

factions which desolated that unhappy kingdom, and, after an ineffectual struggle against his enemies, resolved to seek an asylum at the court of his uncle Alfonso the Fifth, of Naples, and to refer to him the final arbitration of his differences with his father.¹³

On his passage through France and the various courts of Italy, he was received with the attentions due to his rank, and still more to his personal character and misfortunes. Nor was he disappointed in the sympathy and favorable reception, which he had anticipated from his uncle. Assured of protection from so high a quarter, Carlos might now reasonably flatter himself with the restitution of his legitimate rights, when these bright prospects were suddenly overcast by the death of Alfonso, who expired at Naples of a fever in the month of May, 1458, bequeathing his hereditary dominions of Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia to his brother John, and his kingdom of Naples to his illegitimate son Ferdinand.¹⁴

Carlos retires to Naples.

1458.

The frank and courteous manners of Carlos had won so powerfully on the affections of the Neapolitans, who distrusted the dark, ambiguous character of Ferdinand, Alfonso's heir, that a large party eagerly pressed the prince to assert his title to the vacant throne, assuring him of a general support

¹³ Zurita, Anales tom. iv. fol. 3-48. — Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. iv. pp. 508-526. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 105.

¹⁴ Giannone, Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, (Milano, 1823,) lib. 26, c. 7. — Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, trad. par D'Hermilly, (Paris, 1751,) tom. vii. p. 60. — L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, par l'un des Secrétaires Interpretes de sa Majesté, (Paris, 1596,) p. 468.

PART
I.He passes
into Sicily.

from the people. But Carlos, from motives of prudence or magnanimity, declined engaging in this new contest,¹⁵ and passed over to Sicily, whence he resolved to solicit a final reconciliation with his father. He was received with much kindness by the Sicilians, who, preserving a grateful recollection of the beneficent sway of his mother Blanche, when queen of that island, readily transferred to the son their ancient attachment to the parent. An assembly of the states voted a liberal supply for his present exigencies, and even urged him, if we are to credit the Catalan ambassador at the court of Castile, to assume the sovereignty of the island.¹⁶ Carlos, however, far from entertaining so rash an ambition, seems to have been willing to seclude himself from public observation. He passed the greater portion of his time at a convent of Benedictine friars not far from Messina, where, in the society of learned men, and with the facilities of an extensive library, he endeavoured to recall the happier hours of youth in the pursuit of his favorite studies of philosophy and history.¹⁷

¹⁵ Compare the narrative of the Neapolitan historians, Summonte, (*Historia della Città e Regno di Napoli*, (Napoli, 1675,) lib. 5, c. 2.) and Giannone, (*Istoria Civile*, lib. 26, c. 7. — lib. 27. Introd.) with the opposite statements of L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, (fol. 106,) himself a contemporary, Aleson, (*Anales de Navarra*, tom. iv. p. 546,) and other Spanish writers.

¹⁶ Enriquez del Castillo, *Crónica de Enrique el Quarto*, (Madrid, 1787,) cap. 43.

¹⁷ Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol.

97. — Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 282. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 106. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 250. — Carlos bargained with Pope Pius II. for a transfer of this library, particularly rich in the ancient classics, to Spain, which was eventually defeated by his death. Zurita, who visited the monastery containing it nearly a century after this period, found its inmates possessed of many traditionary anecdotes respecting the prince during his seclusion among them.

CHAPTER
II.John II. suc-
ceeds to the
crown of
Aragon.

In the mean while, John, now king of Aragon and its dependencies, alarmed by the reports of his son's popularity in Sicily, became as solicitous for the security of his authority there, as he had before been for it in Navarre. He accordingly sought to soothe the mind of the prince by the fairest professions, and to allure him back to Spain by the prospect of an effectual reconciliation. Carlos, believing what he most earnestly wished, in opposition to the advice of his Sicilian counsellors, embarked for Majorca, and, after some preliminary negotiations, crossed over to the coast of Barcelona. Postponing, for fear of giving offence to his father, his entrance into that city, which, indignant at his persecution, had made the most brilliant preparations for his reception, he proceeded to Igulada, where an interview took place between him and the king and queen, in which he conducted himself with unfeigned humility and penitence, reciprocated on their part by the most consummate dissimulation.¹⁸

Carlos rec-
onciled with
his father.
1460.

All parties now confided in the stability of a pacification so anxiously desired, and effected with such apparent cordiality. It was expected, that John would hasten to acknowledge his son's title as heir apparent to the crown of Aragon, and convene an assembly of the states to tender him the customary oath of allegiance. But nothing was further from the monarch's intention. He indeed

¹⁸ Aleson, Anales de Navarra, —Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 60
tom. iv. pp. 548 - 554. — Abarca, —69.
Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 251.

