

met by Ferdinand and the members of the German diet. But it was in vain that Charles solicited his brother to waive his claim to the imperial succession in favor of his nephew. Neither solicitations nor arguments, backed by the entreaties, even the tears, it is said, of their common sister, the Regent Mary, could move Ferdinand to forego the splendid inheritance. Charles was not more successful when he changed his ground, and urged his brother to acquiesce in Philip's election as his successor in the dignity of king of the Romans; or, at least, in his being associated in that dignity—a thing unprecedented—with his cousin Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, who, it was understood, was destined by the electors to succeed his father.

This young prince, who meanwhile had been summoned to Augsburg, was as little disposed as Ferdinand had been to accede to the proposals of his too grasping father-in-law; though he courteously alleged, as the ground of his refusal, that he had no right to interfere with the decision of the electors. He might safely rest his cause on their decision. They had no desire to perpetuate the imperial sceptre in the line of Castilian monarchs. They had suffered enough from the despotic temper of Charles the Fifth; and this temper they had no reason to think would be mitigated in the person of Philip. They desired a German to rule over them,—one who would understand the German character, and enter heartily into the feelings of the people. Maximilian's directness of purpose and kindly nature had won largely on the affections of his countrymen, and proved him, in their judgment, worthy of the throne.²⁶

²⁶ Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. I. cap. 3.—Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. I. pp. 195—198.—Sepulvedæ Opera, vol. II. pp. 399—401.—Ma-

rillac, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. I. p. 28. et seq.

Philip, on the other hand, was even more distasteful to the Germans than he was to the Flemings. It was in vain that, at their banquets, he drank twice or thrice as much as he was accustomed to do, until the cardinal of Trent assured him that he was fast gaining in the good graces of the people.²⁷ The natural haughtiness of his temper showed itself on too many occasions to be mistaken. When Charles returned to his palace, escorted, as he usually was, by a train of nobles and princes of the empire, he would courteously take them by the hand, and raise his hat, as he parted from them. But Philip, it was observed, on like occasions, walked directly into the palace, without so much as turning round; or condescending in any way to notice the courtiers who had accompanied him. This was taking higher ground even than his father had done. In fact, it was said of him, that he considered himself greater than his father, inasmuch as the son of an emperor was greater than the son of a king!²⁸—a foolish vaunt, not the less indicative of his character, that it was made for him, probably, by the Germans. In short, Philip's manners, which, in the language of a contemporary, had been little pleasing to the Italians, and positively displeasing to the Flemings, were altogether odious to the Germans.²⁹

Nor was the idea of Philip's election at all more acceptable to the Spaniards themselves. That nation had been long enough regarded as an appendage to the

²⁷ Marillac, ap. Raumer, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. I. p. 30.

²⁸ Ranke, *Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Eng. trans., London, 1843,) p. 31.

²⁹ "Da così fatta educatione ne segui quando S. M. uscì la prima

volta da Spagna, et passò per Italia et per Germania in Fiandra, lasciò impressione da per tutto che fosse d'animo severo et intrattabile; et però fu poco grato a Italiani, ingrattissimo a Fiamenghi et a Tedeschi odioso." *Relazione di Michele Soriano*, MS.

empire. Their pride had been wounded by the light in which they were held by Charles, who seemed to look on Spain as a royal domain, valuable chiefly for the means it afforded him for playing his part on the great theatre of Europe. The haughty Castilian of the sixteenth century, conscious of his superior pretensions, could ill brook this abasement. He sighed for a prince born and bred in Spain, who would be content to pass his life in Spain, and would have no ambition unconnected with her prosperity and glory. The Spaniards were even more tenacious on this head than the Germans. Their remote situation made them more exclusive, more strictly national, and less tolerant of foreign influence. They required a Spaniard to rule over them. Such was Philip; and they anticipated the hour when Spain should be divorced from the empire, and, under the sway of a patriotic prince, rise to her just pre-eminence among the nations.

Yet Charles, far from yielding, continued to press the point with such pertinacity, that it seemed likely to lead to an open rupture between the different branches of his family. For a time Ferdinand kept his apartment, and had no intercourse with Charles or his sister.³⁰ Yet in the end the genius or the obstinacy of Charles so far prevailed over his brother, that he acquiesced in a private compact, by which, while he was to retain possession of the imperial crown, it was agreed that Philip should succeed him as king of the Romans, and that Maximilian

³⁰ Marillac, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. I. p. 32.

See also the characteristic letter of Charles to his sister, the regent of the Netherlands, (December 16, 1550,) full of angry expressions against Ferdinand for his ingrati-

tude and treachery. The scheme, according to Charles's view of it, was calculated for the benefit of both parties,—“*ce que convenoit pour establir nos maisons.*” Lanz, Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V., (Leipzig, 1846.) B. III. s. 18.

should succeed Philip.³¹ Ferdinand hazarded little by concessions which could never be sanctioned by the electoral college. The reverses which befell the emperor's arms in the course of the following year destroyed whatever influence he might have possessed in that body; and he seems never to have revived his schemes for aggrandizing his son by securing to him the succession to the empire.

Philip had now accomplished the great object of his visit. He had presented himself to the people of the Netherlands, and had received their homage as heir to the realm. His tour had been, in some respects, a profitable one. It was scarcely possible that a young man, whose days had hitherto been passed within the narrow limits of his own country, for ever under the same local influences, should not have his ideas greatly enlarged by going abroad and mingling with different nations. It was especially important to Philip to make himself familiar, as none but a resident can be, with the character and institutions of those nations over whom he was one day to preside. Yet his visit to the Netherlands had not been attended with the happiest results. He evidently did not make a favorable impression on the people. The more they saw of him, the less they appeared to like him. Such impressions are usually reciprocal; and Philip seems to have parted from the country with little regret. Thus, in the first interview between the future sovereign and his subjects, the symptoms might already be discerned of that alienation which was afterwards to widen into a permanent and irreparable breach.

³¹ A copy of the instrument containing this agreement, dated March 9, 1551, is preserved in the archives

of Belgium. See Mignet, Charles-Quint, p. 42, note.

Philip, anxious to reach Castile, pushed forward his journey, without halting to receive the civilities that were everywhere tendered to him on his route. He made one exception at Trent, where the ecclesiastical council was holding the memorable session that occupies so large a share in Church annals. On his approach to the city, the cardinal legate, attended by the mitred prelates and other dignitaries of the council, came out in a body to receive him. During his stay there, he was entertained with masks, dancing, theatrical exhibitions, and jousts, contrived to represent scenes in Ariosto.³² These diversions of the reverend fathers formed a whimsical contrast, perhaps a welcome relief, to their solemn occupation of digesting a creed for the Christian world.

From Trent Philip pursued his way, with all expedition, to Genoa, where he embarked, under the flag of the veteran Doria, who had brought him from Spain. He landed at Barcelona, on the twelfth day of July, 1551, and proceeded at once to Valladolid, where he resumed the government of the kingdom. He was fortified by a letter from his father, dated at Augsburg, which contained ample instructions as to the policy he was to pursue, and freely discussed both the foreign and domestic relations of the country. The letter, which is very long, shows that the capacious mind of Charles, however little time he could personally give to the affairs of the monarchy, fully comprehended its internal condition and the extent of its resources.³³

The following years were years of humiliation to Charles; years marked by the flight from Innsbruck,

³² Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. I. p. 199.—Mémorial et Recueil des Voyages du Roi des Espagnes, escript par le Controlleur de Sa Majesté, MS.

manuscript copy, taken from one in the rich collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, is published at length by Sandoval, in his Hist. de Carlos V., where it occupies twelve pages folio. Tom. II. p. 475 et seq.

³³ The letter, of which I have a

and the disastrous siege of Metz,—when, beaten by the Protestants, foiled by the French, the reverses of the emperor pressed heavily on his proud heart, and did more, probably, than all the homilies of his ghostly teachers, to disgust him with the world and its vanities.

