

faction ; and, bidding adieu to her dismayed guardian, the bishop of Burgos, and his attendants, she was borne off by her little army in a sort of military triumph to the friendly city of Valladolid, where she was welcomed by the citizens with a general burst of enthusiasm.<sup>54</sup>

In the mean time Gutierre de Cardenas, one of the household of the princess,<sup>55</sup> and Alfonso de Palencia, the faithful chronicler of these events, were despatched into Aragon in order to quicken Ferdinand's operations, during the auspicious interval afforded by the absence of Henry in Andalusia. On arriving at the frontier town of Osma, they were dismayed to find that the bishop of that place, together with the duke of Medina Celi, on whose active coöperation they had relied for the safe introduction of Ferdinand into Castile, had been gained over to the interests of the marquis of Villena.<sup>56</sup> The envoys, however, adroitly concealing the real object of their mission, were permitted to pass unmolested to Saragossa, where Ferdinand was then residing. They could not have arrived at a more inopportune season. The old king of Aragon was in the very heat of the war against the

<sup>54</sup> Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 136. — Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 12. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 69.

<sup>55</sup> This cavalier, who was of an ancient and honorable family in Castile, was introduced to the princess's service by the archbishop of Toledo. He is represented by Gonzalo de Oviedo, as a man of much sagacity and knowledge of

the world, qualities with which he united a steady devotion to the interests of his mistress. Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., cap. 14. — The bishop told Palencia, that "if his own servants deserted him, he would oppose the entrance of Ferdinand into the kingdom."

PART  
I.

insurgent Catalans, headed by the victorious John of Anjou. Although so sorely pressed, his forces were on the eve of disbanding for want of the requisite funds to maintain them. His exhausted treasury did not contain more than three hundred *enriques*.<sup>57</sup> In this exigency he was agitated by the most distressing doubts. As he could spare neither the funds nor the force necessary for covering his son's entrance into Castile, he must either send him unprotected into a hostile country, already aware of his intended enterprise and in arms to defeat it, or abandon the long-cherished object of his policy, at the moment when his plans were ripe for execution. Unable to extricate himself from this dilemma, he referred the whole matter to Ferdinand and his council.<sup>58</sup>

Ferdinand  
enters Cas-  
tile.

It was at length determined, that the prince should undertake the journey, accompanied by half a dozen attendants only, in the disguise of merchants, by the direct route from Saragossa; while another party, in order to divert the attention of the Castilians, should proceed in a different direction, with all the ostentation of a public embassy from the king of Aragon to Henry the Fourth. The distance was not great, which Ferdinand and his suite were to travel before reaching a place of safety; but this intervening country was patrolled by squadrons of cavalry for the purpose of intercepting their progress; and the whole extent of

<sup>57</sup> Zurita, Anales, lib. 18, cap. 26.  
— The *enrique* was a gold coin, so  
denominated from Henry II.

<sup>58</sup> Zurita, Anales, lib. 18, cap. 26.  
— Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom.  
ii. p. 273.

the frontier, from Almazan to Guadalajara, was defended by a line of fortified castles in the hands of the family of Mendoza.<sup>59</sup> The greatest circumspection therefore was necessary. The party journeyed chiefly in the night; Ferdinand assumed the disguise of a servant, and, when they halted on the road, took care of the mules, and served his companions at table. In this guise, with no other disaster except that of leaving at an inn the purse which contained the funds for the expedition, they arrived, late on the second night, at a little place called the Burgo, or Borough, of Osma, which the count of Treviño, one of the partisans of Isabella, had occupied with a considerable body of men-at-arms. On knocking at the gate, cold and faint with travelling, during which the prince had allowed himself to take no repose, they were saluted by a large stone discharged by a sentinel from the battlements, which, glancing near Ferdinand's head, had wellnigh brought his romantic enterprise to a tragical conclusion; when his voice was recognised by his friends within, and the trumpets proclaiming his arrival, he was received with great joy and festivity by the count and his followers. The remainder of his journey, which he commenced before dawn, was performed under the convoy of a numerous and well-armed escort; and on the 9th of October he reached Dueñas in the kingdom of Leon, where the Castilian nobles and cavaliers of his par-

<sup>59</sup> Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 78, Ilust. 2.

PART  
1.

ty eagerly thronged to render him the homage due to his rank.<sup>60</sup>

✓ The intelligence of Ferdinand's arrival diffused universal joy in the little court of Isabella at Valladolid. Her first step was to transmit a letter to her brother Henry, in which she informed him of the presence of the prince in his dominions, and of their intended marriage. She excused the course she had taken by the embarrassments, in which she had been involved by the malice of her enemies. She represented the political advantages of the connexion, and the sanction it had received from the Castilian nobles; and she concluded with soliciting his approbation of it, giving him at the same time affectionate assurances of the most dutiful submission both on the part of Ferdinand and of herself.<sup>61</sup> Arrangements were then made for an interview between the royal pair, in which some courtly parasites would fain have persuaded their mistress to require some act of homage from Ferdinand, in token of the inferiority of the crown of Aragon to that of Castile; a proposition which she rejected with her usual discretion.<sup>62</sup>

Private interview between Ferdinand and Isabella.