PART
I.

summoned the Aragonese cortes at Fraga for the purpose of receiving their homage to himself; but he expressly refused their request touching a similar ceremony to the prince of Viana; and he openly rebuked the Catalans for presuming to address him as the successor to the crown.¹⁹

In this unnatural procedure it was easy to discern the influence of the queen. In addition to her original causes of aversion to Carlos, she regarded him with hatred as the insuperable obstacle to her own child Ferdinand's advancement. Even the affection of John seemed to be now wholly transferred from the offspring of his first to that of his second marriage; and, as the queen's influence over him was unbounded, she found it easy by artful suggestions to put a dark construction on every action of Carlos, and to close up every avenue of returning affection within his bosom.

Convinced at length of the hopeless alienation of his father, the prince of Viana turned his attention to other quarters, whence he might obtain support, and eagerly entered into a negotiation, which had been opened with him on the part of Henry the Fourth, of Castile, for a union with his sister the princess Isabella. This was coming in direct collision with the favorite scheme of his parents. The marriage of Isabella with the young Ferdinand, which indeed, from the parity of their ages, was a much more suitable connexion than that with

¹⁹ Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, iv. fol. 70-75. — Aleson, *Anales ubi supra*. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. de Navarra, tom. iv. p. 556.

Carlos, had long been the darling object of their policy, and they resolved to effect it in the face of every obstacle. In conformity with this purpose, John invited the prince of Viana to attend him at Lerida, where he was then holding the cortes of Catalonia. The latter fondly, and indeed foolishly, after his manifold experience to the contrary, confiding in the relenting disposition of his father, hastened to obey the summons, in expectation of being publicly acknowledged as his heir in the assembly of the states. After a brief interview he was arrested, and his person placed in strict confinement.²⁰

Is imprisoned.

The intelligence of this perfidious procedure diffused general consternation among all classes. They understood too well the artifices of the queen and the vindictive temper of the king, not to feel the most serious apprehensions, not only for the liberty, but for the life of their prisoner. The cortes of Lerida, which, though dissolved on that very day, had not yet separated, sent an embassy to John, requesting to know the nature of the crimes imputed to his son. The permanent deputation of Aragon, and a delegation from the council of Barcelona, waited on him for a similar purpose, remonstrating at the same time against any violent and unconstitutional proceeding. To all these John returned a cold, evasive answer, darkly intimating a suspicion of conspiracy by his son against his

²⁰ L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 108. — Zurita, *Anales de Navarra*, tom. iv. pp. 556, 557. lib. 17, cap. 3. — Aleson, *Anales* — Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 27.

PART
I.Insurrection
of the Cata-
lans.

life, and reserving to himself the punishment of the offence.²¹

No sooner was the result of their mission communicated, than the whole kingdom was thrown into a ferment. The high-spirited Catalans rose in arms, almost to a man. The royal governor, after a fruitless attempt to escape, was seized and imprisoned in Barcelona. Troops were levied, and placed under the command of experienced officers of the highest rank. The heated populace, outstripping the tardy movement of military operations, marched forward to Lerida in order to get possession of the royal person. The king, who had seasonable notice of this, displayed his wonted presence of mind. He ordered supper to be prepared for him at the usual hour, but, on the approach of night, made his escape on horseback with one or two attendants only, on the road to Fraga, a town within the territory of Aragon; while the mob, traversing the streets of Lerida, and finding little resistance at the gate, burst into the palace and ransacked every corner of it, piercing, in their fury, even the curtains and beds with their swords and lances.²²

The Catalan army, ascertaining the route of the royal fugitive, marched directly on Fraga, and arrived so promptly, that John, with his wife, and the

²¹ L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 108, 109. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 252. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 17, cap. 45. — Aleson, *Anales de Navarra*, tom. ii. p. 357.

²² Aleson, *Anales de Navarra*, tom. ii. p. 358. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 17, cap. 6. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 253. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 111.

deputies of the Aragonese cortes assembled there, had barely time to make their escape on the road to Saragossa, while the insurgents poured into the city from the opposite quarter. The person of Carlos, in the mean time, was secured in the inaccessible fortress of Morella, situated in a mountainous district on the confines of Valencia. John, on halting at Saragossa, endeavoured to assemble an Aragonese force capable of resisting the Catalan rebels. But the flame of insurrection had spread throughout Aragon, Valencia, and Navarre, and was speedily communicated to his transmarine possessions of Sardinia and Sicily. The king of Castile supported Carlos at the same time by an irruption into Navarre, and his partisans, the Beaumonts, cooperated with these movements by a descent on Aragon.²³

John, alarmed at the tempest which his precipitate conduct had roused, at length saw the necessity of releasing his prisoner; and, as the queen had incurred general odium as the chief instigator of his persecution, he affected to do this in consequence of her interposition. As Carlos with his mother-in-law traversed the country on their way to Barcelona, he was everywhere greeted, by the inhabitants of the villages thronging out to meet him, with the most touching enthusiasm. The queen, however, having been informed by the magistrates that her presence would not be permitted in the capital, deemed it prudent to remain at

Carlos released.

