of overstating the regard entertained by the emperor for the friars of Yuste, were his evidence not confirmed by the letters of the friar-hating household. But I see no reason for questioning the accuracy of his account of the imperial obsequies. That account was written while he was prior of the Escorial, and as such almost in the personal service of Philip the Second, a prince who was peculiarly sensitive on the score of his father's reputation.¹ And it was published with the authority of his name, while men were still alive who could have contradicted a mis-statement.

The strongest objection urged by Gonzalez to the story, rests on the absence of all confirmation of it in the letters written from Yuste. We know, he says, that, on the 26th of August, 1558, the emperor gave audience to Don Pedro Manrique; that on the 27th he spent the greater part of the day in writing to the princess-regent; and that on the 28th

¹ See chap. x. p. 263.

he held a long conference with Garcilaso de la Vega on the affairs of Flanders. Can we therefore believe what is alleged by Sigença, that the afternoon of the 27th and the morning of the 28th were given by Charles to the performance of his funeral-rites; and if rites so remarkable were performed, is it credible that no allusion to them should be made in letters written at Yuste on the days when they took place?

Part of the objection falls to the ground, when reference is made to the folio of Sigença. He says that the obsequies were celebrated, not on the 27th and 28th, but on the 30th, of August; and it so happens, that on that day and the next, no letters were written at Yuste, or at least, that none bearing either of those dates fell into the hands of Gonzalez. The emperor's attack of illness, on the 30th, was ascribed by the physician to his having sat too long in the sun in his western alcove; and his being able to sit there tallies with Sigença's statement, that he felt better after his funeral. From the absence of allusion in the letters to a service so remarkable, I infer, not that it never took place, but that the secretary and chamberlain did not think it worthy of remark. Charles was notoriously devout, and very fond of devotional exercises beyond the daily routine of religious observance. His punctuality in performing his spiritual duties may be noted in the Yuste letters, where frequent mention is made of his receiving the Eucharist at the hermitage of Belem, a fact stated in proof, we may be sure, not of his steadfastness in the faith, but of the robustness of his health. But of the services performed in the church for the souls of his deceased parents and wife, which both Sigença and Sandoval have recorded, and which I see no reason to doubt, no notice whatever occurs in the letters, except a casual remark which fell from the pen of secretary Gaztelu, on the 28th of April, 1558, that 'Juan Gaytan had come to put in order the wax and

other things needful for the honours of the empress, which his majesty was in the habit of celebrating on each May-day.' The truth seems to be that the most hearty enmity prevailed between the Jeromites and the imperial household; and that the chamberlain and his people abstained from all communications with the monks not absolutely necessary, and left the religious recreations, as well as the spiritual interests of their master, entirely in the hands of the confessor and the prior. Keeping no record of the functions performed within the walls of the convent, it is possible that the lay letter-writers of Yuste might have passed over in silence even such a scene as that fabled by Robertson; while in the sober pages of Siquença, there really seems nothing that a Spaniard of 1558, living next door to a convent, might not have deemed unworthy of special notice.

It is remarkable that Gonzalez, while so strenuously denying the credibility of the story, should have furnished, under his own hand, a piece of evidence of some weight in its favour. In an inventory of state-papers of Castille, drawn up by him in 1818, and existing at Simancas, and in duplicate in the Foreign Office at Madrid, M. Gachard found the following entry:

No. 119, ann. 1557. *Original letters of Charles V., written from Xarandilla and Yuste to the infanta Juana, and Juan Vazquez de Molina. * * * They treat of the public affairs of the time: ITEM, OF THE MOURNING STUFFS ORDERED FOR THE PURPOSE OF PERFORMING HIS FUNERAL HONOURS DURING HIS LIFE.*¹

M. Gachard supposes that this entry may have been transcribed by Gonzalez from the wrapper of a bundle of papers which he had found thus entitled, and the contents of which he had neglected to verify. If his subsequent researches did

¹ *Item, de los lutos que encargò para hacerse las honras en vida. Bull. de l'Acad. roy. xii. Première Partie, p. 257.*

not discover any such documents, it is to be regretted that he had not at least corrected the error of the inventory.

The gravest objection to the account of the affair which I have adopted, is that it is not wholly confirmed by the prior Angulo. In Angulo's report, says M. Gachard, it is stated that Charles ordered his obsequies to be performed during his life; but it is not stated whether the order was fulfilled. Sandoval, professing to take Angulo for his guide, is altogether silent on the subject; and as he can hardly be supposed to have been ignorant of the work of Siguença, there is room for the presumption that he rejected the evidence of that churchman. But on a mere presumption, founded on the fact that a Benedictine did not choose to quote the writings of a Jeromite, I cannot agree to discard evidence otherwise respectable. I have therefore followed prior Siguença, of the Escorial, the revival of whose version of the story will, I hope, in time, counteract the inventions of later writers—inventions which I have more than once heard gravely recognised as instructive and authentic history in the pulpit-discourses of popular divines.

It may be a source of disappointment to my readers, as it is to myself, that I have not been able to lay before them any of the original letters of the emperor and his servants, and their royal and official correspondents. In obtaining access, however, to the manuscript of Gonzalez, I was subjected to conditions which rendered this impossible. The French government, I was informed, had entertained the design of publishing the entire work—a design which the revolution of 1848 of course laid upon the shelf, but which, I trust, will ere long be carried into effect. Meanwhile, I believe that neither the memoir nor the letters contain any interesting fact, or trait of character, which will not be found in the following pages, with some illustrations of the emperor and his history, gathered from other sources, which I hope may not be found altogether without value.

The portrait of the emperor, on my title-page, is taken from the fine print, engraved by Eneas Vico from his own drawing,—a head surrounded by a florid framework of architectural and emblematical ornaments. This seems to have been the portrait which Charles, according to Lodovico Dolce, examined so curiously and approved so highly, and for which he rewarded Vico with two hundred crowns.¹ The drawing was probably made several years before the plate was engraved, but I have been unable to find any satisfactory contemporary portrait of the emperor in his latter days. Perhaps none exists, as Charles, at the age of thirty-five, considered himself, as he told the painter Holanda, already too old for limning purposes. The eagle and ornaments around the present head, are selected from woodcuts in Spanish books of 1545² and 1552.³

KEIR; 31st May, 1852.

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

POSTSCRIPT FOR A SECOND EDITION.

THE favour with which this work has been received having rendered a second edition necessary, I have endeavoured to acknowledge my sense of the kindness of the public, by bestowing on its pages a careful revision, as well as some new matter which I hope will be found to enhance its utility and interest, without greatly increasing its size.

128, PARK STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE,
Dec. 21st, 2852.

