

ceremony, and it is therefore not very likely that Don John visited the conventual church on that day. But he was certainly present at the longer funeral rites which were celebrated in the convent church after the Emperor's soul had actually taken its flight; for it was remarked by the friars that he and Luis Quixada remained standing during the whole of the fatiguing ceremonies, which lasted for three days.<sup>1</sup> He therefore heard that remarkable sermon on the life and death of the Emperor, in which the favourite preacher, Villalva, put forth all those powers which were held to be unrivalled within the fold of St. Jerome.

While Quixada was engaged in winding up the affairs of the Imperial establishment at Yuste, Doña Magdalena, accompanied by Don John, made a pilgrimage to the great Estremaduran shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, an image venerable for its antiquity and miraculous powers, and lodged in, what was in those days, the noblest religious house in Spain. She then returned with her charge to her Castillian home, and her works of charity and mercy at Villagarcia. During her brief sojourn at Yuste she had made the acquaintance of the great Jesuit patriarch, Francis Borja, afterwards general of the company, and saint of the Roman Calendar. The influence of his conversation is said to have confirmed her religious enthusiasm, and to have imbued her with that love for the order of Jesus which she subsequently displayed by unwearied munificence during her life, and by the bequest of all she had to leave at her death.

Meanwhile it had been rumoured at Valladolid that the Emperor had left a son who was living under the care of Quixada. The report reached the ears of the Princess-Regent. By her desire Vazquez de Molina, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Chamberlain to know if it were true. Remembering the Emperor's

monk. If a discovery has been made of letters written by the prior or any of the monks at the end of August or the beginning of September 1558, and of a kind in which allusion to the imperial obsequies might fairly be expected to occur; and if so remarkable a transaction is passed over in silence by those who must have been concerned in it, if true, then the case assumes a very different aspect. But where are these letters? There were none in the Gonzales MS., nor are there any in M. Gachard's volumes. I find no specimen of them in the appendix of Señor Lafuente's admirable history, nor any reference to them in his notes. On a point so vital to the question between us, I cannot be expected to accept even his assertion instead of evidence.

<sup>1</sup> "Estuvo Luys Quixada, los tres dias primeros de las honras que il arçobispo celebró, en pié, así á las vísperas y lecciones de los nocturnos, como á las misas, y sermones, muy enlutado, y cubierta la cabeça, que, si no era un poco del rostro, no tenía otra cosa descubierta; arrimado y pegado á sí el niño y ynfante Don Juan de Austria, que cierto maravillámos como tuvo fuerças para sufrir estar tanto tiempo en pié." *Historia breve e sumario* of the retirement of Charles V. by an anonymous monk of Yuste; printed by M. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort de Charles V.*, ii. p. 55.

desire that the matter should be kept secret, and believing that the same desire was entertained by the King, Quixada replied, on the 18th of October, in these cautious words:—"As to what you say of the lad who is in my charge, it is true that he was entrusted to me, years ago, by a friend of mine; yet there is no reason for believing that he is the son of His Majesty, as you say it has been rumoured at Valladolid, because neither in His Majesty's will, of which a copy was read to his confessor and me in his presence and by his order by Gaztelu, nor in the codicil which he afterwards executed, was there any mention of the lad; and the fact being so, I have no other reply to make."<sup>1</sup> In a few words of a letter written six days later, on the 24th of October, the wary Chamberlain seems to parry some other allusion made by Vazquez to the same subject. "You seem to think what is said about this boy as certain as the fitting up of the house of Alcalá for His Majesty's reception. Ask the agent the value of a certain rent-charge, and what I said to him about it, when I wanted to buy it for this child."<sup>2</sup>

The carefully guarded secret having been thus publicly spoken of, Quixada found it necessary to write to the King about it more frankly than heretofore. Up to this time his extant letters to Philip the Second contain only three passages in which any allusion to Don John can be discovered or suspected. The first of these is found in a letter, dated 12th July 1558, in which he announces the safe arrival at Quacos, on the 1st of the month, of himself, Doña Magdalena, and the rest (*los demas*). The second appears in a postscript to a long letter, dated 17th September 1558, during and chiefly relating to the Emperor's last illness. "As to the other (*en lo demas*, which may relate either to a person or a thing) which your Majesty knows to be in my charge, all the care in the world shall be taken, until the time when your Majesty may come, or send me some verbal order to give your Majesty further information on the matter."<sup>3</sup> The third allusion is plainer, because it occurs in the letter of recommendation to the King, already noticed,<sup>4</sup> written on 12th October 1558

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> "Por tan cierto me parece que va teniendo lo de este muchacho como el aderezar S. M<sup>ta</sup> la casa de Alcalá, para irse a ella. Pregunte V. M. al fator cuanto ha, y lo que yo le dije sobre cierto juro que queria comprar yo para este niño."—Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> "En lo demas que V. M<sup>ta</sup> sabe que está á mi cargo, se tendrá todo el cuydado del mundo, hasta en tanto que V. M<sup>ta</sup> venga, que tambien me mandó de palabra que dije sobrello a V. M<sup>ta</sup> algun recaudo."—Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> Page 18.

by Quixada in favour of Bodoarte, who was in the secret, and had been chosen by the Emperor to buy an annuity for Barbara Blomberg. Even there, however, the cautious Chamberlain speaks of his ward's mother as "the mother of the person whom your Majesty knows."<sup>1</sup>

But the curiosity of the Princess-Regent at last wrung from the reluctant pen of Quixada the following communication to his master :—

Twenty days after the death of His Imperial Majesty, Juan Vazquez, on the part of the most serene Princess, wrote to me that I should advise him whether it were true that I had under my charge a child, desiring me also to know that he was said to be the child of His Majesty, and that I should advise him, in a public or private manner, of the fact, in order that, if the thing were true, provision should be made for fulfilling whatever directions had been left on the matter. To which I replied, that it was true that I had the charge of a boy, the son of a gentleman a friend of mine, who had placed him under my care years ago ; and that, as His Majesty had made no mention of him either in his will or codicil, the report must be taken for an idle rumour ; which was the only answer I could give, either in a public or a private manner. And although I am aware that your Majesty knows what the state of the case is, and the inconveniences which may result from any such publication of it, yet for the sake of explaining why I have written as aforesaid, and because I knew through other channels that the matter has been talked about, I have thought it right to advise your Majesty of what has passed, in order that it may be evident that I have done my duty.<sup>2</sup>

The servants of the late Emperor having been discharged, the gratuities to the poor having been distributed, the accounts paid, and the Imperial effects packed up and sent to Valladolid, Quixada and his family bade adieu to Estremadura, and returned across the mountains to Villagarcia. Early in December he was summoned by the Princess-Regent to Valladolid, to meet with the other executors of her father's will, and arrange the details of its fulfilment. While thus employed he wrote on the 13th of December to the King in these terms :—

I find the affairs of the person, whom your Majesty knows to be in my charge, so publicly spoken of here that I am greatly surprised ; and I am even more surprised by the minute facts which I hear on the subject. I came hither, fearing that the most serene Princess might press me to tell her what I knew about it ; but, not being at liberty to tell the whole truth, I determined to hold my tongue, and say nothing more than I had already said and had advised your Majesty of from Yuste. But Her Highness has had the great goodness, up to this time, not to speak a word to me about the matter ; and so I have no trouble in making answer to those who ask me questions, only this—that I know nothing of what people say, and that if there is anything in it, it ought to be known to the Princess. But His Majesty's wish, that your

<sup>1</sup> Gachard : *Retraite et Mort*, ii. p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. p. 446.

Majesty may know it, was, that this matter should be kept secret until your Majesty came hither, when your Majesty's pleasure might be done. I do nothing likely to excite observation, or beyond what was done in the life of the Emperor; but I take great care that the lad should learn and be taught all that is necessary and belonging to his age and quality; for, on account of the obscure manner in which he was nurtured and has lived since he came into my charge, the greatest pains must be taken with him. And therefore I have thought it right to inform your Majesty of what is passing, and of His late Majesty's intentions, that your Majesty may be aware of it, and instruct me how to proceed. Ten days ago he (Don Juan) had a bad attack of double tertian fever; but, God be thanked, I came yesterday from home, and left him free from fever and out of danger.<sup>1</sup>

The only written declaration of the Emperor with regard to Don John was contained in a paper which may be considered as a codicil to his will, although it did not form part of that document, and has not hitherto been printed with it.

It is in these words:—

Besides what is contained in my will, I say and declare that, when I was in Germany, and being a widower, I had, by an unmarried woman, a natural son, who is called Jerome, and that my intention has been and is, for certain reasons moving me thereto, that if it can be fairly accomplished, he should, of his free and spontaneous will, take the habit of some order of reformed friars, and that he should be put in the way of so doing, but without any pressure or force being employed towards him. But if it cannot be so arranged, and if he prefers leading a secular life, it is my pleasure and command that he should receive, in the ordinary manner each year, from twenty to thirty thousand ducats from the revenues of the kingdom of Naples; lands and vassals, with that rent attached, being assigned to him. The whole matter, both as to the assignment of the lands and the amount of the rent, is left to the discretion of my son, to whom I remit it; or, failing him, to the discretion of my grandson, the Infant Don Carlos, or of the person who, in conformity with my will, shall at the time it is opened be my heir. If at that time the said Jerome shall not have already embraced the state which I desire for him, he shall enjoy all the days of his life the said rent and lands, which shall pass to his the legitimate heirs and successors descending from his body. And whatever state the said Geronimo shall embrace, I charge the said Prince my son, and my said grandson, and my heir, whosoever it may be, as I have said, at the opening of my will, to do him honour and cause him to be honoured, and that they show him fitting respect, and that they observe, fulfil, and execute in his favour that which is contained in this paper. The which I sign with my name and hand; and it is sealed and sealed up with my small private seal; and it is to be observed and executed like a clause of my said will. Done in Bruxelles, on the sixth day of the month of June 1554.

Son, grandson, or whoever at the time that this my will and writing is opened, and according to it, may be my heir, if you do not know where this Jerome may be, you can learn it from Adrian, groom of my chamber, or, in case of his death, from Oger, the porter of my chamber, that he may be treated conformably to the said will and writing.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. pp. 449, 450.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance de Granvelle*, iv. pp. 496-8.