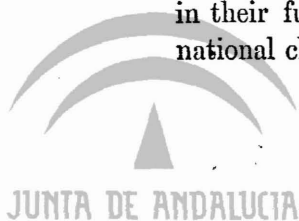
Yet these reverses made little impression on Spain. The sounds of war died away before they reached the foot of the Pyrenees. Spain, it is true, sent forth her sons, from time to time, to serve under the banners of Charles; and it was in that school that was perfected the admirable system of discipline and tactics which, begun by the Great Captain, made the Spanish infantry the most redoubtable in Europe. But the great body of the people felt little interest in the success of these distant enterprises, where success brought them no good. Not that the mind of Spain was inactive, or oppressed with the lethargy which stole over it in a later age. There was, on the contrary, great intellectual activity. She was excluded, by an arbitrary government, from pushing her speculations in the regions of theological or political science. But this, to a considerable extent, was the case with most of the neighboring nations; and she indemnified herself for this exclusion by a more diligent cultivation of elegant literature. The constellation of genius had already begun to show itself above the horizon, which was to shed a glory over the meridian and the close of Philip's reign. The courtly poets in the reign of his father had confessed the influence of Italian models, derived through the recent territorial acquisitions in Italy. But the national taste was again asserting its supremacy; and the fashionable tone of composition was becoming more and more accommodated to the old Castilian standard.

It would be impossible that any departure from a national standard should be long tolerated in Spain, where the language, the manners, the dress, the usages of the country, were much the same as they had been for generations,—as they continued to be for generations, long after Cervantes held up the mirror of fiction, to reflect the traits of the national existence more vividly than is permitted to the page of the chronicler. In the rude *romances* of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, the Castilian of the sixteenth might see his way of life depicted with tolerable accuracy. The amorous cavalier still thrummed his guitar, by moonlight, under the balcony of his mistress, or wore her favors at the Moorish tilt of reeds. The common people still sung their lively *seguidillas*, or crowded to the *fiestas de toros*,—the cruel bull-fights,—or to the more cruel *autos de fé*. This last spectacle, of comparatively recent origin,—in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella,—was the legitimate consequence of the long wars with the Moslems, which made the Spaniard intolerant of religious infidelity. Atrocious as it seems in a more humane and enlightened age, it was regarded by the ancient Spaniard as a sacrifice grateful to Heaven, at which he was to rekindle the dormant embers of his own religious sensibilities.

The cessation of the long Moorish wars by the fall of Granada, made the most important change in the condition of the Spaniards. They, however, found a vent for their chivalrous fanaticism, in a crusade against the heathen of the New World. Those who returned from their wanderings brought back to Spain little of foreign usages and manners; for the Spaniard was the only civilized man whom they found in the wilds of America.

Thus passed the domestic life of the Spaniard, in

the same unvaried circle of habits, opinions, and prejudices, to the exclusion, and probably contempt, of everything foreign. Not that these habits did not differ in the different provinces, where their distinctive peculiarities were handed down, with traditional precision, from father to son. But, beneath these, there was one common basis of the national character. Never was there a people, probably, with the exception of the Jews, distinguished by so intense a nationality. It was among such a people, and under such influences, that Philip was born and educated. His temperament and his constitution of mind peculiarly fitted him for the reception of these influences; and the Spaniards, as he grew in years, beheld, with pride and satisfaction, in their future sovereign, the most perfect type of the national character.



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

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH ALLIANCE.

Condition of England.—Character of Mary.—Philip's Proposals of Marriage.—Marriage Articles.—Insurrection in England.

1553, 1554.

IN the summer of 1553, three years after Philip's return to Spain, occurred an event which was to exercise a considerable influence on his fortunes. This was the death of Edward the Sixth of England,—after a brief but important reign. He was succeeded by his sister Mary, that unfortunate princess, whose *sobriquet* of "Bloody" gives her a melancholy distinction among the sovereigns of the house of Tudor.

The reign of her father, Henry the Eighth, had opened the way to the great revolution in religion, the effects of which were destined to be permanent. Yet Henry himself showed his strength rather in unsettling ancient institutions than in establishing new ones. By the abolition of the monasteries, he broke up that spiritual militia which was a most efficacious instrument for maintaining the authority of Rome; and he completed the work of independence by seating himself boldly in the chair of St. Peter, and assuming the authority of head of the Church. Thus, while the supremacy of the pope was rejected, the Roman Catholic religion was maintained in its essential principles unim-

paired. In other words, the nation remained Catholics, but not Papists.

The impulse thus given under Henry was followed up to more important consequences under his son, Edward the Sixth. The opinions of the German Reformers, considerably modified, especially in regard to the exterior forms and discipline of worship, met with a cordial welcome from the ministers of the young monarch. Protestantism became the religion of the land; and the Church of England received, to a great extent, the peculiar organization which it has preserved to the present day. But Edward's reign was too brief to allow the new opinions to take deep root in the hearts of the people. The greater part of the aristocracy soon showed that, whatever religious zeal they had affected, they were not prepared to make any sacrifice of their temporal interests. On the accession of a Catholic queen to the throne, a reaction soon became visible. Some embarrassment to a return to the former faith was found in the restitution which it might naturally involve of the confiscated property of the monastic orders. But the politic concessions of Rome dispensed with this severe trial of the sincerity of its new proselytes; and England, after repudiating her heresies, was received into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, and placed once more under the jurisdiction of its pontiff.

After the specimens given of the ready ductility with which the English of that day accommodated their religious creeds to the creed of their sovereign, we shall hardly wonder at the caustic criticism of the Venetian ambassador, resident at the court of London, in Queen Mary's time. "The example and authority of the sovereign," he says, "are everything with the people

of this country, in matters of faith. As he believes, they believe; Judaism or Mahometanism, — it is all one to them. They conform themselves easily to his will, at least so far as the outward show is concerned; and most easily of all where it concurs with their own pleasure and profit.”¹

The ambassador, Giovanni Micheli, was one of that order of merchant-princes employed by Venice in her foreign missions; men whose acquaintance with affairs enabled them to comprehend the resources of the country to which they were sent, as well as the intrigues of its court. Their observations were digested into elaborate reports, which, on their return to Venice, were publicly read before the doge and the senate. The documents thus prepared form some of the most valuable and authentic materials for the history of Europe in the sixteenth century. Micheli's report is diffuse on the condition of England under the reign of Queen Mary; and some of his remarks will have interest for the reader of the present day, as affording a standard of comparison with the past.²

¹ “Quanto alla religione, sia certa V'ra Sen^{ta} che ogni cosa può in loro l'essempio et l'autorità del Principe, che in tanto gl' Inglese stimano la religione, et si muovono per essa, in quanto sodisfanno all' obbligo de' sudditi verso il Principe, vivendo com' ci vive, credendo cioche ei crede, et finalmente facendo tutto quel che comanda conservirsene, più per mostra esteriore, per non incorrere in sua disgratia, che per zelo interiore; perche il medesimo faciano della Maumettana o della Giudea, pur che 'l Re mostrasse di credere, et volesse così; et s' accomodurano a tutte, ma a quella piu facilmente dalla quale sperassero o ver' maggior licentia et libertà di vivere, o vero qualche utile.” *Relatione del Clarissimo M. Giovanni Micheli,*

ritornato Ambasciatore alla Regina d' Inghilterra l' anno 1557, MS.

² Soriano notices the courteous bearing and address of his countryman Micheli, as rendering him universally popular at the courts where he resided. “Il Michiel e gratissimo a tutti fino al minore, per la dimestichezza che havea con grandi, et per la dolcezza et cortesia che usava con gl' altri, et per il giudicio che mostrava con tutti.” *Relatione di Michele Soriano, MS.* Copies of Micheli's interesting Relation are to be found in different public libraries of Europe; among others, in the collection of the Cottonian MSS., and of the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum; and in the Barberini Library, at Rome. The copy in my possession is from the ducal

London he eulogizes, as one of the noblest capitals in Europe, containing, with its suburbs, about a hundred and eighty thousand souls.³ The great lords, as in France and Germany, passed most of their time on their estates in the country.

