

to the church of St. Paul in the suburbs, in which she herself joined, walking barefoot with all humility, and offered up a devout thanksgiving to the God of battles for the victory with which he had crowned her arms.²⁵

It was indeed a most auspicious victory, not so much from the immediate loss inflicted on the enemy, as from its moral influence on the Castilian nation. Such as had before vacillated in their faith, who, in the expressive language of Bernaldez, "estaban aviva quien vence," — who were prepared to take sides with the strongest, now openly proclaimed their allegiance to Ferdinand and Isabella; while most of those, who had been arrayed in arms, or had manifested by any other overt act their hostility to the government, vied with each other in demonstrations of the most loyal submission, and sought to make the best terms for themselves which they could. Among these latter, the duke of Arevalo, who indeed had made overtures to this effect some time previous through the agency of his son, together with the grand master of Calatrava, and the count of Urueña, his brother, experienced the lenity of government, and were confirmed in the entire possession of their estates. The two principal delinquents, the marquis of Villena and the archbishop of Toledo, made a show of resistance for some time longer; but, after

Submission
of the whole
kingdom.

²⁵ Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 90. — The sovereigns, in compliance with a previous vow, caused a superb monastery, dedicated to St. Francis, to be erected in To-

do, with the title of San Juan de los Reyes, in commemoration of their victory over the Portuguese. This edifice was still to be seen in Mariana's time.

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witnessing the demolition of their castles, the capture of their towns, the desertion of their vassals, and the sequestration of their revenues, were fain to purchase a pardon at the price of the most humble concessions, and the forfeiture of an ample portion of domain.

The castle of Zamora, expecting no further succours from Portugal, speedily surrendered, and this event was soon followed by the reduction of Madrid, Baeza, Toro, and other principal cities; so that, in little more than six months from the date of the battle, the whole kingdom, with the exception of a few insignificant posts still garrisoned by the enemy, had acknowledged the supremacy of Ferdinand and Isabella.²⁶

Soon after the victory of Toro, Ferdinand was enabled to concentrate a force amounting to fifty thousand men, for the purpose of repelling the French from Guipuscoa, from which they had already twice been driven by the intrepid natives, and whence they again retired with precipitation on receiving news of the king's approach.²⁷

Alfonso, finding his authority in Castile thus rapidly melting away before the rising influence of Ferdinand and Isabella, withdrew with his virgin bride into Portugal, where he formed the resolution

The King of
Portugal vis-
its France.

²⁶ Rades y Andrada, *Las Tres Ordenes*, tom. ii. fol. 79, 80.—Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 48-50, 55, 60.—Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 19, cap. 46, 48, 54, 58.—Ferrerías, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. pp. 476-478, 517-519, 546.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 10.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8.

²⁷ Gaillard, *Rivalité*, tom. iii. pp. 290-292.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 76.

of visiting France in person, and soliciting succour from his ancient ally, Louis the Eleventh. In spite of every remonstrance, he put this extraordinary scheme into execution. He reached France, with a retinue of two hundred followers, in the month of September. He experienced everywhere the honors due to his exalted rank, and to the signal mark of confidence, which he thus exhibited towards the French king. The keys of the cities were delivered into his hands, the prisoners were released from their dungeons, and his progress was attended by a general jubilee. His brother monarch, however, excused himself from affording more substantial proofs of his regard, until he should have closed the war then pending between him and Burgundy, and until Alfonso should have fortified his title to the Castilian crown, by obtaining from the pope a dispensation for his marriage with Joanna.

The defeat and death of the duke of Burgundy, whose camp, before Nanci, Alfonso visited in the depth of winter, with the chimerical purpose of effecting a reconciliation between him and Louis, removed the former of these impediments; as, in good time, the compliance of the pope did the latter. But the king of Portugal found himself no nearer the object of his negotiations; and, after waiting a whole year a needy supplicant at the court of Louis, he at length ascertained that his insidious host was concerting an arrangement with his mortal foes, Ferdinand and Isabella. Alfonso, whose character always had a spice of Quixotism

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in it, seems to have completely lost his wits at this last reverse of fortune. Overwhelmed with shame at his own credulity, he felt himself unable to encounter the ridicule which awaited his return to Portugal, and secretly withdrew, with two or three domestics only, to an obscure village in Normandy, whence he transmitted an epistle to Prince John, his son, declaring, "that, as all earthly vanities were dead within his bosom, he resolved to lay up an imperishable crown by performing a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and devoting himself to the service of God, in some retired monastery;" and he concluded with requesting his son "to assume the sovereignty, at once, in the same manner as if he had heard of his father's death."²⁸

Fortunately Alfonso's retreat was detected before he had time to put his extravagant project in execution, and his trusty followers succeeded, though with considerable difficulty, in diverting him from it; while the king of France, willing to be rid of his importunate guest, and unwilling perhaps to incur the odium of having driven him to so desperate an extremity as that of his projected pilgrimage, provided a fleet of ships to transport him back to his own dominions, where, to complete the farce, he arrived just five days after the ceremony of his son's coronation as king of Portugal. Nor was it destined that the luckless monarch

Returns to
Portugal.

