

CHAPTER IV.

ALLIANCES OF THE ROYAL FAMILY. — DEATH OF PRINCE JOHN AND PRINCESS ISABELLA.

Royal Family of Castile. — Matrimonial Alliances with Portugal. — With Austria. — Marriage of John and Margaret. — Death of Prince John. — The Queen's Resignation. — Independence of the Cortes of Aragon. — Death of the Princess Isabella. — Recognition of her infant Son Miguel.

THE credit and authority which the Castilian sovereigns established by the success of their arms, were greatly raised by the matrimonial connexions which they formed for their children. This was too important a spring of their policy to be passed over in silence. Their family consisted of one son and four daughters, whom they carefully educated in a manner befitting their high rank; and who repaid their solicitude by exemplary filial obedience, and the early manifestation of virtues rare even in a private station.¹ They seem to have inherited many of the qualities which distinguished their

CHAPTER
IV.

Royal family
of Castile.

¹ The princess Doña Isabel, the eldest daughter, was born at Dueñas, October 1st, 1470. Their second child and only son, Juan, prince of the Asturias, was not born until eight years later, June 30th, 1478, at Seville. Doña Juana, whom the queen used playfully to call her "mother-in-law," *suegra*, from her resemblance to King Ferdinand's mother, was born at Toledo, November 6th, 1479. Doña Maria was born at Cordova, in 1482, and Doña Catalina, the fifth and last child, at Alcalá de Henares, December 5th, 1485. The daughters all lived to reign; but their brilliant destinies were clouded with domestic afflictions, from which royalty could afford no refuge. Carbajal, Anales, MS., loc. mult.

PART
II.

illustrious mother; great decorum and dignity of manners, combined with ardent sensibilities, and unaffected piety, which, at least in the eldest and favorite daughter, Isabella, was, unhappily, strongly tinged with bigotry. They could not, indeed, pretend to their mother's comprehensive mind, and talent for business, although there seems to have been no deficiency in these respects; or, if any, it was most effectually supplied by their excellent education.²

Joanna
Beltraneja.

The marriage of the princess Isabella with Alonso, the heir of the Portuguese crown, in 1490, has been already noticed. This had been eagerly desired by her parents, not only for the possible contingency, which it afforded, of bringing the various monarchies of the Peninsula under one head, (a design of which they never wholly lost sight,) but from the wish to conciliate a formidable neighbour, who possessed various means of annoyance, which he had shown no reluctance to exert. The reigning monarch, John the Second, a bold and crafty prince, had never forgotten his ancient quarrel with the Spanish sovereigns in support of their rival Joanna Beltraneja, or Joanna the Nun, as she was generally called in the Castilian court after she had taken the veil. John, in open contempt of the treaty of Alcantara, and indeed of all monastic rule, had not only removed his relative from the convent of Santa Clara, but had permitted her to assume a royal

² The only exception to these eccentricities, developed in later life, must be imputed, indeed, to infanta Joanna, whose unfortunate bodily infirmity.

state, and subscribe herself "I the Queen." This empty insult he accompanied with more serious efforts to form such a foreign alliance for the liberated princess as should secure her the support of some arm more powerful than his own, and enable her to renew the struggle for her inheritance with better chance of success.³ These flagrant proceedings had provoked the admonitions of the Roman see, and had formed the topic, as may be believed, of repeated, though ineffectual remonstrance from the court of Castile.⁴

It seemed probable that the union of the princess of the Asturias with the heir of Portugal, as originally provided by the treaty of Alcantara, would so far identify the interests of the respective parties as to remove all further cause of disquietude. The new bride was received in Portugal in a spirit which gave cordial assurance of these friendly relations for the future; and the court of Lisbon celebrated the auspicious nuptials with the gorgeous magnificence, for which, at this period of its successful enterprise, it was distinguished above every other court in Christendom.⁵

Marriage of
the princess
Isabella.

1490.
Nov. 22.

³ Nine different matches were proposed for Joanna in the course of her life; but they all vanished into air, and "the excellent lady," as she was usually called by the Portuguese, died as she had lived, in single blessedness, at the ripe age of sixty-eight. In the *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi., the 19th Illustracion is devoted to this topic, in regard to which father Florez shows sufficient ignorance, or inaccuracy. *Reynas Cathólicas*, tom. ii. p. 780.

⁴ Instructions relating to this matter, written with the queen's own hand, still exist in the archives of Simancas. *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, ubi supra.

⁵ La Clède, *Histoire de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 100.

The Portuguese historian, Faria y Sousa, expends half a dozen folio pages on these royal revelries, which cost six months' preparation, and taxed the wits of the most finished artists and artificers in France, England, Flanders, Cas-

PART
II.
Death of her
husband.

Alonso's death, a few months after this event, however, blighted the fair hopes which had begun to open of a more friendly feeling between the two countries. His unfortunate widow, unable to endure the scenes of her short-lived happiness, soon withdrew into her own country to seek such consolation as she could find in the bosom of her family. There, abandoning herself to the melancholy regrets to which her serious and pensive temper naturally disposed her, she devoted her hours to works of piety and benevolence, resolved to enter no more into engagements, which had thrown so dark a cloud over the morning of her life.⁶

On King John's death, in 1495, the crown of Portugal devolved on Emanuel, that enlightened monarch, who had the glory in the very commencement of his reign of solving the grand problem, which had so long perplexed the world, of the existence of an undiscovered passage to the east. This prince had conceived a passion for the young and beautiful Isabella during her brief residence in Lisbon; and, soon after his accession to the throne, he despatched an embassy to the Spanish court inviting her to share it with him. But the princess, wedded to the memory of her early love, declined the proposals, notwithstanding they were strongly seconded by the wishes of her parents, who, how-

tile, and Portugal. (*Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 452 et seq.) We see, throughout, the same luxury of spectacle, the same elegant games of chivalry, as the tilt of reeds, the rings, and the like,

which the Castilians adopted from the Spanish Arabs.