¹ *Dialogo della Pittura de M. Lod. Dolce*, sm. 8vo. Vinegia : 1557. fol. 18.

² Al. Ant. Nebrissensis ; *Rerum a Fernando et Elizabetha, gest.*, &c. fol. Granada : 1545.

³ J. C. Calvete : *Viage del principe D. Phelippe*, fol. Anvers : 1552. The neatly executed arms on the title-page bear the mark generally attributed to Juan D'Arphe y Villafañe, the famous goldsmith, engraver, and artistic-author of Valladolid.

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THE
CLOISTER LIFE
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE BAY OF BISCAY ; LAREDO ; BURGOS, AND
VALLADOLID.

IT is not possible to determine the precise time at which the emperor Charles the Fifth formed his celebrated resolution to exchange the cares and honours of a throne for the religious seclusion of a cloister. It is certain, however, that this resolution was formed many years before it was carried into effect. With his empress, Isabella of Portugal, who died in 1538, Charles had agreed that so soon as state affairs and the ages of their children should permit, they were to retire for the remainder of their days—he into a convent of friars, and she into a nunnery. In 1542, he confided his design to the duke of Gandia; and in 1546, it had been whispered at court, and was mentioned by Bernardo Navagiero, the sharp-eared envoy of Venice, in a report to the doge.¹

In 1548, Philip, heir-apparent of the Spanish

¹ *Relatione*, Luglio, 1546; printed in *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.* Edited by Rev. W. Bradford. 8vo. London: 1850, p. 475.

monarchy, was sent for by his father to receive the oath of allegiance from the states of the Netherlands; and in 1551, he invested him with the duchy of Milan. When only in his eighteenth year, the prince had been left a widower by the death of his wife, Mary, daughter of John the Third of Portugal. On his return to Spain, he entered into negotiations for the hand of a second Portuguese bride, his cousin, the infanta Mary, daughter of his father's sister Eleanor, by the late king, Don Emanuel. After delays unusual even in Peninsular diplomacy, these negotiations had almost reached a successful issue, when the emperor, on the thirtieth of July, 1553, from Flanders, addressed Philip in a letter which produced a very memorable effect on the politics of Europe. Mary Tudor, he wrote, had inherited the crown of England, and had given him an early hint of her gracious willingness to become his second empress. For himself, this tempting opportunity must be foregone. 'Were the dominions of that kingdom greater even than they are,' he said, 'they should not move me from my purpose—a purpose of quite another kind.' But he desired his son to take the matter into his serious consideration, and to weigh well the merits of the English princess before he resolved to conclude any other match. The prompt and decisive reply of the infanta's lover, who was rarely prompt or decisive, shows how early in life he deserved the title, afterwards given to him by historians, of the Prudent. Concurring in the emperor's opinion, that one or other of them ought to marry the queen of England, and seeing that matrimony was distasteful to his father, he professed his readiness to take the duty on himself. He had, happily, not absolutely concluded the Portuguese match, and he would therefore at once proceed to break it off, on the plea that the dowry promised was insufficient.

Father and son being thus of one mind, that diplomatic campaign was opened which ended in adding another kingdom to the hymeneal conquests for which the house of Austria was already famous,¹ and in placing Philip, as king-consort, on the throne of England. On the same day when Charles suggested to his son the propriety of breaking faith with his favourite sister's only child, he signed the first order for money to be spent in building his retreat at Yuste, a Jeromite convent in Estremadura in Spain; and as soon as the treachery had been completed and the prize secured, he began seriously to prepare for a life of piety and repose.

That Philip might meet his English bride on equal terms, the emperor had ceded to him, before his marriage, in 1554, the titles of king of Naples and duke of Milan. Recalling him from Windsor, in 1555, he assembled the states at Brussels, on the twenty-fifth of October, and made his solemn abdication of the domains of the house of Burgundy in favour of the king of Naples and England. On the sixteenth of January, in the following year, he signed and sealed a similar act for the Spanish kingdoms; and on the twenty-seventh of August, he placed in the hands of the young prince of Orange, the famous William the Silent, a deed of renunciation of the imperial crown, to be laid before the electoral diet, which was then, as was already understood, to confer the vacant dignity on Charles's brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans and actual sovereign of the archduchies of Austria.

These arrangements made, early in September, 1556,

¹ And so tersely celebrated in the epigram of Matthias Corvinus :

Bella gerant alii ; tu felix Austria nube !

Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.

Fight those who will ; let well starr'd Austria wed,
And conquer kingdoms in the marriage bed.

a fleet assembled at Flushing, under the command of Don Luis de Carvajal, for the purpose of conveying the retiring emperor to Spain. He was attended to the coast by his son, now Philip the Second of Spain, by his nephew and daughter, Maximilian and Mary, king and queen of Bohemia, and by many of the nobles of the Netherlands. He was likewise accompanied by his two sisters, who were to be the companions of his voyage, being, like himself, about to seek retirement in Spain.

Of these royal ladies, the elder was the gentle and once beautiful Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal and of France. She was now in her fifty-eighth year, and much broken in health. In youth, the favourite sister of the emperor, and in later days always addressed by him as *madame ma meilleur sœur*,¹ she had nevertheless been the peculiar victim of his policy and ambition. As a mere lad, he had driven from his court her first-love, Frederick, prince-palatine, that he might strengthen his alliance with Portugal by marrying her to Emanuel the Great, a man old enough to be her father, and tottering on the brink of the grave. When she became a widow, two years afterwards, her hand was used by her brother, first as a bait to flatter the hopes and fix the fidelity of the unfortunate constable de Bourbon, and next as a means of soothing the wounded pride and obtaining the alliance of his captive, the constable's liege lord. The French marriage was probably the more unhappy of the two. Francis the First never forgot that he had signed the contract in prison, and speedily forsook his new wife for the sake of mistresses, new or old. The queen was obliged to solace herself with such reflections as were plentifully

¹ See his letters to her amongst the *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle d'après les manuscrits de la Biblioth. de Besançon*, tom. i.—viii. 4to. Paris, 1840—50.

supplied in the pedantic Latin verses of the day, in which the world was told, that whereas the fair Helen of Troy had been a cause of war, the no less lovely Eleanor of Austria was a bond and pledge of peace. She bore her husband's neglect with heroic meekness: she was an affectionate mother to the children of her predecessor, and so far as her influence extended, an unwearied peace-maker between the houses of Valois and Austria. Since 1547, the year of her second widowhood, she had lived chiefly at the court of the emperor, whose last public act of brotherly unkindness had been to instigate his son to break his troth to her only daughter.