²³ Zurita, Anales, lib. 17, cap. 6. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 111.

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I.

Villa Franca, about twenty miles distant; while the prince, entering Barcelona, was welcomed with the triumphant acclamations due to a conqueror returning from a campaign of victories.²⁴

The conditions, on which the Catalans proposed to resume their allegiance to their sovereign, were sufficiently humiliating. They insisted not only on his public acknowledgment of Carlos as his rightful heir and successor, with the office, conferred on him for life, of lieutenant-general of Catalonia, but on an obligation on his own part, that he would never enter the province without their express permission. Such was John's extremity, that he not only accepted these unpalatable conditions, but did it with affected cheerfulness.

Fortune seemed now weary of persecution, and Carlos, happy in the attachment of a brave and powerful people, appeared at length to have reached a haven of permanent security. But at this crisis he fell ill of a fever, or, as some historians insinuate, of a disorder occasioned by poison administered during his imprisonment; a fact, which, although unsupported by positive evidence, seems, notwithstanding its atrocity, to be no wise improbable, considering the character of the parties implicated. He expired on the 23d of September, 1461, in the forty-first year of his age, bequeathing

His death.
1461.

²⁴ Castillo, Crónica, cap. 28. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, fol. 253, 254. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 111, 112. — Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. iv. pp. 559, 560. — The inhabitants of Tarraca closed their gates upon the queen, and rung the bells on her approach, the signal of alarm on the appearance of an enemy, or for the pursuit of a malefactor.

his title to the crown of Navarre, in conformity with the original marriage contract of his parents, to his sister Blanche and her posterity.²⁵

CHAPTER
II

Thus in the prime of life, and at the moment when he seemed to have triumphed over the malice of his enemies, died the prince of Viana, whose character, conspicuous for many virtues, has become still more so for his misfortunes. His first act of rebellion, if such, considering his legitimate pretensions to the crown; it can be called, was severely requited by his subsequent calamities; while the vindictive and persecuting temper of his parents excited a very general commiseration in his behalf, and brought him more effectual support, than could have been derived from his own merits or the justice of his cause.

The character of Don Carlos has been portrayed by Lucio Marineo, who, as he wrote an account of these transactions by the command of Ferdinand the Catholic, cannot be suspected of any undue partiality in favor of the prince of Viana. "Such," says he, "were his temperance and moderation, such the excellence of his breeding, the purity of his life, his liberality and munificence, and such the sweetness of his demeanor, that no one thing seemed to be wanting in him which belongs to a true and perfect prince."²⁶ He is described by

His character.

²⁵ Alonso de Palencia, Crónica, MS., part. 2, cap. 51. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 114. — Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. iv. pp. 561-563. — Zurita, Anales, cap. 19, 24.

²⁶ L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 106. — "Por quanto era la templança y mesura de aquel principe; tan grande el concierto y su criança y costumbres, la limpieza de su vida, su liberalidad y

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another contemporary, as "in person somewhat above the middle stature, having a thin visage, with a serene and modest expression of countenance, and withal somewhat inclined to melancholy."²⁷ He was a considerable proficient in music, painting, and several mechanic arts. He frequently amused himself with poetical composition, and was the intimate friend of some of the most eminent bards of his time. But he was above all devoted to the study of philosophy and history. He made a version of Aristotle's Ethics into the vernacular, which was first printed, nearly fifty years after his death, at Saragossa, in 1509. He compiled also a Chronicle of Navarre from the earliest period to his own times, which, although suffered to remain in manuscript, has been liberally used and cited by the Spanish antiquaries, Garibay, Blancas, and others.²⁸ His natural taste and his habits fitted him much better for the quiet enjoyment of letters, than for the tumultuous scenes in which it was his misfortune to be involved, and in which he was no match for enemies grown gray in the field and in the intrigues of the cabinet. But, if his devotion to learning, so rare in his own age, and so very rare among princes in any age, was unpropitious to his success on the busy theatre on which he was en-

magnificencia, y finalmente su dulce conversacion, que ninguna cosa en el faltava de aquellas que pertenescen a recta vivir; y que arman el verdadero y perfecto principe y señor."

²⁷ Gundisalvus Garsias, apud Nic.

Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. p. 281.

²⁸ Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. pp. 281, 282. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 434.