⁶ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. fol. 38. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 312

ever, were unwilling to constrain their daughter's inclinations on so delicate a point, trusting perhaps to the effects of time, and the perseverance of her royal suitor.⁷

In the mean while, the Catholic sovereigns were occupied with negotiations for the settlement of the other members of their family. The ambitious schemes of Charles the Eighth established a community of interests among the great European states, such as had never before existed, or, at least, been understood; and the intimate relations thus introduced naturally led to intermarriages between the principal powers, who, until this period seem to have been severed almost as far asunder as if oceans had rolled between them. The Spanish monarchs, in particular, had rarely gone beyond the limits of the Peninsula for their family alliances. The new confederacy into which Spain had entered, now opened the way to more remote connexions, which were destined to exercise a permanent influence on the future politics of Europe. It was while Charles the Eighth was wasting his time at Naples, that the marriages were arranged be-

⁷ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. fol. 78, 82. — La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 95. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 146.

Martyr, in a letter written at the close of 1496, thus speaks of the princess Isabella's faithful attachment to her husband's memory; "Mira fuit hujus femine in abjiciendis secundis nuptiis constantia. Tanta est ejus modestia, tanta vi-

dualis castitas, ut nec mensâ post mariti mortem comederit, nec lauti quicquam degustaverit. Jejunii sese vigiliisque ita maceravit, ut sicco stipite siccior sit effecta. Sufulta rubore perturbatur, quando-cunque de jugali thalamo sermo intexitur. Parentum tamen aliquando precibus, veluti olfacimus, infectetur. Viget fama, futuram vestri regis Emmanuelis uxorem." Epist. 171.

PART
II.

tween the royal houses of Spain and Austria, by which the weight of these great powers was thrown into the same scale, and the balance of Europe unsettled for the greater part of the following century.⁸

Alliances
with the
house of
Austria.

The treaty provided, that Prince John, the heir of the Spanish monarchies, then in his eighteenth year, should be united with the princess Margaret, daughter of the emperor Maximilian; and that the archduke Philip, his son and heir, and sovereign of the Low Countries in his mother's right, should marry Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. No dowry was to be required with either princess.⁹

And that of
England.

In the course of the following year, arrangements were also concluded for the marriage of the youngest daughter of the Castilian sovereigns with a prince of the royal house of England, the first example of the kind for more than a century.¹⁰ Ferdinand had cultivated the good-will of Henry the Seventh, in the hope of drawing him into the confederacy against the French monarch; and in

⁸ Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. v. fol. 63.

⁹ Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. v. lib. 2, cap. 5. — Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 160.

¹⁰ I believe there is no instance of such a union, save that of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with Doña Constanza, daughter of Peter the Cruel, in 1371, from whom Queen Isabella was lineally descended on the father's side.

The title of *Prince of the Asturias*, appropriated to the heir ap-

parent of Castile, was first created for the infant Don Henry, afterwards Henry III., on occasion of his marriage with John of Gaunt's daughter, in 1388. It was professedly in imitation of the English title of Prince of Wales; and the Asturias were selected as that portion of the ancient Gothic monarchy, which had never bowed beneath the Saracen yoke. Florez, Reynas Cathólicas, tom. ii. pp. 708 — 715. — Mendoza, Dignidades, lib. 3, cap. 23.

this had not wholly failed, although the wary king seems to have come into it rather as a silent partner, if we may so say, than with the intention of affording any open or very active coöperation.¹¹

The relations of amity between the two courts were still further strengthened by the treaty of marriage above alluded to, finally adjusted October 1st, 1496, and ratified the following year, between Arthur, prince of Wales, and the infanta Doña Catalina, conspicuous in English history, equally for her misfortunes and her virtues, as Catharine of Aragon.¹²

The French viewed with no little jealousy the progress of these various negotiations, which they zealously endeavoured to thwart by all the artifices of diplomacy. But King Ferdinand had sufficient address to secure in his interests persons of the highest credit at the courts of Henry and Maximil-

¹¹ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, lib. 2, cap. 25.—Rymer, *Fœdera*, (London, 1727), vol. xii. pp. 638-642.

Ferdinand used his good offices to mediate a peace between Henry VII. and the king of Scots; and it is a proof of the respect entertained for him by both these monarchs, that they agreed to refer their disputes to his arbitration. (Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 671.) "And so," says the old chronicler Hall, of the English prince, "being confederate and alied by treatie and league with al his neighbors, he gratified with his moost heartie thanks kyng Ferdinand and the quene his wife, to which woman none other was comparable in her tyme, for that they were the mediators, organes, and instrumentes by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottish kyng and him, and rewarded his ambassa-

doure moost liberally and bountefully." Chronicle, p. 483.

¹² See the marriage treaty in Rymer. (*Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 658-666.) The marriage had been arranged between the Spanish and English courts as far back as March, 1489, when the elder of the parties had not yet reached the fifth year of her age. This was confirmed by another, more full and definite, in the following year, 1490. By this treaty, it was stipulated, that Catharine's portion should be 200,000 gold crowns, one half to be paid down at the date of her marriage, and the remainder in two equal payments in the course of the two years ensuing. The prince of Wales was to settle on her one third of the revenues of the principality of Wales, the dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 411-417.