Agreeably to these arrangements, Ferdinand, on the evening of the 15th of October, passed privately from Dueñas, accompanied only by four attendants, to the neighbouring city of Valladolid, where he was received by the archbishop of Toledo, and

<sup>60</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 14. — Zurita, *Crónica*, cap. 136.

<sup>61</sup> This letter, dated October MS., part. 2, cap. 15.

<sup>62</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 15.

conducted to the apartment of his mistress.<sup>63</sup> Ferdinand was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age. His complexion was fair, though somewhat bronzed by constant exposure to the sun; his eye quick and cheerful; his forehead ample, and approaching to baldness. His muscular and well-proportioned frame was invigorated by the toils of war, and by the chivalrous exercises in which he delighted. He was one of the best horsemen in his court, and excelled in field sports of every kind. His voice was somewhat sharp, but he possessed a fluent eloquence; and, when he had a point to carry, his address was courteous and even insinuating. He secured his health by extreme temperance in his diet, and by such habits of activity, that it was said he seemed to find repose in business.<sup>64</sup> Isabella was a year older than her lover. In stature she was somewhat above the middle size. Her complexion was fair; her hair of a bright chestnut color, inclining to red; and her mild blue eye beamed with intelligence and sensibility. She was exceedingly beautiful; "the handsomest lady," says one of her household, "whom I ever beheld, and the most gracious in her manners."<sup>65</sup> The

<sup>63</sup> Gutierre de Cardenas was the first who pointed him out to the princess, exclaiming at the same time, "Ese es, ese es," "This is he;" in commemoration of which he was permitted to place on his escutcheon the letters SS, whose pronunciation in Spanish resembles that of the exclamation, which he had uttered. *Ibid.*, part. 2, cap.

15. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1.

<sup>64</sup> L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 182. — Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 18, cap. 1. — "Tan amigo de los negocios," says Mariana, "que parecia con el trabajo descansaba." *Hist. de España*, lib. 25, cap. 18.

<sup>65</sup> "En hermosura, puestas de

PART  
I

portrait, still existing of her in the royal palace, is conspicuous for an open symmetry of features, indicative of the natural serenity of temper, and that beautiful harmony of intellectual and moral qualities, which most distinguished her. She was dignified in her demeanor, and modest even to a degree of reserve. She spoke the Castilian language with more than usual elegance; and early imbibed a relish for letters, in which she was superior to Ferdinand, whose education in this particular seems to have been neglected.<sup>66</sup> It is not easy to obtain a dispassionate portrait of Isabella. The Spaniards, who revert to her glorious reign, are so smitten with her moral perfections, that even in depicting her personal, they borrow somewhat of the exaggerated coloring of romance.

The interview lasted more than two hours, when Ferdinand retired to his quarters at Dueñas, as privately as he came. The preliminaries of the marriage, however, were first adjusted; but so great was the poverty of the parties, that it was found necessary to borrow money to defray the expenses of the ceremony.<sup>67</sup> Such were the humiliating circumstances attending the commencement of a union destined to open the way to the highest prosperity and grandeur of the Spanish monarchy!

Their marriage.

The marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella

lante S. A. todas las mugeres que yo he visto, ninguna vi tan graciosa, ni tanto de ver como su persona, ni de tal manera e sanctidad honestisima." Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS.

<sup>66</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 201.—Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. p. 362.—Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 18, cap. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 465.

was publicly celebrated, on the morning of the 19th of October, in the palace of John de Vivero, the temporary residence of the princess, and subsequently appropriated to the chancery of Valladolid. The nuptials were solemnized in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the admiral of Castile, of the archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank, as well as of inferior condition, amounting in all to no less than two thousand.<sup>68</sup> A papal bull of dispensation was produced by the archbishop, relieving the parties from the impediment incurred by their falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This spurious document was afterwards discovered to have been devised by the old king of Aragon, Ferdinand, and the archbishop, who were deterred from applying to the court of Rome by the zeal with which it openly espoused the interests of Henry, and who knew that Isabella would never consent to a union repugnant to the canons of the established church, and one which involved such heavy ecclesiastical censures. A genuine bull of dispensation was obtained, some years later, from Sixtus the Fourth; but Isabella, whose honest mind abhorred every thing like artifice, was filled with no little uneasiness and mortification at the discovery of the imposition.<sup>69</sup> The

<sup>68</sup> Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1469. — Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS., part. 2, cap. 16. — Zurita, Anales, lib. 18, cap. 26. — See a copy of the official record of the marriage, Mem. de la Acad., tom. vi. Apend. 4. See also the Ilust. 2.

<sup>69</sup> The intricacies of this affair, at once the scandal and the stumblingblock of the Spanish historians, have been unravelled by Señor Clemencin, with his usual perspicuity. See Mem. de la Acad., tom. vi. pp. 105-116, Ilust. 2.