The other sister, Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, was five years younger than Eleanor, and a woman of a very different stamp. Her husband, Louis the Second, had been slain in 1526, fighting the Turk among the marshes of Mohacz. Inconsolable for his loss, Mary, then only twenty-three years of age, took a vow of perpetual widowhood, a vow from which she never sought a dispensation. In spite of this act of feminine devotion, she was, even in that age of manly women, remarkable for her intrepid spirit and her iron frame. To much of the bodily strength of her Polish ancestress, Cymburgis of the hammer-fist, she united the cool head and the strong will of her brother Charles. Hunting and hawking she loved like Mary of Burgundy, and her horsemanship must have delighted the knightly heart of her grandsire Maximilian. Not only could she bring down her deer with unerring aim, but tucking up her sleeves, and drawing her knife, she would cut the animal's throat, and rip up its belly in as good style as the best of the royal foresters.¹ It was to her that the imperial

¹ *Libro de la Monteria del Rey D. Alonso*; fol. Sevilla, 1532. See the *Discurso de G. Argote de Molina*, fol. 19.

ambassador in England made known Mary Tudor's desire for some "wild-boar venison," to grace the feasts which followed her coronation—a desire which was forthwith gratified by the arrival in London of the lieutenant of the royal ventry of Flanders, with a prime six-year-old boar, as a gift from the queen of Hungary.¹ Roger Ascham, meeting the sporting dowager as she galloped into Spa, far ahead of her suite, although it was her tenth day in the saddle, recorded the fact in his notebook, with a remark which briefly summed up the popular opinion of her character. 'She is,' says he, 'a virago; she is never so well as when she is flinging on horseback and hunting all the night long.'² To the firm hand of this Amazon-sister the emperor very wisely committed the government of the turbulent Low Countries. During more than twenty stormy years she administered it with much vigour and tolerable success, now foiling the ambitious schemes of Denmark and of France; now repressing Anabaptist or Lutheran risings; and always gathering as she could the sinews of war for the imperial armies abroad. Her latest exploit was a foray, during the siege of Metz, into French Picardy, which she led in person with so much courage and conduct, that Henry the Second found it necessary to come to the rescue of his province. She was now in her fifty-second year—bronzed rather than broken by her toils, and still fit for the council or the saddle.

The vessel prepared for the emperor was a Biscayan ship of five hundred and sixty-five tons, the *Espiritu Santo*, but generally called the *Bertendona*, from the

¹ *Papiers de Granvelle*. iv. 121—135.

² P. Fraser Tytler's *Orig. Letters of the reigns of K. Edward VI. and Q. Mary*, 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1839, ii. p. 127.

name of the commander. The cabin of Charles was fitted up with green hangings, a swing bed with curtains of the same colour, and eight glass windows. His personal suite consisted of one hundred and fifty persons. The queens were accommodated on board a Flemish vessel, and the entire fleet numbered fifty-six sail. The royal party embarked on the thirteenth of September, but the state of the weather did not allow them to put to sea until the seventeenth. The next day, as they passed between the white cliffs of Kent and Artois, they fell in with an English squadron of five sail, of which the admiral came on board the emperor's ship, and kissed his hand. On the twentieth, contrary winds drove them to take shelter under the isle of Portland for a night and a day. The weather continuing unfavourable, on the twenty-second the emperor ordered the admiral to steer for the isle of Wight, but a fair breeze springing up as they came in sight of that island, the fleet once more took a westerly course, and gained the coast of Biscay without further adventure. On the afternoon of Monday, the twenty-eighth of September, the good ship Bertendona cast anchor in the road of Laredo.

The gulf of Laredo is a forked inlet of irregular form, opening towards the east, and walled from the north-western blast by the rocky headland of Santoña. The town, with its castle, stands at the mouth of the gulf on the south-eastern shore. Once a commercial station of the Romans, it became an important arsenal of St. Ferdinand of Castille. From Laredo, Ramon Bonifaz sailed to the Guadalquivir and the conquest of Seville; and a Laredo-built ship struck the fatal blow to the Moorish capital, by bursting the bridge of boats and chains which connected the Golden Tower with the suburb of Triana, an exploit commemorated by St.

Ferdinand in the augmentation, of a ship, to the municipal bearings of Laredo. After some centuries of prosperity, the town was cruelly sacked, in 1639, by the archbishop of Bordeaux, the apostolic admiral of Louis the Thirteenth. Santander rose upon its ruins; its population dwindled from fourteen, to three, thousand; fishing craft only were found in its sand-choked haven; yet, true to its martial fame, it sent a gallant band of seamen to perish at Trafalgar.

This ancient seaport was now the scene of a debarkation more remarkable than any which Spain had known since Columbus stepped ashore at Palos, with his red men from the New World. Landing on the evening of the twenty-eighth of September, 1556,¹ the emperor was received by Pedro Manrique, bishop of Salamanca, and Durango, an *alcalde* of the court, who were in waiting there by order of the infanta Juana, regent of Spain. He was joined on the following morning by the two queens. The arrival of the royal party seemed to take the bishop and the town by surprise, for few preparations had as yet been made for its reception. The admiral Carvajal instantly despatched his brother Alonso to court with the intelligence, which he delivered at Valladolid on the first of October. The princess-regent had already given orders to Colonel Luis Quixada, the emperor's chamberlain, who had preceded him to Spain, to prepare a residence for her father. These arrangements completed, Quixada had returned to his

¹ De Thou (*Hist. sui Temp.*, lib. xvii.) says, that Charles on landing knelt down and kissed the earth, ejaculating, 'I salute thee, O common mother! Naked came I forth from the womb to receive the treasures of the earth, and naked am I about to return to the bosom of the universal mother.' Had the emperor really done or spoken so, it is most unlikely that his secretary would have failed to mention it in his letters—none of which contain any hint that can justify the tale.

country house at Villagarcia, six leagues to the north-west of Valladolid, whither a courier was now sent with orders for him to repair with all speed to the coast. The active chamberlain was in the saddle by two in the morning of the second of October, and making the best of his way, on his own horses, to Burgos, he there took post, and accomplished the entire distance (fifty-six leagues, or about two hundred and ten English miles) in three days, dismounting on the night of the fourth at Laredo.