PART
II.Joanna em-
barks.

ian, who promptly acquainted him with the intrigues of the French government, and effectually aided in counteracting them.¹³

The English connexion was necessarily deferred for some years, on account of the youth of the parties, neither of whom exceeded eleven years of age. No such impediment occurred in regard to the German alliances, and measures were taken at once for providing a suitable conveyance for the infanta Joanna into Flanders, which should bring back the princess Margaret on its return. By the end of summer, in 1496, a fleet consisting of one hundred and thirty vessels, large and small, strongly manned and thoroughly equipped with all the means of defence against the French cruisers, was got ready for sea in the ports of Guipuscoa and Biscay.¹⁴ The whole was placed under the direction of Don Fadrique Enriquez, admiral of Castile, who carried with him a splendid show of chivalry, chiefly drawn from the northern provinces of the kingdom. A more gallant and beautiful armada never before quitted the shores of Spain. The infanta Joanna, attended by a numerous suite, arrived

¹³ "Procuero," says Zurita, "que se efectuassen los matrimonios de sus hijos, no solo con promesas, pero con dadas que se hizieron a los privados de aquellos principes, que en ello entendian." Hist. del Rey Hernando, lib. 2, cap. 3.

¹⁴ Historians differ, as usual, as to the strength of this armament. Martyr makes it 110 vessels, and 10,000 soldiers, (Opus Epist., epist. 168;) while Bernaldez carries the number to 130 sail, and 25,000

soldiers, (Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 153.) Ferreras adopts the latter estimate, (tom. viii. p. 173.) The discrepancy may be in part explained by supposing that Martyr intended only the galleys, and the regular troops, while Bernaldez, writing more loosely, included vessels and seamen of every description. The strength of this force, at any rate, sufficiently attests the increased maritime resources of the country.

on board the fleet towards the end of August, at the port of Laredo, on the eastern borders of the Asturias, where she took a last farewell of the queen her mother, who had postponed the hour of separation as long as possible, by accompanying her daughter to the place of embarkation.

CHAPTER
IV.

The weather, soon after her departure, became extremely rough and tempestuous; and it was so long before any tidings of the squadron reached the queen, that her affectionate heart was filled with the most distressing apprehensions. She sent for the oldest and most experienced navigators in these boisterous northern seas, consulting them, says Martyr, day and night on the probable causes of delay, the prevalent courses of the winds at that season, and the various difficulties and dangers of the voyage; bitterly regretting that the troubles with France prevented any other means of communication, than the treacherous element to which she had trusted her daughter.¹⁵ Her spirits were still further depressed at this juncture by the death of her own mother, the dowager Isabella, who, under the mental infirmity with which she had been visited for many years, had always experienced the most devoted attention from her daughter, who ministered to her necessities with her own hands, and watched over her declining years with the most tender solicitude.¹⁶

The queen's
anxiety.

¹⁵ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 172. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1496. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 26, cap. 12.

¹⁶ Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1496. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 172.

PART
II.

At length, the long-desired intelligence came of the arrival of the Castilian fleet at its place of destination. It had been so grievously shattered, however, by tempests, as to require being refitted in the ports of England. Several of the vessels were lost, and many of Joanna's attendants perished from the inclemency of the weather, and the numerous hardships to which they were exposed. The infanta, however, happily reached Flanders in safety, and, not long after, her nuptials with the archduke Philip were celebrated in the city of Lisle with all suitable pomp and solemnity.

Margaret of
Austria.

The fleet was detained until the ensuing winter, to transport the destined bride of the young prince of the Asturias to Spain. This lady, who had been affianced in her cradle to Charles the Eighth of France, had received her education in the court of Paris. On her intended husband's marriage with the heiress of Brittany, she had been returned to her native land under circumstances of indignity never to be forgiven by the house of Austria. She was now in the seventeenth year of her age, and had already given ample promise of those uncommon powers of mind, which distinguished her in riper years, and of which she has left abundant evidence in various written compositions.¹⁷

¹⁷ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 174. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 6. — Gaillard, *Rivalité*, tom. iii. pp. 416, 423. — Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, (Amberes, 1681,) tom. 1. p. 2.

These, comprehending her verses, public addresses, and discourse on

her own life, have been collected into a single volume, under the title of "*La Couronne Margarithique*," Lyons, 1549, by the French writer Jean la Maire de Belges, her faithful follower, but whose greatest glory it is, to have been the instructor of Clement Marot.

On her passage to Spain, in mid winter, the fleet encountered such tremendous gales, that part of it was shipwrecked, and Margaret's vessel had wellnigh foundered. She retained, however, sufficient composure amidst the perils of her situation, to indite her own epitaph, in the form of a pleasant distich, which Fontenelle has made the subject of one of his amusing dialogues, where he affects to consider the fortitude displayed by her at this awful moment as surpassing that of the philosophic Adrian in his dying hour, or the vaunted heroism of Cato of Utica.¹⁸ Fortunately, however, Margaret's epitaph was not needed; she arrived in safety at the port of Santander in the Asturias, early in March, 1497.

CHAPTER
IV.Returns in
the fleet.

The young prince of the Asturias, accompanied by the king his father, hastened towards the north to receive his royal mistress, whom they met and escorted to Burgos, where she was received with the highest marks of satisfaction by the queen and the whole court. Preparations were instantly made for solemnizing the nuptials of the royal pair, after the expiration of Lent, in a style of magnificence such as had never before been witnessed under the present reign. The marriage ceremony took place on the 3d of April, and was performed by the archbishop of Toledo in the presence of the grandees

Marriage of
John and
Margaret.

¹⁸ Fontenelle, Œuvres, tom. i. dial. 4.

"Ci gist Margot, la gentil' damoiselle
Qu'a deux maris, et encore est pucelle."