The kingdom was strong enough, if united, to defy any invasion from abroad. Yet its navy was small, having dwindled, from neglect and an ill-judged economy, to not more than forty vessels of war. But the mercantile marine could furnish two thousand more, which, at a short notice, could be well equipped and got ready for sea. The army was particularly strong in artillery, and provided with all the munitions of war. The weapon chiefly in repute was the bow, to which the English people were trained from early youth. In their cavalry they were most defective. Horses were abundant, but wanted bottom. They were, for the most part, light, weak, and grass-fed.⁴ The nation was, above all, to be envied for the lightness of the public burdens. There were no taxes on wine, beer, salt, cloth, nor, indeed, on any of the articles that in other countries furnished the greatest sources of revenue.⁵ The whole revenue did not usually exceed two hundred thousand pounds. Parliaments were rarely summoned, except to save the king trouble or to afford a cloak to his designs. No one

library at Gotha. Sir Henry Ellis, in the Second Series of his "Original Letters," has given an abstract of the Cottonian MS.

³ This agrees with the Lansdowne MS. The Cottonian, as given by Sir Henry Ellis, puts the population at 150,000.

⁴ "Essendo cavalli deboli, et di poca lena, nutriti solo d' erba, vivendo como la pecore, et tutti gli altri animali, per la temperie dell' aere da tutti i tempi ne i pascoli a la campagna, non possono far' gran

prove, ne sono tenuti in stima." *Relatione di Gio. Micheli, MS.*

⁵ "Non solo non sono in essere, ma non pur si considerano gravezze di sorte alcuna, non di sale, non di vino o de bira, non di macina, non di carne, non di far pane, et cose simili necessarie al vivere, che in tutti gli altri luoghi d' Italia specialmente, et in Fiandra, sono di tanto maggior utile, quanto è più grande il numero dei sudditi che le consumano." *Ibid. MS.*

ventured to resist the royal will; servile the members came there, and servile they remained.⁶—An Englishman of the nineteenth century may smile at the contrast presented by some of these remarks to the condition of the nation at the present day; though in the item of taxation the contrast may be rather fitted to provoke a sigh.

The portrait of Queen Mary is given by the Venetian minister, with a coloring somewhat different from that in which she is commonly depicted by English historians. She was about thirty-six years of age at the time of her accession. In stature, she was of rather less than the middle size,—not large, as was the case with both her father and mother,—and exceedingly well made. “The portraits of her,” says Micheli, “show that in her youth she must have been not only good-looking, but even handsome;—though her countenance, when he saw her, exhibited traces of early trouble and disease.”⁷ But whatever she had lost in personal attractions was fully made up by those of the mind. She was quick of apprehension, and, like her younger sister, Elizabeth, was mistress of several languages, three of which, the French, Spanish, and Latin, she could speak; the last with fluency.⁸ But in these accomplishments she was

⁶ “Si come servi et sudditi son quelli che v' intervengono, così servi et sudditi son l' attione che si trattano in essi.” Ibid. MS.

⁷ “E donna di statura piccola, più presta che mediocre; è di persona magra et delicata, dissimile in tutto al padre, che fu grande et grosso; et alla madre, che se non era grande era però massiccia; et ben formata di faccia, per quel che mostrano le fattezze et li lineamenti che si veggono da i ritratti, quando era più giovane, non pur tenuta honesta, ma più che mediocrementemente bella; al presente se li scoprono

qualche crespè, causate più da gli affanni che dall' età, che la mostrano attempata di qualche anni di più.” Ibid. MS.

⁸ “Quanto se li potesse levare delle bellezze del corpo, tanto con verita, et senza adulatione, se li può aggiunger' di quelle del animo, perche oltre la felicità et accortezza del ingegno, atto in capir tutto quel che possa ciascun altro, dico fuor del sesso suo, quel che in una donna parera maraviglioso, é instrutta di cinque lingue, le quali non solo intende, ma quattro ne parla speditamente; questi sono oltre la sua ma-

surpassed by her sister, who knew the Greek well, and could speak Italian with ease and elegance. Mary, however, both spoke and wrote her own language in a plain, straightforward manner, that forms a contrast to the ambiguous phrase and cold conceits in which Elizabeth usually conveyed, or rather concealed, her sentiments.

Mary had the misfortune to labor under a chronic infirmity, which confined her for weeks, and indeed months, of every year to her chamber, and which, with her domestic troubles, gave her an air of melancholy, that in later years settled into a repulsive austerity. The tones of her voice were masculine, says the Venetian, and her eyes inspired a feeling, not merely of reverence, but of fear, wherever she turned them. Her spirit, he adds, was lofty and magnanimous, never discomposed by danger, showing in all things a blood truly royal.⁹

Her spirit, he continues, and her patience under affliction, cannot be too greatly admired. Sustained, as she was, by a lively faith and conscious innocence, he compares her to a light which the fierce winds have no power to extinguish, but which still shines on with increasing lustre.¹⁰ She waited her time, and was plainly reserved by Providence for a great destiny.—

terna et naturale inglese, la franzese, la spagnola, et l'italiana." Ibid. MS.

⁹ "E in tutto coragiosa, et così resoluta, che per nessuna adversità, ne per nessun pericolo nel qual si sia ritrovata, non ha mai pur mostrato, non che commesso atto alcuno di viltà ne di pusillanimità; ha sempre tenuta una grandezza et dignità mirabile, così ben conoscendo quel che si convenga al decoro del Re, come il più consummato consigliere che ella habbia; in tanto che dal procedere, et dalle maniere che ha tenuto,

et tiene tuttavia, non si può negare, che non mostri d'esser nata di sangue veramente real." Ibid. MS.

¹⁰ "Della qual humiltà, pietà, et religion sua, non occorre ragionare, ne renderne testimonio, perche son da tutti non solo conosciute, ma sommamente predicate con le prove. . . . Fosse come un debil lume combattuto da gran venti per estinguerlo del tutto, ma sempre tenuto vivo, et difeso della sua innocentia et viva fede, accioche avesse a risplender nel modo che hora fa." Ibid. MS.

We are reading the language of the loyal Catholic, grateful for the services which Mary had rendered to the faith.

Yet it would be uncharitable not to believe that Mary was devout, and most earnest in her devotion. The daughter of Katharine of Aragon, the granddaughter of Isabella of Castile, could hardly have been otherwise. The women of that royal line were uniformly conspicuous for their piety, though this was too often tinctured with bigotry. In Mary, bigotry degenerated into fanaticism, and fanaticism into the spirit of persecution. The worst evils are probably those that have flowed from fanaticism. Yet the amount of the mischief does not necessarily furnish us with the measure of guilt in the author of it. The introduction of the Inquisition into Spain must be mainly charged on Isabella. Yet the student of her reign will not refuse to this great queen the praise of tenderness of conscience and a sincere desire to do the right. Unhappily, the faith in which she, as well as her royal granddaughter, was nurtured, taught her to place her conscience in the keeping of ministers less scrupulous than herself; and on those ministers may fairly rest much of the responsibility of measures on which they only were deemed competent to determine.

Mary's sincerity in her religious professions was placed beyond a doubt by the readiness with which she submitted to the sacrifice of her personal interests whenever the interests of religion seemed to demand it. She burned her translation of a portion of Erasmus, prepared with great labor, at the suggestion of her confessor. An author will readily estimate the value of such a sacrifice. One more important, and intelligible to all, was the resolute manner in which she persisted

in restoring the Church property which had been confiscated to the use of the crown. "The crown is too much impoverished to admit of it," remonstrated her ministers. "I would rather lose ten crowns," replied the high-minded queen, "than place my soul in peril."¹¹

Yet it cannot be denied, that Mary had inherited, in full measure, some of the sterner qualities of her father, and that she was wanting in that sympathy for human suffering which is so graceful in a woman. After a rebellion, the reprisals were terrible. London was converted into a charnel-house; and the squares and principal streets were garnished with the unsightly trophies of the heads and limbs of numerous victims who had fallen by the hand of the executioner.¹² This was in accordance with the spirit of the age. But the execution of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey—the young, the beautiful, and the good—leaves a blot on the fame of Mary, which finds no parallel but in the treatment of the ill-fated queen of Scots by Elizabeth.

