

bezoar-stone against the plague, and gold rings from England against cramp, a morsel of the true cross, and other reliques, three or four pocket-watches, and several dozen pairs of spectacles.

If the emperor despised the vulgar gew-gaws of wealth and power, his retreat was adorned with some pictures, few, but well chosen, and worthy of a discerning lover of art, and of the patron and friend of Titian. A composition on the subject of the Trinity, and three pictures of Our Lady, by that great master, filled the apartments with poetry and beauty; and as specimens of his skill in another style, there were portraits of the recluse himself and of his empress. Our Lord bearing his cross, and several other sacred pictures, came from the easel of 'Maestro Miguel'—probably Michael Cock, of Antwerp, famous for his skill in copying, and his dishonesty in appropriating the works of Raphael. Three cased miniatures of the empress, painted in her youthful beauty, and soon after the honeymoon in the Alhambra, kept alive Charles's recollection of the wife whom he had lost; and Mary Tudor, knitting her forbidding brows on a panel of Antonio More, hung on the wall, to remind him of the wife whom he had escaped, and of the kingdom which his son had conquered in that prudent alliance. Philip himself, his sisters the princess-regent, the queen of Bohemia, and the duchess of Parma, and the king of France, portrayed on canvas, or in relief on plain medallions, likewise helped by their effigies to enliven the apartments of the emperor, as well as by their policy to occupy his daily thoughts and nightly dreams. Long tradition,<sup>1</sup> which there seems little reason to doubt, adds, that over the high-altar of the

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<sup>1</sup> Fr. Fran. de Los Santos: *Descripcion del Escorial*, fol. Madrid: 1657, fol. 71.

convent, and in sight of his own bed, he had placed that celebrated composition called the 'Glory of Titian,' a picture of the last judgment, in which Charles, his wife, and their royal children were represented in the master's grandest style, as conducted by angels into life eternal. And another masterpiece of the great Venetian—St. Jerome praying in his cavern, with a sweet landscape in the distance—is also reputed to have formed the opposite altar-piece in the private oratory of the emperor.

The palace of Yuste was less rich in books than in pictures. The library indeed barely exceeded thirty volumes, chiefly of works of devotion or science. Amongst the religious books were the treatises on Christian doctrine, by Dr. Constantine de la Fuente,<sup>1</sup> who died soon after, a prisoner for heresy in the dungeons of Seville, and by Fray Pedro de Soto,<sup>2</sup> a luminary of Trent, and long the emperor's confessor, and now employed by Philip to preach the Roman superstition in the not unwilling halls of Oxford.

Divine philosophy was represented by the writings of Ptolemy and Appian, and by Italian, French, and Castilian<sup>3</sup> versions of Boethius *De Consolatione*, a work which had the honour of being translated into our English tongue by Alfred and by Chaucer; and which for a thousand years was pre-eminently the book which no gentleman's library could be without. For historical reading, there were Cæsar's *Commentaries* in Italian, the *German Wars*, by the grand-commander of Alcantara,<sup>4</sup> and some sheets in manuscript of the great chronicle upon which the canon Ocampo was now at work at Zamora. Besides the *Psalter*, the only poetry in the

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrina Christiana*, 8vo. Antwerp: s. a.

<sup>2</sup> *Institutionum Christianarum*, libri iii. 16mo. August, 1548.

<sup>3</sup> Probably that by Fr. Alberto de Aguayo, 4to. Sevilla: 1521.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. iii. p. 69.

collection was the *Chevalier Délibéré* of Ollivier de la Marche, and the Castilian translation, versified from the emperor's prose by Acuña,<sup>1</sup> the latter being in manuscript, and both adorned with coloured plates and drawings. 'A large volume, filled with illuminated drawings on vellum,' seems to imply that Charles brought with him to the woods some memorials of Clovio and Holanda, as well as of the bolder pencil of Titian; and there were also several illuminated missals and hours, and a quantity of maps of Italy, Flanders, Germany, and the Indies. Most of the books were bound in crimson velvet, with clasps and corners of silver, the sumptuous dress in which the early bibliomaniacs loved to array their treasures, but which the ever-teeming press was fast turning into a more sober garb of goatskin or hogskin.

Music, ever one of the favourite pleasures of Charles, here also lent its charms to soothe the cares which followed him from the world, and the dyspepsia from which he would not even try to escape. A little organ, with a silver case and of exquisite tone, was long kept at the Escorial, with the tradition,<sup>2</sup> that it had been the companion of his journeys, and the solace of his evenings when encamped before Tunis. The order of St. Jerome being desirous to gratify the taste of their guest, the general had reinforced the choir of Yuste with fourteen or fifteen friars, chosen from the different monasteries under his sway, for their fine voices and musical skill. In the management of the choir and organ, the emperor took a lively interest; and from the window of his bedroom his voice might often be heard to accompany the chant of the friars. His ear never failed to detect a wrong note, and the mouth whence it came; and he

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<sup>1</sup> Chap. iii. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Beckford's *Italy, Spain, and Portugal*; fcap. 8vo. Lond.: 1840, p. 323.

would frequently mention the name of the offender, with the addition of *hideputa bermejo*, or some other epithet savouring more of the camp than the cloister. A singing master from Plasencia being one day in the church, ventured to join in the service; but he had not sung many bars before orders came down from the palace that the interloper should be silenced or turned out. Guerrero, a chapel-master of Seville, having composed and presented to the emperor a book of masses and motets, one of the former was soon selected for performance at Yuste. When it was ended, the imperial critic remarked to his confessor that Guerrero, the *hideputa!* was a cunning thief; and going over the piece, he pointed out the stolen passages, and named the masters whose works had suffered pillage.<sup>1</sup>

Eloquence was likewise an art which the emperor loved, and of which the other desired to provide him with choice specimens. Three chaplains, who were esteemed the best preachers in the fold of Jerome, were ordered to repair to Yuste for his delectation. The foremost of these, Fray Francisco de Villalva had entered the convent of Montamarta, near Zamora, about 1530. Being a promising youth, the prior sent him to the college of the order at Sigüenza, whence he came forth an expert dialectician, and soon rose to be the most popular preacher in Castille. His theological professor being appointed archbishop of Granada, took him into his service, and in that capacity Villalva had an opportunity of studying for a year the best Italian orators at the council of Trent. He was afterwards preacher to the great hospital at Zaragoza, whence he was summoned to Yuste. There his eloquence charmed the emperor, as it had charmed the peasants of Zamora; and he so eclipsed his colleagues, that they seem to have

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<sup>1</sup> Sandoval, ii. p. 823.



been seldom called to the pulpit except during a few weeks when Charles, at the urgent request of the city of Zaragoza, spared him for awhile to his old admirers.

Fray Juan de Açoloras, a monk from the great convent of Our Lady of Prado, near Valladolid, was also an eminent divine and schoolman, and he had so successfully combatted the harsh tone and accent of his native Biscay, that his delivery in the pulpit was considered as a model of grace. Fray Juan de Santandres, from the convent of Santa Catalina, at Talavera, was less eloquent than his compeers, but highly esteemed for purity of doctrine and life. Besides these regular and retained ministers, any Jeromite with a reputation for preaching who chanced to pass that way, was sure of an invitation to display his powers before the emperor at Yuste.

The simple and regular habits of Charles accorded well with the monotony of monastic life. Every morning, father Regla appeared at his bed-side to inquire how he had passed the night, and to assist him in his private devotions. He then rose and was dressed by his valets; after which he heard mass, going down, when his health permitted, into the church. According to his invariable custom, which in Italy was said to have given rise to the saying *dalla messa, alla mensa*, from mass to mess, he went from these devotions to dinner about noon. The meal was long; for his appetite was voracious; his hands were so disabled with gout that carving, which he nevertheless insisted on doing for himself, was a tedious process; and even mastication was slow and difficult, his teeth being so few and far between. The physician attended him at table, and at least learned the causes of the mischief which his art was to counteract. The patient, while he dined, conversed with the doctor on matters of science, generally of natural history; and if any difference of opinion arose, father Regla was sent for

to settle the point out of Pliny. The cloth being drawn, the confessor usually read aloud from one of the emperor's favourite divines, Augustine, Jerome, or Bernard, an exercise which was followed by conversation, and an hour of slumber. At three o'clock the monks were mustered in the convent to hear a sermon delivered by one of the imperial preachers, or a passage read by Fray Bernardino de Salinas from the Bible, frequently from the epistle to the Romans, the book which the emperor preferred. To these discourses or readings Charles always listened with profound attention; and if sickness or business compelled him to be absent, he never failed to send a formal excuse to the prior, and to require from his confessor an account of what had been preached or read. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to seeing the official people from court, or to the transaction of business with his secretary.

Sometimes the workshop of Torriano was the resource of the emperor's spare time. He was very fond of clocks and watches, and curious in reckoning to a fraction the hours of his retired leisure. The Lombard had long been at work upon an elaborate astronomical time-piece, which was to perform not only the ordinary duties of a clock, but to tell the days of the month and year, and to denote the movements of the planets. In this delicate labour, the mechanician advanced as slowly as the doctors of Trent in the construction of their system of theology. Twenty years had elapsed since he had first conceived the idea, and the actual execution cost him three years and a half. Indeed, the work had not received the last touches at the time of the emperor's death. Of wheels alone, it contained eighteen hundred; the material of the case was gilt bronze, and its form round, about two feet in diameter, and somewhat less in height, with a tapering top, which ended in a tower con-

taining the bell and hammer. Charles was greatly pleased with the ingenious toy; he inquired what inscription the maker intended to put upon it; and being told that nothing had been contemplated beyond the words, IANNELVS · TVRRIANVS · CREMONENSIS · HOROLOGIORVM · ARCHITECTOR · added FACILE · PRINCEPS · which accordingly made part of the epigraph. On the back of the clock Juanelo caused his own portrait to be graven, encircling it with a legend, less in accordance with his original modest intentions than with the emperor's laudatory amendment, QVI · SIM · SCIES · SI · PAR · OPVS · FACERE · CONABERIS.

He likewise made for the emperor a smaller clock, less multiform and ambitious in its functions, and inclosed in a case of crystal, which allowed the working of the machinery to be seen, and suggested the motto—VT · ME · FVGIENTEM · AGNOSCAM.

He also constructed a self-acting mill, which, though small enough to be hidden in a friar's sleeve, could grind two pecks of corn in a day; and the figure of a lady who danced on the table to the sound of her own tambourine.<sup>1</sup> Other puppets were also attributed to him, minute men and horses, which fought, and pranced, and blew tiny trumpets, and birds which flew about the room as if alive; toys which, at first, scared the prior and his monks out of their wits, and for awhile gained the artificer the dangerous fame of a wizard.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the emperor fed his pet birds, which appear to have succeeded in his affections the stately wolf-hounds that followed at his heel in the days when

<sup>1</sup> Ambrosio de Morales: *Antigüedades de España*, fol. Alcala de Henares: 1575, fol. 93. Morales knew Torriano well, and appears to have seen the clock which he so minutely describes, although he does not say where it was ultimately placed.