It must be allowed that Margaret's quiet *nonchalance* was much

more suited to Fontenelle's habitual taste, than the imposing scene of Cato's death. Indeed, the French satirist was so averse to *scenes* of all kinds, that he has contrived to find a ridiculous side in this last act of the patriot Roman.

PART
II.

and principal nobility of Castile, the foreign ambassadors, and the delegates from Aragon. Among these latter were the magistrates of the principal cities, clothed in their municipal insignia and crimson robes of office, who seem to have had quite as important parts assigned them by their democratic communities, in this and all similar pageants, as any of the nobility or gentry. The nuptials were followed by a brilliant succession of *fêtes*, tourneys, tilts of reeds, and other warlike spectacles, in which the matchless chivalry of Spain poured into the lists to display their magnificence and prowess in the presence of their future queen.¹⁹ The chronicles of the day remark on the striking contrast, exhibited at these entertainments, between the gay and familiar manners of Margaret and her Flemish nobles, and the pomp and stately ceremonial of the Castilian court, to which, indeed, the Austrian princess, nurtured as she had been in a Parisian atmosphere, could never be wholly reconciled.²⁰

¹⁹ That these were not mere holiday sports, was proved by the melancholy death of Alonso de Cardenas, son of the comendador of Leon, who lost his life in a tourney. Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1.

²⁰ Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1497. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 26, cap. 16. — Lanuza, *Historias*, lib. 1, cap. 8. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 330.

"Y aunque," says the last author, "a la princessa se le dexaron todos sus criados, estilos, y entretenimientos, se la advirtio, que en las ceremonias no havia de tratar a las personas Reales, y Grandes con la familiaridad y llaneza de

las casas de Austria, Borgoña, y Francia, sino con la gravedad, y mesurada autoridad de los Reyes y naciones de España!"

The sixth volume of the Spanish Academy of History contains an inventory, taken from the archives of Simancas, of the rich plate and jewels, presented to the princess Margaret on the day of her marriage. They are said to be "of such value and perfect workmanship, that the like was never before seen." (Ilust. 11, pp. 338-342.) Isabella had turned these baubles to good account in the war of Granada. She was too simple in her taste to attach much value to luxury of apparel.

The marriage of the heir apparent could not have been celebrated at a more auspicious period. It was in the midst of negotiations for a general peace, when the nation might reasonably hope to taste the sweets of repose, after so many uninterrupted years of war. Every bosom swelled with exultation in contemplating the glorious destinies of their country under the beneficent sway of a prince, the first heir of the hitherto divided monarchies of Spain. Alas! at the moment when Ferdinand and Isabella, blessed in the affections of their people, and surrounded by all the trophies of a glorious reign, seemed to have reached the very zenith of human felicity, they were doomed to receive one of those mournful lessons, which admonish us that all earthly prosperity is but a dream.²¹

Not long after Prince John's marriage, the sovereigns had the satisfaction to witness that of their daughter Isabella, who, notwithstanding her repugnance to a second union, had yielded at length to the urgent entreaties of her parents to receive the addresses of her Portuguese lover. She required as the price of this, however, that Emanuel should first banish the Jews from his dominions, where they had bribed a resting-place since their expulsion from Spain; a circumstance to which the su-

Second marriage of Princess Isabella.

²¹ It is precisely this period, or rather the whole period from 1493 to 1497, which Oviedo selects as that of the greatest splendor and festivity at the court of the Catholic sovereigns. "El año de 1493, y uno ó dos despues, y aun hasta el de 1497 años fué cuando la corte

de los Reyes Católicos Don Fernando é Doña Isabel de gloriosa memoria, mas alegres tiempos é mas regozijados, vino en su corte, é mas encumbrada andubo la gala é las fiestas é servicios de galanes é damas." *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 4, dial. 44.

PART
II.

perstitious princess imputed the misfortunes which had fallen of late on the royal house of Portugal. Emanuel, whose own liberal mind revolted at this unjust and impolitic measure, was weak enough to allow his passion to get the better of his principles, and passed sentence of exile on every Israelite in his kingdom; furnishing, perhaps, the only example, in which love has been made one of the thousand motives for persecuting this unhappy race.²²

Sudden illness of Prince John.

The marriage, ushered in under such ill-omened auspices, was celebrated at the frontier town of Valencia de Alcantara, in the presence of the Catholic sovereigns, without pomp or parade of any kind. While they were detained there, an express arrived from Salamanca, bringing tidings of the dangerous illness of their son, the prince of the Asturias. He had been seized with a fever in the midst of the public rejoicings to which his arrival with his youthful bride in that city had given rise. The symptoms speedily assumed an alarming character. The prince's constitution, naturally delicate, though strengthened by a life of habitual temperance, sunk under the violence of the attack; and when his father, who posted with all possible expedition to Salamanca, arrived there, no hopes were entertained of his recovery.²³

²² Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 498, 499. — La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 95. — Zurita, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 6. — Lanuza, *Historias*, ubi supra.

²³ Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1497. — Florez, *Reynas Cathólicas*, tom. ii. pp. 846, 848. — Zurita,

Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. v. fol. 127, 128. — La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 101.

The physicians recommended a temporary separation of John from his young bride; a remedy, however, which the queen opposed from conscientious scruples somewhat singular. "Hortantur medici

Ferdinand, however, endeavoured to cheer his son with hopes which he did not feel himself; but the young prince told him that it was too late to be deceived; that he was prepared to part with a world, which in its best estate was filled with vanity and vexation; and that all he now desired was, that his parents might feel the same sincere resignation to the divine will, which he experienced himself. Ferdinand gathered new fortitude from the example of his heroic son, whose presages were unhappily too soon verified. He expired on the 4th of October, 1497, in the twentieth year of his age, in the same spirit of Christian philosophy which he had displayed during his whole illness.²⁴ His death.