Mary's treatment of Elizabeth has formed another subject of reproach, though the grounds of it are not sufficiently made out; and, at all events, many circumstances may be alleged in extenuation of her conduct. She had seen her mother, the noble-minded Katharine, exposed to the most cruel indignities, and compelled to surrender her bed and her throne to an artful rival, the mother of Elizabeth. She had heard herself declared illegitimate, and her right to the succession set aside in favor of her younger sister. Even after her intrepid conduct had secured to her the crown, she was still

¹¹ Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, (Oxford, 1816,) vol. II. part ii. p. 557.

¹² Strype, *Memorials*, (London, 1721,) vol. III. p. 93.

haunted by the same gloomy apparition. Elizabeth's pretensions were constantly brought before the public; and Mary might well be alarmed by the disclosure of conspiracy after conspiracy, the object of which, it was rumored, was to seat her sister on the throne. As she advanced in years, Mary had the further mortification of seeing her rival gain on those affections of the people which had grown cool to her. Was it wonderful that she should regard her sister, under these circumstances, with feelings of distrust and aversion? That she did so regard her is asserted by the Venetian minister; and it is plain that, during the first years of Mary's reign, Elizabeth's life hung upon a thread. Yet Mary had strength of principle sufficient to resist the importunities of Charles the Fifth and his ambassador, to take the life of Elizabeth, as a thing indispensable to her own safety and that of Philip. Although her sister was shown to be privy, though not openly accessory, to the grand rebellion under Wyatt, Mary would not constrain the law from its course to do her violence. This was something, under the existing circumstances, in an age so unscrupulous. After this storm had passed over, Mary, whatever restraint she imposed on her real feelings, treated Elizabeth, for the most part, with a show of kindness, though her name still continued to be mingled, whether with or without cause, with more than one treasonable plot.¹³ Mary's last act—perhaps the only one in which she openly resisted the will of her husband—was to refuse to compel her sister to accept the hand of Philibert of Savoy. Yet this act would have relieved

¹³ "Non si scopri mai congiura alcuna, nella quale, o giusta o ingiustamente, ella non sia nominata. . . . Ma la Regina sforza quando sono insieme di riceverla in publico

con ogni sorte d'humanità et d'honore, ne mai gli parla, se non di cose piacevole." *Relatione di Gio. Micheli, MS.*

her of the presence of her rival; and by it Elizabeth would have forfeited her independent possession of the crown,—perhaps the possession of it altogether. It may be doubted whether Elizabeth, under similar circumstances, would have shown the like tenderness to the interests of her successor.

But, however we may be disposed to extenuate the conduct of Mary, and in spiritual matters, more especially, to transfer the responsibility of her acts from herself to her advisers, it is not possible to dwell on this reign of religious persecution without feelings of profound sadness. Not that the number of victims compares with what is recorded of many similar periods of persecution. The whole amount, falling probably short of three hundred who perished at the stake, was less than the number who fell by the hand of the executioner, or by violence, during the same length of time under Henry the Eighth. It was not much greater than might be sometimes found at a single Spanish *auto de fé*. But Spain was the land in which this might be regarded as the national spectacle,—as much so as the *fiesta de toros*, or any other of the popular exhibitions of the country. In England, a few examples had not sufficed to steel the hearts of men against these horrors. The heroic company of martyrs, condemned to the most agonizing of deaths for asserting the rights of conscience, was a sight strange and shocking to Englishmen. The feelings of that day have been perpetuated to the present. The reign of religious persecution stands out by itself, as something distinct from the natural course of events; and the fires of Smithfield shed a melancholy radiance over this page of the national history, from which the eye of humanity turns away in pity and disgust.—But it is time to take up the narrative of

events which connected for a brief space the political interests of Spain with those of England.

Charles the Fifth had always taken a lively interest in the fortunes of his royal kinswoman. When a young man he had paid a visit to England, and while there had been induced by his aunt, Queen Katharine, to contract a marriage with the Princess Mary,—then only six years old,—to be solemnized on her arriving at the suitable age. But the term was too remote for the constancy of Charles, or, as it is said, for the patience of his subjects, who earnestly wished to see their sovereign wedded to a princess who might present him with an heir to the monarchy. The English match was, accordingly, broken off, and the young emperor gave his hand to Isabella of Portugal.¹⁴

Mary, who, since her betrothal, had been taught to consider herself as the future bride of the emperor, was at the time but eleven years old. She was old enough, however, to feel something like jealousy, it is said, and to show some pique at this desertion by her imperial lover. Yet this circumstance did not prevent the most friendly relations from subsisting between the parties in after years; and Charles continued to watch over the interests of his kinswoman, and interposed, with good effect, in her behalf, on more than one occasion, both during the reign of Henry the Eighth and of his son, Edward the Sixth. On the death of the latter monarch, he declared himself ready to assist Mary in maintaining her right to the succession;¹⁵ and, when this was finally established,

¹⁴ Hall, Chronicle, (London 1809,) pp. 692, 711.—Sepulveda's Opera, vol. II. pp. 46—48.

Sepulveda's account of the reign of Mary becomes of the more authority from the fact that he submitted this portion of his history to the revision of Cardinal Pole, as we

learn from one of his epistles to that prelate. Opera, tom. III. p. 309.

¹⁵ Yet the emperor seems to have written in a somewhat different style to his ambassador at the English court. "Desfaillant la force pour donner assistance à nostre-dicte cousine comme aussy vous sçavez

the wary emperor took the necessary measures for turning it to his own account.¹⁶

He formed a scheme for uniting Philip with Mary, and thus securing to his son the possession of the English crown, in the same manner as that of Scotland had been secured by marriage to the son of his rival, Henry the Second of France. It was, doubtless, a great error to attempt to bring under one rule nations so dissimilar in every particular, and having interests so incompatible as the Spaniards and the English. Historians have regarded it as passing strange, that a prince, who had had such large experience of the difficulties attending the government of kingdoms remote from each other, should seek so to multiply these difficulties on the head of his inexperienced son. But the love of acquisition is a universal principle; nor is it often found that the appetite for more is abated by the consideration that the party is already possessed of more than he can manage.

It was a common opinion, that Mary intended to bestow her hand on her young and handsome kinsman, Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, whom she had withdrawn

qu'elle deffault pour l'empeschement que l'on nous donne du coustel de France, nous ne véons aulcun apparent moyen pour assheurer la personne de nostre-dicte cousine." L'Empereur à ses Ambassadeurs en Angleterre, 11 juillet, 1553, Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. IV. p. 25.

¹⁶ Charles, in a letter to his ambassador in London, dated July 22, 1553, after much good counsel which he was to give Queen Mary, in the emperor's name, respecting the government of her kingdom, directs him to hint to her that the time had come when it would be well for the queen to provide herself with a husband, and if his advice could be of any use in the affair, she was entirely welcome to it. "Et

aussy lui direz-vous qu'il sera besoin que pour estre soustenue audit royaulme, emparée et deffendue, mesmes en choses que ne sont de la profession de dames, il sera très-requis que tost elle prenne party de mariaige avec qui il luy semblera estre plus convenable, tenant regard à ce que dessus; et que s'il lui plaît nous faire part avant que s'y déterminer, nous ne fauldrions de, avec la sincérité de l'affection que lui portons, luy faire entendre libéralement, sur ce qu'elle voudra mettre en avant, nostre avis, et de l'ayder et favoriser en ce qu'elle se déterminera." L'Empereur à ses Ambassadeurs en Angleterre, 22 juillet, 1553, Ibid., p. 56.

from the prison in which he had languished for many years, and afterwards treated with distinguished favor. Charles, aware of this, instructed Renard, his minister at the court of London, a crafty, intriguing politician,¹⁷ to sound the queen's inclinations on the subject, but so as not to alarm her. He was to dwell, particularly, on the advantages Mary would derive from a connection with some powerful foreign prince, and to offer his master's counsel, in this or any other matter in which she might desire it. The minister was to approach the subject of the earl of Devonshire with the greatest caution; remembering that, if the queen had a fancy for her cousin, and was like other women, she would not be turned from it by anything that he might say, nor would she readily forgive any reflection upon it.¹⁸ Charles seems to have been as well read in the characters of women as of men; and, as a natural consequence, it may be added, had formed a high estimate of the capacity of the sex. In proof of which, he not only repeatedly committed the government of his states to women, but intrusted them with some of his most delicate political negotiations.