<sup>2</sup> Strada: *De Bello Belg.*, lib. i.

he sat to Titian; or he sauntered among his trees and flowers, down to the little summer-house looking out upon the Vera; or sometimes, but more rarely, he strolled into the forest with his gun, and shot a few of the wood-pigeons which peopled the great chestnut-trees. His out-door exercise was always taken on foot, or, if the gout forbade, in his chair or litter; for the first time that he mounted his pony he was seized with a violent giddiness, and almost fell into the arms of his attendants.<sup>1</sup> Such was the last appearance in the saddle of the accomplished cavalier, of whom his soldiers used to say, 'that had he not been born a king he would have been the prince of light-horsemen,<sup>2</sup> and whose seat and hand on the bay charger presented to him by our bluff king Hal,<sup>3</sup> won, at Calais-gate, the applause of the English knights fresh from those tournaments,—

Where England vied with France in pride on the famous field of gold.

Next came vespers; and after vespers supper, a meal very much like the dinner, consisting frequently of pickled salmon and other unwholesome dishes, which made Quixada's loyal heart quake within him.

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<sup>1</sup> Sandoval: *Hist. de Carlos V.*, ii. p. 825. and Siguença, iii. p. 192, whence many of these details are taken.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Vera y Figueroa: *Vida del Emp. Carlos V.*, 4to. Brussels: 1656, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Annals*, fol. London: 1631, p. 511.

## CHAPTER V.

## STATE-CRAFT IN THE CLOISTER.

DIMLY seen over the wintry woodlands, and through a November mist, Yuste had appeared to the household at Xarandilla a place of penance; but their dismal forebodings were by no means realized in their new quarters on the fresh hill-side, bright with the sunshine of the budding spring. Writing on the day of the emperor's arrival there, Monsieur Lachaulx complained of nothing but the Jeromite neighbours. 'His majesty,' he said, 'was delighted with the place, and still more were the friars delighted to see him among them, an event which they had almost ceased to hope for. May it please God that he shall find them enduring, for they are ever apt to be importunate, especially those who are such blockheads as some of the fraternity here seem to be.' Lachaulx himself had apparently recovered from his ague, and become reconciled to the climate of Estremadura, for being one of the chamberlains who had been placed on the retired list, he made the pilgrimage to Guadalupe, and afterwards resided for a few weeks on a commandery of Alcantara which he enjoyed in the province. He was afterwards chosen by the emperor as his envoy to the queen of England, and set out on that mission about the middle of March, with letters in which Charles assured Mary 'that although his retreat was all he could wish it, he would not, in taking his own ease, fail to assist by

word and deed such measures as might be necessary for the furtherance of those great affairs of which the king, his son, now had his hands full.'

Instructions had come from Valladolid to the local authorities of Plasencia and the Vera, requiring their implicit obedience to the order of the emperor; and contentment, or an approach to contentment, returned to the troubled minds of the household. Secretary Gaztelu candidly avowed that he had become reconciled to Yuste, and that as a residence it was far better than Xarandilla. Quixada admitted that the place seemed to agree with his master, and that his general health was excellent. While acknowledging the receipt of salmon from Valladolid, lampreys from the Tagus, and pickled soles sent by the duchess of Bejar, he nevertheless owned that his majesty's twinges of gout had lately been less frequent and less severe. On St. Martin's day, he said, he walked without assistance to the high altar to make his offering. 'You cannot think,' writes he to Vazquez, 'how well and plump he looks; and his fresh colour is to me quite astonishing. But,' he adds mournfully, 'this is a very lonely and doleful existence; and if his majesty came here in search of solitude, by my faith! he has found it.' In another letter he says, 'This is the most solitary and wretched life I have ever known, and quite insupportable to those who are not content to leave their lands and the world, which I, for one, am not content to do.'

Philip the Second assured the Venetian envoy at Bruxelles that his father's health seemed as completely restored by the air of Yuste as if he had been there for ten years.<sup>1</sup> From the time of his arrival at the convent, he had been able to give close and regular attention to

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<sup>1</sup> *Relatione* of Badovaro. See chap. ii. p. 36.

public affairs. It is worthy of remark that during the greater part of his residence in Spain, from his landing at Laredo in September 1556, to the third of May 1558, his public despatches were always headed 'the emperor,' and addressed to 'Juan Vazquez de Molina, *my* secretary.' He wrote not only with the authority, but in the formal style, of a sovereign, and until his abdication of the imperial throne had been accepted by the diet, he considered himself, as in fact he was, emperor of the Romans. A dispute about precedence, the great question of diplomacy until the first French revolution, arising at the court of Lisbon between the ambassadors of France and Spain, he accredited the Spaniard as ambassador from himself as well as from his son, and so foiled the pretensions of the Frenchman. It soon became known that the recluse at Yuste had as much power as the regent at Valladolid, and the gate was therefore besieged with suitors. Women presented themselves, asserting that they were widows of veterans who had fought in Germany, in Italy, or in Africa,— 'a class of petitioners,' said Gaztelu, 'very prone to imposture,' which was therefore civilly referred to Valladolid. One Anton Sanchez, a venerable countryman from Criptana, came to complain of the maladministration of the villages and lands of the order of Santiago; he seemed respectable as well as venerable, and was kindly received and dismissed with letters of recommendation to the council of the orders. A fiery English courier, who had been kept waiting a whole month at court for the answer to his despatches, losing all patience, made his way across the mountains to lodge his complaint at Yuste. The emperor received him with perfect courtesy, and transmitted orders to Valladolid that his business should be concluded, and he sent home forthwith.

It has been frequently asserted that the emperor's life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power; and that Philip was constantly tormented, in England or in Flanders, by the fear that his father might one day return to the throne.<sup>1</sup> This idle tale can be accounted for only by the melancholy fact, that historians have found it easier to invent than to investigate. An opinion certainly prevailed, even among those who had access to good political information,<sup>2</sup> that Charles would resume power when his health was sufficiently re-established, an opinion founded, perhaps, on the fact that the cession of the imperial crown was still incomplete, and on the difficulty which the world found in believing that the first prince in Christendom had, of his own free will, descended for ever from the first throne in the world. But, however it may have arisen, the notion was justified by no word or deed of the emperor. So far from regretting his retirement, Charles refused to entertain several proposals that he should quit it. Although he had abdicated the Spanish crowns, Philip had not yet formally taken possession of them, and the princess-regent, fearing that the turbulent and still free people of Aragon might make that a pretext for refusing the supplies, was desirous that her father should summon and attend a Cortes at Monzon, in which the oath might be solemnly taken to the new king. The emperor's disinclination to move obliged her to find other means of meeting the difficulty, which was finally surmounted without disturbing his repose. Later in the year, in the autumn of 1557, it was confidently reported that the old cloistered soldier would take the command of an army

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<sup>1</sup> G. Leti: *Vita dele Emp. Carlo V.*, 4 vols., 12mo. Amsterd. : 1700, iv. 362-3. Amelot de la Houssaye: *Memoires*, 2 vols., 12mo. Amst. : 1700, i. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Relatione of Badovaro.*



which it was found necessary to assemble in Navarre, and at one mournful moment he had actually taken it into consideration whether he should leave his choir, his sermons, and his flowers, for the fatigues and privations of a camp. He was often urged, both by the king and the princess-regent, directly by letters, and covertly through his secretary and chamberlain, to instruct the prince of Orange to keep in abeyance as long as possible the deed of imperial abdication; the reasons alleged being that when the sceptre had absolutely departed, the pope would find fresh pretexts for interference in the internal affairs of the empire, and Spanish influence would be woefully weakened, in the duchy of Milan especially, and generally throughout Europe. But on this point Charles would listen neither to argument nor to entreaty: he was willing to exercise his imperial rights so long as they remained to him; but he would not retard by an hour the fulfilment of the exact conditions to which he had subscribed at Brussels. Philip, on his side, seems to have been as free from jealousy as his father was free from repentance. Although frequently implored by his sister to return to Spain and relieve her of the burden of power, he continued in Flanders, maintaining that his presence was of greater importance near the seat of war, and that so long as their father lived and would assist her with his counsel, she would find no great difficulty in conducting the internal affairs of Castille. In truth, Philip's filial affection and reverence shines like a grain of fine gold in the base metal of his character: his father was the one wise and strong man who crossed his path whom he never suspected, undervalued, or used ill. The jealousy of which he is popularly accused, however, seems at first sight probable, considering the many blacker crimes of which he stands convicted before the world. But the repose of Charles cannot have been

troubled with regrets for his resigned power, seeing that in truth he never resigned it at all, but wielded it at Yuste as firmly as he had wielded it at Augsburg or Toledo. He had given up little beyond the trappings of royalty; and his was not a mind to regret the pageant, the guards, and the gold sticks.

The portion which he had reserved to himself of the wealth of half the world was one sixteenth part of the rents of the crown,<sup>1</sup> and a share of the profits of the mines of Guadalcanal. The sum thus raised must have fluctuated from year to year, but it was estimated by one writer<sup>2</sup> at about twelve thousand ducats, or about fifteen hundred pounds sterling, a provision scarcely amounting to the half of that which his will directed to be made for his natural son, Don John. A sum of thirty thousand ducats was also lying at his disposal in the fortress of Simancas. Soon after the emperor had settled himself at Yuste, he sent Gaztelu to Valladolid to arrange with Vazquez about the time and mode of paying the instalments of his revenue. He was likewise instructed to provide for the regular payment of certain alms to the convents in which daily prayers were to be said for the emperor's soul, the list being headed by the name of the great Dominican house of Our Lady of Atocha, the miraculous image which is still the favourite idol of Madrid. The envoy returned from Valladolid on the eighth of March, bringing the good news that the mines of Guadalcanal were producing in great and unusual abundance, and that the king of

<sup>1</sup> The technical words of Gaztelu are, 'derechos de once y seis al millar,'—'duties of eleven and six in the thousand;' of which I have been able to find no explanation. My friend, Don Pascual de Gayangos, thinks that it ought, perhaps, to have been 'onça y millar,' meaning one sixteenth of a thousand, or about  $6\frac{2}{15}$  per cent. of the crown rents, the word 'onça,' or ounce, the  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a pound being frequently used to denote that fraction.

<sup>2</sup> Sandoval.

Portugal had consented that the infanta Mary should visit her mother in Spain. The despatches from Yuste make no complaints of that unpunctuality of the treasury remittances on which historians have frequently had to moralize. Gaztelu, indeed, once cautioned the secretary of state against delays in making his payments, the emperor, he wrote, being most particular in requiring the exact performance of each part of the service of his household.<sup>1</sup> The advice appears to have been followed; for the only other remark on the subject is one made by Charles himself,—‘the money for the expenses of my house always comes to hand in very good time.’<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the untold wealth which Spain possessed beyond the ocean, the crown was in constant distress for money. That financial ruin which was completed by Olivares, had begun in the days of Granvella. By means of bills of exchange, obtained at usurious rates from the bankers of Genoa, the colonial revenue was forestalled two years before it was collected; and the bars and ingots of Mexico and Peru may be said to have been eaten up by courtiers and soldiers, fired away in cannon, and chanted away by friars, before they had been dug from the caverns of Sierra Madre, or washed from the gravel of Yauricocha. When in due time the precious freight of the galleons reached the royal vaults at Seville, it belonged almost wholly to foreign merchants; and the country having no manufacturing or commercial industry in which the golden harvest could become the seed of new public and private wealth, it passed away to enrich poorer soils and fructify in colder climes. The popular sense of the value of the golden

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<sup>1</sup> Gaztelu to Vazquez, June 15th, 1557.