Ferdinand, apprehensive of the effect which the abrupt intelligence of this calamity might have on the queen, caused letters to be sent at brief intervals, containing accounts of the gradual decline of the prince's health, so as to prepare her for the inevitable stroke. Isabella, however, who through all her long career of prosperous fortune may be said to have kept her heart in constant training

Reginam, hortatur et Rex, ut a principis latere Margaritam aliquando semoveat, interpellat. Inducias precantur. Protestantur periculum ex frequenti copulâ ephebo imminere; qualiter eum suxerit, quamve subtristis incedat, consideret iterum atque iterum monent; medullas lædi, stomachum hebetari se sentire Regina renunciant. Intercedat, dum licet, obstetque principiis, instant. Nil proficiunt. Respondet Regina, homines non oportere, quos Deus jugali vinculo junxerit, separare." Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 176.

²⁴ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 182. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 182. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1497. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Deza.

Peter Martyr, in more of a classic than a Christian vein, refers Prince John's composure in his latter hours to his familiarity with the divine Aristotle. "*Ætatem quæ ferebat superabat; nec mirum tamen. Perlegerat namque divini Aristotelis pleraque volumina,*" &c. Ubi supra.

PART
II.

for the dark hour of adversity, received the fatal tidings in a spirit of meek and humble acquiescence, testifying her resignation in the beautiful language of Scripture, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be his name!"²⁵

His amiable character.

"Thus," says Martyr, who had the melancholy satisfaction of rendering the last sad offices to his royal pupil, "was laid low the hope of all Spain." "Never was there a death," says another chronicler, "which occasioned such deep and general lamentation throughout the land." All the unavailing honors which affection could devise were paid to his memory. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with melancholy splendor, and his remains deposited in the noble Dominican monastery of St. Thomas at Avila, which had been erected by his parents. The court put on a new and deeper mourning than that hitherto used, as if to testify their unwonted grief.²⁶ All offices, public and private, were closed for forty days; and sable-colored banners were suspended from the walls and portals of the cities. Such extraordinary tokens of public sorrow bear strong testimony to the interest felt in the young prince, independently of his ex-

²⁵ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 183.

Martyr draws an affecting picture of the anguish of the bereaved parents, which betrayed itself in looks more eloquent than words. "Reges tantam dissimulare ærumnam nituntur; ast nos prostratum in internis ipsorum animum cernimus; oculos alter in faciem alterius crebro conjiunt, in propatulo sedentes. Unde quid lateat proditur.

Nimirum tamen, desinerent humanâ carne vestiti esse homines, essentque adamante duriores, nisi quid amiserint sentirent."

²⁶ Blancas, *Coronaciones de los Serenissimos Reyes de Aragon*, (Zaragoza, 1641,) lib. 3, cap. 18. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 6. — Sackcloth was substituted for the white serge, which till this time had been used as the mourning dress.

alted station; similar, and perhaps more unequivocal evidence of his worth, is afforded by abundance of contemporary notices, not merely in works designed for the public, but in private correspondence. The learned Martyr, in particular, whose situation, as prince John's preceptor, afforded him the best opportunities of observation, is unbounded in commendations of his royal pupil, whose extraordinary promise of intellectual and moral excellence had furnished him with the happiest, alas! delusive auguries, for the future destiny of his country.²⁷

By the death of John without heirs, the succession devolved on his eldest sister, the queen of Portugal.²⁸ Intelligence, however, was received soon after that event, that the archduke Philip, with the restless ambition which distinguished him in later

The king and queen of Portugal visit Spain.

²⁷ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 182. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 6. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 182. — Blancas, *Coronaciones*, p. 248.

It must be allowed to furnish no mean proof of the excellence of Prince John's heart, that it was not corrupted by the liberal doses of flattery with which his worthy tutor was in the habit of regaling him, from time to time. Take the beginning of one of Martyr's letters to his pupil, in the following modest strain. "Mirande in pueritiâ senex, salve. Quotquot tecum versantur homines, sive genere polleant, sive ad obsequium fortunæ humiliores destinati ministri, te laudant, extollunt, admirantur." *Opus Epist.*, epist. 98.

²⁸ Hopes were entertained of a male heir at the time of John's death, as his widow was left pregnant; but these were frustrated by her being delivered of a still-born

infant at the end of a few months. Margaret did not continue long in Spain. She experienced the most affectionate treatment from the king and queen, who made her an extremely liberal provision. (*Zurita*, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 4.) But her Flemish followers could not reconcile themselves to the reserve and burdensome ceremonial of the Castilian court, so different from the free and jocund life to which they had been accustomed at home; and they prevailed on their mistress to return to her native land in the course of the year 1499. She was subsequently married to the duke of Savoy, who died without issue in less than three years, and Margaret passed the remainder of her life in widowhood, being appointed by her father, the emperor, to the government of the Netherlands, which she administered with ability. She died in 1530.

PART
II.

life, had assumed for himself and his wife Joanna the title of "princes of Castile." Ferdinand and Isabella, disgusted with this proceeding, sent to request the attendance of the king and queen of Portugal in Castile, in order to secure a recognition of their rights by the national legislature. The royal pair, accordingly, in obedience to the summons, quitted their capital of Lisbon, early in the spring of 1498. In their progress through the country, they were magnificently entertained at the castles of the great Castilian lords, and towards the close of April reached the ancient city of Toledo, where the cortes had been convened to receive them.²⁹

After the usual oaths of recognition had been tendered, without opposition, by the different branches to the Portuguese princes, the court adjourned to Saragossa, where the legislature of Aragon was assembled for a similar purpose.

