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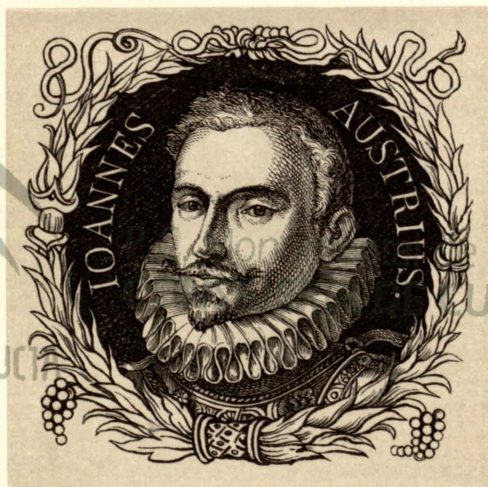
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DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

OR

PASSAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY 1547-1578

Illustrated with numerous Wood Engravings



BY THE LATE

SIR WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL, BART.

AUTHOR OF 'THE CLOISTER LIFE OF CHARLES V.' ETC.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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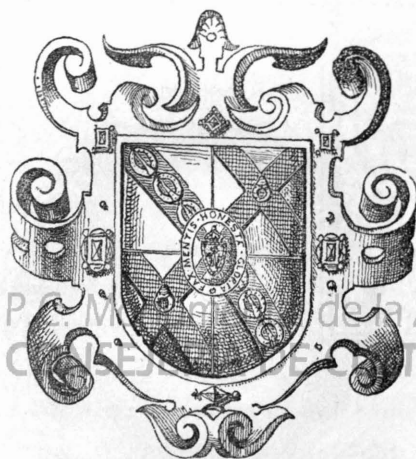
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STIRLING-MAXWELL ARMS.

Printed by R. & R. CLARK, Edinburgh.



PREFACE



O all who knew him, either personally or by reputation, it will be a subject of regret that the Author of this Work was not permitted to carry finally through the press a history on which he had spent years of persevering labour. But although his life was prematurely cut short, he had already done for it far more than even careful writers in general do for their productions. Not content with corrections made in his own manuscripts, he had the whole work more than once printed, and for the printed chapters he continued to make additions and changes which he felt to be called for in order to reach the high standard which he had set before himself. These insertions form a considerable portion of the present text; and there is not one among them which fails to evince the patient striving of the writer to make as nearly as might be possible perfect that which had been to him for nearly a generation a labour of love. Probably even while he was busy with the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, he entertained the design of telling the story of the high-spirited and shortlived Prince, whose brief career is associated with the first serious check given to the power of the Ottoman Turk, and with events which mark the turning-point in the history of the Reformation throughout Northern Europe.

In the execution of this plan the Author had at his command, in his own library, a treasure-house of Spanish literature second to none in the possession of private persons in Europe; and he was thus enabled to treat fully, and perhaps exhaustively, many points which have been subjects of debate and controversy. He has left, probably, nothing more to be said on the parentage of Don John himself; on the melancholy history of his nephew and playmate, Don Carlos; on the tortuous intrigues and hidden motives which determined the course of the Morisco rebellion, and marked the formation of the League which had for its brilliant but comparatively fruitless result the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Nor is the picture less complete which he has drawn of Don John's administration in the Netherlands—an administration which does credit both to the heart and the head of the young Prince, who may be said with truth to have fallen under a burden which the short-sightedness, the dilatoriness, the bigotry, and, above all, the deep and deliberate treachery of his brother Philip II., made it impossible for him to bear.

During the long series of years spent in the preparation of this Work, the Author spared himself no pains in bringing together a body of illustrations which should enable the reader to form a life-like idea of the age in which Don John for a few years played a prominent part, and of the chief personages who, with him, were actors in the great drama. This collection is especially rich in portraits of the victor of Lepanto; the many likenesses given of him showing what he was at every stage from early boyhood onwards in his short career, and bearing witness to the high powers which he had inherited from his father, in contrast with the feebler intellect and colder affections of his brother Philip.

To these portraits the Author added a large collection of engravings, illustrating the armour, weapons, art-workmanship, medals, the naval and military equipments, the galleys, frigates, and ships of the sixteenth century, together with a multitude of ornamental alphabets obtained from the Works for which they

were designed and of devices throwing light on the manners, employments, and amusements of the age.

Nearly the whole of these illustrations are embodied in this edition of his Work ; and the Work itself is now presented to the public strictly as it was left by the Author. Apart from the comparatively few verbal corrections which will remain to be made even after a careful revision, nothing has been added, nor have any changes been made in the arrangement of the matter except in one instance, in which such a change seemed unavoidable. The third chapter of the first volume, which, beginning with a few paragraphs of narrative relating to Don John, contained a treatise on the fleets of the sixteenth century, followed by some pages of narrative again relating to Don John, ran to an inordinate length. In this case the narrative with which the chapter began has been added to the preceding chapter, the account of the fleets and the subsequent historical narrative being given in separate chapters.