Mary, if she had ever entertained the views imputed to her in respect to Courtenay, must have soon been convinced that his frivolous disposition would ill suit the

¹⁷ Granville, who owed no goodwill to the minister for the part which he afterwards took in the troubles of Flanders, frequently puns on Renard's name, which he seems to have thought altogether significant of his character.

¹⁸ "Quant à Cortenay, vous pourriez bien dire, pour éviter au propos mentionné en voz lettres, que l'on en parle, pour veoir ce qu'elle dira; mais gardez-vous de luy tout desfaire et mesmes qu'elle n'aye des-

couvert plus avant son intention; car si elle y avoit fantasie, elle ne layroit (si elle est du naturel des aultres femmes) de passer outre, et si se ressentiroit à jamais de ce que vous luy en pourriés avoir dit. Bien luy pourriés-vous toucher des commoditez plus grandes que pourroit recevoir de mariage estrangier, sans trop toucher à la personne où elle pourroit avoir affection." L'Evêque d'Arras à Renard, 14 août, 1553, *ibid.*, p. 77.

seriousness of hers. However this may be, she was greatly pleased when Renard hinted at her marriage,—“laughing,” says the envoy, “not once, but several times, and giving me a significant look, which showed that the idea was very agreeable to her, plainly intimating at the same time that she had no desire to marry an Englishman.”¹⁹ In a subsequent conversation, when Renard ventured to suggest that the prince of Spain was a suitable match, Mary broke in upon him, saying that “she had never felt the smart of what people called love, nor had ever so much as thought of being married, until Providence had raised her to the throne; and that, if she now consented to it, it would be in opposition to her own feelings, from a regard to the public good;” but she begged the envoy to assure the emperor of her wish to obey and to please him in everything, as she would her own father; intimating, however, that she could not broach the subject of her marriage to her council; the question could only be opened by a communication from him.²⁰

Charles, who readily saw through Mary's coquetry, no longer hesitated to prefer the suit of Philip. After commending the queen's course in regard to Courtenay, he presented to her the advantages that must arise from

¹⁹ “Quant je luy fiz l'ouverture de mariage, elle se print à rire, non une fois ains plusieurs fois, me regardant d'un œil signifiant l'ouverture luy estre fort agréable, me donnant assez à cognoistre qu'elle ne taichoit ou désiroit mariage d'Angleterre.” Renard à l'Evêque d'Arras, 15 août, 1553, *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁰ “Et, sans attendre la fin de ces propos, elle jura que jamais elle n'avoit senti esguillon de ce que l'on appelle amor, ny entré en pensement de volupté, et qu'elle n'avoit jamais pensé à mariaige sinon depuys que

a pleu à Dieu la promouvoir à la couronne, et que celluy qu'elle fera sera contre sa propre affection, pour le respect de la chose publicque; qu'elle se tient toute assurée sa majesté aura considération à ce qu'elle m'a dict et qu'elle désire l'obéir et complaire en tout et par tout comme son propre père; qu'elle n'oseroit entrer en propoz de mariaige avec ceux de son conseil, que fault, le cas advenant, que vienne de la meute de sa majesté.” Renard à l'Evêque d'Arras, 8 septembre, 1553, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

such a foreign alliance as would strengthen her on the throne. He declared, in a tone of gallantry rather amusing, that, if it were not for his age and increasing infirmities, he should not hesitate to propose himself as her suitor.²¹ The next best thing was to offer her the person dearest to his heart,—his son, the prince of Asturias. He concluded by deprecating the idea that any recommendation of his should interfere, in the least degree, with the exercise of her better judgment.²²

Renard was further to intimate to the queen the importance of secrecy in regard to this negotiation. If she were disinclined to the proposed match, it would be obviously of no advantage to give it publicity. If, on the other hand, as the emperor had little doubt, she looked on it favorably, but desired to advise with her council before deciding, Renard was to dissuade her from the latter step, and advise her to confide in him.²³ The

²¹ "Vous la pourrez assurer que, si nous estions en eage et disposition telle qu'il conviendroit, et que jugussions que de ce peut redonder le bien de ses affaires, nous ne voudrions choyrir aultre party en ce monde plus tost que de nous alier nous-mesmes avec elle, et seroit bien celle que nous pourroit donner austant de satisfaction." L'Empereur à Renard, 20 septembre, 1553, *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 108—116.

Simon Renard, the imperial ambassador at this time at the English court, was a native of Franche Comté, and held the office of *maître aux requêtes* in the household of the emperor. Renard, though a man of a factious turn, was what Granvelle's correspondent, Morillon, calls "*un bon politique*," and in many respects well suited to the mission on which he was employed. His correspondence is of infinite value, as showing the Spanish moves in this complicated game, which ended in the

marriage of Mary with the heir of the Castilian monarchy. It is preserved in the archives of Brussels. Copies of these MSS., amounting to five volumes folio, were to be found in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle at Besançon. A part of them was lent to Griffet for the compilation of his "*Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur l'Histoire de Marie Reine d'Angleterre*." Unfortunately, Griffet omitted to restore the MSS.; and an hiatus is thus occasioned in the series of the Renard correspondence embraced in the Granvelle Papers now in process of publication by the French government. It were to be wished that this hiatus had been supplied from the originals, in the archives of Brussels. Mr. Tytler has done good service by giving to the world a selection from the latter part of Renard's correspondence, which had been transcribed by order of the Record Commission from the MSS. in Brussels.

²³ "Car si, quant à soy, il luy

wary emperor had a twofold motive for these instructions. There was a negotiation on foot at this very time for a marriage of Philip to the infanta of Portugal, and Charles wished to be entirely assured of Mary's acquiescence, before giving such publicity to the affair as might defeat the Portuguese match, which would still remain for Philip, should he not succeed with the English queen.²⁴ In case Mary proved favorable to his son's suit, Charles, who knew the abhorrence in which foreigners were held by the English beyond all other nations,²⁵ wished to gain time before communicating with Mary's council. With some delay, he had no doubt that he had the means of winning over a sufficient number of that body to support Philip's pretensions.²⁶

These communications could not be carried on so secretly but that some rumor of them reached the ears of Mary's ministers, and of Noailles, the French ambassador at the court of London.²⁷ This person was a busy

semble estre chose que ne luy convint ou ne fût faisable, il ne seroit à propos, comme elle l'entend tresbien, d'en faire déclaracion à qui que ce soit; mais, en cas aussi qu'elle jugea le party luy estre convenable et qu'elle y print inclinacion, si, à son advis, la difficulté tumba sur les moyens, et que en iceulx elle ne se peut résoudre sans la participation d'aucuns de son conseil, vous la pourriez en cas requérir qu'elle vouldit prendre de vous confiance pour vous déclarer à qui elle en vouldroit tenir propos, et ce qu'elle en vouldroit communiquer et par quelz moyens." L'Empereur à Renard 20 septembre, 1553, Ibid. p. 114.

²⁴ The Spanish match seems to have been as distasteful to the Portuguese as it was to the English, and probably for much the same reasons. See the letter of Granvelle, of August 14, 1553, Ibid., p. 77.

²⁵ "Les estrangiers, qu'ilz abhorrent plus que nulle aultre nacion."

L'Empereur à Renard, 20 septembre, 1553, Ibid., p. 113.

²⁶ "Et si la difficulté se treuivoit aux conseillers pour leur intéretz particulier, comme plus ilz sont intéressez, il pourroit estre que l'on auroit meilleur moyen de les gaigner, assheurant ceulx par le moyen desquelz la chose se pourroit conduire, des principaulx offices et charges dudit royaume, voyre et leur offrant appart sommes notables de deniers ou accroissance de rentes, privilèges et prérogatives." L'Empereur à Renard, 20 septembre, 1553, Ibid., p. 113.