The presence of the stout old soldier was much wanted. Half of the emperor's people were ill; Monsieur Lachaulx and Monsieur d'Aubremont had tertian and quartan fevers; seven or eight of the meaner attendants were dead; yet there were no doctors to give any assistance. There was even a difficulty in finding a priest to say mass, the staff of physicians and chaplains which had been ordered down from Valladolid not having yet been heard of. But for the well-stored larder of the bishop of Salamanca, there would have been short commons at the royal table. When the secretary, Martin Gaztelu, wrote to complain of these things, there was no courier at hand to carry the letter. The weather was wet and tempestuous, and of a fleet of ships, laden with wool, which the royal squadron had met at sea, some had returned dismasted to port, and others had gone to the bottom.¹ The Flemings were loud in their discontent, and very ill-disposed to penetrate any further into a country so hungry and inhospitable. The alcalde

¹ The loss of the vessel of Francis Cachopin, with eighty men, and a cargo worth 80,000 ducats, is particularly mentioned by Gaztelu, in his letter to Juan Vazquez de Molina, dated 6th of October. This storm seems to be the sole foundation for Strada's story (*De Bello Belgico*, 2 tom. sm. 8vo, Antv. 1640, i., p. 10) that the emperor's ship went down a few hours after he had quitted her. No trace of such an accident is to be found in the Gonzalez MS.

who was charged with the preparations for the journey, was at his wit's end, though hardly beyond the beginning of his work. The emperor himself was ill, and out of humour with the badness of the arrangements; but he was cheered by the sight of his trusty Quixada, and welcomed him with much kindness.

From the moment that the old campaigner took the command, matters began to wear a more hopeful aspect. The day after his arrival was spent in vigorous preparation; and in the morning of the sixth of October, a messenger came from Valladolid with a seasonable supply of provisions. That morning, while Gaztelu penned a somewhat desponding account of the backwardness of things in general, Quixada wrote a cheerful announcement that they were to begin their march that day at noon, after his majesty had dined—a promise which he managed to fulfil.

The emperor, in spite of the discomforts of his sojourn at Laredo, is said to have left to the town some marks of his favour. The parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin—a fine temple of the thirteenth century, grievously marred by the embellishments of the eighteenth—was happy in the possession of a holy image, Our Lady of the Magian kings, full of miraculous power, and of benevolence to sailors. Two lecterns of bronze, in the shape of eagles with expanded wings, and an altar-ternary of silver, which still adorn her shrine, are prized as proofs that Charles the Fifth enjoyed and valued her protection.¹

The feeble state of the emperor's health required that he should travel by easy stages. His first day's march, along the rocky shore of the gulf, and up the right bank

¹ Madoz: *Diccionario geográfico estadístico histórico de España*, 17 vols. roy. 8vo. Madrid: 1850, art. *Laredo*, a work of the greatest value and importance.

of the Ason, was hardly three leagues. The halting place was Ampuero, a village, hung on the wooded side of Moncerrago. Next day, about four leagues were accomplished, on a road which still kept along the sylvan valley of the Ason—a mountain stream, renowned for its salmon, and for the grand cataract in which it leaps from its source high up in the sierra. La Nestosa, a hamlet in a fertile hill-embosomed plain, was the second day's bourne. The third journey, of four leagues, was on the ridge of Tornos, to Aguera, a village buried among the wildest mountains of the great sierra which divides the woods and pastures of Biscay from the brown plains of Old Castille. On the fourth day, a march of five leagues across the southern spurs of the same range, brought the travellers to Medina de Pomar, a small town on a rising ground in a wide and windswept plain. Here the emperor paused a day to repose.

He had performed the journey with tolerable ease, in a horse-litter, which he exchanged, when the road was rugged or very steep, for a chair carried by men. Two of these chairs, and three litters, in case of accident in the wild highland march, formed his travelling equipment. By his side rode Luis Quixada, or Lachaulx if the presence of the chamberlain, who acted as marshal and quarter-master, was required elsewhere. The rest of the attendants followed on horseback, and the cavalcade was preceded by the alcalde Durango and five alguazils, with their wands of office—a vanguard which Quixada said made the party look like a convoy of prisoners. These alguazils, and the general shabbiness of the regiment under his command, were matters of great concern to the colonel; but his remonstrances met with no sympathy from the emperor, who said the tipstaves did very well for him, and that he did not mean for the future to have any guards attached to his household.

On the road, between Ampuero and La Nestosa, they met Don Enrique de Guzman, coming from court, charged with a large stock of provisions and ample supply of conserves. These latter dainties the emperor immediately desired to taste, and finding their quality good, he gave orders that they were to be kept sacred for his peculiar eating. Guzman was accompanied by Don Pedro Pimentel, gentleman of the chamber to the young prince, Don Carlos, bearing letters of compliment from his master, who desired that the emperor would indicate to his ambassador, as he called Pimentel, the place on the road where he was to meet him. Without settling this point, Quixada wrote, by the emperor's orders, to court, desiring that a regular supply of melons should be sent for the imperial table, and that some portable glass windows should be got ready for use on the journey beyond Valladolid, as the nights were already becoming chill. He asked also for the dimensions of the apartments prepared at Valladolid for the queens, that he might send forward fitting tapestry for their decoration; and he begged that the measurements might be taken with great exactness, as their majesties, especially the queen of Hungary, could not bear the slightest mistake in the execution of their behests. The royal dowagers had brought with them from Flanders a profusion of fine tapestry of all kinds, much of which still adorns the walls of the Spanish palaces. They did not travel in company with their brother, but kept one day's march in the rear, as it would have been difficult to lodge their combined followers. The management of their journey, and the selection of their quarters, rested with the all-provident Quixada; who had found time to make general arrangements on these heads as he galloped down the road from Villagarcia.

During the day of rest at Medina, the imperial

quarters were thronged with noble and civic visitors, who rode into the town from all points of the compass. Addresses came from the corporations of Burgos, Salamanca, Palencia, Pamplona, and other cities; from the archbishop of Toledo, and other prelates. On the eleventh of October, Charles again mounted his litter, and travelled five leagues to Pesadas, a poor town, on a bleak table-land, swept by the merciless north wind, where he was met by the constable of Navarre. After a brief audience, he dismissed that nobleman, with a request that he would go forward and welcome the two queens. The night of the twelfth of October was passed, after a five leagues' march, at Gondomin; and the next day, a journey of about the same length, still over vast undulating heaths, rough with thickets of dwarf oak, led to the domains of the Cid, beyond which rose the ancient gate and beautiful twin spires of Burgos.

Two leagues from the city, the emperor was met by the constable of Castille, Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, and a gallant company of loyal gentlemen. The constable, whom age and infirmities had compelled to exchange, like his lord, the saddle for the litter, conducted him with all honour to the noble palace of the Velascos, popularly known as the Casa del Cordon, from the massive cord of St. Francis, which enfolds and protects the great portal. He offered hospitality to the whole of the imperial train, but this Luis Quixada was instructed to decline. While the emperor made his entry into the city, the bells of the cathedral rang a peal of welcome; and at night, the chapter made a still finer display of loyalty, in a grand illumination of its steeples. For once, sombre Burgos, which was said to wear mourning for all Castille,¹ seems to have laid aside its weeds.