In a Work which is largely concerned with the history of Islam the question of the spelling of Eastern names must present itself. The Author's practice is not always consistent, some names being in different parts of the Work given in two or three different forms. These inconsistencies would probably have been removed by him on a final revision. As it is, one of the forms used by him has in such cases been adopted, his system of spelling not being otherwise interfered with. The Spanish names are printed as written by the Author, who in some instances adheres to the French form, and in others admits an interchange of consonants.

Some of the notes left for the Work were found to be little more than memoranda to guide the Author to further inquiries on points calling for attention. When these notes explain themselves they are given as the Author left them. A few, which would be unintelligible or useless to the reader, have been omitted.

In preparing this work finally for the press, I have felt bound to confine myself strictly to the carrying out of the Author's

intentions. It was under this expressed condition that the executors of his will placed the whole of the material in my hands; and throughout I have striven, as far as was possible, to follow his wishes. I may add that some difficulty has been experienced in the distribution of the woodcuts in the text, some of the chapters having few, and one or two having no illustrations. But as it was impossible to doubt that the Author would have desired to place the woodcuts only in those parts of the text which relate to them, a faithful adherence to his plan left me in this matter no option.

GEORGE W. COX.



P. O. de Alhambra y Generalife
GOBIERNO DE ANDALUCIA



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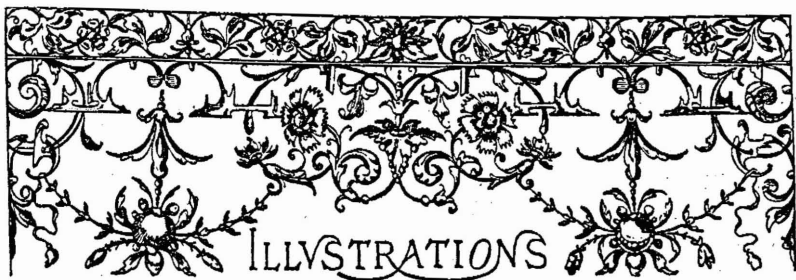


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DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

From a print probably executed at Venice about the time of the Battle of Lepanto.



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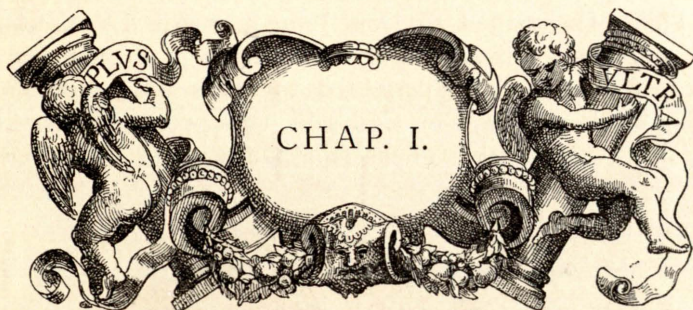
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CHILDHOOD OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, 1547-1558.



HE 24th of February, the feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, was reckoned by the Emperor Charles V. as the most memorable among the auspicious days of his life. Born on that day in the castle of Ghent, he received on the same day of the same month, from the hands of the Pope at Bologna, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. On the same day one of his generals,

Prosper Colonna, routed the French under Lautrec in the important field of Bicocca; and another, Charles de Lannoy, received the sword of the captive King of France beneath the walls of Pavia. And on the same day, in the year 1547, it is said that there was born to him at Ratisbon the son to whom descended much of his capacity for command, and whose brief career forms the last brilliant page in the history of those princely houses which were united in the person of Charles under the name of Austria.

Although Don John of Austria was the acknowledged son of the most famous monarch of the age, the facts of his early life are veiled in much obscurity. Until within the last few years historians have accepted 1545 as the date of his birth,¹ notwithstanding the evidence of the medal struck in honour of his victory at Lepanto, in which his age is given as twenty-four, in 1571.

¹ Vanderhammen : *D. Juan de Austria*, 4to, Madrid, 1627, fol. 2.
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More conclusive testimony has recently been found¹ in the records of the Cortes held at Toledo in February 1560, where it appears that Philip II. granted to Don John a verbal dispensation, in virtue of which, although still under the age of fourteen prescribed by law, he was permitted to swear allegiance and do homage to his nephew, Don Carlos, as heir-apparent of the Crown of Spain. Considerable doubt still hangs round the name and



DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY AT LEPANTO, 1571.

rank of his mother. History has been accustomed to call her Barbara Blomberg, daughter of a noble family at Ratisbon, and unmarried at the time she became a mother. She owed her introduction to the Emperor to her fine voice, and was brought to play and sing to him during one of his visits to Ratisbon, to divert the melancholy under which he long laboured after the death of his Empress Isabella. The personal charms of the musician are said to have tempted him to a closer intimacy, which resulted in the birth of Don John of Austria. The historian Strada, on the other hand, was told by Cardinal de la Cueva that he had himself heard from the lips of the Infanta Arch-Duchess Isabella, the favourite daughter and confidant of Philip II., that her famous uncle was the son, not of his reputed mother, but of a lady of princely degree.²

There is no doubt, however, that Barbara Blomberg was generally reputed to be the mother of Don John, and that she was treated as such by Charles V. and Philip II. If the boy was born on the 24th of February 1547 the connexion between her and his father must have existed at Ratisbon, where the

¹ By Don Modesto Lafuente, and cited in his *Historia General de España*, vols. i.-xviii., 8vo, Madrid, 1851-57; xiii. p. 437, note.