²⁷ In order to carry on the negotiation with greater secrecy, Renard's colleagues at the English court, who were found to intermeddle somewhat unnecessarily with the business, were recalled; and the whole affair was intrusted exclusively to that envoy, and to Granvelle, the bishop of Arras, who communicated to him the views of

and unscrupulous politician, who saw with alarm the prospect of Spain strengthening herself by this alliance with England, and determined, accordingly, in obedience to instructions from home, to use every effort to defeat it. The queen's ministers, with the chancellor, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, at their head, felt a similar repugnance to the Spanish match. The name of the Spaniards had become terrible from the remorseless manner in which their wars had been conducted during the present reign, especially in the New World. The ambition and the widely-extended dominions of Charles the Fifth made him the most formidable sovereign in Europe. The English looked with apprehension on so close an alliance with a prince who had shown too little regard for the liberties of his own land to make it probable that he or his son would respect those of another. Above all, they dreaded the fanaticism of the Spaniards; and the gloomy spectre of the Inquisition moving in their train made even the good Catholic shudder at the thought of the miseries that might ensue from this ill-omened union.

It was not difficult for Noailles and the chancellor to communicate their own distrust to the members of the parliament, then in session. A petition to the queen was voted in the lower house, in which the commons preferred an humble request that she would marry for the good of the realm, but besought her, at the same time, not to go abroad for her husband, but to select him among her own subjects.²⁸

the emperor from Brussels.—“Et s'est résolu tant plus l'empereur rappeler voz collègues, afin que auleung d'iceulx ne vous y traversa ou bien empescha s'y estans montrez peu affectionnez, et pour nou si bien entendre le cours de ceste négociation, et pour aussi que vous garderez mieulx le secret qu'est

tant requis et ne se pourroit faire, passant ceste négociation par plusieurs mains.” L'Evêque d'Arras à Renard, 13 septembre, 1553, *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁸ “Pour la requérir et supplier d'eslire ung seigneur de son pays pour estre son mary, et ne vouloir prendre personnaige en mariaige, ny

Mary's ministers did not understand her character so well as Charles the Fifth did, when he cautioned his agent not openly to thwart her. Opposition only fixed her more strongly in her original purpose. In a private interview with Renard, she told him that she was apprised of Gardiner's intrigues, and that Noailles, too, was *doing the impossible* to prevent her union with Philip. "But I will be a match for them," she added. Soon after, taking the ambassador, at midnight, into her oratory, she knelt before the host, and, having repeated the hymn *Veni Creator*, solemnly pledged herself to take no other man for her husband than the prince of Spain.²⁹

This proceeding took place on the thirtieth of October. On the seventeenth of the month following, the commons waited on the queen at her palace of Whitehall, to which she was confined by indisposition, and presented their address. Mary, instead of replying by her chancellor, as was usual, answered them in person. She told them, that from God she held her crown, and that to him alone should she turn for counsel in a matter so important;³⁰ she had not yet made up her mind to marry; but since they considered it so necessary for the weal of the kingdom, she would take it into consideration. It was a matter in which no one was so much interested as herself. But they might be assured that,

leur donner prince qui leur puisse commander aultre que de sa nation." Ambassades de Noailles, (Leyde, 1763,) tom. II. p. 234.

²⁹ "Le soir du 30 octobre, la reine fit venir en sa chambre, où étoit exposé le saint sacrement, l'ambassadeur de l'empereur, et, après avoir dit le *Veni creator*, lui dit qu'elle lui donnoit en face dudit sacrement sa promesse d'épouser le prince d'Espagne, laquelle elle ne changeroit

jamais; qu'elle avoit feint d'être malade les deux jours précédents, mais que sa maladie avoit été causée par le travail qu'elle avoit eu pour prendre cette résolution." MS. in the Belgian archives, cited by Mignet, Charles-Quint, p. 78, note.

³⁰ "Qu'elle tenoit de dieu la couronne de son royaume, et que en luy seul esperoit se conseiller de chose si importante." Ambassades de Noailles, tom. II. p. 269.

in her choice, she would have regard to the happiness of her people, full as much as to her own. The commons, who had rarely the courage to withstand the frown of their Tudor princes, professed themselves contented with this assurance; and, from this moment, opposition ceased from that quarter.

Mary's arguments were reinforced by more conciliatory, but not less efficacious persuasives, in the form of gold crowns, gold chains, and other compliments of the like nature, which were distributed pretty liberally by the Spanish ambassador among the members of her council.³¹

In the following December, a solemn embassy left Brussels, to wait on Mary and tender her the hand of Philip. It was headed by Lamoral, Count Egmont, the Flemish noble so distinguished in later years by his military achievements, and still more by his misfortunes. He was attended by a number of Flemish lords and a splendid body of retainers. He landed in Kent, where the rumor went abroad that it was Philip himself; and so general was the detestation of the Spanish match among the people, that it might have gone hard with the envoy, had the mistake not been discovered. Egmont sailed up the Thames, and went ashore at Tower Wharf, on the second of January, 1554. He was received with all honor by Lord William Howard and several of the great English nobles, and escorted in much state to Westminster, where his table was supplied at the charge of the city. Gardiner entertained the embassy at a sumptuous banquet; and the next day Egmont and his retinue proceeded to Hampton Court,

³¹ "Le dit Lieutenant a fait fonder quatre mil escuz pour chaines, et les autres mil se repartiront en ar-

gent, comme l'on trouvera mieulx convenir." Renard, ap. Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, vol. II. p. 325.

“where they had great cheer,” says an old chronicler, “and hunted the deer, and were so greedy of their destruction, that they gave them not fair play for their lives; for,” as he peevishly complains, “they killed rag and tag, with hands and swords.”³²

On the twelfth, the Flemish count was presented to the queen, and tendered her proposals of marriage in behalf of Prince Philip. Mary, who probably thought she had made advances enough, now assumed a more reserved air. “It was not for a maiden queen,” she said, “thus publicly to enter on so delicate a subject as her own marriage. This would be better done by her ministers, to whom she would refer him. But this she would have him understand,” she added, as she cast her eyes on the ring on her finger, “her realm was her first husband, and none other should induce her to violate the oath which she had pledged at her coronation.”

Notwithstanding this prudery of Mary, she had already manifested such a prepossession for her intended lord as to attract the notice of her courtiers, one of whom refers it to the influence of a portrait of Philip, of which she had become “greatly enamored.”³³ That such a picture was sent to her appears from a letter of Philip’s aunt, the regent of the Netherlands, in which she tells the English queen that she has sent her a portrait of the prince, from the pencil of Titian, which she was to return so soon as she was in possession of the living original. It had been taken some three years before, she said, and was esteemed a good likeness, though it would be necessary, as in the case of other

³² Strype, Memorials, vol. III. pp. 58, 59. — Holinshed, Chronicles, (London, 1808,) vol. IV. pp. 10, 31, 41.

³³ Strype, (Memorials, vol. III.

p. 196,) who quotes a passage from a MS. of Sir Thomas Smith, the application of which, though the queen’s name is omitted, cannot be mistaken.

portraits by this master, to look at it from a distance in order to see the resemblance.³⁴

The marriage treaty was drawn up with great circumspection, under the chancellor's direction. It will be necessary to notice only the most important provisions. It was stipulated that Philip should respect the laws of England, and leave every man in the full enjoyment of his rights and immunities. The power of conferring titles, honors, emoluments, and offices of every description, was to be reserved to the queen. Foreigners were to be excluded from office. The issue of the marriage, if a son, was to succeed to the English crown and to the Spanish possessions in Burgundy and the Low Countries. But in case of the death of Don Carlos, Philip's son, the issue of the present marriage was to receive, in addition to the former inheritance, Spain and her dependencies. The queen was never to leave her own kingdom without her express desire. Her children were not to be taken out of it without the consent of the nobles. In case of Mary's death, Philip was not to claim the right of taking part in the government of the country. Further it was provided that Philip should not entangle the nation in his wars with France, but should strive to maintain the same amicable relations that now subsisted between the two countries.³⁵

Such were the cautious stipulations of this treaty, which had more the aspect of a treaty for defence against an enemy than a marriage contract. The instrument was worded with a care that reflected credit on the

³⁴ "Si est-ce qu'elle verra assez par icelle sa ressemblance, la voyant à son jour et de loing, comme sont toutes pointures d'iceluy Titian que de près ne se reconnoissent." Marie, Reine de Hongrie, à l'Ambassadeur Renard, novembre 19, 1553, Pa-

piers d'Etat de Granvelle, tom. IV. p. 150.