<sup>2</sup> ‘La provision de dinero para mi casa llega siempre a muy bien tiempo.’ Emperor to Vazquez, Sept. 22nd, 1557.

regions was embodied in the proverb, used by expectants heartsick with deferred hope, who said that the event despaired of 'would come with the Indian revenue.'<sup>1</sup> The war in Italy and the war in Flanders, the fleets in the Mediterranean, the fortresses on the shores of Africa, now demanded such vast and increasing supplies, that the princess-regent was almost at her wit's end for ways and means of obtaining them. Many a hint did she drop, in her despatches, of the good use she could make of the money at Simancas. But the emperor would take no hints, and, like another Shylock, preferred keeping his ducats to pleasing his daughter.

Necessity, which has no law and respects none, at length drove the princess and her council to a step contrary to every principle of justice. The plate-fleet having arrived at Seville, orders were sent down to the Indian board to take possession of the whole bullion, not only of that which belonged to the crown, but also of that which was the property of private adventurers, who were to be paid its value in places under government, in orders on the land-revenue, or in treasury-bonds bearing interest. As might be expected, the robbers who proposed to buy, and the victims who were required to sell, differed widely about the price. The places were refused, the assignats scoffed at; and finally the traders, aided by the wanderers from whom the gains of their wild lives were about to be wrested, attacked the royal officers as they were landing their booty, and rescued it from the grasp of the crown.

When the news of this transaction reached Yuste, the emperor went into a fit of passion very unusual to his cool temperament. The view which he took

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<sup>1</sup> 'No se logra mas que hazienda de las Indias:' *Memoires curieux envoyez de Madrid*, sm. 8vo. Paris: 1670.

of the matter was entirely royal and wrong. He would not, perhaps he could not, see the injustice which had been done to the subject; but he felt most keenly the indignity which had been suffered by the crown. The rough gold-seekers who had thus boldly defended their hard-earned wealth, repelling violence by violence, appeared to him no better than pirates who had boarded a royal galleon on the high seas, or brigands who had rifled a train of royal mules on the king's highway. Were his health sufficiently strong, he said, he would go down to Seville himself, and sift the matter to the bottom; he would not be trammelled by the ordinary forms of justice, but would at once confiscate the goods of the offenders, and place their persons in durance, there to fast and do penance for their crime. Unjust as this view of the affair was, it was precisely the view which the traders expected the government to take, and which they would themselves have taken had they been the government. Alarmed for the consequences, the prior and consuls of the merchants of Seville—the chairman and chamber of commerce of their day—raised a sum of money by subscription, and set out to Valladolid with their offering, in hopes of pacifying the regent and the council. On the way, they craved leave to present themselves and tell their story at Yuste. The emperor refused this request with scorn, and assured the princess that he would communicate his indignation to the king, were he to write with both feet in the grave, or, to use his own forcible phrase, 'were he holding death in his teeth.'<sup>1</sup> A commission appointed to examine the matter began its sittings in March, and continued them, with but slender results, through the summer and autumn,

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<sup>1</sup> 'Soy bueno por ello aunque tengo la muerte entre los dientes, holgarè de hacerlo.' Emp. to Princess-regent, 1st April, 1557.

urged at intervals to despatch by the impatient inquiries transmitted from Yuste. It was not till September that the emperor showed any symptoms of being reasonable on the matter; nor till he had heard that the most serious discontent prevailed among the commercial men of Seville, would he allow Gaztelu to write that, for the sake of public credit, it might be proper for the regent to alter her policy towards them, and take such a course as would keep them in good humour. One of the arrested culprits, Francisco Tello, however, died, after having been twice submitted to the torture, in the dungeons of Simancas, merely for refusing his gold to that exigency of state against which the neighbouring strong-box of the emperor was inexorably shut.

In the spring of 1557, the foreign affairs of Spain had assumed so grave an aspect, that the king determined to lay them before his father for his consideration and advice. For this important mission he selected Ruy Gomez de Silva, count of Melito, afterwards so well known as prince of Eboli. This celebrated favourite, now in his fortieth year, was head of a considerable Portuguese branch of the great house of Silva which traced its heroic lineage to the kings who reigned in Alba Longa. At the marriage of the emperor, he had held the bride's train as one of her pages; attached to the person of Philip from the cradle, he had been the playmate of his childhood, and the friend of his youth; he had accompanied the prince on his travels, and had supported the timid and awkward knight at the tourney and cane-play; not long since he had carried the wedding gifts to the fond bride who awaited the king at Winchester; and he was himself married to the proud beauty and heiress who was, or was to be, his master's imperious mistress. Strong in these various relations, as in capacity and experience, he was every day gaining ground upon his rival, the mag-

nificent bishop of Arras, and he now ranked as one of the most important personages who stood near the Spanish throne.<sup>1</sup> Charles had a high opinion of the favourite's prudence and abilities; he had for some days looked with anxiety for his arrival, and he now received him with every demonstration of cordiality. Although he had strictly forbidden the friars to entertain guests, on this occasion he relaxed the rule, and ordered Quixada to provide him a lodging within the precincts of Yuste. The favoured envoy arrived there early on the twenty-third of March, and was closeted for five hours with the emperor. Part of his message was an entreaty on behalf of the king, that the emperor, if his health permitted, and state affairs rendered it expedient, would remove from the monastery to some other residence nearer the seat of government.<sup>2</sup> Philip also desired his father's opinion on the policy of carrying Don Carlos to Flanders to receive the oath of allegiance as heir apparent to the dominions of the house of Burgundy; and if the emperor approved the design, the count was instructed to bring the prince with him when he returned.<sup>3</sup> The journey, however, was never made by Don Carlos, his grandfather considering that his fitful and passionate temperament rendered it as yet unsafe to produce him to the world.<sup>4</sup> Next day, the count had a second audience as long as the first; and the day following, the twenty-fifth of March, after hearing mass at day-break, he mounted his horse and took the road to Toledo.

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<sup>1</sup> Luis de Salazar: *Historia de la Casa de Silva*, 2 vols., fol. Madrid: 1685, ii. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Philip's original letter of the second February, 1557, to Ruy Gomez de Silva, is given in the MS. of Gonzalez.

<sup>3</sup> Salazar: *Hist. de la Casa de Silva*, ii. 473.

<sup>4</sup> Luis Cabrera de Cordova: *Filipe Segundo*, fol. Madrid: 1619, p. 144.

The external affairs of the kingdom certainly required at this time counsel of the greatest sagacity, and action of the greatest promptitude and courage. War was raging on the frontier of the Netherlands, and it was threatened on the frontier of Navarre. Coligny, at the head of a considerable army, was laying waste Flemish Artois; and Henry the Second was preparing forces for still greater operations. Although Anthony of Navarre was still engaged in treating about an amicable cession of his rights to the actual possessor of his kingdom, he was suspected to be secretly treating with France for aid to enable him to regain Pamplona by the strong hand. The duke of Alburquerque was charged with the defence of Navarre; and in Flanders, where the more important battles were to be fought, Philip the Second had wisely committed his cause to the military genius of the duke of Savoy.

Italy also presented grave causes for anxiety. Had the power of the Roman see equalled the fury of Paul the Fourth, the house of Austria would long ago have found its neck beneath the heel of that fierce old pontiff. The duke of Guise, with a gallant army, was now in the states of the church, and advancing upon the confines of Naples. The insolent incapacity of the Caraffas and the inefficiency of their warlike preparations, had not as yet cooled the ardour of their French allies, nor become fully evident to their antagonist, the duke of Alba. At the beginning of this year's campaign, fortune had frowned on the Spanish arms. The papal forces, led by Strozzi, had recovered Ostia, and had driven the Castellians out of Castel-Gandolfo, Palestrina and other strongholds, by which they had hoped to bridle both the pope and the Frenchman. Even the duke of Pagliano, Caraffa as he was, had stormed



Vicovaro and put the Spanish garrison to the sword.<sup>1</sup> Alba, therefore, was acting strictly on the defensive, being unwilling to waste blood and treasure on fields where nothing was to be gained but dry blows and barren glory, or, as he said, 'to stake the crown of Naples against the brocade surcoat of the duke of Guise.'<sup>2</sup>

The aid of the great Turk enabled the most christian king to attack his most catholic brother by sea as well as by land, and to harass him at many points of his extended shores. For the second time within a few years, Christendom was scandalized by seeing St. Denis, St. Peter, and Mahomet leagued against St. James. Solyman the Magnificent had ascended the throne of the east in the same year when Charles the Fifth became emperor of the west. His reign was no less active and eventful, and far more uniform in its prosperity. By the capture of Rhodes, he had driven back the outpost of Christendom to Malta; he had performed moslem worship in the cathedral of Buda, and had pushed his ravages to the gates of Vienna; his power was now acknowledged far up the Adriatic; and by his judicious protection of the pirates of Africa and the Egean isles, his influence was paramount in the Mediterranean.

The growth which this piracy was permitted to attain is a striking proof of the mutual jealousy and distrust which rendered the christian powers incapable of any combined and sustained effort for the common interests of Christendom. From Cadiz to Patras there was hardly a spot which had not suffered, and none which felt itself safe, from the wild marauders from the shores of Numidia.

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<sup>1</sup> Alex. Andrea : *De la guerra de Roma y de Napoles*, Año de MD. LVI y LVII, 4to. Madrid : 1589, pp. 146, 151.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Vera y Figueroa : *Resultas de la vida de Don Fern. Alvarez de Toledo, duque de Alba*, 4to. Milan : 1643, p. 66.

Better built, and better manned and equipped than any other vessels on the ocean, their light galleots and brigantines were ready at all seasons, put out in all weathers, and stooping on their prey with the swiftness or precision of the cormorant, overbore resistance or baffled pursuit. Sailing in great fleets, they laid waste entire districts and carried off whole populations. A few years before, Barbarossa had sold at one time, at his beautiful home on the Bosphorus, where his white tomb still gleams amongst its cypresses, no less than sixteen thousand christian captives into slavery. It was not only the seaman, the merchant, or the traveller who was exposed to this calamitous fate. The peasant of Aragon or Provence, who returned at sunset from pruning his vines or his olives far from the sound of the waves, might on the morrow be ploughing the main, chained to a Barbary oar. Sometimes a whole brotherhood of friars, from telling their beads at ease in Valencia, found themselves hoeing in the rice-fields of Tripoli; sometimes the vestals of a Sicilian nunnery were parcelled out amongst the harems of Fez. The blood-red flag ventured fearlessly within range of the guns of St. Elmo or Monjuich; it had actually floated on the walls of Gaeta; and when it appeared off the Ligurian shore, the persecuted duke of Savoy wisely fled inland from his castle of Nice. Yet Europe continued to endure these outrages, as it might have endured a visitation of earthquakes or of locusts; and the white-robed fathers of mercy annually set forth on their beneficent pilgrimages with a ransom of itself sufficient to perpetuate the evils which the order of redemption was intended to relieve. Meanwhile, with such a navy at his disposal as that of Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers, and such commanders as Barbarossa, Sala, or Mami the Arnaut, the sultan wielded the greatest maritime power in the Mediterranean, and was the most formidable of the foes

against whom the wisdom of Charles was now called to defend Spain.