PART  
I.

ensuing week was consumed in the usual festivities of this joyous season; at the expiration of which, the new-married pair attended publicly the celebration of mass, agreeably to the usage of the time, in the collegiate church of Sante Maria.<sup>70</sup>

An embassy was despatched by Ferdinand and Isabella to Henry, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and again request his approbation of them. They repeated their assurances of loyal submission, and accompanied the message with a copious extract from such of the articles of marriage, as, by their import, would be most likely to conciliate his favorable disposition. Henry coldly replied, that "he must advise with his ministers."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 16. — A lively narrative of the adventures of Prince Ferdinand, detailed in this chapter, may be found in Cushing's *Reminiscences of Spain*, (Boston, 1833,) vol. i. pp. 225-255.

<sup>71</sup> Castillo, *Crónica*, cap. 137. — Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part 2, cap. 16.

Quincua-  
genas of  
Oviedo.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, author of the "Quincua-genas" frequently cited in this History, was born at Madrid, in 1478. He was of noble Asturian descent. Indeed, every peasant in the Asturias claims nobility as his birth-right. At the age of twelve he was introduced into the royal palace, as one of the pages of Prince John. He continued with the court several years, and was present, though a boy, in the closing campaigns of the Moorish war. In 1514, according to his own statement, he embarked for the Indies, where, although he revisited his

native country several times, he continued during the remainder of his long life. The time of his death is uncertain.

Oviedo occupied several important posts under the government, and he was appointed to one of a literary nature, for which he was well qualified by his long residence abroad; that of historiographer of the Indies. It was in this capacity that he produced his principal work, "Historia General de las Indias," in fifty books. Las Casas denounces the book as a wholesale fabrication, "as full of lies, almost, as pages." (*Ceuvres*, trad. de Llo-



rente, tom. i. p. 382.) But Las Casas entertained too hearty an aversion for the man, whom he publicly accused of rapacity and cruelty, and was too decidedly opposed to his ideas on the government of the Indies, to be a fair critic. Oviedo, though somewhat loose and rambling, possessed extensive stores of information, by which those who have had occasion to follow in his track have liberally profited.

The work with which we are concerned, is his *Quincuagenas*. It is entitled "*Las Quincuagenas de los generosos é ilustres é no menos famosos Reyes, Príncipes, Duques, Marqueses y Condes et Caballeros, et Personas notables de España, que escribió el Capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez, Alcáide de sus Magestades de la Fortaleza de la Cibdad é Puerto de Sancto Domingo de la Isla Española, Coronista de las Indias,*" &c. At the close of the third volume is this record of the octogenarian author; "*Acabé de escribir de mi mano este famoso tractado de la nobleza de España, domingo 1º dia de Páscoa de Pentecostes XXIII. de mayo de 1556 años. Laus Deo. Y de mi edad 79 años.*" This very curious work is in the form of dialogues, in which the author is the chief interlocutor. It contains a very full, and, indeed, precise notice of the principal persons in Spain, their lineage, revenues,

and arms, with an inexhaustible fund of private anecdote. The author, who was well acquainted with most of the individuals of note in his time, amused himself, during his absence in the New World, with keeping alive the images of home by this minute record of early reminiscences. In this mass of gossip, there is a good deal, indeed, of very little value. It contains, however, much for the illustration of domestic manners, and copious particulars, as I have intimated, respecting the characters and habits of eminent personages, which could have been known only to one familiar with them. On all topics of descent and heraldry, he is uncommonly full; and one would think his services in this department alone, might have secured him, in a land where these are so much respected, the honors of the press. His book, however, still remains in manuscript, apparently little known, and less used, by Castilian scholars. Besides the three folio volumes in the Royal Library at Madrid, from which the transcript in my possession was obtained, Clemencin, whose commendations of this work, as illustrative of Isabella's reign, are unqualified, (*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 10.) enumerates three others, two in the king's private library, and one in that of the Academy.

## CHAPTER IV.

FACTIONS IN CASTILE.—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ARAGON.—DEATH OF HENRY IV., OF CASTILE.

1469 — 1474.

Factions in Castile. — Ferdinand and Isabella. — Gallant Defence of Perpignan against the French. — Ferdinand raises the Siege. — Isabella's Party gains Strength. — Interview between King Henry IV. and Isabella. — The French invade Roussillon. — Ferdinand's summary Justice. — Death of Henry IV., of Castile. — Influence of his Reign.

PART  
I.  
Factions in  
Castile.

THE marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella disconcerted the operations of the marquis of Villena, or as he should be styled, the grand master of St. James, since he had resigned his marquisate to his elder son, on his appointment to the command of the military order above mentioned, a dignity inferior only to the primacy in importance. It was determined, however, in the councils of Henry to oppose at once the pretensions of the princess Joanna to those of Isabella; and an embassy was gladly received from the king of France, offering to the former lady the hand of his brother the duke of Guienne, the rejected suitor of Isabella. Louis the Eleventh was willing to engage his relative in the