² Famiana Strado: *De Bello Belgico*, 2 tom. sm. 8vo, Antverpiæ, 1640, i. p. 563.

Emperor resided in 1546, from the 10th of April to the 4th of August,¹ occupied in preparing his forces for the campaign against the Elector of Saxony and the Protestants, which was closed by



the victory at Muhlberg. Whatever its nature, the connexion between Barbara and Charles was not of long duration. The child was removed from her soon after its birth; and the only subsequent occasion when the Emperor is recorded to have noticed her, was on his deathbed, when he bestowed on her an

¹ *Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V. 1519-1551*, by Vandenesse, translated from the Flemish, and appended to Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 555.

annuity of two hundred florins. She became the wife of one Jerome Pyramus Kegel, a gentleman of the Imperial Court, who obtained the post of Commissary at Bruxelles and died there in 1569. It is at the commencement of her widowhood that contemporary and authentic records begin to afford us any clear glimpse of the Emperor's mistress. The Duke of Alba, the Governor of the Netherlands, on the 30th of June 1569 wrote to Philip II. that he had sent to inquire into her cir-



MEDAL WITH SERPENT.
STRUCK BY THE DUKE OF ALBA
AT UTRECHT, IN 1569.

cumstances, and had found her poor and in debt; that of two children whom she had had by Kegel, one had been lately drowned; and, he added, that as it was a matter of public notoriety that she was the mother of Don John, it would be necessary to do something to improve her condition. Various later despatches prove that the Duke found her a most troublesome charge.¹ He proposed that she should quit Bruxelles, but she was most unwilling to leave

that capital. To Mons, the retreat at first suggested, she refused to go, on the plea that she understood no French, nor any language but her own, which seems to render it probable that she was Flemish and not German by birth; and it was not without much difficulty that she was persuaded to retire to Ghent. There she was provided with a house and a liberal establishment, consisting of a housekeeper and six women, a steward, two pages, a chaplain, an almoner, and four other men-servants. Alba was, however, much annoyed by her extravagance and her perverseness. She had no sooner received money than it was spent in feasting; and she was surrounded by suitors, whose attentions sorely perplexed the Duke, seeing that he was instructed by the King that she was on no account to be allowed to marry again. Philip, who at first wished her to remain in the Netherlands, now thought of transporting her to the seclusion of a Spanish nunnery; but on being sounded as to a journey to Spain she said she knew how women were immured there, and that she would be cut in pieces rather than go. In September 1571 the baffled Duke was contemplating the possibility of getting her inveigled on board a vessel, on pretence of going to Antwerp, and conveying her by force across the Bay of Biscay. But it was not until

¹ Gachard: *Correspondance de Philippe II. sur les Affaires des Pays Bas*, tom. i. ii. 4to, Bruxelles, 1848-51; ii. Nos. 884, 905, 912, 960, 969, 987, 1025, 1054.

some years had elapsed, and after the arrival of her son as Governor of the Low Countries, that she could be induced to submit herself to the King's will, and remove to Spain.

The precise name bestowed in baptism on Don John has not been recorded ; but the name which he made famous was not the name which he bore in early youth. For some years of his life he was called Jerome, an appellation affording one of many proofs of the Emperor's devotion to the great doctor of Bethlehem, in one of whose religious houses he at last ended his days.

While still at the breast, the little John or Jerome was placed under the care of the eminent man who afterwards watched over his youth with all the affection of a father, and all the vigilance which became the trusted counsellor of a great Prince. Luis Mendez Quixada was head of an ancient baronial house of Old Castille, which for five centuries had furnished good knights and true to the courts and camps of the descendants of St. Pelayo. His father, Gutierre Quixada, a gallant soldier, had been a favourite of Philip the Handsome during his brief reign in the realm which his Queen had inherited from Isabella the Catholic ; and two of his sons had fallen in battle in the service of Philip's son and successor, the Emperor Charles. Luis himself, who had begun life as the Emperor's page, was also a soldier of reputation ; and both in Africa and the Low Countries, in the breach and in the field, he had led the famous infantry of Spain. Rewarded with the rank of Colonel, and with the post of Vice-Chamberlain of the Imperial household under the Duke of Alba, he had long attended the Emperor's person, and enjoyed his entire confidence. In 1549 he had married Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a lady of birth equal to his own, and of a nature as gentle and lovely as any which ever graced the Court or the story of Castille.