Flanders, however, appeared to be the point upon which it was advisable that the strength of the crown should be first concentrated. Ruy Gomez de Silva had been instructed to raise eight thousand Castillians for the army of the duke of Savoy. But the treasury of Valladolid being already drained to its last ducat, it became necessary to look elsewhere for the sinews of war. The emperor was of opinion that it was now time to apply for aid to the church. The primate of Spain, cardinal Siliceo, was very infirm and very loyal, and his tenure of the second wealthiest see in Europe had been sufficiently long to make him very rich. To his money bags it was therefore determined first to apply the lancet, and the operator at once set off for Toledo.

The good old prelate bled freely and without a murmur, pouring into the royal coffers, in the shape of a benevolence, or loan which had but slender chance of being paid, no less a sum than four hundred thousand ducats. The archbishop of Zaragoza, who was next applied to, was also tolerably generous, contributing, from revenues of no great magnificence, twenty thousand ducats. The bishop of Cordova was less tractable. Although his see was very rich, and he himself an illegitimate scion of the house of Austria, it was not until he had received several hints from the emperor himself that he consented to advance one hundred thousand ducats. Fernando de Valdés, archbishop of Seville, was, however, the prelate who strove with most spirit against the spoliations of the king's envoy. Magnificent to the church, and mean to all the rest of the world, profligate, selfish, and bigoted, with some refinement of taste, and much dignity of manner, he was a fair specimen of the great ecclesiastic of the sixteenth

century. In spite of his seventy-four years, his abilities and energies were unimpaired, while his selfishness and bigotry were daily becoming more intense. The splendid mitre of St. Isidore was the sixth that had pressed his politic brows; for beginning his episcopal career in the little Catalonian see of Helna, he had intrigued his way not only to the throne of Seville, but to the chair of grand inquisitor at Valladolid.<sup>1</sup> He left, as the principal memorials of his name, as archbishop, the crown of masonry and the weather-cock Faith on the beautiful belfry of his cathedral at Seville; and as inquisitor, two thousand four hundred death-warrants in the archives of the holy office of Spain.

When this astute prelate received from Ruy Gomez de Silva the unwelcome notice that the king expected his aid in the shape of mundane coin as well as of spiritual fire, he adopted the truly Castillian tactics of delay, and allowed two months to elapse without returning any definite reply. At length the emperor himself addressed him in a letter similar in style to that which had opened the purse-strings of the bishop of Cordova. It was with much surprise, said Charles, that he found an old servant of the crown, who had held great preferment for so many years, thus backward with his offering when the emergency was so grave and the security so good. The archbishop, seeing the affair growing serious, now left the court and retired to the monastery, a few leagues off, of St. Martin de la Fuente. From this retreat he penned a reply, than which nothing could be more temperate, plausible, dignified, and evasive. Professing the profoundest reverence for his catholic Cæsarean majesty, and gratitude for his past favours, he

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<sup>1</sup> D. Ortiz de Zuñiga : *Annales de Sevilla*, fol. Madrid: 1677, pp. 503, 632.

assured him that he never had had the good fortune to possess four hundred thousand ducats in his life. His revenues were more than absorbed by the colleges which he was building at Salamanca and Oviedo, and by a chapel, likewise in progress, in Asturias, in which he intended to endow seven chaplains to say perpetual masses for the souls of his majesty and the empress. All that he could do, therefore, was to borrow a portion of the money which he had already allotted to these charities, trusting that, small as it would be, the emperor would accept it, and make provision for its restitution in due time.

Meanwhile, unfortunately for the prelate's case, six mules laden with silver were seen to arrive from the south at his palace at Valladolid. The princess-regent, therefore, directed Hernando de Ochoa, one of the royal accountants, to proceed to St. Martin de la Fuente, and reason the archbishop into compliance. The details of the interview are given in a letter from Ochoa to the emperor.<sup>1</sup> Poverty was still the plea urged by the prelate, but in a style very different from the courtly tone of his letters to Yuste. How could he find so much money? Where was it to come from? He had never had one hundred thousand ducats in his possession at one time in his life, nor eighty thousand, nor sixty thousand, no, nor even thirty thousand. Might all the devils take him if he ever had! He would also swear it, if needful, on the most holy sacrament. Nothing daunted, the cool accountant assured his lordship that he laboured under a mistake; taking his archbishopric at the admitted annual value of sixty thousand ducats, he proceeded to anatomize the prelate's annual expendi-

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<sup>1</sup> May 20th.

ture, and compare it with his revenue; and considering that it was notorious that his lordship never gave dinners or bought plate, he ended by advising him to offer as a compromise the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. But he also recommended him to return to court, and attend to the business at once, or else the emperor would infallibly find some means of helping himself to the larger sum which he might fairly demand.

Reasoning of the same kind was also used by the archbishop's brother, who was afterwards sent to him by the princess. Last of all came a second letter from Yuste, in which the emperor plainly told his 'reverend father in Christ,' that it was well known that his coffers had lately been replenished with as much silver as six mules could carry, and that he hoped therefore that he would pay quietly, as it would be very unpleasant to have to use stronger means of compulsion. The old fox, however, was a match for them all; he continued to fence for a week or two more; and he finally induced the princess to accept of one third of the sum named by her accountant, or fifty thousand ducats, of which only one half was to be paid down in ready money.

Ruy Gomez de Silva was again at Yuste on the fourteenth of May, and on the fifteenth of July. On each occasion he had a long interview with the emperor to report his progress in the king's affairs. In his last visit he was accompanied by Monsieur Ezcurra and Monsieur Burdeo, agents of the duke of Vendome; and the emperor gave a patient hearing to their proposal that their master should cede his claims on Navarre on receiving the investiture of the duchy of Milan. It cannot be supposed that Charles ever dreamed of paying such a price for a province which was already his own, and which had been part of the dominions of his house

for fifty years.<sup>1</sup> But it was of great importance to keep alive the hopes of the pretender, who, like a true Bourbon, was intriguing both with France and Spain, and capable of any treachery to either for the slightest gain to himself. In August, he was reported to have gone down to Rochelle to inspect the squadron which Henry the Second was fitting out to attack the annual plate fleet, now on its homeward voyage to the Guadalquivir. It was thought necessary, therefore, to strengthen the forces of Albuquerque, and to use double vigilance in guarding the passes into Navarre; and it was now that the rumour arose of the emperor's intention to take the command there in person. During the summer, a considerable body of troops had been embarked at Laredo, for Flanders. Ruy Gomez de Silva followed, probably about the end of July, taking with him a second detachment, and the money which he the regent and the emperor had succeeded in wringing from the poverty of the state and the avarice of the church.

The king of Portugal died at Lisbon, on the eleventh of June, and on the fifteenth the tidings reached Yuste. John the Third was a prince of but slender capacity, but the mantle of his father's good fortune remained with him for awhile; and his reign belongs to the golden age of Portugal, being illustrated with the great names of De Gama and Noronha, De Castro and Xavier. But disasters abroad and misfortune at home clouded the close of his career. The death of his only son, Don Juan, was closely followed by that of his brother, the gallant Don Luis, to whom the nation looked as natural guardian

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<sup>1</sup> In one of the papers mentioned in chap. iii. p. 50, note, Charles, while he recorded his belief that Navarre had been justly conquered by his grandfather, nevertheless charged Philip carefully to consider whether it ought to be restored, or compensation allowed to any of the claimants—a clear proof that he himself did not intend to settle the matter. *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. 500.

of the baby-heir. The king himself fell into premature decrepitude, both of body and mind. The little Sebastian, his grandson, was sitting one day by his bedside, when something was brought to the king to drink. The child, asking for something too, began to cry, because the cup offered him had not a cover, like that which had been given to his grandfather,—a mark of early ambition which the old man took very much to heart, and ordered the boy out of the room for thus desiring to be treated like a king before his time.<sup>1</sup>

First cousin to Charles the Fifth, John was also brother of his empress, husband of his sister, and father-in-law of two of his children. But, in spite of these intricately entwined ties, they were not on the most cordial terms; and the plans and policy of one court were studiously kept secret from the other. When secretary Gaztelu, therefore, wrote to the secretary of state to send a speedy and ample supply of the best and deepest mourning for the imperial household, he also required him to find out what had passed in the Portuguese council of state, at a meeting at which it was understood the late king had expressed a wish to abdicate, and to appoint the princess of Brazil as guardian of her son and regent of his kingdom. But in making these inquiries, he was to be especially careful that the emperor's name was not connected with the affair. Don Fadrique Henriquez de Guzman, mayordomo of Don Carlos, was soon after despatched to Yuste, to be the bearer of the emperor's condolences to his sister, the widowed queen Catherine. He arrived, with the mourning for the household, on the third of July, was admitted to a long audience on the fourth, and at daybreak on the fifth, set out for Lisbon. He

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<sup>1</sup> Menezes : *Chronica*, p. 43.



was furnished with very minute instructions, and was specially charged to make no mention of the princess of Brazil in his conversations with the queen or the ministers. But while the emperor wished to avoid all apparent interference, he was nevertheless very desirous that his daughter should be appointed to the Portuguese regency. The princess herself was naturally most anxious to have the guardianship of her son and his interests; and it was perhaps with a view to Portugal that she so frequently implored her brother to relieve her from her duties in Spain. But weeks passed away without any certain intelligence, and although there were two Spanish envoys at Lisbon, the princess determined to send a third, in the person of father Francisco Borja. Neither Portugal nor the house of Avis, however, would submit to the rule of a sister of the king of Spain. The regency was therefore given to the queen dowager, who closed her able administration with the brilliant defence of Mazagaon against the Moors. The reins then passed to the feebler hands of the cardinal Henry, nor was Juana ever permitted to hold any share of power, or even to embrace her son.

For disappointments in Portugal the emperor was consoled by glorious news from Flanders. Philip had landed there in July with eight thousand troops, entrusted to him by his fond queen and her reluctant people. Emboldened by this accession of strength, and reinforced by the new levies from Spain, the duke of Savoy was now able to carry on the war with greater vigour. He held Coligny blockaded in St. Quentin, a place of some strength on the steep bank of the Somme. The constable de Montmorency, who commanded the main French army, was ordered by the king of France to throw some troops into the place. Permitting this movement to be effected with but little

opposition, the duke seized that opportunity of passing the river with his whole force. By a succession of skilful manœuvres, he succeeded in surprising Montmorency, and compelling him to give battle, when count Egmont, at the head of seven thousand cavalry, obtained in one brilliant charge the most complete victory ever won by the lions and castles of Spain from the lilies of France. The army of the constable suffered utter annihilation, while the loss of the duke was said not to exceed one hundred men. The duke d'Enghien, Turenne, and other French leaders of note, were slain; and the constable and four princes of the blood, the Rhinegrave, and a host of the French nobility, with cannon, munition, and countless banners, fell into the hands of the Spaniard.