¹ And. Navagiero: *Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna*. sm. 8vo. Vinegia, 1563, fol. 35.

The privations, spiritual and temporal, endured by Charles at Laredo, and arising, as it appears, from miscalculation of time, are the sole evidence furnished by his servants of that neglect which even Spanish historians have long been in the habit of depicting, as if to deter princes from the dangerous experiment of abdication. Had the emperor really been exposed to this mortification, perhaps his pride would have led him to suffer in silence. But then his hundred and fifty followers, newly come from the flesh-pots of Flanders, must have starved; and they at least would have cried aloud, and spared not. So far from the imperial traveller being allowed to pass through his ancient kingdom unnoticed, his stay of two days at Burgos seems to have been a perpetual levee. Amongst those who came to pay their homage, were the admiral of Castille, the dukes of Medina-Celi, Medina-Sidonia, Maqueda, Najera, Infantado, and many other grandes. The royal councils of state, the royal chancery of Valladolid, and other public bodies, sent deputations with loyal addresses. Amongst the lesser nobles who came in crowds to the Casa del Cordon, not the least noticeable was Don Gutierre de Padilla, brother of the gallant Juan de Padilla, with whom, thirty-five years before, the constitutional liberties of Castille had perished in the disastrous wars of the Commons. For fighting on the winning side in that heroic struggle, Gutierre had been rewarded with a commandery, and at this time he held the honorary post of gentleman of the imperial chamber.

From Burgos the emperor set out for Valladolid on the sixteenth of October. In spite of his infirmities, the constable offered to accompany him part of the first day's journey—an offer which, however, his guest would not accept. But to the great contentment of Quixada,

Don Francisco de Beaumont insisted on joining the cavalcade with an escort of cavalry, thus superseding the alcalde and his alguazils. Their road lay along the rich vale and near the right bank of the Arlanzon, a river sometimes rolling its muddy waters in a deep and rapid stream, sometimes expanding them into broad shallows. The first resting place was about four leagues from Burgos, at the village of Celada, the second seven leagues further, at Palenzuela, where the emperor was pleased to find a supply of flounders, newly arrived from court. Fish was his favourite food, yet it never agreed with him; so these flounders were probably the cause of the indisposition of which he complained at Torquemada, where, after a journey of four leagues, he passed the night. In this town of vine-dressers, seated amongst productive gardens and orchards, near the confluence of the Arlanzon, the Arlanza, and the Pisuerga, he was met by the bishop of the neighbouring city of Palencia. This prelate was a man of some distinction; his skilful diplomacy in repressing a formidable rebellion had saved Peru to Castille; and he had very lately received from the emperor his present mitre, as the reward of his services.¹ He now waited on his benefactor with a magnificent supply of meat, game, and fruit, sufficient to feast the whole of his train.

The next night the emperor was lodged three leagues further on, at Dueñas, where Ferdinand of Aragon first met Isabella the Catholic, and where the count of Buendia now received their descendant in his feudal castle on the adjacent height, overlooking the broad valley of the Pisuerga. Some gentlemen from Valladolid meeting him here, advised him to enter the capital

¹ F. Fernandez de Pulgar : *Historia de Palencia*, 4 vols. fol. Madrid : 1679, iii. p. 201.

by way of Cigales, and the Puente-mayor, by which means he would at once reach the palace, without noise and without a crowd. 'No,' said he; 'I will go the usual way, by the gate of San Pedro; for it would be a shame not to let my people see me.' The fifth day, his journey was again a short one, of three leagues; and the halting-place was Cabezon, a village within two leagues of the capital, and boasting of a fine bridge over the Pisuerga. Here the infant Don Carlos was in waiting, by his grandfather's directions. It was the first time that the emperor had seen the unhappy heir of his name and his honours. He embraced him with much appearance of affection, and made him sup at his table. During the meal, the prince took a fancy to a little portable chafing dish, which the emperor carried in his hand for warmth, and begged to have it for his own; to which the proprietor replied, that he should have it as soon as he was dead, and had no further use for it.

Early next day, the twenty-first of October, Juan Vazquez de Molina, secretary of state, came to Cabezon, and had a long conference with the emperor, of whom he had been an old and approved servant. He found him in good health and spirits, not at all fatigued with his journey, and in all respects better than his attendants had known him for several years. Charles would not, however, accept the honours of a public reception, which it had been proposed to give him at Valladolid; but desired that the pomps prepared for the occasion might be reserved until the arrival of the queens, who were also on the road. Accordingly, he made his entry that same afternoon, without parade of any kind, and was

¹ 'Ruindad no dejarse ver por los suyos,' are the words in the original letter of the reporter, Gaztelu or Quixada.

received in the court of the palace by his grandson, Don Carlos, and by his daughter, the princess-regent.¹

Valladolid was at this time at the height of its prosperity, as the wealthy and flourishing capital of the Spanish monarchy. It possessed a noble palace standing in delicious gardens; a splendid college erected by cardinal Mendoza and built all of white marble in the florid Gothic of Ferdinand and Isabella; and some religious houses, such as San Benito and San Pablo, unexcelled as examples of the rich and fantastic transition style of architecture. Other churches and convents, and many mansions of the great nobles adorned the streets and squares, spread their long fronts to the great parade-ground known as the Campo Grande, or rose amongst the gardens which fringed the Pisuerga.

The princess-regent Juana was the second daughter of the emperor, and widow of Juan, prince of Brazil, heir-apparent of the Portuguese crown. Her married life had been no less brief than bright; the prince, who loved her tenderly, dying in less than thirteen months after their union. Juan was the only son, not only

¹ The emperor's itinerary from Laredo to Valladolid was as follows—the distances being computed as far as possible by the fine maps of Col. Don Francisco Coello, now in course of publication at Madrid:

	Leagues.
Oct. 6, Monday, Laredo to Ampuero	3
7, Tuesday, La Nestosa	4
8, Wednesday, Aguera	4
9, Thursday, Medina de Pomar...	5
11, Saturday, Pesadas	5
12, Sunday, Gondomin	5
13, Monday, Burgos	5
16, Thursday, Celada	4
17, Friday, Palenzuela.....	7
18, Saturday Torquemada	4
19, Sunday, Dueñas	3
20, Monday Cabezon	3
21, Tuesday, Valladolid	2

In all about 54 leagues.