Soon after the Vice-Chamberlain's return from being married in Spain, and from settling his bride in his family mansion at Villagarcia, the Emperor informed him of his wish to send the foster-son whom he had given him to be educated in Spain. Quixada proposed that the child should be confided to the care either of his wife at Villagarcia, or of Bautista Vela, a trusty retainer of his house, who was curate of Leganes, a village near Madrid. The Emperor made his election in favour of the priest.

Meanwhile a favourite musician of the Emperor, one Francisco or Francisquin Massi, whose violin had for many years solaced his leisure hours, asked leave to retire from the Imperial service. A Fleming by birth, Massi had accompanied his master to Spain,

when he first visited the country in 1517, and some twenty years afterwards he had married at Toledo a Castilian wife with some property. This woman, Ana de Medina, being home-sick, they had determined to return to Spain and spend the remainder of



LUIS QUIXADA, GUARDIAN OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

their days in a house which she possessed at Leganes. To the care of this couple the Emperor resolved to entrust Don John, that he might travel with them to their village, and live with them there, while the parish priest continued to be his pedagogue. They were told that the boy was the son of Adrian de Bues, or

Dubois, one of the gentlemen of the Imperial chamber, and they and their son Diego were required to sign the following curious document, of which a copy is preserved among the State papers of Cardinal Granvelle :—¹

I, Francisco Massi, viol player to His Majesty, and Ana de Medina my wife, we acknowledge and confess that we have taken and received a son of the Señor Adrian de Bues, groom of His Majesty's chamber (*ayuda de camera*), whom we have taken at his request, that we should take, keep, and bring him up as if he were our own son, and that we should not tell any person whosoever whose son he is, because the said Señor Adrian desires that neither his wife nor any other person should by any means know of the child, or hear him spoken of. Wherefore I, Francisco Massi, and Ana de Medina my wife, and our son Diego de Medina, we swear and promise to the said Señor Adrian that we will not tell or declare to any living person whose the said child is, but that I shall say he is mine, until the said Señor Adrian shall send me a person with this paper, or the said Señor Adrian come in person. And because the Señor Adrian desires to keep this matter secret, he has asked me, to do him a kindness, to take charge of the said boy, which we do with very good will, I and my wife; and I acknowledge to have received of the said Señor Adrian for the expense of conveying this boy on horseback, and for his equipment and maintenance for a year, the allowance which he gives me, one hundred crowns. It is also agreed that the said year shall count from the 1st of August of this present year 1550. In consideration of which payment I hold myself content and reimbursed for this said year; and for this reason I hereby sign this paper, I and my wife; and because my wife cannot sign I ask Oger Bodoarte to sign her name for her. And henceforth the said Señor Adrian is to give me fifty ducats for every year for the boy's maintenance. Done at Bruxelles on the 13th day of the month of June, One thousand five hundred and fifty years.

At the date of this contract the Emperor was at Cologne on his way to the diet about to be held at Augsburg.² He had left Bruxelles, however, only a fortnight before, on the 31st of May, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the agreement with Massi had previously received his consideration and approval. As the musician and his wife intended to travel to Spain under the protection of Prince Philip, the heir-apparent, they probably soon followed the Imperial Court to Augsburg.

In that city the Emperor passed the autumn and winter of 1550, and the spring of 1551, watching with great anxiety the proceedings of the great council of the empire. Philip, who was also there, had just completed a progress through the northern portion of the vast dominions which he was one day so cruelly

¹ A copy of the Spanish original is preserved in the archives at Besançon, and has been printed by M. W. Weiss, in his *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle*, tom. i.-ix., Paris, 1841-52; iv. pp. 499, 500.

² *Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V. 1519-1551*, by Vandenesse; Bradford's *Correspondence of Emperor Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 572.

to misgovern. He had received from the various states the oath of allegiance as his father's heir. The Netherlands had received him with peculiar honour. Their rich and flourishing cities had vied with each other in the splendour of the pageants with which they had welcomed him, and the vice-queen, Mary, Queen of Hungary, although fond neither of extravagance nor of her nephew, showed her devotion to her brother by entertaining him



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

and his son at her favourite palace at Binche with festivities which recalled the reckless magnificence of Duke Charles and Kaiser Max. But in Germany Charles failed in securing for Philip the reversion of the Imperial crown, one of the favourite schemes of his life. Neither the King of the Romans, nor his son, nor the electors, could be brought to entertain the proposal; and after a winter spent in fruitless intrigue and angry expostulation, Philip returned from the field defeated, and confirmed in his dislike to all things German.

A pension was bestowed on Massi, and he and his wife received from Quixada their last instructions and a letter for the curate of Leganes, recommending the young Geronimo to his kindness and educational care.

As the musician kissed the Emperor's hand in taking leave, Charles said to him: "I hear that Quixada has given you a commission. Remember that I shall consider the fulfilment of

“his wishes as good service done to myself.” It does not seem that the secret of Don John’s birth was as yet entrusted to Philip, or that he was aware that amongst his followers he had a young brother, who was to become one of the chief glories of his reign.