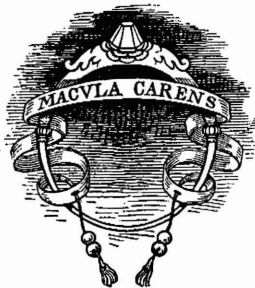


This paper was one of a parcel of four which seem to have been placed by the Emperor in the hands of Philip the Second before they took leave of each other on the Flemish shore in September 1556. Folded up within it was the receipt for Jerome, given by Massi, and already cited. It was sealed up with the Emperor's seal and was endorsed, in his hand, with these words:—

“This my writing is to be opened only by the Prince, my son, and failing him by my grandson, Don Carlos; and failing him by whosoever shall be my heir, conformably to and at the opening of my will.” The other three papers were unsealed, and related to other matters,—the executorship of the will in Spain and the Netherlands, and the rights of the King of Spain and the pretensions of others to the kingdom of Navarre and the lordship of Piombino.<sup>1</sup> The whole parcel bore an inscription in the handwriting of Philip with his signature—“If I die before His Majesty this packet to be delivered to him; if after him to my son, or, failing him, to my heir.”

From these scattered fragments of Don John's early history the following inferences, all of them creditable to the good feeling and good sense of Charles the Fifth, may be safely drawn. Believing him to be his son, the Emperor desired that during his own life the boy's paternity should be kept a profound secret from the world; he wished him to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, but was not disposed to thwart his inclinations for a secular career; he desired that he should be educated and provided for in a manner befitting his princely origin; and taking Philip the Second fully into his confidence he committed the destinies of the child of his old age to the affection and the care of his legitimate successor.

<sup>1</sup> All will be found in the *Correspondance de Granvelle*, iv. pp. 495, 509.



DEVICE OF DON JOHN.



## CHAPTER II.

YOUTH OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, 1559-1566.



AT Valladolid in 1559, when the flowers of May bloomed in the gardens of the Pisuegra, the sky was darkened by the smoke which went up from the human sacrifices of the Inquisition. The past year had been marked by a movement towards religious reform, the first and the last that history has yet had to record in Spain. Compared with

the mighty revolution of the north, so fruitful of great men and great events, the Spanish movement was feeble in its origin, unfortunate in its instruments, and worthless in its results. It was neither called forth by the political necessities of the nation, nor supported by its sympathy. Its chiefs were a few clergymen, chosen long before by Charles V. for their learning and worth, and employed by him, or by his son, to watch the progress of heresy in the Netherlands and Germany, and to guard from contamination the Spaniards brought by civil or military service within reach of the pestilence. These divines soon saw that the victories of reform from without were to be met only by reform from within, begun and carried on by the Church itself. In acknowledging that the reformers had some reason on their side, and denouncing the vices and abuses of the ecclesiastical system, they piously appealed to the standards of the Church, to the writings of the fathers, the bulls of popes, the edicts of councils. The question whether all or many of their doctrines were orthodox or heretical affords a wide field for argu-



ment to those who think the shadowy frontier between heresy and orthodoxy worth defining. But there is no reason for believing that their aims were schismatic, or that they were less the true



and loving children of Mother Church, than those who condemned and massacred them as apostates.

However hurtful to the permanent interests of the Church, her abuses were too profitable to many of her ministers to want zealous and powerful defenders. The hierarchy and the dominant party were resolved to resist all change. They were led by

Valdes, Archbishop of Seville, a man grown gray in civil and ecclesiastical contention and intrigue. Bold, active, and unscrupulous, he was not less remarkable for cunning and address than for energy and perseverance. As Inquisitor-General he wielded all the vast irresponsible and ill-defined powers of the Holy Office. Never had the banner of that tribunal, inscribed with the words justice and mercy, been the symbol of so much cruelty and wrong, until it was grasped by the strong hand of this remorseless old priest. In the course of a single year he had so overcrowded his prisons that the *auto-da-fé* of the 21st of May 1559 was absolutely required in order to make room for the fresh game daily caught in the toils of his familiars.

This *auto-da-fé* differed greatly, in the rank and condition of the sufferers, from those which the Inquisition was wont to provide for the entertainment of the capital. Usually the unhappy persons paraded in procession before the crowd in their dark robes of penitence and reconciliation, or in the ominous garment painted with flames and devils, belonged to classes inured to oppression and suffering. They were peasants accused of witchcraft, or Moriscos suspected of the practice of some ancient Moslem rite, or Jews not rich enough to buy off the hatred of the Nazarene. But now among the sad company of victims the populace discerned with horror and amazement nobles and gentlemen to whom hats had been reverentially doffed; ladies of highest lineage, ornaments of society and the Court; famous divines, whose sermons were wont to fill to overflowing the royal cloisters of St. Benedict, or the spacious aisles of St. Paul.

Gentle and tender as she was, Doña Magdalena de Ulloa came from Villagarcia to witness the cruel scene which, her religious guides assured her, was a spectacle well pleasing in the sight of Heaven. She was accompanied by her niece, Doña Mariana de Ulloa, and by Don John of Austria. The Regent, Doña Juana, having often expressed a desire to see Quixada's foster-son, about whom there had been so much talk in the capital, the Chamberlain considered that this *auto-da-fé* would afford her a good opportunity of gratifying her wish without attracting much public observation. Doña Magdalena and her party took their seats in one of the galleries along which the Princess had to pass in her way to the royal tribune. In passing, the royal widow, in her close-fitting dark weeds and long black veil, stopped to speak to the wife of Quixada, and asked where the "unknown" was. Don John was at the moment hidden by the mantle of his younger

companion, Doña Mariana. When its folds were drawn aside and the boy was brought forward and presented to his sister, she embraced him with much tenderness, an act somewhat surprising in a Princess with whom the rigid etiquette of Castille had become second nature. Her nephew, Don Carlos, the heir-apparent, who accompanied her, is said to have been much displeased at this display of fondness for a nameless youth, and at the invitation which followed to the royal tribune. Don John, however, rejected the honour, refusing to be separated from his "Aunt" Magdalena.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile all the eyes in the expectant assembly were turned upon the royal group, and especially upon the boy who had been the object of the staid Infanta's unwonted caresses.

When the Regent had taken her place beneath the canopy of estate, the Inquisitor-General, Valdes, and his black-robed train, ascended the platform which was erected in the middle of the lists round which the multitude were assembled. Then came the long line of prisoners, the black-gowned penitents, who were to be reprimanded and set free; those in robes painted with downward-pointing flames, who were to suffer fine and imprisonment; and those whose garbs, hideous with fire and fiends, denoted that their bodies were to be burned for the salvation of their souls. A sermon was next delivered, after which the archbishop and two of his inquisitors went up to the royal tribune to administer the oath of faith to the Regent and the Prince. They rose from their seats at his approach, the Prince taking off his cap. They then swore on a crucifix and a missal held up before them to defend with their power and their lives the faith, as held by the Holy Church of Rome, and to aid the Holy Office in the extirpation of heresy at all times and without respect of persons. The terms of the oath were then announced by the secretary from a pulpit in a loud voice to the multitude, the archbishop closing the proclamation with his benediction, "God prosper your Highnesses." A crier now shouted forth the names and crimes of the accused persons and the sentences which had been passed upon them. Of these, fifteen were sentences of death, and were immediately carried into execution. The Princess-Regent of Spain, and the noble knights and dames of Castille looked on as the flames crept and leaped round the tortured limbs of men who had been their familiar friends and spiritual advisers, of fair and delicate women dragged from splen-

<sup>1</sup> Vanderhammen (*D. Juan de Austria*, f. 23) says that the Princess-Regent called him brother and "your Highness," which is rendered improbable by the subsequent proceedings of the King.



did homes or from the solitude of the cloister to die for opinions of which neither they nor their persecutors have been able to give any intelligible account.

The most distinguished of the sufferers was Dr. Augustin Cazalla, an eloquent and favourite chaplain of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The enthusiasm and fervid fancy which had made this divine great in the pulpit were not of sufficient force to sustain him in the fiery furnace of the Inquisition. He was not of the metal of which martyrs are made. The cause which his oratory had upheld and adorned he disgraced and weakened at the stake. In prison, and in presence of the rack, he had already confessed and recanted his errors. At the price of a further humiliation in public he now purchased the favour, according to some of his less noted companions, of strangulation before combustion. He had been so prominent among the leaders of reform that his pusillanimity more than outweighed the advantage which the cause derived from the calm and dignified deaths of his brother and sister, who, with the exhumed bones of their mother, were also burned in this *auto-da-fé*. Among the sufferers who escaped death but were sentenced to confiscation, attainder, and perpetual imprisonment, was one whose appearance there must have wrung the gentle and pious heart of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa. It was her brother, Don Juan de Ulloa, a gallant soldier who had fought for Spain and the Cross at Tunis and Algiers. Degraded from his knightly and military rank, and condemned to prison for life, he at last obtained his release and restoration to the order of St. John only by means of a long and expensive appeal to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

With the last agonies of the human victims thus sacrificed to the Saviour of sinners the *auto-da-fé* was at an end. The Princess-Regent rose to depart, having first invited Don John to accompany her to the palace. As he followed in her train, the crowd, who were now as eager to see the youth reported to be the son of the Emperor as they had lately been intent on the heretic children of perdition, pressed and closed around him, breaking through the lines of pikemen and musketeers who strove to keep the passage open. He narrowly escaped being trampled to death; but the Count of Osorno came to the rescue, and holding him aloft in his arms, carried him to the royal coach, which the mob followed to the palace. He afterwards returned with Doña Magdalena to Villagarcia.