Some apprehensions were entertained, however, of the unfavorable disposition of that body, since the succession of females was not countenanced by

²⁹ Marina has transcribed from the archives of Toledo the writ of summons to that city on this occasion. *Teoría*, tom. ii. p. 16. — *Zurita*, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 18. — *Bernaldez*, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 154. — *La Clède*, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 101. — *Carbajal*, *Anales*, MS., año 1498. — *Faria y Sousa*, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 500, 501.

The last writer expatiates with great satisfaction on the stately etiquette observed at the reception of the Portuguese monarchs and

their suite by the Spanish sovereigns. "Queen Isabella," he says, "appeared leaning on the arm of her old favorite Gutierrez de Cardenas, comendador of Leon, and of a Portuguese noble, Don Juan de Sousa. The latter took care to acquaint her with the rank and condition of each of his countrymen, as they were presented, in order that she might the better adjust the measure of condescension and courtesy due to each; a perilous obligation," he continues, "with all nations, but with the Portuguese most perilous!"

the ancient usage of the country; and the Aragonese, as Martyr remarks in one of his Epistles, "were well known to be a pertinacious race, who would leave no stone unturned, in the maintenance of their constitutional rights."³⁰

CHAPTER
IV.

These apprehensions were fully realized; for, no sooner was the object of the present meeting laid before cortes in a speech from the throne, with which parliamentary business in Aragon was always opened, than decided opposition was manifested to a proceeding, which it was declared had no precedent in their history. The succession of the crown, it was contended, had been limited by repeated testaments of their princes to male heirs, and practice and public sentiment had so far coincided with this, that the attempted violation of the rule by Peter the Fourth, in favor of his own daughters, had plunged the nation in a civil war. It was further urged that by the will of the very last monarch, John the Second, it was provided that the crown should descend to the male issue of his son Ferdinand, and in default of such to the male issue of Ferdinand's daughters, to the entire exclusion of the females. At all events, it was better to postpone the consideration of this matter until the result of the queen of Portugal's pregnancy, then far advanced, should be ascertained; since, should it prove to be a son, all doubts of constitutional validity would be removed.

Objections
to their
recognition.

³⁰ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 194. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 334. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 27, cap. 3.

PART
II.

In answer to these objections, it was stated, that no express law existed in Aragon excluding females from the succession; that an example had already occurred, as far back indeed as the twelfth century, of a queen who held the crown in her own right; that the acknowledged power of females to transmit the right of succession necessarily inferred that right existing in themselves; that the present monarch had doubtless as competent authority as his predecessors to regulate the law of inheritance, and that his act, supported by the supreme authority of cortes, might set aside any former disposition of the crown; that this interference was called for by the present opportunity of maintaining the permanent union of Castile and Aragon; without which they must otherwise return to their ancient divided state, and comparative insignificance.³¹

These arguments, however cogent, were far from being conclusive with the opposite party; and the debate was protracted to such length, that Isabella, impatient of an opposition to what the practice in her own dominions had taught her to regard as the inalienable right of her daughter, inconsiderately exclaimed, "It would be better to reduce the coun-

³¹ Blancas, *Commentarii*, p. 273. — *Idem*, *Coronaciones*, lib. 1, cap. 18. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 27, cap. 3. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. fol. 55, 56.

It is remarkable that the Aragonese should so readily have acquiesced in the right of females to convey a title to the crown which they could not enjoy themselves. This was precisely the principle on

which Edward III. set up his claim to the throne of France, a principle too repugnant to the commonest rules of inheritance to obtain any countenance. The exclusion of females in Aragon could not pretend to be founded on any express law, as in France, but the practice, with the exception of a single example three centuries old, was quite as uniform.

try by arms at once, than endure this insolence of the cortes." To which Antonio de Fonseca, the same cavalier who spoke his mind so fearlessly to King Charles the Eighth, on his march to Naples, had the independence to reply, "That the Aragonese had only acted as good and loyal subjects, who, as they were accustomed to mind their oaths, considered well before they took them; and that they must certainly stand excused if they moved with caution in an affair, which they found so difficult to justify by precedent in their history."³²

This blunt expostulation of the honest courtier, equally creditable to the sovereign who could endure, and the subject who could make it, was received in the frank spirit in which it was given, and probably opened Isabella's eyes to her own precipitancy, as we find no further allusion to coercive measures.

Before any thing was determined, the discussion was suddenly brought to a close by an unforeseen and most melancholy event, — the death of the queen of Portugal, the unfortunate subject of it. That princess had possessed a feeble constitution from her birth, with a strong tendency to pulmonary complaints. She had early felt a presentiment that she should not survive the birth of her child; this feeling strengthened as she approached the period

Her daughter's death.

³² Blancas, *Córonaciones*, lib. 3, cap. 18. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 30.

It is a proof of the high esteem in which Isabella held this independent statesman, that we find his name mentioned in her testament

among half a dozen others, whom she particularly recommended to her successors for their meritorious and loyal services. See the document in Dormer, *Discursos Varios*, p. 354.

PART
II.

of her delivery; and in less than one hour after that event, which took place on the 23d of August, 1498, she expired in the arms of her afflicted parents.³³

Its effects on
Isabella.

This blow was almost too much for the unhappy mother, whose spirits had not yet had time to rally, since the death of her only son. She, indeed, exhibited the outward marks of composure, testifying the entire resignation of one who had learned to rest her hopes of happiness on a better world. She schooled herself so far, as to continue to take an interest in all her public duties, and to watch over the common weal with the same maternal solicitude as before; but her health gradually sunk under this accumulated load of sorrow, which threw a deep shade of melancholy over the evening of her life.