The Prince left Augsburg on the 25th of May. Crossing the Alps, he halted for a few days at Trent, where he was entertained with masques and jousting by the grave Prelates and doctors who were entering on their labour of remodelling the Christian faith in



ANDREA DORIA. MEDAL.

the newly assembled council. Hastening to Genoa, and the squadron of the veteran Andrea Doria, he landed on the 12th of July at Barcelona.¹

Leganes, the village in which Doña Ana de Medina’s property and heart lay, is about two leagues south-west of Madrid, and near the road from Madrid to Toledo. As giving the title of Marquess to a branch of the House of Guzman, the name was well known in the reign of Philip IV. The village is situated on that vast undulating plain which lies between the snowy range of Guadarrama and the mountains of Toledo, and is inhabited by a population of peasants who live by the partial cultivation of the fine corn-land round its mud walls. Here Don John passed several years of his boyhood, under the care of Massi and his wife. His education was entrusted to the curate Bautista Vela, as advised by Quixada. But in spite of the Chamberlain’s recommendation and injunctions, this priest was little solicitous to prove himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Never

¹ Vanderhammen, *D. J. de Austria*, f. 8, says 5th of August; but I have followed Prescott, *History of Philip II.*, vols. i.-iii., 8vo, London, 1855-8, i. p. 59.

dreaming that his pupil might one day influence the disposal of mitres and red hats, he handed him over for tuition to his sacristan, one Francisco Fernandez. When the boy had learned all that a country sacristan of the sixteenth century might be supposed to know, he was transferred to the school of Getafe, of which the huge brick building looms heavily on the eastern horizon of Leganes. To this place, about a league off, Don John used to trudge daily through the fields with his companions, dressed like the peasant lads, and amusing himself by the way in shooting sparrows with a little crossbow.

In such studies and sports nearly three years were passed. During this period Francisquin Massi died, but Don John remained under the care of his widow. The accounts of him which reached his father and Quixada, or the absence of any account, proving unsatisfactory, it was resolved to remove him to tutelage more befitting one born so near a throne. In the spring of 1554 Charles Prevost, one of the grooms of the Emperor's chamber, was sent from the Court of Bruxelles to that of Valladolid to summon Philip, the Prince-Regent, to repair to England to receive the crown-matrimonial of that country with the hand of Mary Tudor. This mission accomplished, the envoy was instructed to proceed to Leganes. He performed the journey thither in a coach, an invention which, although coming into use in the Netherlands, was as yet hardly known in Spain, and which, therefore, attracted crowds of gazers in every town and hamlet where it appeared. Great was the astonishment of the people of Leganes when the amazing machine rolled into their dull street, and stopped at the door of Ana de Medina. The astonishment and excitement grew greater still when it was rumoured that the great man from the Court who stepped out of it had come to fetch away the young foster-son of the house. Ana de Medina was in despair at losing the pretty boy who shared her home and cheered her widowhood. Moreover, she and her gossips were surprised to observe that the magnificent stranger who came accredited by Quixada, and was known to the Prince and the Emperor, treated the boy with marked respect; that he invited him to dine with him; and that he placed him on his right hand at the table which glittered with his travelling equipage of plate. As the coach containing the courtier and the boy rolled away on the road to Valladolid, it was surrounded and pursued by a crowd of urchins, vociferating farewells to their departing comrade. Doña Ana herself brought up the rear, weeping

bitterly, and calling on the stranger not to bereave her of her darling son.¹

At Valladolid, where the Infanta Juana, Princess-Dowager of Brazil, was now reigning as Regent, Prevost halted to provide his



THE INFANTA DOÑA JUANA, PRINCESS OF BRAZIL. MEDAL.

charge with clothing more suited to his rank than the peasant's weeds in which he had found him at Leganes. Don John was not presented to his sister, the Regent, who was still ignorant of his existence, but was conveyed by Prevost, without loss of time, to Villagarcia. This village, now containing about a thousand souls, lies six leagues north-west of Valladolid, beyond the heath of San Pedro de la Espina, in the vale of the Sequillo. Bounded by low hills, this valley produces a good deal of fine corn and inferior wine, on the cultivated land near the dry and dusty channel down which the wintry storms sometimes pour an intermittent stream. In the family mansion of Quixada Doña Magdalena de Ulloa was now residing. The letter from her husband, which was the credential of Prevost, merely informed her that the boy whom the bearer was to place under her charge was "the son of a great man, the writer's dear friend," and entreated her to watch over him as tenderly as if he had been their own child. Doña Magdalena had now been married for five years without offspring. She therefore at once welcomed to her home and heart the son of her lord's dear friend, and henceforward made him the chief care and solace of her life.

The lady of Villagarcia, whose name thus became linked with the name of John of Austria, has claims on her own account to honourable remembrance.² The best and bluest blood of Iberia

¹ Vanderhammen : *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 11. The name of Prevost is metamorphosed by this author, and by Sandoval, into Pubest.