Quixada was at this time absent from home. But the visit to

<sup>1</sup> Llorente : *Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, ch. xx.

the *auto-da-fé* had been made by his orders, at the request of the Princess-Regent. He now instructed his wife to treat Don John with more ceremony than she had hitherto been wont to use; the seat of honour was on all occasions reserved for him; and the alms which he was accustomed to dispense were raised to an amount better suited to his rank.<sup>1</sup> But by the order of the King no change was made in his dress; nor was he informed of the cause which had thus suddenly converted him into an object of private and public consideration and curiosity. A letter from Quixada to the King, dated 8th of July 1559, gives us a glimpse of Don John's habits and disposition. This letter was written in reply to one in which Philip had desired the Chamberlain to give up to any person indicated by the secretary, Gonzalo Perez, a mule belonging to Perez, which the Emperor had taken with him for his own use from Flanders to Yuste. Quixada explains that this she-mule, a blind pony, and a little he-mule had been reserved by him, by the desire of his late master, for the use of "the person whom your Majesty is aware of." "Some time ago," he continues, "the most serene Princess desired me to give up this she-mule to Dr. Cornelio; but I excused myself for not doing so, for the above reason, which likewise prevented these three animals from being sold with the rest. And your Majesty may be sure that if it had not been His Majesty's desire, I would not, on my own authority, have interfered in the matter. The mule is very useful, and the more so because she is very gentle, and the rider somewhat prankish (*travieso*). The person in my charge is in good health and, in my opinion, is growing, and, for his age, of an excellent disposition. He proceeds with his studies with much difficulty, and there is nothing which he does with so much dislike; but he is learning French, and the few words that he knows he pronounces very well; yet to acquire it, as your Majesty desires, much time and more application is needed. Riding on horseback both in the military style and in that of the manège (*a la xyneta y a la brida*) is his chief delight, and when your Majesty sees him you will think that he tilts in good style (*corre su lanza con buena gracia*) although his strength is not great."<sup>2</sup>

In the summer of 1559 the affairs of the Netherlands and the peaceful relations which had been established between the

<sup>1</sup> "Doña Magdalena desde aora," says Vanderhammen, "en viendole, si estava en el estrado dexava la almohada, y se sentava en la alfombra."—*Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, ii. pp. 513-14.

Houses of Valois and Austria permitted Philip II. to return to Spain. His bold and able sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, the eldest illegitimate daughter of Charles V., arrived at Bruxelles on the 2d of August to enter upon her duties as Regent of the

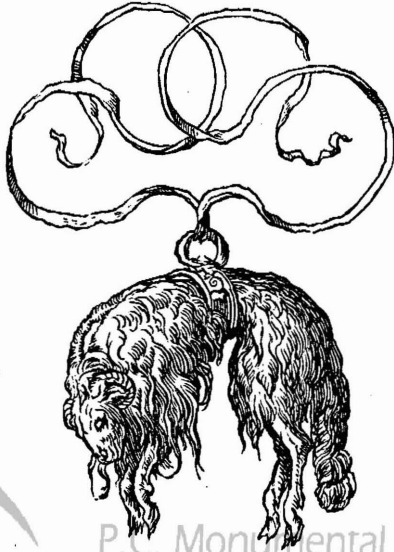


MARGARET OF AUSTRIA. MEDAL.

dominions of Burgundy. The last regal function performed by Philip was to hold a chapter of the Golden Fleece in the good city of Ghent. The knights were summoned to meet on the 29th August in the great hall of the ancient castle. Fourteen new companions were then added to the noble brotherhood, of whom nine received the Fleece with its collar of flints and steels and fire from the hands of the sovereign. Among these nine were Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino; Marc Antonio Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples; and Charles de Lannoy, Prince of Sulmona. The remaining five, to whom these badges were transmitted in their absence, were Francis II., King of France; his brother Charles, who soon succeeded him on the throne as ninth of his name; Eric, Duke of Brunswick; Joachin Baron Neuhaus, Grand Chancellor of Bohemia; and Don John of Austria.<sup>1</sup> The insignia designed for Don John were conveyed

<sup>1</sup> In a letter dated 1st August 1566 Tisnacq informs the president, Viglius, that the King had on the 24th July (seven days before) given the Golden Fleece to Don John of Austria.—Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 465, note 1. Vanderhammen tells what is given in the text; but it always struck me as improbable that the order should have been publicly conferred on Don John, or at least that there should have been a public nomination of him to it, before he had been publicly recognised, and, in fact, before he had any name in the world at all.

to Spain by the King, to be conferred by himself in person. On the 30th Philip gave a grand banquet to the knights, at which he himself presided, sitting on the dais beneath the jewelled canopy of his aunt Mary, Queen of Hungary, who had so long and so



BADGE AND PENNON OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

ably swayed the delegated sceptre of Burgundy. He embarked at Flushing for Spain on the 5th of September, and after a prosperous voyage of nine days landed at Laredo in Biscay.

Processions, triumphal arches, thanksgivings in the churches, and all other displays of civic, courtly, and religious joy celebrated the King's arrival at Valladolid. The Regent Doña Juana resigned the reins of Government, and retired, well pleased, to her beads and prayers and scourgings in the pine-shaded cloisters of Abrojo. Philip immediately summoned his Inquisitors about him, and fitly inaugurated his reign of terror and superstition by the butcheries of a new *auto-da-fé*. He was then at leisure to make the acquaintance of his stranger brother. Luis Quixada was instructed to bring Don John in his ordinary dress on St.

Luke's Day, to meet him at the convent of San Pedro de la Espina. This convent of Bernardines owed its name to the most famous of the relics venerated in its church, a thorn of the crown worn by Our Lord on Calvary. Its sumptuous buildings, the pious work of Doña Sancha of Castille, were situated about a league from Villagarcia, on the side of a hill abounding in game. Hither the King was to come on a hunting expedition. Quixada therefore summoned his vassals to join the royal sport. Before setting out he went to his wife and unbosomed himself of the secret of which he had been so long the faithful depository. He told her, what indeed she must long ere now have guessed, that her foster-son was the child of his master the Emperor, and that on the morning of the day when the King was about to proclaim the fact to the world, he wished to assure her that it had been concealed from her thus long not from any doubt of her discretion, but solely from a sense of duty. Don John and he then mounted their horses and rode off to the chase, followed by the vassals and servants on foot and horseback, in their best array. Parties of yeoman-prickers, and the cries of men and hounds in the distance, soon announced the approach of the royal cavalcade. A groom presently met them leading a very handsome horse. Quixada now dismounted, telling Don John to do the same. The ancient soldier then knelt before his pupil and asked leave to kiss his hand, saying: "You will soon learn from the King himself why I do this." Don John hesitated, but at length held out his hand to be kissed; and when Quixada desired him to mount the new horse, he said gaily to his old friend: "Then since you will have it so, you may also hold the stirrup." They rode onward towards the rocky pass of Torozos. Here a group of gentlemen came in sight. As they drew near, Quixada once more halted, and alighting from his horse caused Don John to follow his example. A short spare man in black, with a pale face and sandy beard, advanced towards them alone, and checked his horse when within a few paces. "Kneel down, Don John," said Quixada, "and kiss His Majesty's hand." As the youth obeyed the instruction he found bending over him a pair of cold gray eyes and a pouting under lip, which may well have recalled the features of the august invalid whose gouty fingers he had knelt to kiss at Yuste. "Do you know, youngster," said the King, "who your father was?" The abashed youth made no reply. Philip then dismounted, and embracing him with some show of affection, said: "Charles the Fifth, my lord and father,



“ was also yours. You could not have had a more illustrious sire, and I am bound to acknowledge you as my brother.” He then turned to the gentlemen behind him and said: “ Know and honour this youth as the natural son of the Emperor, and as brother to the King.” At these words a loud shout burst from



PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

the crowd of hunters and peasants who had by this time collected round the spot. Don John, by Philip's desire, remounted his horse, and received the salutations and felicitations of the lords and gentlemen. The real object of the hunting party being now accomplished, the King, who was no sportsman, turned his horse's head towards Valladolid, saying that he had never before captured

game which had given him so much pleasure. Don John entered the capital riding at his side, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, amongst whom the news of the recognition of the new prince, son of their great Emperor, had already been promulgated. In truth the secret was by this time worn somewhat threadbare. The existence of such a personage had been for some time extensively rumoured and believed in Spain. Even before the death of the Emperor, the last Venetian Envoy at his Court at Bruxelles, Federigo Badoer, had mentioned the fact in his report to the Doge and Senate, written probably in the summer of 1557. After sketching the character of Philip II. and Don Carlos, the Venetian remarks that it is not necessary to speak of the Emperor's natural son, "seeing that he is very young, never seen " by His Majesty, and held in little public consideration."<sup>1</sup> To the general belief in the popular rumour the attentions bestowed at the *auto-da-fé* by the Princess-Regent on the foster-son of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa had given great strength, and when the veil was at length removed from the lad's paternity, there remained little room for surprise. Why the name of John was now bestowed upon him has never been explained; it was probably one of his baptismal names; and it is certain that that of Jerome was from this time dropped.

At Valladolid a house had been prepared for Don John, of which he now took possession with his friends the Quixadas. A household was appointed for him according to the Burgundian form established in the Spanish Court from the time of Philip the Handsome, the first of the Austrian kings. Luis Quixada, as *ayo* or tutor, of course held the chief place in it. The Count of Priego, the King's grand falconer, was Don John's chamberlain, or *mayordomo mayor*; Rodrigo de Benavides, *sumiller de corps*, or steward; Luis de Cordoba, master of the horse,<sup>2</sup> and Juan de Quiroga, secretary. The eldest son of Priego, Luis de Castrillo, was Captain of the Guard, Rodrigo de Mendoça, Vice-Chamberlain, and there were besides three gentlemen and two grooms of the chamber. In attendance, service, and privilege, he was treated like an Infant of Castille, except as regarded the style and title,

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Relations des Ambassadeurs Venetiens sur Charles-Quint et Philippe II.*, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1856, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the King, dated Bruxelles, 22d December 1559, Cardinal Granvelle says he hears His Majesty is about to give a household to the natural son of the Emperor, and he suggests as a proper person to be his Master of the Horse, Martin Alonso de Cordoba y de los Rios, "who having seen Spain, Italy, Germany, Africa, and the " Indies, is likely to assist his colleagues in putting the youth in the way of doing His " Majesty good service hereafter."—*Correspondance de Granvelle*, v. p. 671.

and a few points of precedence. He was addressed as His Excellency instead of His Highness; the right of lodging in the royal palace was not accorded to him, nor was he permitted to sit within the curtain of the royal tribune in the chapel-royal.