This great battle was fought on the tenth of August. The first news was conveyed to the emperor in a brief despatch from Vazquez, dated on the twentieth, and probably reached Yuste about the twenty-third. A more detailed account, which was afterwards printed at Valladolid, soon arrived, brought or closely followed by a courier sent by the king from Flanders. The emperor listened to the intelligence with the greatest interest, and ordered the messenger to be rewarded with a gold chain and a handsome sum of money.<sup>1</sup> On the seventh of September, a solemn mass was celebrated in the conventual church, in token of thanksgiving, and considerable alms were distributed from the imperial purse to the neighbouring poor. The emperor was much disappointed to learn that his son had not been present in

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<sup>1</sup> Gonzalez says 150,000 *ducats*, which is probably a slip of the pen for *maravedis*. The emperor is reported to have greatly disappointed the soldier who brought him the sword and gauntlets of Francis the First from the field of Pavia, by giving him only one hundred gold crowns for his trouble. *Relatione of Badovaro*.

the field, and bestowed his malediction upon the English troops, for whom the king was reported to have been waiting in the rear. For some weeks he continued impatient for news, counting the days, as Quixada wrote, which must elapse before the king could be at the gates of Paris. The citizens of Paris, like the emperor, also took it for granted that the Spaniards would march directly upon their capital, and many of the wealthier families fled southward into the heart of the kingdom. But the hopes of Yuste and the fears of the Louvre were equally foiled of their fulfilment; for Philip, ever timid and procrastinating, wasted the golden moments and the enthusiasm of his troops on the capture of a few insignificant fortresses in Picardy.

The triumph of the duke of Savoy in the Netherlands had a singular effect upon the war in Italy. No sooner had Guise commenced offensive operations against the kingdom of Naples, than he discovered that no aid was to be expected from the pope or his nephews, and no reliance to be placed on their promises. They had already exasperated him by refusing him Ostia or Ancona, which he wished to garrison, as a retreat for his troops in case of the failure of the enterprise. These robber-churchmen, indeed, treated their French knight-errant very much as Gines de Passamonte and his gang treated the good knight of La Mancha, after he had rescued them, at the expense of his bones, from the lash and the oar.<sup>1</sup> As Guise lay on the border-stream of Tronto, he was joined by little more than one half of the papal auxiliaries which had been promised him; and he had not advanced far into the enemy's territory before the insolence of the Roman leader, the marquess of Montebello, compelled him to turn that Caraffa

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<sup>1</sup> *Don Quixote*, part i. cap. 22.

ignominiously out of his camp. With zeal thus cooled, and with forces quite inadequate to effect any permanent conquest for France, Guise therefore confined his operations to the capture of some paltry places in the Abruzzi, and to an unsuccessful siege of Civitella, from which he was driven with considerable loss both of men and time. Retreating towards Rome, he threatened to evacuate the ecclesiastical states, and join the duke of Ferrara in an attack upon Parma and the Milanese. Alba in his turn now crossed the Tronto, marched into the Campagna, and took up a position within sight of Rome. The pope and the Caraffas, no less cowardly than rash, humbled themselves before Guise, and bribed him to assist them by fresh promises; and the war might have been again renewed but for the tidings of St. Quentin. Happily for art and its monuments, the panic of the king of France, the baseness of the king of Spain, and the supple treachery of Christ's vicar, saved Rome from a second sack. Guise and his army were instantly recalled; Alba was instructed that his master valued his great victory chiefly because it might restore him to the good graces of the pope;<sup>1</sup> and the holy father himself made haste to sacrifice his friend, and conclude a close bargain with his foe. The terms obtained were no less disgraceful to Paul and to Philip than advantageous to the Roman see. The pope was bound not to take part against Spain during the present war, and not to assist the duke of Guise with provisions or protection. The king, on his side, engaged to restore all the places he had taken from the pope, and raze the fortifications with which he had strengthened them; to do homage for the crown of Naples; and, while he claimed an amnesty for the

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<sup>1</sup> J. V. Rustant: *Historia del duque de Alba*, 2 tom. 4to. Madrid: 1751, ii. 59.

papal rebels, he permitted the pontiff to except from it Marc Antonio Colonna and the chief Roman magnates who had been the most active of Alba's allies, and whose fortunes were best worth the acceptance of the plundering Caraffas.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor had ever regarded Paul's policy with indignation, which had lately become mingled with scorn. He was for meeting his fury with calm firmness; and it was by his advice that the bulls of excommunication, which were frantically fulminated against his son, were forbidden to be published in the churches, and were declared contraband in the sea-ports of Spain. Had the king been a heretic, said Charles, he could not have been treated with greater rigour; the quarrel was none of his seeking; and in his endeavours to avoid it he had done all that was required of him before God and the world. Had the matter been left in the hands of the emperor, Paul would have been dealt with in the stern fashion which brought Clement to his senses: Alba would have been directed to advance, Rome would have been stormed, the pontiff made prisoner; and the primate of Spain and the prior of Yuste would have been directed to put their altars into mourning, and say many masses for the speedy deliverance of the holy father of the faithful.

It is not very clear why Philip the Second dealt thus gently with the foolish and wicked old man who was now at his mercy. Certain it is that no sentiment of generosity towards a fallen foe ever found place in that cold and selfish heart. His moderation may have been dictated by pure superstition, or it may have arisen from his secret desire to obtain, at some future time, the pope's sanction for his scheme of dividing the great sees and abbeys of the Low Countries—a scheme

<sup>1</sup> J. V. Rustant: *Hist. del D. de Alba*, ii. 61.

which he afterwards executed at the cost of so much blood, treasure, and territory.

The Roman treaty was almost the sole affair of importance transacted during the emperor's sojourn at Yuste, without his opinion having been first asked and his approval obtained. About the middle of October, he heard with some anxiety that Alba had concluded a treaty with the pope, but the precise conditions being probably still unknown at Valladolid, did not then reach Yuste. Writing by his master's desire for fuller information, Quixada confided to the secretary of state that the emperor was very much afraid that the terms obtained were bad, having generally observed that a treaty was sure to prove unfavourable when it was reported to be completed and yet the specification of the particular clauses withheld. The next instalment of news, that the French army had effected their retreat, only increased the misgivings of the emperor. At length there came a detailed account of the negotiations, and a copy of the treaty, which the secretary of state said had given satisfaction both at Rome and at Valladolid. At each paragraph that was read, the emperor's anger grew fiercer; and before the paper had been gone through he would hear no more. He was laid up next day with an attack of gout, which the people about him ascribed to the vexation which he had suffered; and so deep an impression did the affair make upon his mind, that for weeks after he was frequently overheard muttering to himself, through his shattered teeth, broken sentences of displeasure.

One of the subjects which lay nearest the emperor's heart was the education of his grandson, Don Carlos. The impression made upon him by the boy during his brief stay at Valladolid had been, as we have seen, unfavourable. The prince's governor, Don Garcia de

Toledo, was ordered to transmit to Yuste regular accounts of his pupil's progress. His letters, though few of them are in existence, were probably frequent, and they are so minute in their details of the prince's health and habits, that there is no doubt but the emperor took a lively interest in his grandson. Carlos is painted by his tutor as a sickly, sulky, and backward boy, certainly very unlikely to grow up the patriot hero into which the poet's licence and the historian's paradox have turned him at a later period of his unhappy life. On the thirtieth of July, Don Garcia complained to the emperor that his pupil was lazy at his books, and constipated in his bowels. The king, he said, had ordered him down to Tordesillas, as a place better suited for study than the court; but he, for his part, thought that if they were to leave Valladolid at all, the prince would be nowhere so well as at Yuste, under the eye of his grandfather.

A month later, on the twenty-seventh of August, he wrote that Don Carlos was better in health, but so choleric in temper, that they were thinking of putting him under a course of physic for that disorder; but that they would wait until the emperor's pleasure were known. He then described the prince's mode of passing the day. Rising somewhat before seven, he prayed, breakfasted, and went to hear mass at half-past eight; after which came lessons until eleven, when he dined. A few hours were then given to amusement with his companions, with whom he played at *trucos* (a game somewhat like bowls) or quoits; at half-past three he partook of a light meal (*merienda*), which was followed by reading, and an hour of out-door exercise, before or after supper, according to the weather. By half-past nine he had gone through the prayers of his rosary, and was in bed, where he soon fell fast asleep. The poor tutor was compelled

still to acknowledge that he had failed to imbue him with the slightest love of learning, in which he consequently made but little progress; that he not only hated his books, but showed no inclination for cane-playing, or the still more necessary accomplishment of fencing; and that he was so careless and awkward on horseback, that they were afraid of letting him ride much, for fear of accidents. To the emperor, who had loved and practised all manly sports with the ardour and the skill of a true Burgundian, it must have been a disappointment to learn that the prowess of duke Charles and kaiser Max, which had dwindled woefully in his son Philip, seemed altogether extinct in the next generation.

These notices of the character of the heir-apparent are confirmed by the account of him which the Venetian ambassador at the court of Bruxelles transmitted to his republic. He reported that Don Carlos was a youth of a haughty and turbulent temper, which his tutors vainly endeavoured to tame by making him read Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*; and that, upon being told that the Low Countries were settled upon the issue of his step-mother, Mary of England, he declared that he would maintain his right to those states in single combat with any son who might be born to his father in that marriage.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Relatione of Badovaro.*



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE VISIT OF THE QUEENS.

**D**URING the whole of the year 1557 the emperor's health gave him but little annoyance, and cost Dr. Mathys but little trouble or anxiety. It seemed as if there were some truth in the saying, attributed by the monks to Torriano, and supposed to have been the result of his astrological researches, that the Vera was the most salubrious place in the world, and Yuste the most salubrious spot in the Vera.<sup>1</sup> In spite of generally eating too much, Charles slept well, and his gout made itself felt only in occasional twinges; so effectually did the senna wine counteract the syrup of quinces which he drank at breakfast, the Rhine wine which washed down his mid-day meal, and the beer which, though denounced by the doctor, was the habitual beverage of the patient whenever he was thirsty. He had suffered, in September, a slight attack of dysentery from eating too much fruit. Towards the end of October, he was troubled by an inflammation in his left eye, and while waiting one day for a draught of senna wine, fell down in a fainting-fit, from which, however, he was soon recovered by a little vinegar sprinkled on his face, and suffered no subsequent ill effect. About the middle of December, he complained of feebleness, and of phlegm in his throat; and,

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<sup>1</sup> Siguença, iii. 200.

for awhile, forewent wine and beer, and drank hypocras and hot water. With these exceptions, he was in very tolerable health; he was able to go out with his gun, though not always able to take a steady aim without help: he passed a good deal of time in the open air; and frequently went to confess and take the sacrament at the hermitage of Bethlehem—a dependency of the convent, and about a quarter of a mile off in the forest.

In the Vera, the year was very unhealthy, the spring having been marked by a famine, which extended over the greater part of Estremadura. So severe was the scarcity, that the emperor's sumpter mules, laden with dainties, on their way to the convent, were pillaged by the hungry peasants; and, in the Campo de Arañuelo, almost the whole population of several villages perished of starvation. In the autumn, severe colds and fevers prevailed at Yuste and Quacos; and William Van Male lost two children, and was in great apprehension for the life of his wife.