² Her life was written by Juan de Villafañe, a Jesuit father, grateful for the benefits which she had heaped upon the company. It bears this title :—*La Limosnera de Dios* ;

ran in her veins. Her father, Juan de Ulloa, Alcayde of Toro, was maternally descended from the royal house of Castille; her mother, a daughter of the house of Luna, Maria Toledo Ossorio, bore names which pretend to be sprung from the Imperial Palæologi and the divine Osiris. Born in 1525, Magdalena was in her twenty-fourth year when she married Luis Quixada, who was probably nearly double her own age, but with whom she appears to have lived in great contentment and affection. The marriage took place at Valladolid, the bridegroom appearing at the altar by proxy; but he soon afterwards obtained leave of absence from his duties in the Low Countries and joined her in Spain. After living for a while at Valladolid, they went to Villagarcía, where they were received with every demonstration of joy by their vassals. These rustics, however, soon afterwards disturbed the complacency of their newly-wedded lord by resisting certain of his signorial exactions, and they eventually cast him in a plea, carried to the Council of Castille, in which he defended what he conceived to be his hereditary rights against their encroachments.¹ His residence among them was brief and interrupted, his time being chiefly spent in attendance on the Emperor in the Netherlands. Doña Magdalena meanwhile remained at Villagarcía, winning the hearts of her people by her kindly deeds and gentle ways, and having Don John for a companion and an occupation.

Her first care was to recommence his education, which, neglected by the curate, had not been greatly advanced either by the sacristan of Leganes or the schoolmaster of Getafe. When he had acquired the arts of reading and writing she caused him to be instructed, by competent teachers, in Latin, music, and other branches of what was then esteemed a good education. She reserved to herself the care of his spiritual nurture; teaching him his duties to God, the Church, and his fellow-men, and inspiring his young mind with her own especial devotion to the Mother of the Redeemer. By making him the channel of her bounties, she inculcated the practice of benevolence, and early made him familiar with the luxury of doing good. On certain days, when the poor came to receive alms at the castle gate, he was sent into the courtyard, or into the gallery above, to watch their coming and to

Relacion historica de la vida y virtudes de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa Toledo Ossorio y Quiñones, muger de Luis Mendez Quixada, Fundadora de los colegios de Villagarcía, Oviedo y Santander de la Compañía de Jesus, 4to, Salamanca, 1723. It contains much curious historical information, and is now very scarce.

¹ Villafañe: *Vida de Da. Magd. de Ulloa*, pp. 41-2.

report their numbers. When the gathering was complete he ran to announce it to his aunt—for by that popular term of Castilian endearment he called Doña Magdalena—and received the dole apportioned to the number of the claimants. This he would then dispense, in the style of old Spanish and Christian courtesy prescribed by his foster-mother, beginning with the eldest of the beggars, and giving to each a real, at the same time saluting each by name, and kissing the coin ere he dropped it into the outstretched hand.¹

Thus time passed on, each day deepening Magdalena's affection for her young charge. One feeling only troubled her tranquil happiness, the suspicion that he owed his birth to some previous possessor of her husband's heart. This suspicion she often confided to her confessor, who wisely advised her to wait with patience until time should reveal the truth. An accident enabled her to guess at least part of the truth. During one of Quixada's visits to Villagarcia their house took fire at night. The Emperor's faithful servant carried Don John to a place of safety before he attended to the preservation of his wife. From that moment Magdalena's mind was relieved of its anxiety. Secure of her husband's love, she felt that the boy's safety had been preferred to her own, because Quixada's honour was engaged in guarding a trust confided to him by another. Her curiosity was allayed, if not satisfied, and she forebore to tease her lord with questions which he might be unable to answer. Jealousy ceased to mingle with her love of Don John, and her interest in his fortunes was perhaps heightened by the glimpse thus accidentally afforded of the possible grandeur of his destiny.²

In the autumn of 1555, and the early part of 1556, Charles V. resigned his regal functions to his son Philip II.; and he had since been living a retired life in the Park at Bruxelles. In September his health, and a truce with the French, enabled him to remove to Spain, in order to seek still more perfect retirement at the Jeromite convent of Yuste, in the Vera of Plasencia. Quixada had been sent forward to Valladolid to prepare for his coming, and having made the necessary arrangements, was awaiting further orders at Villagarcia. The news that the Emperor had landed at Laredo, in Biscay, and instructions to join him there, reached the Chamberlain on the evening of the 1st of October. Mounting his horse at two in the morning of

¹ Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 12.

² Villafañe: *Vida de Da. M. de Ulloa*, p. 43.

the 2d, he rode into Laredo on the night of the 4th, and took the command of the Imperial progress to the capital. The cavalcade travelled in two divisions, a day's journey apart; the first division comprising the Emperor and his household, and the second his sisters, the Queens Eleanor of France and Mary of Hungary, and their respective trains. Arriving at Valladolid on the 21st of October, Charles rested there for a few days in the society of his sisters and of his daughter, the Princess-Regent Juana; and then proceeded to the Castle of Xarandilla, about a league from the monastery of Yuste. He remained there from the 12th of November until the 3d of February 1557, when his conventual retreat was ready to receive him.