At the end of October the Court removed for some months to Toledo. On the 2d of February 1560 Philip the Second met



ISABELLA OF VALOIS, THIRD QUEEN OF PHILIP II.

at Guadalajara his third bride, the beautiful Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of Henry the Second of France, called in Spain, on account of the political result of her marriage, Isabella of the Peace. The rejoicings which followed her arrival in Spain were abruptly broken off in the middle in consequence of her being seized with smallpox, from which, however, she recovered without damage to her beauty.

On the 23d of February the states of Castille met at Toledo

to take the oath of allegiance to Don Carlos as heir of the monarchy. This important feudal ceremony was performed in the magnificent cathedral, in the space betwixt the high altar, a masterpiece of Gothic carving enshrined in a chapel which is itself a triumph of pointed architecture, and the choir, where the sculptor Berruguete, the Michael Angelo of Spain, had lately exhausted on the new stalls all the skill which he had acquired in the schools of Florence and Rome. The whole pile was hung with the richest tapestry that could be furnished by the treasure-house of the chapter and the looms of Flanders; each altar was decked with its utmost pomp of drapery and plate; and the lay and ecclesiastical grandees of the kingdom vied with each other in embellishing and ennobling the spectacle with all their private and personal magnificence of equipment and costume. One important functionary was absent from his post, and that a personage no less important than the Primate himself. Archbishop Carranza had worn the mitre of Toledo little more than a year when he was arrested by the familiar of the Inquisition. He was at this moment in confinement at Valladolid, and his mortal enemy, the Inquisitor-General Valdes, had the triumph of presiding, as Archbishop of Seville, in the fallen prelate's own cathedral over the ceremonies of the day. In the procession which wound through the steep and picturesque streets amongst the palaces and shrines of the old city, down from the rock-built Alcazar and up to the metropolitan church, it was remarked how strangely the figure and mien of Don Carlos contrasted with the splendour which surrounded and awaited him, and with the brilliant destiny of which these solemnities seemed to be the first-fruits. For this heir of so many crowns had a heavy downcast countenance, wan with intermittent fever, from which he was seldom free. He was short for his age, and slightly humpbacked, and had one shoulder higher than the other, and the left leg longer than the right.<sup>1</sup> He wore a suit of cloth of gold, embroidered with silver, glittering with gems, and was mounted on a fine white charger. Beside him, on his left, rode his uncle Don John, about his own age, dressed in crimson velvet enriched with gold, his blooming cheek, his gallant bearing, and his graceful horsemanship, making more obvious the want of these advantages in the unfortunate heir-apparent. In the cathedral Carlos was seated between his father, the King, and his aunt, the Princess of Brazil, late Regent of the Kingdom, who appeared in her widow's weeds,

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. pp. 147, 152.

veiled as usual from head to foot, sparingly adorned with pearls, and attended by her black-robed ladies. Don John occupied a lower place outside the canopy, between the throne and the seats of the ambassadors. After the sermon and prayers were over the Princess was first called upon to take the oath, which was administered to her by the Cardinal Bishop of Burgos. The crier next summoned "the most illustrious Don John of Austria, natural son "of the 'Emperor-King.'" After taking the oath Don John knelt before his nephew and kissed his hand. The same ceremony was then gone through by the prelates and grandees according to their several degrees. The last to present himself was the Duke of Alba, who had been officially engaged during the ceremony, and who moved the ire of the punctilious and ill-tempered Prince by forgetting for a moment to kiss his hand. The proceedings closed with an oath taken by Don Carlos to respect and maintain the laws and privileges of the kingdom and the Catholic faith, and received by Don John of Austria as the official representative of the nation.<sup>1</sup> The young Queen, being still unwell, was unable to appear, greatly to the contentment of the sable-garbed dames of the Princess, who were thus saved the mortification of being eclipsed in the procession by a bevy of fair French rivals. In a few days, however, Isabella emerged from her sick chamber, and the old Alcazar of Toledo once more rung with banquets and revels, and the Vega again was gay with the bright banners and pavilions of the tournament.

During the Regency of the Infanta Juana so much sickness had prevailed at Valladolid that there had been much discussion of a plan for changing the seat of government. It was one of the last subjects submitted to the Emperor for consideration in his retirement at Yuste. A central situation being deemed advisable, the relative merits of the chief towns of the Castilles had been examined by the Princess. Old Castille had Burgos with its beautiful cathedral and its historical associations as the seat of the early counts of Castille, and Guadalajara, a place of no great importance, but seated in the midst of extensive domains of the Crown. New Castille had Toledo, the venerable metropolis of the Spanish Church and of the Gothic monarchy, and Madrid, a town of considerable size, possessing a fine old castle, a favourite residence much enlarged by Charles V. Philip was in favour of a change. Valladolid had become distasteful to him, no less for the heresy of its people than for the insalubrity of its air. But

<sup>1</sup> Vanderhammen : *Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 30.



he did not share his sister's predilections for Madrid. He therefore fixed his residence for a while at Toledo in order to test the capabilities of the ancient city. Here too so much sickness prevailed, and the want of accommodation excited so much discontent among the courtiers, that he was obliged to cast his eyes on some other town. In spite of his dislike to Madrid, it became the ultimate object of his choice. The central position and finely-seated palace were its sole claims to the distinction. Placed as it was in the middle of a peninsula without roads and far from any considerable river, Madrid's advantages of position were rather imaginary than real. Valladolid possessed a far shorter and easier access to the Biscayan shore and the sea-road to the Netherlands. Seville, with its commerce, its colonial archives, and proximity to the coast, was a more commanding point from whence to direct the maritime interests and energies of Spain. But when the choice of a capital was a matter of question and difficulty, a wise choice was little likely to be made by the monarch who afterwards neglected the opportunity of fixing the seat of his dominion at Lisbon, when he became master of that noble city, which a fine river, a magnificent harbour, and a genial climate combined to render the natural capital of Iberia, and the position in Western Europe from whence the old world could best govern the new.

To the bleak tableland of Madrid the Court accordingly removed in 1560. A house belonging to Don Pedro de Porras, which in aftertimes became the residence of the Duke of Lerma, was assigned to Don John of Austria. He had not been there long when a fire broke out in it at night. A peasant passing by at early morning, observing the smoke, knocked at the door and gave the alarm. Quixada's careful head was soon at the window. The fire was already raging between Don John's room and his own. But he once more succeeded in rescuing him from the flames; and taking him in his arms he carried him to the steps of the adjacent church of S<sup>a</sup> Maria. He then returned for his wife and deposited her also in the same place of safety. But he saved nothing else of his property. The fire was not extinguished until mid-day, and the whole contents of the house were consumed except a bronze Christ upon an ebony cross, which hung over Don John's bed, and which was found miraculously unhurt among the ruins. Among other things the Chamberlain especially lamented the destruction of an iron chest containing the charters, title-deeds, and ancient muniments of the long line of Quixadas.

He estimated his loss at one hundred thousand ducats. Philip the Second was not insensible to the courage and devotion of his father's old and faithful servant. He made him master of the horse to Don Carlos, a member of the Councils of State and War, and President of the Council of the Indies; and in 1564 he gave him the commandery of El Moral in the order of Calatrava.

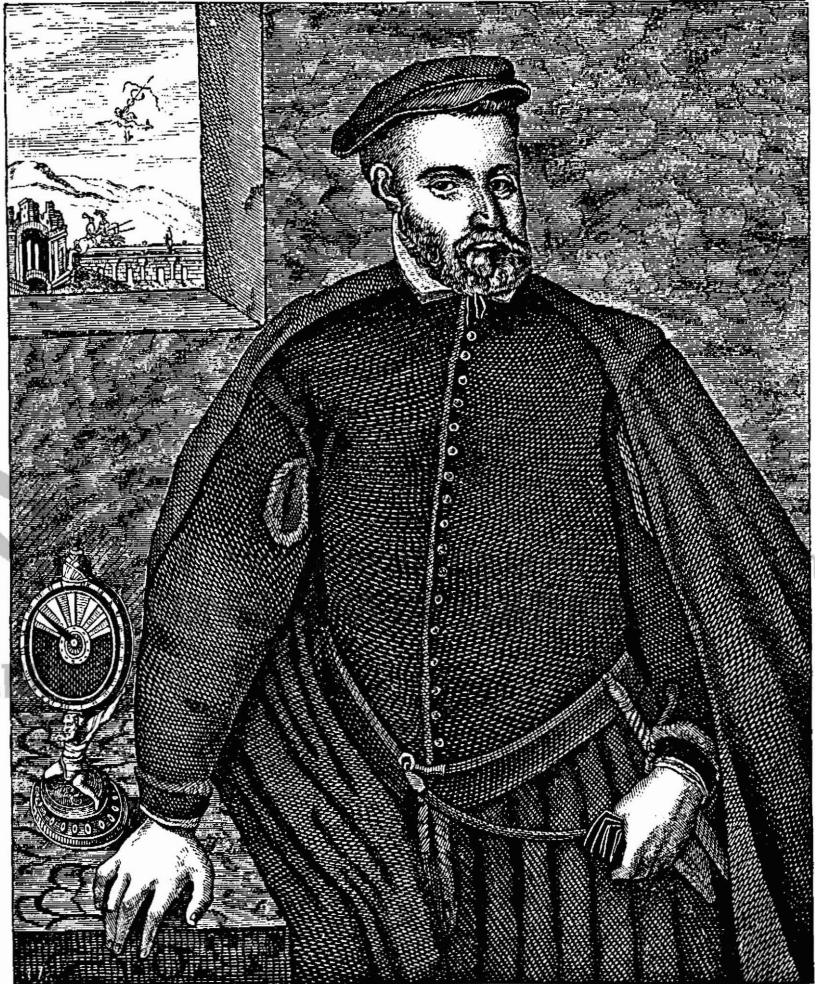
Early in November 1561<sup>1</sup> Don John, then in his sixteenth year, was sent with his nephew Don Carlos, and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, to complete his education at the University of Alcalá. This noble seat of learning, although founded only sixty years before by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, was already near the zenith of its reputation. The little country town, six leagues west of Madrid, had become in that time a city of palaces, each year adding some new dome or belfry to the crown of collegiate and conventual towers which rose above its ancient walls by the banks of the Henares.