The infant, whose birth had cost so dear, proved a male, and received the name of Miguel, in honor of the saint on whose day he first saw the light. In order to dissipate, in some degree, the general gloom occasioned by the late catastrophe, it was thought best to exhibit the young prince before the eyes of his future subjects; and he was accordingly borne in the arms of his nurse, in a magnificent litter, through the streets of the city, escorted by the principal nobility. Measures were then taken for obtaining the sanction of his legitimate claims to the crown. Whatever doubts had been enter-

³³ Carbajal, Anales, MS., años 1470, 1498.—Florez, Reynas Cathólicas, tom. ii. pp. 846, 847.—
Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 504.

tained of the validity of the mother's title, there could be none whatever of the child's; since those who denied the right of females to inherit for themselves, admitted their power of conveying such a right to male issue. As a preliminary step to the public recognition of the prince, it was necessary to name a guardian, who should be empowered to make the requisite engagements, and to act in his behalf. The Justice of Aragon, in his official capacity, after due examination, appointed the grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella, to the office of guardians during his minority, which would expire by law at the age of fourteen.³⁴

Prince Miguel's recognition.

On Saturday, the 22d of September, when the queen had sufficiently recovered from a severe illness brought on by her late sufferings, the four arms of the cortes of Aragon assembled in the house of deputation at Saragossa; and Ferdinand and Isabella made oath as guardians of the heir apparent, before the Justice, not to exercise any jurisdiction whatever in the name of the young prince during his minority; engaging, moreover, as far as in their power, that, on his coming of age, he should swear to respect the laws and liberties of the realm, before entering on any of the rights of sovereignty himself. The four estates then took the oath of fealty to Prince Miguel, as lawful heir and successor to the crown of Aragon; with the

³⁴ Blancas, *Commentarii*, pp. 510, 511. — *Idem*, *Coronaciones*, lib. 3, cap. 19. — Gerónimo Martel, *Forma de Celebrar Cortes en Aragon*, (Zaragoza, 1641,) cap. 44. — Alvaro Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio*, (Compluti, 1569,) fol. 28. — La- nuza, *Historias*, lib. 1, cap. 9.

PART
II.

protestation, that it should not be construed into a precedent for exacting such an oath hereafter during the minority of the heir apparent. With such watchful attention to constitutional forms of procedure, did the people of Aragon endeavour to secure their liberties; forms, which continued to be observed in later times, long after those liberties had been swept away.³⁵

In the month of January, of the ensuing year, the young prince's succession was duly confirmed by the cortes of Castile, and, in the following March, by that of Portugal. Thus, for once, the crowns of the three monarchies of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal were suspended over one head. The Portuguese, retaining the bitterness of ancient rivalry, looked with distrust at the prospect of a union, fearing, with some reason, that the importance of the lesser state would be wholly merged in that of the greater. But the untimely death of the destined heir of these honors, which took place before he had completed his second year, removed the causes of jealousy, and defeated the only chance, which had ever occurred, of bringing under the same rule three independent nations, which,

³⁵ Blancas, Coronaciones, ubi supra. — Idem, Commentarii, pp. 510, 511.

The reverence of the Aragonese for their institutions is shown in their observance of the most insignificant ceremonies. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the year 1481, at Saragossa, when the queen having been constituted *lieutenant general* of the kingdom, and

duly qualified to hold a cortes in the absence of the king her husband, who, by the ancient laws of the land, was required to preside over it in person, it was deemed necessary to obtain a formal act of the legislature, for opening the door for her admission. See Blancas, *Modo de Proceder en Cortes de Aragon*, (Zaragoza, 1641,) fol. 82, 83.

from their common origin, their geographical position, and, above all, their resemblance in manners, sentiments, and language, would seem to have originally been intended to form but one.³⁶

CHAPTER
IV.

³⁶ Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 504, 507. — año 1499. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 33. Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos* cap. 154. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., V., tom. i. p. 4.



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

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF CARDINAL MENDOZA.—RISE OF XIMENES.— ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM.

Death of Mendoza. — His Early Life, and Character. — The Queen his Executor. — Origin of Ximenes. — He enters the Franciscan Order. — His Ascetic Life. — Confessor to the Queen. — Made Archbishop of Toledo. — Austerity of his Life. — Reform of the Monastic Orders. — Insults offered to the Queen. — She consents to the Reform.

PART
II.

Death of
Mendoza.

In the beginning of 1495, the sovereigns lost their old and faithful minister, the grand cardinal of Spain, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza. He was the fourth son of the celebrated marquis of Santillana, and was placed by his talents at the head of a family, every member of which must be allowed to have exhibited a rare union of public and private virtue. The cardinal reached the age of sixty-six, when his days were terminated after a long and painful illness, on the 11th of January, at his palace of Guadalaxara.¹

¹ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1495. — Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. 2, cap. 45, 46. — Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 61. — Pulgar, Claros Varones, tit. 4.

His disorder was an abscess on the kidneys, which confined him to the house nearly a year before his death. When this event happened, a white cross of extraordinary mag-

nitude and splendor, shaped precisely like that on his arms, was seen in the heavens directly over his house, by a crowd of spectators, for more than two hours; a full account of which was duly transmitted to Rome by the Spanish court, and has obtained easy credit with the principal Spanish historians.