of his parents, but of the decaying house of Avis; and therefore, on his pregnant widow of nineteen, were centered all the hopes of the Portuguese nation. In spite, however, of the prayers which rose in every church, and the processions which glittered through every town between the Minho and cape St. Vincent, alarming portents preceded the royal birth. A woman, clad in black, was seen to stand by the bed of Juana, snapping her fingers, and blowing into the air, as if in prediction of the futility of the national hope; and Moorish figures, with torches in their hands, rushed at night by the palace windows, in full view of the princess and her ladies, riding on the wintry blast, and uttering doleful cries as they descended into the sea. But in the night of the fifteenth of January, 1554, a shout of joy rung through the broad square between the palace and the Tagus, when it was announced to the expectant crowds that the prince was born whose romantic fate has made the name of Sebastian so famous in song and story. From the pangs of travail the young mother, who had been kept ignorant of her husband's death, passed to the sorrows of widowhood; she wept for the father of her child as Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted; and but for the king, who forbade the cutting off of her fine auburn hair, she would have retired with her grief to a nunnery.¹ Having repaid to the house of Avis the debt incurred by the house of Austria at the birth of Don Carlos, she was soon recalled to Spain, to govern that country, as regent, first for her father the emperor, and now for her brother, Philip the Second. This high post she filled with firmness and moderation, displaying no want of sagacity, except in her policy towards the

¹ M. de Meneses: *Chronica de D. Sebastião*, fol. Lisboa: 1730, pp. 27—30.

enthusiasts for religious reform, whom she treated with the foolish severity practised by many of the mildest and wisest rulers of the time. Her policy was ever directed by that strong family feeling which the princes of the nineteenth century have learned to call by the more decorous name of public spirit. Of personal ambition she appears to have been entirely free. For many months before her brother returned to Spain, she was constantly urging him to come back and ease her of the burden of power. To her father her deference was ever most readily and affectionately paid. Devotion was the ruling passion of her widowed life; her recreation during her regency was to retire, for prayer and scourging, to the convent which the Franciscans called their *Scala Cæli*, amongst the gloomy rocks and tall pines of Abrojo. She encouraged her ladies to become nuns, but dissuaded them from becoming wives; and she would never give audience to foreign ambassadors but covered from head to foot with a veil, drawing it aside for a moment only when some envoy, more curious than his fellows, desired permission to identify her pale and melancholy face.

While at Valladolid, the emperor and his suite were lodged in the house of Don Gomez Perez de las Marinas. Another residence was assigned to the queens, who arrived on the twenty-second of October, the day after their brother. The grandees, the dignitaries of the church and the law, the council of state in their robes of ceremony, and the college doctors in their scarlet hoods, met them in grand procession, and conducted them into the city in triumph. They were charmed with their reception; Quixada and his people had made no mistake about the tapestries; and queen Mary, at the banquet in the evening, remarked that every day she found new cause to rejoice that she had come to Spain. The banquet

was followed by a ball, at which the emperor also was present. The admiral of Castille, the duke of Sesa, heir of the great captain, the count of Benevente, and the marquess of Astorga were amongst the chief nobles who came to do homage to their ancient lord, whose hand was also kissed by the members of the council of Castille. It was probably at this ball that Charles caused the wives of all his personal attendants to be assembled around him, and bade each in particular farewell. Perico de Sant Erbas, a famous jester of the court, passing by at the moment, the emperor good humouredly saluted him by lifting his hat. This buffoon had formerly been wont to make the emperor laugh by calling his son Philip *Señor de Todo*, lord of All,¹ and now that he was so, this opportunity of reviving the old joke was too good to be lost by the bitter fool. 'What! do you uncover to me?' said the jester; 'does it mean that you are no longer an emperor?' 'No, Pedro,' replied the object of the jest; 'but it means that I have nothing to give you beyond this courtesy.'²

On the twenty-seventh of October, Don Constantino de Braganza arrived from Lisbon to congratulate the emperor, in the name of his cousin, John the Third, and his sister Catherine, king and queen of Portugal, on his safe return to Spain. Charles received him with that perfect graciousness with which he knew well how to meet the advances of a rival who had just cause for dissatisfaction. For the courts of Lisbon and Valladolid, though friendly in appearance, were really upon terms far from cordial. Not only had Philip the Second broken his faith to an infanta of Portugal, but his father

¹ Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V. Relazione di Navagiero*, p. 439.

² J. A. de Vera: *Vida del Emp. Carlos V.* 4to. Bruxelles: 1656. p. 245.

had aided him in foiling the designs of a Portuguese infant upon the crown matrimonial of England. For that splendid prize the gallant Don Luis of Portugal had been one of the earliest candidates. Knowing that the prince of Spain was already betrothed to his half-sister, and being himself a brother-in-law, as well as a brother in arms, of his sire, he at once confided his plan to the emperor, and asked for his aid in its execution. Charles received his confidence graciously, and affected to favour his pretensions, until Philip had made his election sure. Don Luis was lately dead, leaving a bastard son, who, as prior of Crato, afterwards became famous for a time as Philip's most formidable rival for the crown of Portugal. But the affront which the house of Avis had received in the persons of Don Luis and the infanta, was still too recent to be forgotten, and may have been partly the cause why the princess Juana so soon forsook her baby-son, and the kingdom which was his heritage. The national enmities which burned on the opposite shores of the Guadiana were not extinct in royal bosoms at Lisbon and Valladolid; France was careful to fan the useful flame; and it was suspected that the moidores of Brazil were not unknown to the troops which were now planting the lily banner on fortress after fortress along the ever-fluctuating frontier of French and Austrian Flanders.

During his stay at Valladolid, the emperor every day held long conferences on public affairs with the princess-regent and the secretary Vazquez. He could not approach the machine of government which he had so long directed without examining with lively interest its condition and its movements. He was anxious now to give its present guides the benefit of his parting advice,—advice which, as the event proved, he continued to

transmit from Yuste by every post, and which was ended only with his powers of hearing and dictating despatches. But that he now intended to abstain from further interference with business of state is plain, from a letter which he wrote to Philip the Second on the thirtieth of October.