Salamanca had good reason to look with a jealous eye on the progress of her young and vigorous rival. The presses of Alcalá were no less busy and prosperous than her colleges. The polyglot of Ximenes, still the most beautiful specimen of biblical typography that four centuries of printing have given us, led the van of a goodly array of tomes in all branches of erudition. The printers Brozas and Angulo were still maintaining the fame of the elder Brocarius, and were making known to Spain the scholarship of Gomez de Castro and Villalpando and the science of Segura.

Don Carlos and Don John were lodged in the sumptuous archiepiscopal palace built by Ximenes for his successors in the primacy, but now left untenanted by the unhappy owner during his captivity at Valladolid. The Prince of Parma occupied other quarters in the town. Honorato Juan, the tutor of Don Carlos, superintended the studies of the three royal youths. This learned Valencian had been in his youth a favourite pupil of his celebrated countryman Vives, at the university of Louvain. He then embraced the career of arms, following the standard of the Emperor, and sharing in 1541 the perils and humiliations of his expedition to Algiers. Charles made him preceptor of his son Philip, under Cardinal Siliceo; and when the heir-apparent went on his travels through the Netherlands and Germany, Honorato Juan had an honourable place amongst his attendants. Don Carlos was soon afterwards placed under the care of his father's tutor, who probably owed his reputation more to the rank than the proficiency of his

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. p. 69.

royal pupils. No Spaniard of his time was more lavishly praised by his contemporaries or has left behind him less to justify such loud laudation. Popes, princes, and men of letters agreed that he



HONORATUS IOANNIUS CAROLI HISP. PRINCIPIS MAGISTER.

was a miracle of genius and learning;<sup>1</sup> yet his writings escaped the diligent search, in the next century, of the historian of Spanish

<sup>1</sup> His nephew, Antonio Juan de Centilles, compiled a work entitled *Elogios del ilustrissimo Honorato Juan, Gentilhombre del Sr. Emp. Carlos V., Maestro del Sr. D. Carlos, y Obispo de Osmá, sacados de diversas cartas pontificias y reales*, fol., Valencia, 1649.

literature, who has nevertheless joined in the universal homage.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of his life he laid aside the cloak and sword, received the tonsure, and was made Bishop of Osma.<sup>2</sup>

For a brief and miserable career in this world fate has rewarded Don Carlos with a bright immortality in the paradise of romance. Sir John Falstaff, possibly as brave and honourable, as spare, and as dull a knight as any that ever couched a spear or mounted a breach in the wars of Henry IV., is nevertheless, for us and for all time, the fat, witty, knavish poltroon which Shakespeare made him. So the passionate lover and martyred hero, portrayed by Schiller and Alfieri under the name of Don Carlos, will ever reflect somewhat of his brightness upon the commonplace, ill-conditioned Prince. It is certain that neither his childhood nor his boyhood afforded any promise of those qualities which were ascribed to him later in life. When the retired Emperor and his sisters, the Queens of France and Hungary, came to Valladolid in 1556, Carlos was the only child of the King, who had just contracted a second marriage with Mary Tudor which gave little hope of further progeny. There was every reason why the young heir-apparent should be petted and caressed, why his kindred should shut their eyes to his faults, why his attendants should hold him up to their admiration as the pattern of boys and princes. Yet all of them looked forward to his future with more anxiety than hope. His aunt, the Infanta Juana, reported him to her relations as a bad boy; the gentle Queen Eleanor, tenderest of mothers, shook her head at him; and the Emperor, after a few days of silent observation of his character, recommended that the rod should be freely used in his education. In writing afterwards to Yuste, his tutor, Garcia de Toledo, complained of his ungovernable and choleric temper, and of his backwardness not only at his books, but in the accomplishments of riding and fencing, in which the descendant of a long line of knights and Nimrods might be expected to delight and to excel. Carlos early showed a jealousy of his

<sup>1</sup> N. Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2 vols. folio, Madrid, 1787, ii. p. 389) closes his work with a respectful mention of three Spaniards celebrated for their learning, yet unqualified for a place in the catalogue of national writers, because they had written nothing—Cardinal Ximenes, Honorato Juan, and Fr. Nicolas Bautista.—V. Ximeno (*Escritores de Valencia*, 2 vols. folio, Valencia, 1747-9, i. p. 147) ranks Honorato Juan amongst Valencian authors, on the strength of a *Catechism*, a *Limousin Vocabulary*, and some *Letters*. There is a life of him by Athanasius Kircher, in his work entitled *Principis Christiani Archetypon politicum, sive Sapientia Regnatricis, quam regis instructam documentis ex antiquo numismate Honorati Joannii, symbolicis obvelatam integumentis, reipublice litterariae evolutam exponit A. Kircherus*, 4to, Amstelodami, 1672, pp. 88-222.

<sup>2</sup> He died in Estremadura, whither he had gone for his health, on 30th of July 1566.

position as heir of the monarchy; and on learning that the Netherlands were settled upon the issue of his father's marriage with the English Queen, he said he would fight any brother that might be born to him, in maintenance of his rights to the undivided succession. As he grew up, his morose and haughty demeanour gave constant offence to those around him, and argued ill for his popularity when it should be his turn to reign. He was now in his seventeenth year.<sup>1</sup> He came to Alcalá in a state of great prostration from the effects of a quartan fever, which for upwards of two years had been sapping his strength, and the university town had been chosen for his residence on account of its reputation for salubrity.<sup>2</sup>

The Prince of Parma was in all respects the opposite of his cousin of the Asturias. His mother, Duchess Margaret, the eldest child of Charles V., inherited more of her sire's spirit and capacity than any one of his offspring, except the youngest, Don John. To her courage, energy, resolution, and sound intelligence, Alexander added the subtler powers and softer graces which belonged to his father's Italian blood. Few keener intellects were to be found among the students who read Aristotle or Cicero in the schools; no handsomer youth flung the quoit, or rode at the ring on the banks of the Henares. In his well-knit vigorous person, his discursive mind, and his joyous and generous disposition, he recalled to mind his ancestor Maximilian, when in hot youth, after the French victory at Nancy, he flew to protect the domain and win the heart of the heiress of Burgundy.

The royal students had been at college about six months when a serious accident befell the heir-apparent. Don Carlos had taken a fancy to the daughter of the Archbishop's porter, and some observers of this preference hoped that it might develop the more amiable points and the dormant energies of his character. He used to meet the girl in a garden, which he reached by descending a dark and steep staircase, somewhat out of repair. Going down these stairs one day after dinner (19th April 1562) his foot slipped, and, falling to the bottom, he screamed for assistance. On being carried to his room, he was found to have received on his right temple, near the ear, a severe contusion, which, though not at first deemed dangerous, proved to be an obstinate wound. In spite of remedies applied by no less than six physicians and surgeons, it was followed by fever, violent

<sup>1</sup> He was born at Valladolid on the 8th of July 1545.

<sup>2</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. 66.



pain and swelling in the head, vomiting, blindness, paralysis of the right leg, and other alarming symptoms. The King himself hastened to Alcalá, bringing further medical assistance, and leaving orders that he should be followed by the miraculous image of Our Lady of Atocha. Everything that parental solicitude could suggest Philip seems to have done. When he was not watching by the sick-bed, or consulting with the doctors, he was on his knees praying for his son's recovery. His prayers were aided by services and processions in every church in Spain, and by the sufferings of long lines of flagellants, scourging themselves through the streets of Madrid and Toledo. The Queen passed hours in her oratory, and the Infanta Juana, in a night of unusual cold, walked barefoot to pray before a famous shrine of Our Lady of Consolation. Quixada and Honorato Juan attended Carlos so closely that their own health suffered, and their fatigues were shared by the Duke of Alba, who sat up with the Prince night after night without changing his clothes. In spite, however, of care and kindness and prayers, the patient grew worse and worse; every moment he was expected to expire, and the King, having given directions for the funeral, returned to Madrid "the most woe-begone of princes."<sup>1</sup> Some of the nine doctors were of opinion that trepanning should be tried, and that operation was performed, as it appears, without either necessity or advantage. The corpse of one Fray Diego, who had died a hundred years before in the odour of sanctity, was brought from a neighbouring Franciscan convent and laid on the Prince's bed. As a last resource, a Moorish leech, who had been summoned from Valencia, was allowed to apply an unguent of which he possessed the secret. The Prince began to mend, and the doctors resumed the conduct of the case. By the middle of May Carlos was pronounced out of danger; and before the end of the month the King, walking bareheaded for an hour beneath a burning sun, appeared in a solemn procession in token of his gratitude for the cure. It is noticeable that the poor lad, who when in comparative health was so peevish and refractory, bore his illness with gentleness and patience, following with ready obedience every direction of the King and the physicians. In one of the lucid intervals between his fits of delirium he told his father that his chief regret in dying was to die before he had seen the birth of a child of the

<sup>1</sup> "Estant le plus triste et exploré prince du monde." Lib. de l'Aubespierre, Bishop of Limoges, to Charles IX., 11th May 1562; Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 635. The interesting despatches from which M. Gachard has drawn the materials of his graphic account of the Prince's illness are printed in his Appendix A.

Queen,—a touching speech, in which the French ambassador, a bishop, noted with offensive glee evidence of great jealousy between the two branches of the House of Austria. By the end of June Carlos was able to take the air, and on the 5th of July he attended mass, and had himself weighed, in order to ascertain the cost of a vow, made in his illness, of four times his weight in gold and seven times his weight in silver to certain religious houses.