1478.
Nov. 15.

²⁸ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 27. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 56, 57. — Gaillard, Rivalité, tom. iii. pp. 290-292. — Zurita, Anales, lib. 19, cap. 56, lib.

20, cap. 10. — Ruy de Pina, Chron. d'el Rey Alfonso V., cap. 194-202. — Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. pp. 412-415. — Comines, Mémoires, liv. 5, chap. 7.

should solace himself, as he had hoped, in the arms of his youthful bride; since the pliant pontiff, Sixtus the Fourth, was ultimately persuaded by the court of Castile to issue a new bull overruling the dispensation formerly conceded, on the ground that it had been obtained by a misrepresentation of facts.

Prince John, whether influenced by filial piety, or prudence, resigned the crown of Portugal to his father, soon after his return;²⁹ and the old monarch was no sooner reinstated in his authority, than, burning with a thirst for vengeance, which made him insensible to every remonstrance, he again prepared to throw his country into combustion by reviving his enterprise against Castile.³⁰

While these hostile movements were in progress, Ferdinand, leaving his consort in possession of a sufficient force for the protection of the frontiers, made a journey into Biscay for the purpose of an interview with his father, the king of Aragon, to concert measures for the pacification of Navarre, which still continued to be rent with those sanguinary feuds, that were bequeathed like a precious

Peace with
France.

1478.

²⁹ According to Faria y Sousa, John was walking along the shores of the Tagus, with the duke of Braganza, and the cardinal, archbishop of Lisbon, when he received the unexpected tidings of his father's return to Portugal. On his inquiring of his attendants, how he should receive him, "How but as your king and father!" was the reply; at which John, knitting his brows together, skimmed a stone, which he held in his hand, with much violence across the water. The cardinal, observing this, whis-

pered to the duke of Braganza, "I will take good care that that stone does not rebound on me." Soon after, he left Portugal for Rome, where he fixed his residence. The duke lost his life on the scaffold for imputed treason, soon after John's accession. — *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 416.

³⁰ Comines, *Mémoires*, liv. 5, chap. 7. — Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 116. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 20, cap. 25. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 27.

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legacy from one generation to another.³¹ In the autumn of the same year a treaty of peace was definitively adjusted between the plenipotentiaries of Castile and France, at St. Jean de Luz, in which it was stipulated as a principal article, that Louis the Eleventh should disconnect himself from his alliance with Portugal, and give no further support to the pretensions of Joanna.³²

Active measures of Isabella.

Thus released from apprehension in this quarter, the sovereigns were enabled to give their undivided attention to the defence of the western borders. Isabella, accordingly, early in the ensuing winter, passed into Estremadura for the purpose of repelling the Portuguese, and still more of suppressing the insurrectionary movements of certain of her own subjects, who, encouraged by the vicinity of Portugal, carried on from their private fortresses a most desolating and predatory warfare over the circumjacent territory. Private mansions and farm-houses were pillaged and burnt to the ground, the cattle and crops swept away in their forays, the highways beset, so that all travelling was at an end, all communication cut off, and a rich and populous

³¹ This was the first meeting between father and son since the elevation of the latter to the Castilian throne. King John would not allow Ferdinand to kiss his hand; he chose to walk on his left; he attended him to his quarters, and, in short, during the whole twenty days of their conference, manifested towards his son all the deference, which, as a parent, he was entitled to receive from him. This he did on the

ground that Ferdinand, as king of Castile, represented the elder branch of Trastamara, while he represented only the younger. It will not be easy to meet with an instance of more punctilious etiquette, even in Spanish history. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 75.

³² Salazar de Mendoza, *Crón. del Gran Cardenal*, p. 162. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 20, cap. 25. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 79.

district converted at once into a desert. Isabella, supported by a body of regular troops and a detachment of the Holy Brotherhood, took her station at Truxillo, as a central position, whence she might operate on the various points with greatest facility. Her counsellors remonstrated against this exposure of her person in the very heart of the disaffected country; but she replied that "it was not for her to calculate perils or fatigues in her own cause, nor by an unseasonable timidity to dishearten her friends, with whom she was now resolved to remain until she had brought the war to a conclusion." She then gave immediate orders for laying siege at the same time to the fortified towns of Medellin, Merida, and Deleytosa.

At this juncture the infanta Doña Beatriz of Portugal, sister-in-law of king Alfonso, and maternal aunt of Isabella, touched with grief at the calamities, in which she saw her country involved by the chimerical ambition of her brother, offered herself as the mediator of peace between the belligerent nations. Agreeably to her proposal, an interview took place between her and queen Isabella at the frontier town of Alcantara. As the conferences of the fair negotiators experienced none of the embarrassments usually incident to such deliberations, growing out of jealousy, distrust, and a mutual design to overreach, but were conducted in perfect good faith, and a sincere desire, on both sides, of establishing a cordial reconciliation, they resulted, after eight days' discussion, in a treaty of peace, with which the Portuguese infanta returned into

Treaty of
peace with
Portugal.