The emperor gave much of his leisure time and unemployed thought to his garden. He had ever been a lover of nature, and a cherisher of birds and flowers. In one of his campaigns, the story was told, that a swallow having built her nest and hatched her young upon his tent, he would not allow the tent to be struck when the army resumed its march, but left it standing for the sake of the mother and brood.<sup>1</sup> From Tunis he is said to have brought not only the best of his laurels, but the pretty flower called the Indian pink, sending it from the African shore to his gardens in Spain, whence, in time,

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<sup>1</sup> Vieyra: *Sermoens*, vol. xv. p. 195. Quoted in Southey's *Common Place Book*, i. p. 408.

it won its way into every cottage garden in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Yuste was a very paradise for these simple tastes and harmless pleasures. The emperor spent part of the summer in embellishing the ground immediately below his windows; he raised a terrace, on which he placed a fountain, and laid out a parterre; and beneath it he formed a second parterre, planted like the first, with flowers and orange-trees. Amongst his poultry were some Indian fowls, sent him by the bishop of Plasencia. Of two fish-ponds which he caused to be formed with the water of the adjacent brook, he stored one with trout, and the other with tench. It was evidently his wish to make himself comfortable in the retreat where he had a reasonable prospect of passing many years. In the autumn, he sent for an additional game-keeper to kill game for his table; and in winter, for a new stove for his apartments; and he also received from Flanders a large box of tapestry, amongst which was a set of hangings wrought with scenes from his campaigns at Tunis, which still exist in the queen of Spain's palace at Madrid. He also contemplated an addition to his little palace, and he had made several drawings with his own hands of an intended oratory, and a new wing for the accommodation of the king, his son, who was to visit him as soon as public affairs permitted him to return to Spain. The plans never proceeded farther than the paper stage; nor was Philip's visit to Yuste paid until the emperor's own rooms were vacant.

During the spring, Luis Quixada's home-sick heart was gladdened by leave of absence, a favour accorded

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<sup>1</sup> René Rapin, in his *Hortorum libri*, iv., 4to, Paris, 1665, lib. i. c. 952-4, thus celebrates the event:—

Hunc primus pæno quondam de littore florem,  
Dum premeret duro obsidione Tunetum  
Carolus Austriades terræ transmisit Iberæ.

of the emperor's own free will, and unasked, as the honest chamberlain was careful to observe in his next letter to the secretary of state. He would have been very glad, he added, if he were not coming back any more, to eat asparagus and truffles in Estremadura.<sup>1</sup> He set out on the third of April, and the impatient English courier who had come the day before with his complaints of Castillian dilatoriness,<sup>2</sup> was probably his companion as he rode through the wild glens and over the sweet flowery wastes to Valladolid. To the princess-regent and the queen he carried letters, written in the emperor's own hand, which showed how implicitly the old soldier was trusted, and how he was treated almost like one of the family. The letter to the regent briefly referred her to the bearer for an account of her father's way of life, and his views on financial matters, and on the proper mode of dealing with the Sevillian rogues who preferred keeping their money to giving it to the state; while in the letter to the queen of France, the royal matron was advised by her brother to take counsel with the mayordomo in the affair of the meeting with her daughter, the impracticable infanta of Portugal.

At court and at his house at Villagarcia, Quixada remained until August, when the emperor, who missed him more each day, sent for him back. In the absence of the chief of his household, he seems to have fallen in some degree into the hands of the friars, and by that circumstance to have partially lost his prepossession in favour of the Jeromite robe. 'The friars,' writes Gaztelu, in undisguised glee, 'do not understand his majesty; and now at last he has found out, I think, his mistake in supposing that they are fit to be employed in his ser-

<sup>1</sup> 'Bien me alegrára, no volver á Estremadura á comer espárragos y turnos de tierra.' To Juan Vazquez, March 28th, 1557.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. v. p. 93.

vice in any way whatever.' It was high time, therefore, that Quixada should resume the command, and drive the monks back over the frontier. He arrived at Yuste on the twenty-first of August, having ridden post to Medina del Campo, and thence on what he called beasts of the country. The emperor was very glad to see him; and he was also glad to find the emperor very well, paler perhaps, but fatter than when he took his leave. Rumours had reached Valladolid, probably in consequence of the alarm raised in Navarre, that Charles intended to leave the convent, but the chamberlain now assured the secretary that they were unfounded. 'His majesty,' he wrote, 'is the most contented man in the world, and the quietest, and the least desirous of moving in any direction whatsoever, as he tells us himself.'<sup>1</sup> After thirty-five years of service, and being by the death of his brother the last of his house, Quixada had much wished to be relieved of his official duties, and settle at home. But the emperor having so urged him to remain that it was impossible to refuse, he had now resolved, he said, to move his wife and household into Estremadura, in spite of the expense and inconvenience to which it must put him, and his great dislike to the country. The letter in which this determination was conveyed to Vazquez ended, as usual, with the date, 'In Yuste,' to which the writer in this case added the words, 'evil to him who built it here; thirtieth of August, 1557.'<sup>2</sup>

During this summer, in Fray Juan de Ortega<sup>3</sup> the convent lost one of its best inmates, and the emperor and his household their favourite amongst the friars.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Esta el hombre el mas contento del mundo, y con mas reposo y con menor gana para salir para ninguna parte y ansi lo dice.'

<sup>2</sup> En Yuste: mal haya quien aqui lo edificó; a los 30 de Augusto, 1557.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. ii. p. 34; chap. iv. p. 75.

Having been ailing for some time, he obtained leave, at the end of May, to retire to his own convent at Alba de Tormes. On the twenty-fourth of August, the whole community of Yuste were saddened by the news of his death. Finding himself no better, and getting weary of his doctor, he put himself into the hands of a gatherer of simples, the quack of the district, who very speedily relieved him from his sufferings, and from further need of physic. Ortega is one of those men of whose life the remaining fragments make us wish for more. As general, having suffered a vote of censure for attempting to reform the order, the decree of the chapter had likewise declared him and his associates incapable of afterwards bearing any rule within the domain of St. Jerome. The emperor must have approved of his policy, or at least must have considered him unjustly treated, for he almost immediately afterwards offered him a mitre in the Indies. But Ortega declined the honour, saying that the friar whom his superiors had pronounced unfit to hold a priory, must be unfit to preside over a diocese, and that he considered it to be his duty to submit, as a private monk, to the penance imposed upon him. In 1553, while he was still general, there issued from an Antwerp press the charming story of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, destined to be a model of racy Castilian, and to found a new school of literature. Leaving the courts and the castles, the peers and paladins of conventional romance, the witty novelist had taken for his hero a little dirty urchin of Salamanca, and sent him forth to delight Europe with his exquisite humour, keen satire, and vivid pictures of Spanish life, and to win a popularity which was not equalled until the great knight of La Mancha took the field. The authorship, however, remained unacknowledged and unknown; and it was not until after the death of Diego

Hurtado de Mendoza that it came to be generally ascribed to that accomplished statesman, soldier, and historian. But at the decease of Ortega there was found in his cell a manuscript of the work, from which the fathers of Alba conjectured that it must have been written in his college-days at Salamanca.<sup>1</sup> Whether the glory belong to the layman or the churchman, the monk who was capable of so chivalrously refusing a mitre, and who was supposed to be capable of writing the first and one of the best modern fictions, must have been a man of noble character, and of remarkable powers.

The ignorance and gossiping of the friars were not the sole local annoyances suffered by the emperor and his household. The villagers of Quacos were the unruly protestants who troubled his reign in the Vera. Although these rustics shared amongst them the greater part of the hundred ducats which he dispensed every month in charity, they teased him by constant acts of petty aggression, by impounding his cows, poaching his fish-ponds, and stealing his fruit. One fellow having sold the crop on a cherry-tree to the emperor's purveyor at double its value, and for ready money, when he found that it was left ungathered, resold it to a fresh purchaser, who of course left nothing but bare boughs behind him. Weary of this persecution, Charles at last sent for Don Juan de Vega, president of Castille, who arrived on the

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<sup>1</sup> The story is told by Siguença, ii. p. 184. N. Antonio includes *Lazarillo* among the works of Mendoza, but he says that some people still ascribed it to Ortega. Mr. Ticknor, in his excellent and discerning criticism on Mendoza (*History of Spanish Literature*, 3 vols. 8vo. New York: 1849, i. 513) raises no doubt as to the authorship, without, however, stating on what, besides internal evidence, Mendoza's claim rests. The first edition was printed at Antwerp, 1553; another appeared at Burgos, in 1554, and a third at Antwerp, in the same year; yet the first mentioned by Antonio is that of Tarragona, 1586; so ignorant was the laborious bibliographer of Spain—being also a churchman—of one of the most curious and valuable portions of her literature, the novels.

twenty-fifth of August at Luis Quixada's house, in the guilty village. Next morning he had an interview of an hour and a half with the emperor; and spent the day following in concerting measures with the licentiate Murga, the rural judge, to whom he administered a sharp rebuke, which that functionary in his turn visited upon the unruly rustics. The president returned to Valladolid on the twenty-eighth; and a few days afterwards several culprits were apprehended. But whilst Castillian justice was taking its usual deliberate course, some of them who had relatives amongst the Jeromites of Yuste, by the influence of their friends at court, wrought upon the emperor's good nature so far, that he himself begged that the sentence might be light.<sup>1</sup>

Of the unofficial visitors who paid their respects during this year at Yuste, one of the earliest and certainly the most remarkable was Juan Gines Sepulveda, the historian, whose flowing style and pure Latinity gained him the title of the Livy of Spain. This able writer had formerly held the post of chaplain to the emperor, and tutor to prince Philip; and was now one of the historiographers-royal, in which capacity he had retired to his estate at Pozoblanco, near Cordova, to compose his annals of the emperor's reign, and cultivate his flower-garden. Amongst other pieces of sinecure church preferment which had fallen to his lot, was the archpriesthood of Ledesma, to which he had been recently presented. The fine weather early in March had tempted him to set out for this new benefice; but being overtaken in the mountains of Guadalupe by storms, which even the tempest-stilling bells of Our Lady's holy church<sup>2</sup> could not calm, he was glad to turn aside to the Vera to pay his homage to the emperor, and to visit his old friend

<sup>1</sup> Siguença : iii. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Talavera: *Hist. de Na. Seña. de Guadalupe*, fol. 16.



Van Male. Charles, who had not seen him for eighteen years, received him with great cordiality, and conversed with him with much interest on the progress of his history. The learned traveller was highly delighted with his patron's kindness, the beauty of the place, and his few days of repose in Van Male's house at Quacos. He had taken the mountain road by which Charles had come to Yuste. The first part of his journey, although toilsome, was ease itself to what was now before him. Crossing the Puertonuevo in a storm would try the nerve and task the endurance of a smuggler in his prime; and it is therefore not surprising that it nearly cost the sedentary doctor of sixty his life. He said the ascent was like the path of virtue, as described by Hesiod, inasmuch as it was long, and steep, and rugged; but very unlike it, inasmuch as it led, not to an easy plain, but to a descent yet more frightful than the acclivity.<sup>1</sup> He had ridden up; but the rocks which now frowned over his head, and the chasms which yawned at every turn beneath him, so terrified him that he dismounted from his mule, and walked eight miles in the mud, through alternate rain and snow. He arrived at Alba more dead than alive; and in spite of good nursing in the house of a warm canon of Salamanca, the month of June found him in his parsonage at Ledesma, still complaining of the cold which he had caught in that wild mountain march.<sup>2</sup>

Don Luis de Avila was a frequent visitor at Yuste. Charles had always been fond of the society of his lively Quintus Curtius; and the historian regarded the emperor with that enthusiastic admiration with which a

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<sup>1</sup> *The Works and the Days*, v. 288.