This letter relates chiefly to certain overtures which had been made to the emperor by Anthony de Bourbon, whom he called duke of Vendome, but who was known in France by the title of king of Navarre. Since Ferdinand the Catholic had driven John the Third across the Pyrenees, the dominions of the house of D'Albret hardly extended beyond the horizon of its fair castle of Pau. The chains in which Castille held Navarre were stronger than those through which Don Sancho clove his way at Navas de Tolosa, and which his exiled descendants still emblazoned in gold on their blood-red shield. Yet the late king Henry, husband of the story-loving pearl of Margarets, had willed himself a provisional tomb, until fortune should permit him to be laid in the cathedral of Pamplona. His son-in-law, the chief of the Bourbons, was, however, neither very solicitous nor very hopeful of disturbing Henry's repose at Lescar. To the courage, courtesy, and good humour which seldom desert a Bourbon in high or low estate, the first king of the name added, in full measure, that laxity of principle and instability of purpose which seem to belong to the blood. Protestant and catholic, huguenot and leaguer by turns, he anticipated in his career all that tarnished, little that ennobled, the name of his son Henry the Fourth; and he died detested by the party which he had forsaken, and described, by the party to which he had attached himself, as a man without heart and without gall. As governor of Picardy, he had lately commanded against the imperial troops in

Flanders; but he had now joined his strong-minded wife, Jane D'Albret, in her principality of Bearne. Menaced even in that modest domain by the all-powerful Guises, who recommended its annexation to the realm of France, they were desirous of securing the protection of their other great neighbour beyond the Pyrenees. Anthony had therefore proposed to cede to the king of Spain, for a suitable consideration, all his wife's rights to coronation or to interment at Pamplona.

Writing to Philip the Second, the emperor informed him that this matter had been brought under his notice at Burgos, by the duke of Alburquerque, viceroy of Navarre, and that he had given audience to Monsieur Ezcurra, the confidential agent of the duke of Vendome. The subject had also been discussed at Valladolid. He had refused, however, to enter upon the affair, and left it entirely in the king's hands. He hoped that the prince of Orange and the chancellor had come to a settlement with the king of the Romans, as to the last formalities of his renunciation of the empire; and he entreated Philip to hasten the settlement by all the means in his power, being anxious to enter his monastery 'free from this, as from other cares.'

While Charles was thus bent on conventual quiet, he was so reserved in his communications with his attendants, that they were still in doubt whether he really intended to shut himself up for life in the distant cloister of Yuste. From Burgos, Gaztelu wrote, that in spite of his constant opportunities, he was unable to penetrate the emperor's intentions—the expressions which he let fall being always, as it seemed, purposely equivocal. At Valladolid, however, he had commanded the attendance of the prior of Yuste, and the general of the order of Jerome, Fray Francisco de Tofiño; and he gave audience so frequently to these

friars, that the Flemings must have begun to despair of escaping the backwoods of Estremadura.

The acquaintance of the emperor and his grandson, Don Carlos, which commenced at Cabezon, was of course improved at Valladolid. On the grandfather's side, there seems to have been little of the fondness which usually belongs to the relationship. Although only eleven years old, Carlos had already shown symptoms of the mental malady which darkened the long life of queen Juana, his great grandmother by the side both of his father, Philip of Spain, and of his mother, Mary of Portugal. Of a sullen and passionate temper, he lived in a state of perpetual rebellion against his aunt, and displayed in the nursery the weakly mischievous spirit which marked his short career at his father's court. His sad and early death, still mysterious both in its cause and its circumstances, has made him the darling of romance; and in that fairy realm, he goes crowned with immortal garlands, such as certainly have never been won in the battle-fields of life by any son or descendant of his sire. He might possibly have become the champion of the people's rights, and of liberty of conscience; but it was scarcely probable that a hero of that order should be born in the purple of the house of Hapsburg. His shadowy claims to the title have been maintained by several Schiller-struck champions.¹ But his high faculties for good or evil, if he possessed them, certainly escaped the shrewd insight of his grandfather, who regarded him merely as a froward and untractable child, whose future interests would be best served by a

¹ Of these one of the latest and most plausible in his view is Don Adolfo de Castro. See his agreeable work, *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, 8vo, Cadiz, 1851, pp. 243—319, or *The Spanish Protestants*, translated by T. Parker, fcap. 8vo. London: 1851, pp. 278 to 339, in which, however, I cannot admit that he makes out his case.

present unsparing use of the rod. Recommending, therefore, to the princess an increased severity of discipline in the management of her nephew, the emperor remarked to his sisters that he had observed with concern the boy's unpromising conduct and manners, and that it was very doubtful how the man would grow up. This opinion was conveyed by queen Eleanor to Philip the Second, who had requested his aunt to note carefully the impression made by his son; and it is said to have laid the foundation for the aversion which the king entertained towards Carlos.



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

CHAPTER II.

THE CASTLE OF XARANDILLA.

SINCE the emperor had turned fifty and had begun to lose his teeth, he had ceased to eat in public, or at least performed that royal function in private as often as good policy permitted. On the fourth of November he exhibited himself at table to his subjects for the last time, dining about noon before as many of the citizens of Valladolid as chose to attend and could find standing room in the apartment. Immediately afterwards he bade farewell to the princess-regent and her nephew, and set forward on his journey to Estremadura, dismissing, at the Campo-gate, a crowd of grandees who had wished to ride for some miles beside his litter.

The following which he had brought from Burgos continued to attend him, with a small escort of horse and a company of forty halberdiers commanded by a lieutenant. They had not gone far over the naked plain, patched here and there with stubby vineyards, when the emperor complained of illness, and halted his litter. His servants retired with him into a wayside garden, and by the application of hot cushions to his stomach, he was soon sufficiently restored to proceed. At the ferry of the broad Duero he looked towards the fortress of Simancas, which rose on its round hill top out of the plain a few miles higher up the river, and remarked to Quixada that he hoped the thirty thousand ducats, with which he counted upon paying his people,

had been lodged there in safety. The day's march of four leagues closed at Valdestillas, a village seated amongst low woods of melancholy pine.

The next day's journey, which was somewhat shorter, brought the party to Medina del Campo, a fine old historical town in a singularly bad site, with a grand collegiate church presiding over many other religious buildings, and a noble hospital, well supplied with patients by the miasma which rose from the stagnating Zapardiel that crept beneath the walls. Here was an ancient residence of the crown of Castille, called La Mota, a stately pile hallowed by the death-bed of Isabella the Catholic. The emperor, however, was not lodged there, but in the house of one Rodrigo de Dueñas, a rich money-broker, whither he was conducted by the authorities and by most of the inhabitants, who had met him at the gate. His host, imitating, perhaps unconsciously, the splendid Fuggers of Augsburg, had provided, amongst other luxuries for the emperor's use, a chafing-dish of gold, filled, not with the usual charred vine-tendrils, but with the finest cinnamon of Ceylon. Charles was so displeased with this piece of ostentation, that he refused, very uncourteously and unreasonably as it seems, to allow the poor capitalist to kiss his hand, and on going away next day, ordered his night's lodging to be paid for.¹ From Medina he privately sent one of his chaplains to Tordesillas to observe the state and service of the chapel which he had endowed there for the benefit of the souls of his parents.