He lived at Yuste for a year and nearly eight months. His health, though feeble, was benefited by the change of air and scene, and by a respite from hard work. The gout, his old and inveterate persecutor, attacked him at intervals, but his physicians were never alarmed for his life until the illness of which he died. The retirement which he had planned for himself at Yuste was well worthy of a veteran statesman broken with the cares of empire. Religious reading, converse, and meditation, to prepare himself for the next world, were to be the occupations of his leisure; his gun, his garden, music, and his mechanical experiments, its amusements. At Valladolid he had consented to superintend the completion of certain negotiations which had been begun under his auspices, and these concluded, he resolved to say farewell to the business of the world. But old habits were not to be so easily shaken off, and both the King and the Princess-Regent knew the value of their father's counsels too well to forego them. The consideration of one subject led to dealing with another, and the Emperor's time and thoughts soon returned to their old course, and were given to reading and dictating despatches, to conferences with ministers and envoys, and to anxious watching of the progress of public events. These events were not of a nature fitted to soothe anxiety and induce repose. Charles had hardly taken possession of his sunny cabinet and sweet parterres at Yuste, when a new war, kindled by Pope Paul IV., broke out between France and Spain. Coligny and the Duke of Savoy were already in arms on the frontiers of the Netherlands. Guise and Alba were moving upon the Tronto to contest the Kingdom of Naples, and Albuquerque warned the Regent of Spain that she must prepare for the invasion of Navarre. The English marriage of Philip the Second had produced a coolness with the Court of

Portugal. Heresy had appeared on the Catholic soil of Spain, not only among the laity, but in the cloisters of royal abbeys, in cathedral states, and in high places of the Church itself. In the mountains of Murcia and Granada a rising was threatened by the numerous descendants of the Moor, still unreclaimed to the religion and allegiance of Castille. Sultan Solyman was assembling in the Egean his last great fleet, disturbing the commerce, and spreading a panic along the shores and among the islands of Mediterranean Christendom. The need of meeting these concurrent emergencies tasked to the utmost the resources of Spain and the energies of her rulers in all the departments of Government, ecclesiastical, military, diplomatic, and financial. No steps of importance were taken at Valladolid, and very few at Bruxelles, without having been first considered and approved at Yuste. Immersed in the public business which had thus followed him into the forest shades of the Vera, Charles was surprised by the fever which prostrated him on the 31st of August, and carried him off on the 21st of September 1558.

Luis Quixada had come to Spain with the intention of retiring from his post in the Imperial household, after he had seen his master installed at Yuste. He was growing old; he was somewhat weary of his daily duties, and he was still more weary of continued absence from his wife and his estate. Like the rest of the Imperial retainers, accustomed to polished life at Bruxelles, he looked forward with dismay to banishment in the wilds of Estremadura; and the picture of Yuste, which his graphic pen drew for the Secretary of State, was at first sufficiently cheerless. Hating friars, he found himself surrounded by Jeromites ignorant and stupid beyond the use and wont of their order; hating Flemings, he was called on to preside over an establishment of Flemish grumblers, ever at war with the friars and each other. But the reasons which made him wish to retire also determined the Emperor not to part with a servant whom it would have been hard to replace. The Chamberlain had leave of absence in the spring of 1557, and remained at Villagarcia until August. But things did not go smoothly in his absence. The friars, especially, required his strong hand to keep them in order; and at his return the Emperor so urged him to remain with him that Quixada found it impossible to refuse. He had gone away, wishing that he "were not coming back to eat truffles and "asparagus in Estremadura any more;" and he announced his plan of taking up his permanent abode near the convent, in a

letter which he dates "from Yuste, evil be to him who built
" it here."¹

In the autumn and winter of 1557-8 the precarious state of
the Emperor's health, and the difficulty of finding a house for



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Dofia Magdalena, delayed the step on which Quixada had resolved. In March 1558 he was sent to attend Queen Mary of Hungary, who had been visiting the Emperor, on her journey from Yuste to Valladolid. Early in July he returned with his wife and Don

¹ *Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.*, sm. 8vo, London, 1853, p. 150.

