

unsettled politics of a distant state, in order to relieve himself from his pretensions at home.<sup>1</sup>

CHAPTER  
IV.

1470.

An interview took place between Henry the Fourth and the French ambassadors in a little village in the vale of Lozoya, in October, 1470. A proclamation was read, in which Henry declared his sister to have forfeited whatever claims she had derived from the treaty of Toros de Guisando, by marrying contrary to his approbation. He then with his queen swore to the legitimacy of the princess Joanna, and announced her as his true and lawful successor. The attendant nobles took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the ceremony was concluded by affiancing the princess, then in the ninth year of her age, with the formalities ordinarily practised on such occasions, to the count of Boulogne, the representative of the duke of Guienne.<sup>2</sup>

This farce, in which many of the actors were the same persons who performed the principal parts at the convention of Toros de Guisando, had on the whole an unfavorable influence on Isabella's cause. It exhibited her rival to the world as one whose

<sup>1</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 21. — Gaillard, *Rivalité*, tom. iii. p. 284. — Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, fol. 65. — Caro de Torres, *Ordenes Militares*, fol. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23. — Castillo, *Crónica*, p. 298. — Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 24. — Henry, well knowing how little all this would avail without the constitutional sanction of the cortes, twice issued his summons

in 1470 for the convocation of the deputies, to obtain a recognition of the title of Joanna. But without effect. In the letters of convocation issued for a third assembly of the states, in 1471, this purpose was prudently omitted, and thus the claims of Joanna failed to receive the countenance of the only body which could give them validity. See the copies of the original writs, addressed to the cities of Toledo and Segovia, cited by Marina, *Teoría*, tom. ii. pp. 87-89.

PART  
I.

claims were to be supported by the whole authority of the court of Castile, with the probable coöperation of France. Many of the most considerable families in the kingdom, as the Pachecos,<sup>3</sup> the Mendozas in all their extensive ramifications,<sup>4</sup> the Zuñigas, the Velascos,<sup>5</sup> the Pimentels,<sup>6</sup> unmindful of the homage so recently rendered to Isabella, now openly testified their adhesion to her niece.

Ferdinand  
and Isabella.

Ferdinand and his consort, who held their little court at Dueñas,<sup>7</sup> were so poor as to be scarcely capable of defraying the ordinary charges of their table. The northern provinces of Biscay and Guipuscoa had, however, loudly declared against the French match; and the populous province of Andalusia, with the house of Medina Sidonia at its head, still maintained its loyalty to Isabella unshaken. But her principal reliance was on the archbishop of Toledo, whose elevated station in the church and ample

<sup>3</sup> The grand master of St. James, and his son, the marquis of Villena, afterwards duke of Escalona. The rents of the former nobleman, whose avarice was as insatiable, as his influence over the feeble mind of Henry IV. was unlimited, exceeded those of any other grandee in the kingdom. See Pulgar, *Claros Varones*, tit. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The marquis of Santillana, first duke of Infantado, and his brothers, the counts of Coruña, and of Tendilla, and above all Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, afterwards cardinal of Spain, and archbishop of Toledo, who was indebted for the highest dignities in the church less to his birth than his abilities. See *Claros Varones*, tit. 4, 9. — Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Alvaro de Zuñiga, count of Palencia, and created by Henry IV. duke of Arevalo. — Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, count of Haro, was raised to the post of constable of Castile in 1473, and the office continued to be hereditary in the family from that period. Pulgar, *Claros Varones*, tit. 3. — Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, lib. 3, cap. 21.

<sup>6</sup> The Pimentels, counts of Benavente, had estates which gave them 60,000 ducats a year; a very large income for that period, and far exceeding that of any other grandee of similar rank in the kingdom. L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 70.

revenues gave him perhaps less real influence, than his commanding and resolute character, which had enabled him to triumph over every obstacle devised by his more crafty adversary, the grand master of St. James. The prelate, however, with all his generous self-devotion, was far from being a comfortable ally. He would willingly have raised Isabella to the throne, but he would have her indebted for her elevation exclusively to himself. He looked with a jealous eye on her most intimate friends, and complained that neither she nor her husband deferred sufficiently to his counsel. The princess could not always conceal her disgust at these humors, and Ferdinand, on one occasion, plainly told him that "he was not to be put in leading-strings, like so many of the sovereigns of Castile." The old king of Aragon, alarmed at the consequences of a rupture with so indispensable an ally, wrote in the most earnest manner to his son, representing the necessity of propitiating the offended prelate. But Ferdinand, although educated in the school of dissimulation, had not yet acquired that self-command, which enabled him in after-life to sacrifice his passions, and sometimes indeed his principles, to his interests.<sup>8</sup>

The most frightful anarchy at this period prevailed throughout Castile. While the court was abandoned to corrupt or frivolous pleasure, the administration of justice was neglected, until crimes

Civil anarchy.

<sup>8</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 170.—Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS., cap. 45.