The recovery of the heir-apparent was hailed with great joy throughout Spain. It has, however, been suspected, perhaps with reason, that it was not so complete as it at first appeared, and that an injured brain may have been one cause of the Prince's unhappy end. Meanwhile the merit of the cure was claimed by all parties concerned: the doctors, who had considered the case hopeless; the Morisco leech, who was nevertheless dismissed as a blockhead; the votaries of the Virgin of Atocha; and the Franciscans of Alcalá, for their late brother Diego, for whom the grateful Prince obtained from an obliging Pope the first step towards a canonisation which has made him one of the favourites of Castillian hagiology.<sup>1</sup>

Don Carlos was soon after removed for change of air to Madrid. He returned to Alcalá<sup>2</sup> in the autumn, better but not well. In the following winter and spring he was again attacked by the fever which had been for so long undermining his constitution. One of these attacks was so severe that he made his will, a document still extant, which was drawn up according to his wishes by a favourite officer of his household Hernan Suarez de Toledo. It was signed and sealed on the 19th of May 1564.<sup>3</sup>

The royal youths Don John and Prince Alexander remained at Alcalá for nearly two years, learning what Latin and dialectics

<sup>1</sup> I have followed, in a great measure, the narrative of Mr. Prescott, *History of Philip II.*, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1855-8, ii. pp. 468-72, adding a few facts from the unpublished despatches of the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, for a perusal of copies of which I have to thank my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, so well known for his rich collection of papers belonging to the history of Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Don Carlos appears to have been at Alcalá de Henares in 1563. On the 15th December 1563 Don García de Toledo writes to Francisco de Eтарo from Alcalá:—“En esta casa de S. A. no hay un real ni para pagalla (a sum owing for the allowance of the previous year) ni comer, y cualquiera socorro que se hace en casa de Nicolao de Grimaldo cuesta dineros, y así de la falta que hubo el año pasado le hemos pagados en esta feria quinientos mil mas de interes. Vm. lo haga remediar, porque yo le certifico que la necesidad es extrema . . . Todos estamos necesitados de contentar los medicos este año, que hemos de ser sus procuradores.”—*Doc Ined.*, xxvi. 506. *Documentos relativos al P. D. Carlos.*

<sup>3</sup> It is printed nearly entire by M. Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 128-142.

their professors could induce them to acquire, and daily improving themselves in the use of their fowling-pieces and the management of their chargers.

While Don John was thus preparing himself for a career of arms, his brother the King was endeavouring to carry out his father's wish to place him in the Church. During the sitting of the Cortes of Aragon at Monçon, early in 1564, Philip requested Pope Pius the Fourth to grant his brother a Cardinal's hat. The Pontiff promised compliance. But a question of precedence—the eternal subject of dispute between the French and Spanish ambassadors at the Holy See—being decided by Pius in favour of France, the diplomatic relations between Madrid and the Vatican were interrupted, and the bestowal of the purple was postponed. Don John was soon afterwards recalled to Court to meet his cousins the Archdukes Ernest and Rodolph, who had been sent by their father, Maximilian the Second, to be educated under the eye of the Catholic King, and removed from the atmosphere of heresy which pervaded the northern world. The young man's university career was thus brought to a close in the eighteenth year of his age.

In 1565 an opportunity was afforded him of giving evidence not to be mistaken that he preferred the laurels of war to the peaceful splendour of the Roman purple. On the 18th of May the fleet of Sultan Solyman, under the command of Mustafa and Piali, the most famous seamen in the Turkish empire, invested Malta. But for the gallantry of John de Valette, the Grand Master, that island would have shared the fate of Rhodes, and the knights of St. John would have been driven back upon astonished and humiliated Christendom. The Christian princes had been long too deeply engaged in their own religious wars and intrigues to take note of the advance of their common enemy the Turk. The imminent danger now forced itself upon the attention of Philip the Second. He therefore ordered Don Garcia de Toledo, his Viceroy in Sicily and the commander of his fleet in the Mediterranean, to sail to the relief of Malta with all the forces he could raise. An auxiliary squadron was fitted out at Barcelona. Don John entreated to be allowed to join this expedition. Philip refused his request, saying he was too young, and besides that he intended to fulfil his father's plan of placing him in the Church. Unable to obtain leave, Don John determined to go without leave. On the 9th of April 1565 Don Carlos and Don John attended the Queen from Madrid to Guar-

rama, a village which gives its name to the mountain range a few leagues north of Madrid. Isabella being on her way to hold a meeting with her mother, Catherine de Medicis, at Bayonne, the population of Madrid turned out to witness her departure. At Guadarrama they overtook the King, who had preceded them hither. Thence the Queen went to the convent of Mejorada, and the King to that of Guisando. They again met at Valladolid, where they remained for some weeks. Magnificent bull-fights and cave-plays, in which the combatants were the young nobles, were held in their honour. The afternoons were often devoted by the Queen to visiting the monasteries, gardens, and country-houses near the city, and in these excursions she was always accompanied by Don Carlos and Don John. Isabella began her northern journey on the 15th of May, and her beautiful eyes were wet with tears as she took leave of her husband at the neighbouring village of Cigales.<sup>1</sup>

The Court soon afterwards moved to Segovia. It was here that Don John seems to have determined to execute his plan of escape. Don Carlos and he were on their way to the palace of the Wood of Segovia, when he quietly left the cavalcade at Galpagar,<sup>2</sup> and accompanied by two attendants rode off towards the sea, with the intention of embarking at Barcelona or Bivaroz. At Frasno, a town eleven leagues from Zaragoza, he fell sick of a tertian fever, and was overtaken by Don Juan Manuel, whom the King, on hearing of his flight, sent after him to bring him back. Manuel was the bearer of a letter from Quixada urging him to return, and representing the anxiety which his absence caused him. The Archbishop, Governor, and other dignitaries of Zaragoza came from that city to visit him, and as soon as he was able to move, conveyed him thither to the archiepiscopal palace. They joined Manuel in entreating him to give up his project. The King, they assured him, would be very angry, and they alleged that the galleys in which he intended to have taken his passage had already sailed from Barcelona. They invited him at least to wait until a body of fifteen hundred men should be raised at the expense of the kingdom of Aragon to enable him to appear at the head of a force befitting his rank; and finally, finding him obsti-

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, pp. 167-8.

<sup>2</sup> Galpagar is mentioned by Vanderhammen as the point of Don John's evasion, but the probability of this being true depends on the position of that place. If it lies between Segovia, or Valsain, and the Bosque, Galpagar may have been the place, but not if it lies on the Madrid side of that *sitio*. Gachard's account is so precise that there is little reason to believe the King returned to Madrid during the Queen's absence.

nate, they offered him a loan of money for the voyage. All these reasons and offers he resisted and rejected, and sent off one of his attendants to Barcelona to inquire after the means of transit. He himself went by way of Belpuche, where he was hospitably received by the Admiral of Naples, and afterwards visited the Benedictines who dwelt among the famous crags of Monserrate.<sup>1</sup> On reaching Barcelona he was entertained by the Viceroy of Catalonia, the Duke of Francavilla, and received with distinction by the bishop and other authorities of the Catalonian capital. The galleys having sailed as had been reported, he found that he would be compelled to proceed on his journey through France. Meanwhile the King had issued injunctions that he was not to be permitted to embark, and now sent him a formal order, addressed to himself, commanding him to return under pain of disgrace. Time was passing; if evasion were possible the land journey would be difficult and tedious; and Don John had at least done enough to show the bent and the strength of his will. He therefore reluctantly gave up his enterprise and returned to Court.

The Court was still at Segovia, waiting for the Queen's return from Bayonne. When Don John made his appearance the King had already gone to meet her at Sepulveda, a village ten leagues off. On the 30th of July Don Carlos and Don John rode out to meet the royal pair three leagues from Segovia. As soon as they came in sight Don Carlos dismounted and advanced on foot to kiss his stepmother's hand. Don John approached the King, and begged pardon for his flight to Aragon, and the trouble it had caused. Philip embraced him kindly, and bade him go and kiss the hand of the Queen. Isabella laughingly asked him if he had found the Moors and the Turks brave warriors. The crestfallen volunteer replied somewhat dolefully, that he had unfortunately had no opportunity of judging of their prowess.<sup>2</sup>

In the autumn he was with his brother the King at the Escorial, where the gray granite walls of the vast palace-convent were just beginning to rise above the rocky soil of the Guadarama hills. He accompanied him thence to Madrid, to meet the Queen on her return from her visit to her family at Bayonne.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *El Monserrate* de Cristoval de Virues, Madrid, 1587, sm. 8vo, a very striking poem, contains some fine stanzas at beginning of canto v. describing the hill, and in canto xx. a description of the splendour of the convent in the author's days.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of St. Sulpice, the French ambassador, to Catherine de Medicis, 11th August 1565, quoted by Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, i. 169-170.

<sup>3</sup> Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 33-36.



On the 15th of November he revisited, as a Prince, the village of Getafe, where he had formerly been at school as a nameless peasant boy. It was on occasion of the arrival there of the holy corpse of St. Eugenius, which was being transported from its long repose at St. Denis to the cathedral, where the saint had once reigned as primate, of Toledo. Philip II. had purchased the precious bones from Charles IX. at the moderate price of the skull of St. Quintin, of which he had despoiled the town so called, after his victory in 1557. An infinity of documents and seals recorded and ratified the bargain; and a deputation of French nobles and prelates placed the remains of the Toledan saint in the hands of a similar embassy from Spain at Bourdeaux. They were thence conveyed with almost royal pomp to Toledo, receiving at each halting-place the adoration of the faithful. Getafe being only two leagues from Madrid, it was there that Queen Isabella and the devout Infanta Juana, attended by Don John, went to pay their homage. Three days afterwards the venerable skeleton made its entry into the old archiepiscopal city, the King and Don Carlos kneeling in the wayside dust to do it honour.

Next year, 1566, on the 19th of May, the Court moved to the country palace of Valsain, or, as it was also called, of the Wood of Segovia, for the approaching confinement of the Queen. The Infanta Juana went to Aranjuez with the two archdukes. Don Carlos and Don John remained at Madrid, and were constant companions. At night they used to seek fresh air and coolness by going to sup at the Casa del Campo, a small royal seat beyond the Manzanares. Towards the end of June they joined the Court at Valsain.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen was delivered of a daughter on the night between the 11th and 12th of August. An attack of fever placed the mother's life in considerable danger, but she happily recovered. The Infanta was baptized on the 25th in the chapel of the palace, by the Papal Nuncio, Giovanni Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and long afterwards Pope under the name of Urban VII. The child's godfather and godmother were her aunt the Infanta Juana and her brother Don Carlos. But the heir-apparent, suffering from one of his frequent attacks of illness, during which no strength was left him except in his teeth, was so weak that he was unable to perform the duty of holding the babe at the font.

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo. i. 282-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. p. 285.