In the course of the third day's march he remarked to his attendants that, thank God! they were now getting beyond the reach of state and ceremony, and

¹ This story is told by Gonzalez; but whether on the authority of a letter does not appear.

that there would be now no more visits to make or receive, or receptions to undergo. Six or seven leagues, still over vast bare undulating plains, where the plough feebly contended with the waste, brought them to Horcajo de los Torres, a lone village, built on a wind-swept table land. The fourth day was marked by an improvement in the weather, which had hitherto been rainy, and by the arrival of a courier from court with a supply of potted anchovies and other favourite fish for the emperor. He also was presented with an offering of eels, trouts, and barbel, by the townspeople of Peñaranda, where he rested for the night in the mansion of the Bracamontes. The road now approached the southern hills and entered the straggling woods of ever-green oak which clothe the base, and become dense on the lower slopes, of the wild sierra of Bejar, the centre of that mountain chain which forms the backbone of the Peninsula, stretching from Moncayo in Aragon to the rock of Lisbon on the Atlantic.

In the fifth day's march the emperor began to feel the keenness of the mountain air; the little chafing-dish was constantly in his hand; and the previous night having been chilly, he sent forward a messenger to superintend the warming of his room at Alaraz, a village sweetly nestled in the valley of the Gamo. Here he wrote to the king on the morning of the ninth of November; and sleeping that night at Gallegos de Solmiron, he arrived on the tenth at Barco de Avila, a small walled town, finely placed in a rich vale, overhung by the lofty sierras of Bejar and Gredos, and watered by the fresh stream of the Tormes, dear to the angler and to the lyric muse of Castille. A second courier from court here overtook the party, with some eider-down cushions for the emperor, who was much pleased with their warmth and lightness, and said he would have them made into jackets and dressing-

gowns for his own use. The eighth day's march, of six or seven mountain leagues, was the hardest they had yet encountered. The road, constantly ascending the rocky and wood-clad steeps, was extremely bad; and although the country people, whom they met, aided in overcoming the difficulties of the way, the cavalcade did not reach the halting place at Tornavacas until after dark. The emperor, however, bore the fatigue with all the spirit and something of the strength of his younger days; he was even able, on his arrival, to go out to see some of the villagers fish the pools of the Xerte by torchlight, and he afterwards supped heartily on the fine trout taken in the course of this picturesque sport.

He was now within six or seven leagues of Xarandilla, the village in the neighbourhood of Yuste where he purposed to remain until his conventual abode was ready. His original intention had been to go thither by way of Plasencia, and thence along the Vera, or valley, in which the village stood. But from Tornavacas there led to Xarandilla a track across the mountains, by which a day's journey could be saved, and Plasencia, with its episcopal and municipal civilities, avoided. This shorter but far rougher road, the emperor determined to face. He set out on his last march in good time in the morning of the twelfth of November, his cavalcade being swelled by a great band of the last night's fishermen, and other peasants, who carried planks and poles, relieved the bearers of the chairs, led the mules, and pointed out the way. This assistance was not only useful but necessary, the road being as wild a mountain path as mule ever traversed. Overhung, for the most part, with the bare boughs of great oaks and chestnuts, the narrow and slippery track sometimes followed, sometimes crossed torrents swollen with the late rains, wound beneath toppling crags, climbed the edge of frightful precipices,

and reached its culminating horror in the pass of Puertonuevo, a chasm rugged and steep as a broken staircase, which cleft the topmost crest of the sierra. On this airy height, the traveller, pausing to take breath, suddenly sees the fair Vera unrolled, in all its green length, at his feet. Girdled with its mountain wall, this nine-league stretch of pasture and forest, broken here and there with village roofs and convent belfries, slopes gently to the west, where beautiful Plasencia, crowned with cathedral towers and throned on a terrace of rock, sits queenlike amongst vineyards and gardens and the silver windings of the Xerte.

The emperor was charmed with the aspect of his promised land. 'Is this indeed the Vera!' said he, gazing intently at the landscape at his feet. He then turned his eye to the north, into the forest-mantled gorge, between the beetling rocks of the Puertonuevo; 'Now,' he said, looking back, as it were, through the gates of the world he was leaving, 'tis the last pass I shall ever go through.' *Ya no pasarè otro puerto.*¹ During the ascent and descent, he was carried in a chair, the stout and vigilant Quixada marching at his side with a pike in his hand. They reached Xarandilla before sunset, and alighted at the castle of the count of Oropesa, the great feudal lord of the vicinity, and head of an ancient branch of the Toledos. The Flemings were overcome with fatigue and with disgust at the obstacles which every step had put between themselves and home. But all agreed that the emperor bore the journey remarkably well, and did not appear greatly wearied at its close. He chose a bed-room different from that allotted to him by his host; and re-

¹ *Puerto* has in Spanish the double signification of 'gate' and 'mountain pass.'

quested that a fire-place might be immediately added to the chamber which he was afterwards to occupy.¹

Xarandilla was, and still is, the most considerable village in the Vera of Plasencia, a city so called by its founder on account of the beauty of its site, and its 'pleasantness to saints and men.' Walled to the north by lofty sierras, and watered with abundant streams, its mild climate, rich soil, and perpetual verdure, led some patriotic scholars of Estremadura to identify this beautiful valley with the Elysium of Homer—'the green land without snow, or winter, or showers'—in spite of the 'soft-blowing sea-breeze' which refreshed the one, and the torrents of rain which sometimes deluged the other. With greater plausibility the Vera was conjectured to have been the scene where Sertorius fell by the traitor-hand of Perpenna.² Saintry history also deemed it hallowed, in the seventh century, by the last labours of St. Magnus of Ireland,³ and, in the eighth century, by the martyrdom of fourteen Andalusian bishops slain in one massacre by the Saracen. The fair valley was unquestionably famous throughout Spain for its wine, oil, chestnuts, and citrons, for its magnificent

¹ In this itinerary, from Valladolid to Xarandilla, I am without means of computing the distances with any certainty :

	Leagues.
Nov. 4, Tuesday, Valladolid to Valdestillas	4
5, Wednesday, Medina del Campo	3½
6, Thursday, Horcajo de los Torres ...	3
7, Friday, Peñaranda	4
8, Saturday, Alaraz	4
9, Sunday, Gallegos de Solmiron ...	3
10, Monday, Barco de Avila	3
11, Tuesday, Tornavacas	6 or 7
12, Wednesday Xarandilla	6 or 7

In all 36½ to 38½ leagues.

² Strada : *De Bello Belgico*, lib. i.

³ He was a prior of a convent at Garganta la Olla. J. de Tamayo Salazar : *San Epitacio de Tui*, 4to. Madrid : 1646, p. 42; and *Sancti Hispani*, 6 vols. fol. Lugd. : 1657, v. p. 68. The fact, however, is dis-