PART  
I.

were committed with a frequency and on a scale, which menaced the very foundations of society. The nobles conducted their personal feuds with an array of numbers which might compete with those of powerful princes. The duke of Infantado, the head of the house of Mendoza,<sup>9</sup> could bring into the field, at four and twenty hours' notice, one thousand lances and ten thousand foot. The battles, far from assuming the character of those waged by the Italian *condottieri* at this period, were of the most sanguinary and destructive kind. Andalusia was in particular the theatre of this savage warfare. The whole of that extensive district was divided by the factions of the Guzmans and Ponces de Leon. The chiefs of these ancient houses having recently died, the inheritance descended to young men, whose hot blood soon revived the feuds, which had been permitted to cool under the temperate sway of their fathers. One of these fiery cavaliers was Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, so deservedly celebrated afterwards in the wars of Granada as the marquis of Cadiz. He was an illegitimate and younger son of the count of Arcos, but was preferred by his father to his other children in consequence of the extraordinary qualities which he evinced at a very early period. He served his apprenticeship to the art of war in the campaigns

<sup>9</sup> This nobleman, Diego Hurtado, "muy gentil caballero y gran señor," as Oviedo calls him, was at this time only marquis of Santillana, and was not raised to the title of duke of Infantado till the reign of Isabella, (Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8.) To avoid confusion, however, I have given him the title by which he is usually recognised by Castilian writers.

against the Moors, displaying on several occasions an uncommon degree of enterprise and personal heroism. On succeeding to his paternal honors, his haughty spirit, impatient of a rival, led him to revive the old feud with the duke of Medina Sidonia, the head of the Guzmans, who, though the most powerful nobleman in Andalusia, was far his inferior in capacity and military science.<sup>10</sup>

On one occasion the duke of Medina Sidonia mustered an army of twenty thousand men against his antagonist; on another, no less than fifteen hundred houses of the Ponce faction were burnt to the ground in Seville. Such were the potent engines employed by these petty sovereigns in their conflicts with one another, and such the havoc which they brought on the fairest portion of the Peninsula. The husbandman, stripped of his harvest and driven from his fields, abandoned himself to idleness, or sought subsistence by plunder. A scarcity ensued in the years 1472 and 1473, in which the prices of the most necessary commodities rose to such an exorbitant height, as put them beyond the reach of any but the affluent. But it would be wearisome to go into all the loathsome details of wretchedness and crime brought on this unhappy country by an imbecile government and a disputed succession, and which are portrayed with

<sup>10</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 3. — Salazar de Mendoza, *Crónica de el Gran Cardenal de España*, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, (Toledo, 1625,) pp. 138, 150. — Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, p. 362.

PART  
I.

Revolt of  
Roussillon  
from Louis  
XI.

lively fidelity in the chronicles, the letters, and the satires of the time.<sup>11</sup>

While Ferdinand's presence was more than ever necessary to support the drooping spirits of his party in Castile, he was unexpectedly summoned into Aragon to the assistance of his father. No sooner had Barcelona submitted to king John, as mentioned in a preceding chapter,<sup>12</sup> than the inhabitants of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which provinces, it will be remembered, were placed in the custody of France, as a guaranty for the king of Aragon's engagements, oppressed by the grievous exactions of their new rulers, determined to break the yoke, and to put themselves again under the protection of their ancient master, provided they could obtain his support. The opportunity was favorable. A large part of the garrisons in the principal cities had been withdrawn by Louis the Eleventh, to cover the frontier on the side of

<sup>11</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 4, 5, 7. — Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, pp. 363, 364. — Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., part. 2, cap. 35, 38, 39, 42. — Saez, *Monedas de Enrique IV.*, pp. 1-5. — Pulgar, in an epistle addressed, in the autumn of 1473, to the bishop of Coria, adverts to several circumstances which set in a strong light the anarchical state of the kingdom and the total deficiency of police. The celebrated satirical eclogue, also, entitled "Mingo Revulgo," exposes, with coarse but cutting sarcasm, the license of the court, the corruption of the clergy, and the prevalent depravity of the people. In one of its stanzas it boldly ventures to promise another

and a better sovereign to the country. This performance, even more interesting to the antiquarian than to the historian, has been attributed by some to Pulgar, (see Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 475,) and by others to Rodrigo Cota, (see Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 264,) but without satisfactory evidence in favor of either. Bouterwek is much mistaken in asserting it to have been aimed at the government of John II. The gloss of Pulgar, whose authority as a contemporary must be considered decisive, plainly proves it to have been directed against Henry IV.

<sup>12</sup> See Chap. II.