Don John therefore supplied his place there, and carried his little niece back to the apartments of the Queen. The name conferred on her by the Nuncio was one which afterwards became well known in history, Isabella Clara Eugenia,—the first in honour of the Catholic Queen of Castille, the second in honour of the saint on whose day she was born, and the third in fulfilment of her mother's vow while adoring the relics of St. Eugenius at Getafe in the previous year.

During this autumn at Valsain, Don Carlos and Don John, who were both fond of swimming, used to bathe together in one of those clear, cold, mountain streams which the lofty Guadarrama pours through the woodlands at its northern base, and which now feed the matchless fountains of the modern San Ildefonso. In September Don John was for a while affected with a kind of paralysis of the hands and arms, which was attributed to over-indulgence in his watery pastimes.<sup>1</sup>

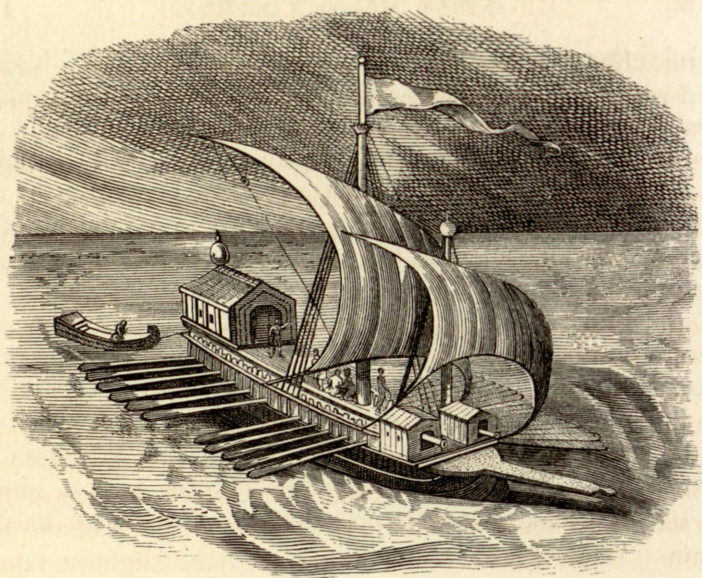
<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, i. p. 283, note 2. Letter from Tourquevaux to Charles IX., 11th September 1566.

It is somewhat remarkable that in spite of the recognition of Don John as son of the Emperor by his brother the King, the fact of his existence should not have become known to Lodovico Dolce, who, in his *Vita di Carlo Quinto*, Venezia, 1567, 4to, says that Charles V. left three legitimate children, and one illegitimate daughter, "una naturale maritata al Duca Ottavio," p. 173, making no mention of Don John. The book is dedicated to Emmanuel Filibert, Duke of Savoy, and the dedication is dated 24th October 1565.



HELMET OF CHARLES V.





GALLEY UNDER SAIL.

### CHAPTER III.

YOUTH OF DON JOHN AND HIS FIRST NAVAL COMMAND,  
1566-1568.



XCITEMENT and anxiety rarely rose higher in the councils of Philip II. than during the spring and summer of 1557. Since his accession to the throne, the Netherlands, the wealthiest and most important of his possessions, had been in a state of growing discontent with the management of their religious and political affairs. The reformed doctrines had spread far and

wide over the provinces, and the bloody laws of Charles V. against heresy, which a mild and careless administration had rendered tolerable during the reign of that monarch, were not only enforced with great severity, but were accompanied by other measures subversive of the ancient charters and liberties of the Netherlands. Disaffection was not confined to the lower classes to which the

converts chiefly belonged. A hostile and suspicious nobility seemed ready to place itself at the head of an exasperated people. Popular tumults began to rise to the dimensions of a religious revolution. Every month brought worse tidings. At length, in August 1566, the cathedral of Antwerp was invaded by the lowest of the people, its altars desecrated, and its decorations destroyed. The infection spread from city to city, and churches and monasteries were sacked by furious mobs. The havoc was the work of the lowest class, but their wealthier neighbours looked on with complacency. Of these events this history will take cognisance in a later chapter. Suffice it for the present to say that the terror-stricken Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, found it necessary to lull this popular storm by making to her subjects the concessions which were most hateful to the principles and policy as well as the pride of the King of Spain. While fire and faggot punished the slightest taint of heretical opinion at Valladolid and Seville, the representative of Philip II. was forced to suspend the Inquisition, and to permit the open preaching of heresy, sometimes in desecrated churches, in almost every town of the Netherlands.

The suddenness of the outburst, and the insufficiency of the royal forces on the spot, compelled the King for a while to dissemble his deep indignation. He would not ratify the concessions of the Regent; but he spoke the provinces fair, and assured them that he would soon appear at Bruxelles to hear their complaints and to come to an understanding with his subjects. The Emperor, the Pope, and other Princes who were interested in the well-being of the Netherlands, strongly urged him to lose no time in fulfilling this promise. To them the same promise was repeated in the most solemn manner. Meanwhile he sent to the Duchess of Parma all the money he could spare to be spent in secretly levying troops and in repairing the fortresses. The winter was spent in concentrating in the Milanese the flower of the armies of Spain. This choice force was placed under the command of the Duke of Alba, and leave was obtained for it to pass through the territories of the Swiss Republic and the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine. Alba was also appointed successor to the Duchess of Parma, with extraordinary powers. He arrived at Bruxelles in August 1567, and immediately set himself to complete the conquest of the provinces which the reaction after the mob-violence of the past year had enabled Margaret of Parma to begin.



The first object of Alba and Philip was to gain as far as possible the confidence of those upon whom they intended to inflict signal punishment. Above all, the great nobles who favoured the popular cause were to be cajoled until the net could be securely spread around them. It was therefore of great importance to foster belief in the King's speedy arrival at Bruxelles. On the 26th of June Don Carlos, the Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, and Don John of Austria, received a formal notification that they were to be ready to accompany the King to the Netherlands. Don Carlos immediately applied for leave for his stable of fifty horses to go through France. As the royal party were to go by sea, a squadron was assembled at Coruña. Quarters were ordered along the road to Biscay. Boxes of glass for the royal cabins were sent to the coast; large quantities of furniture and baggage were packed; the King's chaplains were ordered to hold themselves ready with their portable chapel furniture; and Philip himself discussed with the ambassadors the relative advantages of travelling by sea and land. It was said that the Queen, whose confinement was again at hand, was to be Regent of Spain, and that, when she followed the King, the Infanta Juana would take her place.<sup>1</sup>

All these preparations came to nothing. The whole plan was an elaborate and not very successful hoax. The journey never took place, and the shrewdest persons at Madrid and Bruxelles never could be brought to believe that it had ever been seriously intended. The King did his best to maintain the delusion long after it was threadbare. Being anxious to obtain the concession of the bull of the Crusade and other sources of revenue usually granted by the Holy See to princes about to wage war with the infidel, he instructed his ambassador at Rome to explain his plans to the Pope. The Duke of Alba, the ambassador was to say, had been unable to arrive in the Low Countries so soon as had been expected; certain acts must be accomplished by him ere the King could go thither with advantage; and, as the season was now too far advanced for a sea voyage, he had been most reluctantly compelled to put it off until the spring.<sup>2</sup> It was, however, clear to most of those concerned that the journey was abandoned altogether. The first campaign of Don John of Austria was not to be made in the Netherlands.

A Court christening enabled the King again this year to

<sup>1</sup> Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 427-430.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 439-441.



bestow on Don John a public mark of his favour. On the 10th of October 1567 Queen Isabella gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized on the 19th of the same month. The last royal baptism had taken place in comparative privacy at Valsain.<sup>1</sup> The sacred rite was now performed in the church of San Gil, adjoining the palace, with all the pomp which belonged to the reception of a daughter of the Catholic King into the bosom of the Catholic Church. At three o'clock in the afternoon the procession filed through the covered way which led from the palace to the church. It was headed by a long array of officers of the household, of State, kings-of-arms, and bodyguards. The Duke of Arcos, chief of the great house of Ponce de Leon, carried the white baptismal hood (*capillo*);<sup>2</sup> the Duke of Medina de Rioseco, the taper; the Duke of Sesa, heir of the great captain, the marchpain (*maçapan*);<sup>3</sup> the Duke of Bejar, the saltcellar; the Duke of Osuna, the basin (*aguamanil*) and napkin; and the Count of Benevente, the ewer (*fuenta*) and another napkin. Behind these nobles came Don John of Austria, in cloth of silver, and a furred crimson mantle, and wearing a rich chain of rubies and pearls, presented to him for the occasion by his sister, the Princess of Brazil. In his arms he carried the royal babe, wrapped in a mantle of crimson velvet edged with gold lace (*cañutillo*). At his right hand walked the Papal Nuncio, and at his left the ambassador of the Emperor, who were followed by the ambassadors of France and Portugal. Next came the godfather and godmother, the Archduke Rudolph and the Princess of Brazil; and a long line of ladies in waiting and maids of honour closed the procession. Cardinal Espinosa and four bishops awaited its arrival at the door of the church, in which were drawn up the various Councils of State, Luis Quixada appearing as president at the head of the Council of the Indies. Beneath a rich canopy was displayed the ancient silver font at which St. Dominic had been admitted into the Christian Church, and at which the Infanta now received from the Cardinal the name of Catherine.

In the same month, October 1567, Don John received at the King's hands a still more signal distinction in being appointed to the office of Admiral of the Fleet, or as it was called in Castilian, "General of the Sea." His martial predilections were now to be suffered to have their own way. He was, of course, overjoyed at

<sup>1</sup> Chap. II. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the proverb *Lo que en el capillo se toma, con la mortaja se deja*; What is put on with the hood is put off with the shroud.