It may be from a copy of this portrait that the engraving was made which is prefixed to this work.

³⁵ See the treaty in Rymer, Fœdera, vol. XV. p. 377.

sagacity of its framers. All was done that parchment could do to secure the independence of the crown, as well as the liberties of the people. "But if the bond be violated," asked one of the parliamentary speakers on the occasion, "who is there to sue the bond?" Every reflecting Englishman must have felt the inefficacy of any guaranty that could be extorted from Philip, who, once united to Mary, would find little difficulty in persuading a fond and obedient wife to sanction his own policy, prejudicial though it might be to the true interests of the kingdom.

No sooner was the marriage treaty made public, than the popular discontent, before partially disclosed, showed itself openly throughout the country. Placards were put up, lampoons were written, reviling the queen's ministers and ridiculing the Spaniards; ominous voices were heard from old, dilapidated buildings, boding the ruin of the monarchy. Even the children became infected with the passions of their fathers. Games were played in which the English were represented contending with the Spaniards; and in one of these an unlucky urchin, who played the part of Philip, narrowly escaped with his life from the hands of his exasperated comrades.³⁶

But something more serious than child's play showed itself, in three several insurrections which broke out in different quarters of the kingdom. The most formidable of them was the one led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the celebrated poet of that name. It soon gathered head, and the number of the insurgents was greatly augmented by the accession of a considerable body of

³⁶ "Par là," adds Noailles, who tells the story, "vous pouvez veoir comme le prince d'Espagne sera le

bien venu en ce pays, puisque les enfans le logent au gibet." Ambassades de Noailles, tom. III. p. 130.

the royal forces, who deserted their colors, and joined the very men against whom they had been sent. Thus strengthened, Wyatt marched on London. All there were filled with consternation,—all but their intrepid queen, who showed as much self-possession and indifference to danger as if it were only an ordinary riot.

Proceeding at once into the city, she met the people at Guildhall, and made them a spirited address, which has been preserved in the pages of Holinshed. It concludes in the following bold strain, containing an allusion to the cause of the difficulties:—"And certainly, if I did either know or think that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you, my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise and assure you, that, if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons, in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm, that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore now as good and faithful subjects pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you that I fear them nothing at all!"³⁷ The courageous spirit of their queen communicated itself to her audience, and in a few hours twenty thousand citizens enrolled themselves under the royal banner.

³⁷ Holinshed, vol. IV. p. 16.—
The accounts of this insurrection
are familiar to the English reader,

as given, at more or less length, in
every history of the period.

Meanwhile, the rebel force continued its march, and reports soon came that Wyatt was on the opposite bank of the Thames; then, that he had crossed the river. Soon his presence was announced by the flight of a good number of the royalists, among whom was Courtenay, who rode off before the enemy at a speed that did little credit to his valor. All was now confusion again. The lords and ladies in attendance gathered round the queen at Whitehall, as if to seek support from her more masculine nature. Her ministers went down on their knees, to implore her to take refuge in the Tower, as the only place of safety. Mary smiled with contempt at the pusillanimous proposal, and resolved to remain where she was, and abide the issue.

It was not long in coming. Wyatt penetrated as far as Ludgate, with desperate courage, but was not well seconded by his followers. The few who proved faithful were surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers. Wyatt was made prisoner, and the whole rebel rout discomfited and dispersed. By this triumph over her enemies, Mary was seated more strongly than ever on the throne. Henceforward the Spanish match did not meet with opposition from the people, any more than from the parliament.

Still the emperor, after this serious demonstration of hostility to his son, felt a natural disquietude in regard to his personal safety, which made him desirous of obtaining some positive guaranty before trusting him among the turbulent islanders. He wrote to his ambassador to require such security from the government. But no better could be given than the royal promise that everything should be done to insure the prince's safety. Renard was much perplexed. He felt the responsibility of his own position. He declined to

pledge himself for the quiet deportment of the English; but he thought matters had already gone too far to leave it in the power of Spain to recede. He wrote, moreover, both to Charles and to Philip, recommending that the prince should not bring over with him a larger retinue of Spaniards than was necessary, and that the wives of his nobles—for he seems to have regarded the sex as the source of evil—should not accompany them.³⁸ Above all, he urged Philip and his followers to lay aside the Castilian *hauteur*, and to substitute the conciliatory manners which might disarm the jealousy of the English.³⁹

³⁸ "L'on a escript d'Espagne que plusieurs sieurs, deliberoient amener leurs femmes avec eulx pardeça. Si ainsi est, vostre Majesté pourra preveoir ung grand desordre en ceste court." Renard, ap. Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, vol. II. p. 351.

³⁹ "Seulement sera requis que les Espaignolez qui suyront vostre Alteze comportent les façons de faire des Angloys, et soient modestes, confians que vostre Alteze les aicarrassera par son humanité costumiere." Ibid., p. 335.

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CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH ALLIANCE.

Mary's Betrothal.—Joanna Regent of Castile.—Philip embarks for England.—His splendid Reception.—Marriage of Philip and Mary.—Royal Entertainments.—Philip's Influence.—The Catholic Church restored.—Philip's Departure.

1554, 1555.

In the month of March, 1554, Count Egmont arrived in England, on a second embassy, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the marriage treaty. He came in the same state as before, and was received by the queen in the presence of her council. The ceremony was conducted with great solemnity. Mary, kneeling down, called God to witness, that, in contracting this marriage, she had been influenced by no motive of a carnal or worldly nature, but by the desire of securing the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom. To her kingdom her faith had first been plighted; and she hoped that Heaven would give her strength to maintain inviolate the oath she had taken at her coronation.

This she said with so much grace, that the bystanders, says Renard,—who was one of them,—were all moved to tears. The ratifications were then exchanged, and the oaths taken, in presence of the host, by the representatives of Spain and England; when Mary, again kneeling, called on those present to unite with her in

prayer to the Almighty, that he would enable her faithfully to keep the articles of the treaty, and would make her marriage a happy one.

Count Egmont then presented to the queen a diamond ring which the emperor had sent her. Mary, putting it on her finger, showed it to the company; "and assuredly," exclaims the Spanish minister, "the jewel was a precious one, and well worthy of admiration." Egmont, before departing for Spain, inquired of Mary whether she would intrust him with any message to Prince Philip. The queen replied, that "he might tender to the prince her most affectionate regards, and assure him that she should be always ready to vie with him in such offices of kindness as became a loving and obedient wife." When asked if she would write to him, she answered, "Not till he had begun the correspondence."¹

This lets us into the knowledge of a little fact, very significant. Up to this time Philip had neither written, nor so much as sent a single token of regard to his mistress. All this had been left to his father. Charles had arranged the marriage, had wooed the bride, had won over her principal advisers,—in short, had done all the courtship. Indeed, the inclinations of Philip, it is said, had taken another direction, and he would have preferred the hand of his royal kinswoman, Mary of Portugal.² However this may be, it is not probable that he felt any great satisfaction in the prospect of being united to a woman who was eleven years older than himself, and whose personal charms, whatever they

¹ The particulars of this interview are taken from one of Renard's despatches to the emperor, dated March 8, 1554, ap. Tytler, England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, (vol. II. pp. 326—329.) —a work in which the author, by

the publication of original documents, and his own sagacious commentary, has done much for the illustration of this portion of English history.

² Florez, Reynas Catholicas, tom. II. p. 890.

might once have been, had long since faded, under the effects of disease and a constitutional melancholy. But he loved power; and whatever scruples he might have entertained on his own account were silenced before the wishes of his father.³ "Like another Isaac," exclaims Sandoval, in admiration of his conduct, "he sacrificed himself on the altar of filial duty."⁴ The same implicit deference which Philip showed his father in this delicate matter, he afterwards, under similar circumstances, received from his own son.