In the unhappy feuds between Henry the Fourth and his younger brother Alfonso, the cardinal had remained faithful to the former. But on the death of that monarch, he threw his whole weight, with that of his powerful family, into the scale of Isabella, whether influenced by a conviction of her superior claims, or her capacity for government. This was a most important acquisition to the royal cause; and Mendoza's consummate talents for business, recommended by the most agreeable address, secured him the confidence of both Ferdinand and Isabella, who had long been disgusted with the rash and arrogant bearing of their old minister, Carillo.

On the death of that turbulent prelate, Mendoza succeeded to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. His new situation naturally led to still more intimate relations with the sovereigns, who uniformly deferred to his experience, consulting him on all important matters, not merely of a public, but of a private nature. In short, he gained such ascendancy in the cabinet, during a long ministry of more than twenty years, that he was pleasantly called by the courtiers the "third king of Spain."²

² Alvaro Gomez says of him, "Nam præter clarissimum tum natalium, tum fortunæ, tum dignitatis splendorem, quæ in illo ornamenta summa erant, incredibilem animi sublimitatem cum pari morum facilitate, elegantiaque conjunxerat; ut merito locum in republicâ summo proximum ad supremum usque diem tenuerit." (De Rebus Gestis, fol. 9.) Mar-

tyr, noticing the cardinal's death, bestows the following brief but comprehensive panegyric on him. "Periit Gonsalus Mendotiæ, domûs splendor et lucida fax; periit quem universa colebat Hispania, quem exteri etiam principes venerabantur, quem ordo cardineus collegam sibi esse gloriabatur." Opus Epist., epist. 158.

PART
II.And charac-
ter.

The minister did not abuse the confidence so generously reposed in him. He called the attention of his royal mistress to objects most deserving it. His views were naturally grand and lofty; and, if he sometimes yielded to the fanatical impulse of the age, he never failed to support her heartily in every generous enterprise for the advancement of her people. When raised to the rank of primate of Spain, he indulged his natural inclination for pomp and magnificence. He filled his palace with pages, selected from the noblest families in the kingdom, whom he carefully educated. He maintained a numerous body of armed retainers, which, far from being a mere empty pageant, formed a most effective corps for public service on all requisite occasions. He dispensed the immense revenues of his bishopric with the same munificent hand which has so frequently distinguished the Spanish prelacy, encouraging learned men, and endowing public institutions. The most remarkable of these were the college of Santa Cruz at Valladolid, and the hospital of the same name for foundlings at Toledo, the erection of which, completed at his sole charge, consumed more than ten years each.³

His amours.

The cardinal, in his younger days, was occasionally seduced by those amorous propensities, in which the Spanish clergy freely indulged, contaminated, perhaps, by the example of their Mahometan neighbours. He left several children by his

³ Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, pp. 263-273, 381-410.

amours with two ladies of rank, from whom some of the best houses in the kingdom are descended.⁴ A characteristic anecdote is recorded of him in relation to this matter. An ecclesiastic, who one day delivered a discourse in his presence, took occasion to advert to the laxity of the age, in general terms, indeed, but bearing too pertinent an application to the cardinal to be mistaken. The attendants of the latter boiled with indignation at the preacher's freedom, whom they determined to chastise for his presumption. They prudently, however, postponed this until they should see what effect the discourse had on their master. The cardinal, far from betraying any resentment, took no other notice of the preacher than to send him a dish of choice game, which had been served up at his own table, where he was entertaining a party of friends that day, accompanying it at the same time, by way of sauce, with a substantial donative of gold doblas; an act of Christian charity not at all to the taste of his own servants. It wrought its effects on the worthy divine, who at once saw the error of his ways, and, the next time he mounted the pulpit, took care to frame his discourse in such a manner as to counteract the former unfavorable impressions, to the entire satisfaction, if not edification of his audience. "Now-a-days," says the honest biographer who reports the incident, himself a lineal descendant of the cardinal, "the preacher would

⁴ "Gran varon, y muy experimentado y prudente en negocios," says Oviedo of the cardinal, "pero á vueltas de las negociaciones desta

vida, tuvo tres hijos varones," &c. Then follows a full notice of this graceless progeny. *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 8.

PART
II.

not have escaped so easily. And with good reason ; for the holy Gospel should be discreetly preached, 'cum grano salis,' that is to say, with the decorum and deference due to majesty and men of high estate." ⁵

The queen
his executor.

When cardinal Mendoza's illness assumed an alarming aspect, the court removed to the neighbourhood of Guadalaxara, where he was confined. The king and queen, especially the latter, with the affectionate concern which she manifested for more than one of her faithful subjects, used to visit him in person, testifying her sympathy for his sufferings, and benefiting by the lights of the sagacious mind, which had so long helped to guide her. She still further showed her regard for her old minister by condescending to accept the office of his executor, which she punctually discharged, superintending the disposition of his effects according to his testament, ⁶ and particularly the erection of the stately hospital of Santa Cruz, before mentioned, not a stone of which was laid before his death. ⁷

⁵ Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. 2, cap. 66.

The doctor Pedro Salazar de Mendoza's biography of his illustrious relative is a very fair specimen of the Spanish style of book-making in ancient times. One event seems to suggest another with about as much cohesion as the rhymes of "The House that Jack built." There is scarcely a place or personage of note, that the grand cardinal was brought in contact with in the course of his life, whose history is not made the theme of profuse dissertation. Nearly fifty chapters are taken up, for ex-

ample, with the distinguished men, who graduated at the college of Santa Cruz.

⁶ "Non hoc," says Tacitus with truth, "præcipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu: sed quæ voluerit meminisse, quæ mandaverit exsequi." Annales, lib. 2, sect. 71.

⁷ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 143. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1494. — Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. 2, cap. 45.

A founding hospital does not seem to have come amiss in Spain, where, according to Salazar, the