<sup>3</sup> A sweet cake of almonds and sugar.

having thus obtained the fitting career for his ambition. Expressing his rapture to the Nuncio, he said he wished his first voyage might be to kiss the feet of His Holiness the Pope, after which he felt assured everything would be well with him.<sup>1</sup> The appointment gave so much satisfaction to Don Carlos that he went from Madrid to the Escorial in order to thank his father for having made it—a pleasing proof of the friendship which prevailed between the two youths.<sup>2</sup>

A few weeks later events which have made the sad story of the heir-apparent of Philip II. one of the riddles of history began to unfold themselves. The strange and violent temper and conduct of Don Carlos, his supposed intrigues with the malcontents of the Low Countries, his abortive attempt to escape from Court, his arrest and his suspicious death in prison, have frequently been narrated ; but the true cause of his tragic end is still unexplained. As a trusted companion of the Prince, Don John was a spectator of several of these events ; in some of them he was engaged as an actor, and his conduct while so engaged may well be supposed to have influenced in no unimportant degree his subsequent career. During their boyish companionship in the palace and at Alcalá, and for the most part of their life at Court, Don John and Don Carlos seem to have lived on the most affectionate terms. Persons about the Court, with excellent opportunities of learning and hearing the truth, agree in representing the wayward heir-apparent as very fond of his bastard uncle. In the account-books of Don Carlos still extant are various entries showing that he was in the habit of making costly presents to Don John. One records the payment of 800 ducats to Giacomo Trezzo, the famous medallist and engraver, for a ring set with a table diamond given to his uncle ; and another of these gifts was a sword, mounted in black and gold.<sup>3</sup> Many wagers are also set down as lost to Don John, which are evidence, at least, of their frequent companionship. The affectionate interest displayed by Don Carlos in the promotion of Don John to the post of admiral is a proof of the friendly terms on which they were living with each other within little more than two months of the arrest of the Prince. There is no record of any misunderstanding between them except a quarrel which is said on very questionable authority to have occurred just before the arrest. Brantôme, speaking as it seems of that quarrel, and with perhaps no other

<sup>1</sup> Gachard : *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. p. 465, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 463.

ground for his assertion, relates that Don Carlos had been tenderly attached to Don John, but on finding that his uncle had narrated to the King something which he had told him, conceived so great an aversion for him that they rarely met without high words. During this period of enmity the same chronicler says that Carlos thought fit to reproach Don John with his illegitimate birth and the character of his mother, calling him "*bâtard et fils de putain.*" "So I am," retorted the son of Charles V., "but I have a better father than you."<sup>1</sup>

It may be as well here to cast a glance at the character of the brother at whose expense this impudent repartee was made, and upon whose favour the career of the young wit depended. Philip II. is unquestionably the most important personage among the princes of the latter half of the sixteenth century. His long reign of forty-three years (1555-1598) gives him no less prominence in history than the extent of his dominions gave him influence in the affairs of the world. The good fortune and the sagacious policy of the House of Austria had accumulated under his sceptre an empire such as will probably never again be swayed by a single hand. The rich provinces of Belgium made Spain a northern power of first-rate importance. In the south the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, the Republics of Genoa and Venice, and the Holy See, possessed about one-third of Italy; the other two-thirds were Spanish, as well as Sicily and the greater islands which intervene between the peninsulas of Italy and Spain. Oran and a considerable territory on the African shore owned the same sway. The death of Don Sebastian united under the rule of Philip II. all the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, nearly all that was European in the New World, all that was European in Southern Asia and the Indian Archipelago.

Considering the theories and political speculations of the philosophers of that age, it was not surprising that the master of so vast a dominion should have dreamed of becoming master of the world. The policy of Philip II. does not appear to have differed very far from the dream of Campanella.<sup>2</sup> The history of the king not improbably suggested to the imprisoned monk the idea of his picture of the possible future of the monarchy

<sup>1</sup> *Si, yo lo soy, mas yo tengo padre mejor que os.* Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 7 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1822. *Discours* xli. i. p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Campanella: *De Monarchia Hispanica discursus*, 12mo, Amstelodami, 1640. There is an English translation entitled, *Th. Campanella, his advice to the King of Spain for attaining the universal monarchy of the world*, trans. by Ed. Chilmead, with a preface by Wm. Frynne, 4to, London, 1659.

of Spain. In his treatise war is assumed to be the proper and natural business of a king, as the chase is the natural business of a country gentleman. The king is advised to rule his subjects with justice and moderation, chiefly because that course will best enable him to execute those schemes of violence and aggression upon his neighbours which, it is taken for granted, no royal person of proper spirit can fail to entertain. This view of the relations existing between a Prince and his subjects, and between a Prince and his neighbours, is precisely the view taken by Philip II., who in all cases likewise reserved to himself the power of dispensing with justice and moderation. His government at home and his diplomacy abroad were therefore carried on upon principles, which, if uniformly adopted by rulers and efficiently applied by their ministers, would soon bring all government and all diplomacy to an end. To wring as much as possible from his people at home, and to acquire as much secret influence as possible in the affairs of other nations, was the rule of his conduct and the object of his life. His emissaries were at work all over Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, not merely in the greater courts, at Paris and London and Rome, but in those most removed from the natural field of Spanish ambition, at Copenhagen and Stockholm, Dantzic and Cracow. The resources of his power were lavished not only in the great religious and political contests of England and of France, but in the distant wars of the Danish succession, in the struggle of Reformation in Sweden, and in the ceaseless and unintelligible strife which raged among the barbarian magnates of Poland. This lust of foreign dominion and the consequent neglect of weightier interests at home were the chief causes of the decay of Spain under the House of Austria.

No Prince ever held a higher sense of the dignity of the throne, or more fully recognised the law of his own will as the sole law by which a monarch is bound, than Philip II. He it was who first stamped on Spanish royalty that character of rigid state and inexorable etiquette for which it has become proverbial. His propensity for ceremony showed itself in very early life. As a boy, he was one morning being dressed by his valets when the Cardinal Primate, Juan de Tavera, was announced. His tutor whispered to him to desire His Eminence to be covered. But the Prince called for his own cap and cloak, and put them on before he would pay the usual courtesy to his visitor.<sup>1</sup> When

<sup>1</sup> D. Porreño: *Dichos y Hechos del Rey D. Felipe Segundo*, sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1639, fol. 16.

he became King his principal ministers risked the loss of his favour if they shut a door too soon, or omitted appearing at Court at some reception which they were expected to attend. An angry word from his sullen mouth, or even an angry look from his cold gray eye, was said sometimes to have shortened the life of a secretary, or a president of a council. The sternness and severity of his aspect sometimes caused a friar to forget the sermon by which he hoped to grasp a mitre, or even a glib-tongued lawyer to forget the address with which he had approached the throne.

Philip prided himself on a marble immobility of countenance and person, which he considered regal and commanding, and in which he was imitated and caricatured by his descendants. No joy or sorrow was sufficient to break the ice of his deportment; and he heard the news of the victory at Lepanto and the news of the loss of the Invincible Armada with equal composure and apparent unconcern. Haughty and punctilious with those whom birth and fortune placed near the throne, he unbent himself only to his subjects of lower degree. To churchmen he was no less gracious than he was munificent to the Church. Rearing splendid temples to her worship, and enshrining the bones of her saints in golden reliquaries, he treated the meanest of her ministers with a consideration not always extended to his own chief statesmen. Alba and the great nobles were expected to approach his person with all the forms prescribed by an elaborate ceremonial. Even when he thought fit to unbend to those about him, his affability had in it something hardly less repulsive than his habitual gravity and coldness. If he smiled, some sinister purpose was supposed to be in his secret meditations; and the experience of his courtiers was embodied in the saying—redolent of a land where the imperfections of public law were redressed by the secret movements of private revenge—that with him a smile was akin to a stab.<sup>1</sup> But the dirty mendicant friar, who had achieved the slightest reputation for sanctity, was allowed to wander at will, with a troop of beggars at his heels, through the palace and into the chamber of audience,

<sup>1</sup> "De su riso al cuchillo avia poco distancia." Luis Cabrera de Cordoba: *Don Felipe el Secundo*, fol. Madrid, 1619, p. 736. The Prince of Orange in his *Apologie* (Leyden, 1581, 4to, p. 103) says that his suspicions of the King's intentions towards him were especially awakened by the civil messages which the Seigneur de Selles brought him in the autumn of 1577. "Cor a qu'il me disoit que j'estoi tout en la bonne grace du Roi, qu'il n'y a Seigneur por deça duquel il eust meilleure opinion que de moi, qu'il me vouloit tant employer; me faisoit de plus en plus penser qu'on eust bien en affaire de une teste, si j'eusse voulu faire tel marché que cest espaignolizé me vouloit persuader."



in spite of the warnings of the physician that disease might thus be spread within the walls which contained the hopes of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

The intellect of Philip II. did not rise above the level of mediocrity. He had neither the vigorous understanding nor the strong will of Charles V. Had the father been born in a private or even in a lowly station, he would probably have been a great minister, a great captain, or a great churchman. He might still have commanded at Muhlberg, or directed the administration of Spain, or led the Catholic world against Luther. But had the son been born obscure, it is very unlikely that the world would ever have heard of his name, or that he would ever have attained any position superior to that of secretary to a council, or guardian of a monastery. Charles was slow in forming his plans; but when they were formed he was no less prompt than patient and indefatigable in executing them. Philip was still slower in coming to a decision, and he was so addicted to a policy of delay, that, in order to gain time, he would risk the loss of precious opportunity, and the ruin of the objects and interests at stake. The moment for action found him still consulting, still hesitating, and passed away unimproved. He had a strong desire to govern, and boasted that he ruled half the world with a slip of paper from his cell in a monastery in Spain. Jealous of interference, and by nature no less suspicious than timid, he could rely neither upon himself nor upon others. He therefore sought safety in a variety of counsels, and his cabinet was always divided into two parties striving for ascendancy in the State. For many years one of these parties had been headed by Fernando, Duke of Alba, upright and haughty, stern and unpopular, rather a soldier than a statesman. The other was led by Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, a clever, affable, and unscrupulous courtier, versed in affairs from his earliest youth, and uniting the energy of Castille to an Italian fertility of resource. In holding the balance between the rival influences of men greatly superior to himself, Philip II. undoubtedly showed considerable skill. Nature had endowed him with a strong faculty of dissimulation, a gift which he had improved by daily exercise, until it was as impossible to judge of his feelings and intentions by anything that he said or did, as by the inscrutable and changeless features of his face. His powers of application were also well developed, and his love of business was insatiable. In his cabinet at Madrid, or in a closet at the

<sup>1</sup> Porreño : *Hechos y dichos*, fol. 40.