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Sept. 24.

her own country, in order to obtain the sanction of her royal brother. The articles contained in it, however, were too unpalatable to receive an immediate assent; and it was not until the expiration of six months, during which Isabella, far from relaxing, persevered with increased energy in her original plan of operations, that the treaty was formally ratified by the court of Lisbon.³³

It was stipulated in this compact, that Alfonso should relinquish the title and armorial bearings, which he had assumed as king of Castile; that he should resign his claims to the hand of Joanna, and no longer maintain her pretensions to the Castilian throne; that that lady should make the election within six months, either to quit Portugal for ever, or to remain there on the condition of wedding Don John, the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella,³⁴ so soon as he should attain a marriageable age, or to retire into a convent, and take the veil; that a general amnesty should be granted to all such Castilians as had supported Joanna's cause; and, finally, that the concord between the two nations should be cemented by the union of Alonso, son of the prince of Portugal, with the infanta Isabella, of Castile.³⁵

³³ Ruy de Pina, *Chrón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 206. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 166, 167. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 85, 89, 90. — Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 420, 421. — Ferreras; *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. p. 538. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 79. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 28, 36, 37.

³⁴ Born the preceding year, June 28th, 1478. Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., anno eodem.

³⁵ L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 168. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 91. — Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 420, 421. — Ruy de Pina, *Chrón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 206.

Thus terminated, after a duration of four years and a half, the War of the Succession. It had fallen with peculiar fury on the border provinces of Leon and Estremadura, which, from their local position, had necessarily been kept in constant collision with the enemy. Its baneful effects were long visible there, not only in the general devastation and distress of the country, but in the moral disorganization, which the licentious and predatory habits of soldiers necessarily introduced among a simple peasantry. In a personal view, however, the war had terminated most triumphantly for Isabella, whose wise and vigorous administration, seconded by her husband's vigilance, had dispelled the storm, which threatened to overwhelm her from abroad, and established her in undisturbed possession of the throne of her ancestors.

Joanna's interests were alone compromised, or rather sacrificed, by the treaty. She readily discerned in the provision for her marriage with an infant still in the cradle, only a flimsy veil intended to disguise the king of Portugal's desertion of her cause. Disgusted with a world, in which she had hitherto experienced nothing but misfortune herself, and been the innocent cause of so much to others, she determined to renounce it for ever, and seek a shelter in the peaceful shades of the cloister. She accordingly entered the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra, where, in the following year, she pronounced the irrevocable vows, which divorce the unhappy subject of them for ever from her species. Two envoys from Castile, Ferdinand de Talavera,

Joanna takes
the veil.

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Isabella's confessor, and Dr. Diaz de Madrigal, one of her council, assisted at this affecting ceremony; and the reverend father, in a copious exhortation addressed to the youthful novice, assured her "that she had chosen the better part approved in the Evangelists; that, as spouse of the church, her chastity would be prolific of all spiritual delights; her subjection, liberty, — the only true liberty, partaking more of Heaven than of earth. No kinsman," continued the disinterested preacher, "no true friend, or faithful counsellor, would divert you from so holy a purpose."³⁶

Death of the
king of
Portugal.

Not long after this event, King Alfonso, penetrated with grief at the loss of his destined bride, — the "excellent lady," as the Portuguese continue to call her, — resolved to imitate her example, and exchange his royal robes for the humble habit of a Franciscan friar. He consequently made preparation for resigning his crown anew, and retiring to

³⁶ Ruy de Pina, *Chrón. d'el Rey Alfonso V.*, cap. 20. — Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 421. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 92. — L. Marineo speaks of the *Señora muy excelente*, as an inmate of the cloister at the period in which he was writing, 1522. (fol. 168.) Notwithstanding her "irrevocable vows," however, Joanna several times quitted the monastery, and maintained a royal state under the protection of the Portuguese monarchs, who occasionally threatened to revive her dormant claims to the prejudice of the Castilian sovereigns. She may be said, consequently, to have formed the pivot, on which turned, during her whole life, the diplomatic relations

between the courts of Castile and Portugal, and to have been a principal cause of those frequent intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries, by which Ferdinand and Isabella hoped to detach the Portuguese crown from her interests. Joanna affected a royal style and magnificence, and subscribed herself "I the Queen," to the last. She died in the palace at Lisbon, in 1530, in the 69th year of her age, having survived most of her ancient friends, suitors, and competitors. — Joanna's history, subsequent to her taking the veil, has been collected, with his usual precision, by Señor Clemencin, *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi., Ilust. 19.