After the marriage articles had been ratified, Philip sent a present of a magnificent jewel to the English queen, by a Spanish noble of high rank, the Marquis de las Navas.⁵ The marquis, who crossed from Biscay with a squadron of four ships, landed at Plymouth, and, as he journeyed towards London, was met by the young Lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke, who conducted him, with an escort of four hundred mounted gentlemen, to his family seat in Wiltshire. "And as they rode together to Wilton," says Lord Edmund Dudley, one of the party, "there were certain courses

³ Philip would have preferred that Charles should carry out his original design, by taking Mary for his own wife. But he acquiesced, without a murmur, in the choice his father made for him. Mignet quotes a passage from a letter of Philip to the emperor on this subject, which shows him to have been a pattern of filial obedience. The letter is copied by Gonzales in his unpublished work, *Retiro y Estancia de Carlos Quinto*.—"Y que pues piensan proponer su matrimonio con Vuestra Magestad, hallandose en disposicion para ello, esto seria lo mas acertado. Pero en caso que Vuestra Magestad está en lo que me escribe y le pareciere tratar de lo que à mi toca, ya Vuestra Magestad sabe que, como tan obediente

hijo, no he tener mas voluntad que la suya; cuanto mas siendo este negocio de importancia y calidad que es. Y asi me ha parecido remitirlo à Vuestra Magestad para que en todo haya lo que le pareciere, y fuere servido." Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, p. 76.

⁴ "Higo en esto lo que un Isaac dexandose sacrificar por hazer la voluntad de su padre, y por el bien de la Iglesia." Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, tom. II. p. 557.

⁵ A single diamond in the ornament which Philip sent his queen was valued at eighty thousand crowns.—"Una joya que don Filipe le enbiaba, en que avia un diamante de valor de ochenta mil escudos." Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo*, lib. I. cap. 4.

at the hare, which was so pleasant that the marquis much delighted in finding the course so readily appointed. As for the marquis's great cheer, as well that night at supper as otherwise at his breakfast the next day, surely it was so abundant, that it was not a little marvel to consider that so great a preparation could be made in so small a warning. . . . Surely it was not a little comfort to my heart to see all things so honorably used for the honor and service of the queen's majesty."⁶

Meanwhile, Philip was making his arrangements for leaving Spain, and providing a government for the country during his absence. It was decided by the emperor to intrust the regency to his daughter, the Princess Joanna. She was eight years younger than Philip. About eighteen months before, she had gone to Portugal as the bride of the heir of that kingdom. But the fair promise afforded by this union was blasted by the untimely death of her consort, which took place on the second of January, 1554. Three weeks afterwards, the unhappy widow gave birth to a son, the famous Don Sebastian, whose Quixotic adventures have given him a wider celebrity than is enjoyed by many a wiser sovereign. After the cruel calamity which had befallen her, it was not without an effort that Joanna resigned herself to her father's wishes, and consented to enter on the duties of public life. In July, she quitted Lisbon,—the scene of early joys, and of hopes for ever blighted,—and, amidst the regrets of the whole court,

⁶ Letter of Lord Edmund Dudley to the Lords of the Council, MS. This document, with other MSS. relating to this period, was kindly furnished to me by the late lamented Mr. Tytler, who copied them from the originals in the State Paper Office.

The young Lord Herbert men-

tioned in the text became afterwards that earl of Pembroke who married, for his second wife, the celebrated sister of Sir Philip Sidney, to whom he dedicated the "Arcadia,"—less celebrated, perhaps, from this dedication, than from the epitaph on her monument, by Ben. Jonson, in Salisbury Cathedral.

returned, under a princely escort, to Castile. She was received on the borders by the king, her brother, who conducted her to Valladolid. Here she was installed, with due solemnity, in her office of regent. A council of state was associated with her in the government. It consisted of persons of the highest consideration, with the archbishop of Seville at their head. By this body Joanna was to be advised, and indeed to be guided in all matters of moment. Philip, on his departure, left his sister an ample letter of instructions as to the policy to be pursued by the administration, especially in affairs of religion.⁷

Joanna seems to have been a woman of discretion and virtue,—qualities which belonged to the females of her line. She was liberal in her benefactions to convents and colleges; and their cloistered inmates showed their gratitude by the most lavish testimony to her deserts. She had one rather singular practice. She was in the habit of dropping her veil, when giving audience to foreign ambassadors. To prevent all doubts as to her personal identity, she began the audience by raising her veil, saying, “Am I not the princess?” She then again covered her face, and the conference was continued without her further exposing her features. “It was not necessary,” says her biographer, in an accommodating spirit, “to have the face uncovered in order to hear.”⁸ Perhaps Joanna considered this reserve as suited to the season of her mourning, intending it as a mark of

⁷ Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. I. cap. 4.—Florez, Reynas Catholicas, tom. II. p. 873.—Memorial des Voyages du Roi, MS.

⁸ “Y prevenida de que los Embajadores se quejaban, pretextando que no sabian si hablaban con la Princesa; levantaba el manto al empezar la Audiencia, preguntando

¿Soy la Princesa? y en oyendo responder que sí; volvia à echarse el velo, como que ya cessaba el inconveniente de ignorar con quien hablaban, y que para ver no necesitaba tener la cara descubierta.” Florez, Reynas Catholicas, tom. II. p. 873.

respect to the memory of her deceased lord. In any other view, we might suspect that there entered into her constitution a vein of the same madness which darkened so large a part of the life of her grandmother and namesake, Joanna of Castile.

Before leaving Valladolid, Philip formed a separate establishment for his son, Don Carlos, and placed his education under the care of a preceptor, Luis de Vives, a scholar not to be confounded with his namesake, the learned tutor of Mary of England. Having completed his arrangements, Philip set out for the place of his embarkation in the north. At Compostella he passed some days, offering up his devotions to the tutelary saint of Spain, whose shrine, throughout the Middle Ages, had been the most popular resort of pilgrims from the western parts of Christendom.

While at Compostella, Philip subscribed the marriage treaty, which had been brought over from England by the earl of Bedford. He then proceeded to Corunna, where a fleet of more than a hundred sail was riding at anchor, in readiness to receive him. It was commanded by the admiral of Castile, and had on board, besides its complement of seamen, four thousand of the best troops of Spain. On the eleventh of July, Philip embarked, with his numerous retinue, in which, together with the Flemish Counts Egmont and Hoorne, were to be seen the dukes of Alva and Medina Cœli, the prince of Eboli, —in short, the flower of the Castilian nobility. They came attended by their wives and vassals, minstrels and mummers, and a host of idle followers, to add to the splendor of the pageant and do honor to their royal master. Yet the Spanish ambassador at London had expressly recommended to Philip that his courtiers should leave their ladies at home, and should come in as simple

guise as possible, so as not to arouse the jealousy of the English.⁹

After a pleasant run of a few days, the Spanish squadron came in sight of the combined fleets of England and Flanders, under the command of the Lord Admiral Howard, who was cruising in the channel in order to meet the prince and convoy him to the English shore. The admiral seems to have been a blunt sort of man, who spoke his mind with more candor than courtesy. He greatly offended the Flemings by comparing their ships to muscle-shells.¹⁰ He is even said to have fired a gun as he approached Philip's squadron, in order to compel it to lower its topsails in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English in the "narrow seas." But this is probably the patriotic vaunt of an English writer, since it is scarcely possible that the haughty Spaniard of that day would have made such a concession, and still less so that the British commander would have been so discourteous as to exact it on this occasion.

On the nineteenth of July, the fleets came to anchor in the port of Southampton. A number of barges were soon seen pushing off from the shore; one of which, protected by a rich awning and superbly lined with cloth of gold, was manned by sailors whose dress of white and green intimated the royal livery. It was the queen's barge, intended for Philip; while the other boats, all gaily ornamented, received his nobles and their retinues.

The Spanish prince was welcomed, on landing, by a goodly company of English lords, assembled to pay him their obeisance. The earl of Arundel presented him, in

⁹ Letter of Bedford and Fitzwaters to the Council, ap. Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, vol. II. p. 410.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. I. cap. 4, 5.—Sepulveda Opera, vol. II. pp. 496, 497.

¹⁰ "Il appelle les navires de la flotte de vostre Majesté coquilles de moules, et plusieurs semblables particularitez." Letter of Renard, ap. Tytler, Edward VI. and Mary, vol. II. p. 414.