<sup>2</sup> He calls it 'iter totius Hispaniæ difficillimum;' describing it in the letter to Van Male, in his *Epistole*, sm. 8vo, Salamant. 1557, ep. cii., fol. 274, or *Opera*, 4to, Madrid, 1780, iii. p. 351.

great man seldom fails to inspire his followers. The lords of Mirabel long preserved, probably still possess, an heir-loom brought into the Zuñiga family by Avila—a marble bust of his favourite hero, chiselled by the masterly hand of the elder Leoni, and inscribed with this loyal doggrel,

Carolo quinto et è assai questo,  
Perche si sa per tutto il mondo il resto.

Avila likewise caused some of the battles of the imperial captain to be painted in fresco on various ceilings of the noble mansion, and they were now actually in progress under his own superintendence. The name of the artist has not survived, and his work, long since faded, has proved the truth of the adage which the old marquess of Mirabel had shortly before written over one of the windows—*todo pasa*—all things pass away.<sup>1</sup>

There is a heartiness in Avila's flattery which says much for its honesty and somewhat excuses its extravagance. The bold dragoon concludes his German commentaries with this blast of the true Castillian trumpet: 'When Caesar had subdued Gaul, after a ten years' war, he made the whole world ring with his story; and only to have crossed the Rhine and passed eighteen days in Germany seemed enough to vindicate the power and dignity of the nation which ruled the world. In less than a year our emperor conquered this province, whose matchless valour has been confessed both by ancient and modern times. In thirty years Charlemagne subjugated Saxony; our emperor was master of it all in less than three months. The greatness of this war demands a nobler pen than mine, which tells nothing but the naked truth, and what I have seen with my own eyes of the exploits of

<sup>1</sup> A. Ponz: *Viaje en España*, 18 vols. sm. 8vo. Madrid: 1784, vii. 117, 118, 122.

him who ought as far to excel in fame the great captains of past ages as he excels them all in valour and in virtue.<sup>1</sup>

The adulation of bishop Giovio was as distasteful to Charles as the protestant abuse of Sleidan; and he was wont to call them his two liars. But Avila's volume, bound in crimson velvet and silver, adorned his book-shelf; and the door of his cabinet was ever open to the author. It is characteristic of the times, that it was remarked as a singular favour that the emperor one day ordered a capon to be reserved for the grand-commander from his own well-supplied board.<sup>2</sup> It may seem strange that a retired prince, who had never been a lover of pomp, should not have broken through the ceremonial law which enjoined a monarch to eat alone, and which, when on the throne, he had broken through once, though once only, in favour of the duke of Alba.<sup>3</sup> Still, it must be remembered that he was a Spaniard, living among Spaniards, with whom punctilio was a kind of piety; and that near a century later the force of forms was still so strong, that Richelieu himself, when most wanting in ships, preferred that the Spanish fleet should retire from the blockade of Rochelle rather than that its admiral should wear his grandee-hat in the most Christian presence.

The emperor was fond of talking over his campaigns with the veteran who had shared and recorded them. One day, in the course of such conversation, Don Luis spoke of the frescoes which were in progress in his house at Plasencia, and said that on one of the ceilings was to be painted the battle of Renti, and the Frenchmen flying

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<sup>1</sup> Avila: *Comentario de la Guerra de Alemania*, sm. 8vo. Anvers: 1549, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Vera: *Vida de Carlos V.*, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Rustant: *Vida del D. de Alba*, i. 182.

before the soldiers of Castille. 'Not so,' said the emperor, 'let the painter modify this if he can, for it was no headlong flight, but an orderly retreat.'<sup>1</sup> This was not the less candid because French historians claimed the victory for France, and recounted with pride the captured colours and cannon, amongst which were the two huge pieces known as the emperor's pistols.<sup>2</sup> Considering that the action had been fought only three or four years before it is reported to have been thus grossly misrepresented, it is possible that Renti may have been substituted by mistake for the name of some less doubtful field. But Avila was of easy faith when the honour of Castille and the emperor were concerned; and he may well be supposed capable of some such loyal and patriotic inaccuracy in fresco, when he did not hesitate to print his belief that the miracle which had been wrought for Joshua and the chosen people in the valley of Ajalon, had been repeated on behalf of Charles and his Spaniards on the banks of the Elbe.<sup>3</sup> Some years after, the duke of Alba, who had also been at Muhlberg, was asked by the king of France whether he had observed that the sun stood still. 'I was so busy that day,' said the cautious soldier, 'with what was passing on earth, that I had no time to notice what took place in heaven.'

A visit which Avila paid to the convent in August, seems to have been prompted by an official letter addressed by the princess-regent to the authorities of Plasencia, and containing, or supposed to contain, a hint that the emperor proposed soon to set out for Navarre. The city being greatly excited by the rumours thus raised, the grand-commander mounted his horse

<sup>1</sup> Vera: *Vida de Carlos V.*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> L. Favyn: *Hist. de Navarre*, fol. Paris: 1612, p. 814.

<sup>3</sup> Avila: *Comentario*, fol. 70.

and rode up the Vera to make inquiries into the state of matters at Yuste. The recluse was disposed rather to pique than to gratify the curiosity of the knight of the green cross. Writing on his return to the secretary of state, Avila said, 'I have left Fray Carlos in a very calm and contented mood, not at all mistrusting his strength, but believing himself quite equal to the exertion of moving from his retreat. Since I was there last, all his ideas on this head may have changed; and I could believe his undertaking anything from love to his son, knowing as I do his brave spirit and his ancient habits, having been reared, as he was, in war, like the salamander in the furnace. The princess's letter has set us all on the tiptoe of expectation here, and I do not think that there is a man among us who would stay behind if the emperor took the field. But if this *bravata*, as they say in Italy, is really to be executed, I pray God it may be done speedily, for the weather looks threatening, and Navarre, with its early winter, is not Estremadura.'

Amongst other visitors at Yuste was Don Francisco Bolivar, paymaster of the navy, who came on the sixteenth of September and had a long audience next day, to lay before the emperor certain information about the Turkish naval force, and to tell him that the fleet of Solyman which had been menacing the western shores of the Mediterranean, had now steered for the Levant. For this good news Charles presented him, when he took leave, with a gold chain. A few weeks later, on the sixth of October, Don Martin de Avendaño, who had commanded a squadron newly arrived

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<sup>1</sup> Luis de Avila to Vazquez; Plasencia, 24th August, 1557. Gonzalez MS.

from Peru, was received with a welcome so hearty that Quixada noted it as remarkable in his letter to the secretary of state. Perhaps the excellent health which the emperor at that time enjoyed might have been partly the cause of this cordiality, for the chamberlain said, in the same letter, that he was unusually well, 'very plump and fresh-coloured, and eat and slept better than he did himself.' The admiral was sent on his way rejoicing, with a strong letter of recommendation to the king.

The visitors at Yuste were generally envoys, or official personages. Avila and the count of Oropesa and his brother, were amongst the few exceptions. The neighbouring prelates and grandees continued to send their contributions to the imperial larder. Oropesa kept it supplied with game from the forest and the hill; the Jeromites of Guadalupe, rich in lands and beeves, presented calves, lambs fattened on bread, and delicate fruits; and the bishops of Segovia, Mondoñedo, and Salamanca, were careful to put in similar evidence that they had not forgotten the giver of their mitres. Occasionally, the donors of these dainties appear to have nourished a hope of being recompensed with the loaves and fishes of court patronage and favour. A few leagues north of the convent, at the Alpine town of Bejar, was a noble castle of the chief family of Zuñiga, created dukes of the place by Isabella the Catholic, a family known afterwards both in arts and arms, and immortalized by the dedication of Don Quixote. The mules sent to Yuste by the duchess were in due time followed by the lady's chaplain, charged with a request that the emperor would graciously assist the family in obtaining a boon for which they had long been soliciting the crown, the restoration of the older dukedom of Plasencia. Charles

answered his fair suitor somewhat bluntly, that he considered the claim unfounded, and that he would burden his conscience with no such matter.

Towards the end of September, the queens of France and Hungary were expected in the Vera on a visit to their brother. The castle of Xarandilla was placed at their disposal by Oropesa, and prepared for their reception under the superintendence of Quixada and Van Male. The queens set out from Valladolid on the eighteenth of September, accompanied by their niece, the regent, who was going to her pious retreat at Abrojo, and travelling by easy stages, they reached Xarandilla in ten days. On the twenty-eighth they came to Yuste, attended by the bishop of Plasencia, and saw the emperor for about an hour. During their stay of ten or eleven weeks in the Vera, queen Eleanor, being in very feeble health, and easily fatigued, even by the motion of her litter, was able to visit Yuste only three times. On one of these occasions, she and her sister came over in the morning to Quacos, and having dined there, spent some hours at the convent, and returned to the village to sleep. Quixada was somewhat scandalized at this arrangement, and proposed an attempt to lodge the royal ladies for one night at Yuste; but Charles would not hear of it, nor would he even offer them a dinner. The queen of Hungary was still robust enough for the saddle; she delighted in the exercise of her limbs and tongue; and she was therefore frequently on horseback, riding through the fading forest to her brother's inhospitable gate.

The queens had not yet determined where to establish their permanent abode, and wished to be guided by the emperor's advice. They had at one time thought of Plasencia, but upon this he put his decided negative. They next cast their eyes upon Guadalaxara, in Castille;

the crown having a great extent of land in and around that town, the rights and privileges of which the king was willing to make over to them for their lives. The town boasting of no mansion suitable to their rank but the palace of the duke of Infantado, they applied for the use of that truly noble pile. But the duke, who had never been very cordial with the Austrian royal family, excused giving up his house on the plea of ill-health; and in spite of the regent's representations that as it had been given to the grand cardinal Mendoza by Isabella the Catholic, it was scarcely polite to refuse to lend it for a time to her grand-daughters, he continued to urge this plea in a number of letters, equally courtly, copious, and tiresome. At the close of the year, Quixada, writing to his friend the secretary Eraso, hinted to that functionary that as the queens still thought of residing at Guadalaxara, it would be well for him to place at their disposition a grange which he possessed in the neighbourhood, where they might amuse themselves in fishing or in the chase. Both of the royal widows, however, died before it was settled where they were to live.