Burgundy and Brittany. John, therefore, gladly embraced the proposal; and on a concerted day a simultaneous insurrection took place throughout the provinces, when such of the French, in the principal towns, as had not the good fortune to escape into the citadels, were indiscriminately massacred. Of all the country, Salces, Collioure, and the castle of Perpignan alone remained in the hands of the French. John then threw himself into the last-named city with a small body of forces, and instantly set about the construction of works to protect the inhabitants against the fire of the French garrison in the castle, as well as from the army which might soon be expected to besiege them from without.<sup>13</sup>

Louis the Eleventh, deeply incensed at the defection of his new subjects, ordered the most formidable preparations for the siege of their capital. John's officers, alarmed at these preparations, besought him not to expose his person at his advanced age to the perils of a siege and of captivity. But the lion-hearted monarch saw the necessity of animating the spirits of the besieged by his own presence; and, assembling the inhabitants in one of the churches of the city, he exhorted them resolutely to stand to their defence, and made a solemn oath to abide the issue with them to the last.

Louis, in the mean while, had convoked the *ban*.

<sup>13</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Corónica*, MS., cap. 56. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 481. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 191. — Ba-

rante, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, (Paris, 1825,) tom. ix. pp. 101 - 106.

PART  
I.

Gallant de-  
fence of Per-  
pignan.

and *arrière-ban* of the contiguous French provinces, and mustered an array of chivalry and feudal militia, amounting, according to the Spanish historians, to thirty thousand men. With these ample forces, his lieutenant-general, the duke of Savoy, closely invested Perpignan; and, as he was provided with a numerous train of battering artillery, instantly opened a heavy fire on the inhabitants. John, thus exposed to the double fire of the fortress and the besiegers, was in a very critical situation. Far from being disheartened, however, he was seen, armed cap-a-pie, on horseback from dawn till evening, rallying the spirits of his troops, and always present at the point of danger. He succeeded perfectly in communicating his own enthusiasm to the soldiers. The French garrison were defeated in several sorties, and their governor taken prisoner; while supplies were introduced into the city in the very face of the blockading army.<sup>14</sup>

Ferdinand  
raises the  
siege.

Ferdinand, on receiving intelligence of his father's perilous situation, instantly resolved, by Isabella's advice, to march to his relief. Putting himself at the head of a body of Castilian horse, generously furnished him by the archbishop of Toledo and his friends, he passed into Aragon, where he was speedily joined by the principal nobility of the kingdom, and an army amounting in all to thirteen hundred lances and seven thousand infan-

<sup>14</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, MS., cap. 70. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 482. — L. Marino, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 148. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. fol. 195. — Anquetil, *Histoire de France*, (Paris, 1805,) tom. v. pp. 60, 61.



try. With this corps he rapidly descended the Pyrenees, by the way of Mançanara, in the face of a driving tempest, which concealed him for some time from the view of the enemy. The latter, during their protracted operations, for nearly three months, had sustained a serious diminution of numbers in their repeated skirmishes with the besieged, and still more from an epidemic which broke out in their camp. They also began to suffer not a little from want of provisions. At this crisis, the apparition of this new army, thus unexpectedly descending on their rear, filled them with such consternation, that they raised the siege at once, setting fire to their tents, and retreating with such precipitation as to leave most of the sick and wounded a prey to the devouring element. John marched out, with colors flying and music playing, at the head of his little band, to greet his deliverers; and, after an affecting interview in the presence of the two armies, the father and son returned in triumph into Perpignan.<sup>15</sup>

The French army, reinforced by command of Louis, made a second ineffectual attempt (their own writers call it only a feint) upon the city; and the campaign was finally concluded by a treaty between the two monarchs, in which it was arranged, that the king of Aragon should disburse within the year the sum originally stipulated for the services rendered him by Louis in his late war with his

Treaty  
between  
France and  
Aragon.

1473.  
Sept.

<sup>15</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 106.—L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 149.—Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS., cap. 70, 71, 72.

— Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, tom. x. pp. 105,

PART  
I

Catalan subjects; and that, in case of failure, the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne should be permanently ceded to the French crown. The commanders of the fortified places in the contested territory, selected by one monarch from the nominations of the other, were excused during the interim from obedience to the mandates of either; at least so far as they might contravene their reciprocal engagements.<sup>16</sup>

There is little reason to believe that this singular compact was subscribed in good faith by either party. John, notwithstanding the temporary succour which he had received from Louis at the commencement of his difficulties with the Catalans, might justly complain of the infraction of his engagements, at a subsequent period of the war; when he not only withheld the stipulated aid, but indirectly gave every facility in his power to the invasion of the duke of Lorraine. Neither was the king of Aragon in a situation, had he been disposed, to make the requisite disbursements. Louis, on the other hand, as the event soon proved, had no other object in view but to gain time to reorganize his army, and to lull his adversary into security, while he took effectual measures for recovering the prize which had so unexpectedly eluded him.

Isabella's party gains strength.

During these occurrences Isabella's prospects were daily brightening in Castile. The duke of

<sup>16</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 200. — Gaillard, Rivalité, tom. iii. p. 266. — See the articles of the treaty cited by Duclos, Hist. de

Louis XI., tom. ii. pp. 99, 101. — Alonso de Palencia, Corónica, MS., cap. 73.