John,¹ and settled them in a house which he had procured at Quacos, a village lying about a mile from Yuste, at the foot of its chestnut-covered hill. The Emperor gave Doña Magdalena an audience some days after her arrival, and received her with marked favour. He was much pleased also with the appearance of Don John; and during the few weeks that remained to him of life, was glad of opportunities of seeing him, which Quixada's daily duties easily afforded. He was likewise gratified to observe the attention and decorum with which the boy performed his devotions, the result of the pious lessons of Doña Magdalena.² While living at Quacos, Don John was sometimes tempted to predatory excursions into the village orchards, and was pelted by the peasants when they caught him in their fruit-trees. It is probable, and it is distinctly asserted by the Jeromite historian Siguença,³ that he made one in that group of attendants, nobles, and ecclesiastics, who stood at midnight on the 21st of September around the bed of the dying Emperor. Luis de Çapata, in his rimed chronicle of Charles V. printed ere Don John had gathered any of his laurels, asserts that he was sent for and acknowledged by his father shortly before he expired.⁴ Another writer, Salazar de Mendoza,⁵ relates that Fray Juan de Regla, the Emperor's confessor, used to say that he suggested to his dying master that Don John should be named in the codicil of the Imperial will as heir to the crown failing Philip and his issue; but that Charles rejected the proposal with indignation. The statement of the poet is not very probable; that of the prose writer is still less credible, because it would have us believe that a very astute priest not

¹ Villafañe (*Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*) says that most probably Don John was left at Villagarcía during the time Doña Magdalena was at Quacos. But this is disproved by the evidence both of the monk of Yuste, who left a journal, and of Philip II., who, in one of his letters, alludes to the fact that Don John had been at Yuste.

² Vanderhammen (*Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 19) says that Don John went in and out of the Emperor's chamber when he pleased, being lodged in an anteroom of Quixada's apartment. But Quixada did not live at Yuste, as his letters expressly state, except during the Emperor's last illness.

³ Fr. Jos. de Siguença: *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*, 3 vols. 1st 4to, 2d and 3d folio, Madrid, 1595, 1600, 1605, iii. p. 205.

⁴ Carlo que como cisne su fin siente
Al niño Don Juan de Austria ante si llama,
Y le dice quien es, y de alli ausente
Se le encomienda al rey que tanto el ama,
Y hecho lo que un rey tan excelente
En tal tiempo devía, como una llama
Que le falta ya al fin el nutrimento
Se fue á gozar de Dios á su alto asiento.

Carlo Famoso de Don Luys Çapata, 4to, Valencia, 1566, fol. 287.

⁵ *Origen de las dignidades de Castilla*, fol. Toledo, 1618, fol. 161.

only did a foolish thing, but told the story against himself afterwards.

It is, however, certain that one of the last acts of the Emperor was to add to the provision previously made for Barbara Blomberg, the mother of Don John. On the day before he died he ordered Luis Quixada to give to Bodoarte, the usher of his chamber, one hundred crowns in gold, to be expended for her in the purchase of an annuity of two hundred florins. Notice of this confidential commission was given to Philip the Second by Quixada in a letter in which the Chamberlain recommended Bodoarte to the King's favour; and he also requested His Majesty to refer the usher to some trustworthy person who might bear witness to the fulfilment of the Emperor's wish, suggesting Adrian Dubois as well fitted for the duty, because already cognisant of all the facts of the case.¹ That the Emperor, so considerate in trifles, should have burdened with so large a sum of money a servant who was about to undergo the toil and risk of a journey to Flanders, is a strong proof of his desire to keep the transaction very secret, and to prevent the payment from appearing in his accounts or amongst his legacies.

It would be interesting to know whether Don John attended the funeral service performed for the Emperor at his own desire, and in his own presence, on the 30th of August, and whether the boy saw the great monarch whom he was afterwards to call his sire, deliver into the hands of the priest the waxen taper which he held, in token of his desire to commit his soul to the keeping of the Creator.² Quixada appears to have kept aloof from the

¹ Gachard: *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, 2 vols. 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854-5, ii. p. 506. The letter is dated Yuste, 12th October 1558. See also *supra*, p. 7.

² I may here remark that I adhere to my belief in the general correctness of Siguença's account of these obsequies. Since the publication of the first edition of my *Cloister Life of Charles V.* the subject has been discussed by several writers of eminent ability. My view of it has been supported by the fresh contemporary evidence of the anonymous monk of Yuste, whose *Historia* has been printed by M. Gachard, and has been, in the main, adopted by M. Pichot, M. Juste, M. Gachard, and Mr. Prescott. The contrary opinion of M. Mignet (*Charles-Quint, son abdication, etc.*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, pp. 407-8) rests chiefly on the assumption of that able historian that a funeral service for a living man would be considered as a profanation by the Roman Catholic church. M. Gachard has met this assumption by citing various other examples of such services performed with the sanction of zealous churchmen, and passages, defending the practice, from the writings of orthodox theologians.—(*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, ii. pp. cliii. clxv.) Don Modesto Lafuente (*Historia de España*, xii. p. 485) reposes his disbelief on the absence of any mention of the funeral service in the daily correspondence of Yuste for August and September 1558, which he has carefully examined, and which, he says, contains letters not only of the members of the Imperial household, but of the priors and monks. I have already (in *The Cloister Life*) admitted the difficulty caused by the silence of the Emperor's attendants, and have given my reasons for not allowing that silence to outweigh the positive statements of Siguença and the anonymous