Their chief business at Yuste, at this time, was the long-talked-of meeting between queen Eleanor and the infanta of Portugal. To see this daughter once more, was the sole wish of the poor mother's heart. The daughter, on the other hand, seemed hardly less anxious to avoid the interview. Long after the king of Portugal had given his consent, and even after his death, she continued to raise up obstacles in the way, in which she was countenanced by her uncle, the cardinal Henry. Father Francis Borja used his influence in vain. The Spanish ambassador at Lisbon, Don Sancho de Cordova, who met the queens at Xarandilla and Yuste, gave so unfavourable an account of her intentions, that



Eleanor began to despair altogether of realizing her long cherished hope. The emperor, at her request, himself wrote to his niece, urging compliance with her mother's very reasonable wishes; and, after many delays and a sham illness, the reluctant damsel consented. Preparations were immediately set on foot for receiving her at Badajoz with due honour, and sixteen nobles and prelates were chosen to wait upon her at the frontier. Among them were the duke of Escalona, the count of Oropesa, the grand commander of Alcantara, and the bishops of Coria and Salamanca.

Many of the difficulties for which the infanta was made responsible, no doubt, really arose from the ill-feeling which at this time prevailed between the courts of Lisbon and Valladolid. While these negotiations were pending, a Portuguese courier was arrested on suspicion of being a French spy, and on his person was found an autograph letter from the king of France, in which the queen-regent was informed of the state of the war in the Netherlands and entreated to lend her assistance against Spain. This letter was forwarded to Yuste by secretary Vazquez, with a remark that it was better to trust even Frenchmen than some Portuguese. The emperor, on the other hand, told Quixada that he thought the letter might have been written for the purpose of being intercepted, and of exciting suspicion and discord, and that the boasting of a Frenchman ought never to be taken seriously. But he clearly indicated his own feelings of the ill-will entertained at Lisbon towards his son's government, in conveying to Vazquez the official information which he had received from thence of a revolt in Peru, and the death of the viceroy, the marquess of Cañete. 'Although I well know,' he wrote, 'that the court of Portugal would not have sent me this news, had it been true, I should

wish to ascertain the ground whereon such a rumour rests.<sup>1</sup>

The queens took leave of the emperor on the fourteenth of December, and the next day set out for Badajoz. Their departure was a great relief to Luis Quixada, who had to attend to their comforts at Xarandilla, in addition to his daily task of governing the emperor's Flemings, and keeping on good terms with his friars. The supplies required by their numerous retinue had also produced a sort of famine in the Vera, and had raised the price of mutton to a real, or two-pence-halfpenny, a pound. The licentiate Murga, of Quacos, was entrusted with the arrangements on the road, and the queens were everywhere received with public attention and respect. At Truxillo the authorities wished to give a public festival in their honour, which, however, the royal ladies graciously declined; and resting on the feast of St. Thomas, at Merida, they arrived on Christmas-eve at Badajoz, where Don Luis de Avila was waiting to receive them.

They were fortunate in the weather, which was clear and calm, except on the day which they spent in the old Roman city. But, on the day after they left Xarandilla, a terrible hurricane visited that part of the Vera. At Yuste, two of the emperor's chimneys were blown down, and one took fire; and many of his cedars and citrons measured their length upon the discomfited parterres. Two houses fell at Xarandilla, and another was overthrown at Quacos.

Father Borja had been selected by the princess-regent for a special and secret mission to Lisbon in the autumn, on the delicate subject of the regency of Portugal. He received her summons at Simancas, where he had founded

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<sup>1</sup> Emperor to Vazquez, 22nd Sept. 1557. Gonzalez MS.

a small Jesuits' house, and whither he loved to escape from the distractions of the court, to unstinted penance and prayer. The sun of September was scorching the naked plains of the Duero, and the good Jesuit was in feeble health. Nevertheless, he immediately obeyed the regent's mandate, and repaired to Yuste, by her direction, to hold counsel with the emperor;<sup>1</sup> after which, scorning repose in the cool woodlands, he at once took the road to Portugal across the charred wastes of Estremadura. This haste and the heat together, threw him into a fever, of which he nearly died in the town of Evora; and when once more able to resume his journey, he was nearly drowned in a squall in crossing the Tagus to Lisbon. The queen Catherine, the cardinal Henry, and the infanta Mary, all vied with each other in nursing him; but he did not succeed in the objects of his mission, for he obtained no promise of the regency for the Spanish princess; nor could he even prevail upon the Portuguese infanta to perform the very simple duty of setting out to meet her widowed mother. He was again at Yuste about the twentieth of December. The emperor paid him the unusual compliment of lodging him in the palace, and even entered into the preparation which Luis Quixada was making for his reception. The mayordomo having hung the walls of his chamber with tapestry, the emperor, judging that it would rather offend than please the Jesuit, ordered it to be taken

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<sup>1</sup> Ribadeneira: *Vida de P. F. Borja*, fol. 105. Gonzalez is inclined to doubt the fact; yet his MS. contains a letter (30th August, 1557) from the princess to the emperor, in which she announces her intention of sending Borja to Lisbon; and one from Gaztelu to Vazquez (28th December, 1557), which proves that he had been there. As it is extremely probable that the Jesuit would have been instructed to see the emperor on his way to Portugal, and as there are several gaps in the correspondence in September, I am inclined to suppose that some letters may have been lost, and I have therefore followed Ribadeneira.

down, and its place to be supplied with some black cloth, of which he despoiled his own ante-room.<sup>1</sup>

Borja remained at the convent for some days, and of course had frequent interviews with the emperor. It was probably now that Charles returned to him a number of letters, written at his request by the Jesuit, on the politics and politicians of the court of Valladolid. 'You may be sure,' said he, on restoring them, 'that no one but myself has seen them.' The confidence thus reposed by the shrewdest of princes in Borja's judgment and observation, shows how keenly the things of earth may be scanned by eyes which seem wholly fixed upon heaven.<sup>2</sup>

The emperor likewise told his friend of a dispute, between two nobles, which had been referred to him for decision, and on which he desired to have his opinion, as he probably knew the rights of the case. The matter in dispute was the title to certain lands; and the parties were Borja's son, Charles duke of Gandia, and Don Alonso de Cardona, admiral of Aragon. Thus appealed to, the father behaved with that stoical indifference to the voice of blood, which, while it shocked some of his lay admirers, never fails to command the loud applause of his reverend biographers. 'I know not,' he said, 'whose cause is the just one, but I pray your majesty not only not to allow the admiral to be wronged, but to show him all the favour compatible with equity.' When the emperor expressed some not unnatural surprise, the Cato of the company explained the singular tone of his request, somewhat lamely as it seems, by saying that perhaps the admiral needed the disputed property more

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<sup>1</sup> Nieremberg: *Vida de Borja*, p. 136. This story is somewhat doubtful, not because it is in itself improbable, but because, if true, it would have been probably mentioned in the letters of Quixada to Vazquez.

<sup>2</sup> Sandoval, ii. p. 833.

than the duke did, and that it was good to assist the necessitous.<sup>1</sup>

During his stay at Yuste, Borja was treated with marked distinction. Not only had his host arranged the upholstery of his chamber, but he also sent him each day the most approved dish from his well-supplied board. When duty once more required the father to take his staff in his hand, he carried with him two hundred ducats for alms, which Quixada had been directed by the emperor to force upon his acceptance. 'It is a small sum,' said the chamberlain, 'but in comparison with my lord's present revenues, it is perhaps the largest bounty he ever bestowed at one time.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nieremberg: *Vida de Borja*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Ribadeneira: *Vida de Borja*, p. 99.

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## CHAPTER VII.

## THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELEANOR.

THE year 1558 did not open auspiciously at Yuste. The emperor continued to be troubled with flying gout: he complained of itching and tingling in his legs, from the knees downwards; and he was sometimes seized with fits of vomiting. On the seventh of January he was unable to leave his bed, or to see the admiral of Aragon, who had come to state certain grievances which he had against the master of Montesa, and who was therefore dismissed to spend a few days in the pilgrimage to Guadalupe. The season itself seemed to be unhealthy, for so many members of the household were ill that Gaztelu proposed to reinforce the medical staff with another doctor, one Juan Muños, a good physician and surgeon, who had been sent by the regent to attend upon her father at Laredo.

On the night of the eighth of January, the palace was broken into, and a sum of eight hundred ducats, set apart for charitable uses, stolen from the emperor's wardrobe. The licentiate Murga was immediately set to discover the robbers, but his perquisitions attained no satisfactory end. Some of the household were supposed to have been concerned, but the emperor would not permit the persons suspected to be subjected to the torture, the usual mode of compelling evidence in those days, 'fearing,' said Quixada, mysteriously, 'that certain things might come out which had better remain con-

cealed.' The culprits were never found, nor was the cash recovered. It is somewhat remarkable that a few weeks afterwards the emperor divided two thousand ducats, as a largesse, among his attendants, each receiving a sum proportioned according to the amount of his salary.

While plagued by the depredations of thieves, the emperor was also teased by the contentions of thief-takers. The corregidor of Plasencia came over to Quacos and arrested one Villa, an alguazil under Murga, on pretence that he had exceeded his powers by exercising his office within the city jurisdiction, which, as the Plasencian affirmed, extended to the limits of the village. Charles was much displeased, and caused a complaint to be lodged at Valladolid, the result of which was that the corregidor was suspended from his functions, and the jurisdiction of Quacos enlarged by a fresh official act. The offender, however, was forgiven, and reinstated in a few weeks.

On the tenth of January, the emperor, though still in bed, gave audience to Don Juan de Acuña, who had recently come from Flanders; and the same day a rumour was brought by the count of Oropesa, that the duke of Alba had lately arrived at Bruxelles, and proposed resigning the viceroyalty of Naples, and the command of the army in Italy. At this rumour Charles displayed more displeasure than Quixada thought good for his health; and he refused to listen to the despatches from court relating to the Italian affairs until some days after they had arrived. When at last he permitted them to be read, and heard the secret articles of the treaty with the pope, he only remarked that the reserved conditions were as bad as those which had been made public.

Disgraceful as the treaty was, the anger felt by the emperor may perhaps have arisen partly because the

negotiations had been conducted without his knowledge or consent. Philip's love of temporizing was notorious; 'Time and I against two,'<sup>1</sup> was his favourite adage; and he often bought time at the price of golden opportunity. When the victory of St. Quentin had compelled the recal of Guise, Rome was so completely in the power of Alba, that there was no visible motive for hastening the pope's deliverance. Had the king wished to consult his father, an armistice of a few weeks would have given sufficient time for communication between Bruxelles and Yuste. It is therefore most probable that Philip, making, for reasons which he did not wish to explain, a peace which he felt the emperor must disapprove, purposely withheld from him any knowledge of the treaty until it was actually signed and sealed. It is certain that great and unaccountable delay took place in laying before him some of the subsequent transactions in Italy. Thus, although a rumour of Alba's departure had reached Yuste on the tenth of January, it was not until the twenty-seventh, that a letter, addressed to the emperor by Alba himself, and dated so far back as the twenty-third of September, 1557, reached Yuste by the hands of Luis de Avila. This letter announced that peace had been concluded, and described the state of matters at Rome; and further said that as the king's affairs were now in a prosperous condition, the duke intended soon to avail himself of his majesty's promise that his term of service in Italy should be short, and to embark for Lombardy; after which he trusted ere long to kiss the emperor's hand, and ask for some repose from his fatigues of twenty-five years. To this letter Charles deigned no answer, nor did he make any remark

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<sup>1</sup> 'Tiempo y yo para otros dos.'