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office.<sup>44</sup> No reverence for the ministers of religion could lead her to wink at their misconduct; <sup>45</sup> nor could the deference she entertained for the head of the church, allow her to tolerate his encroachments on the rights of her crown.<sup>46</sup> She seemed to consider herself especially bound to preserve entire the peculiar claims and privileges of Castile, after its union under the same sovereign with Aragon.<sup>47</sup> And although, "while her own will was law," says Peter Martyr, "she governed in such a manner that it might appear the joint action of both Ferdinand and herself," yet she was careful never to surrender into his hands one of those prerogatives, which belonged to her as queen proprietor of the kingdom.<sup>48</sup>

Her practical sense.

Isabella's measures were characterized by that practical good sense, without which the most brilliant parts may work more to the woe, than to the weal of mankind. Though engaged all her life in reforms, she had none of the failings so common in reformers. Her plans, though vast, were never vis-

<sup>44</sup> The reader may recollect a pertinent illustration of this, on the occasion of Ximenes's appointment to the primacy. See Part II. Chapter 5, of this History.

<sup>45</sup> See, among other instances, her exemplary chastisement of the ecclesiastics of Truxillo. Part I. Chapter 12, of this History.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I. Chapter 6, Part II. Chapter 10, et alibi. Indeed, this independent attitude was shown, as I have more than once had occasion to notice, not merely in shielding the rights of her own crown, but in the boldest remon-

strances against the corrupt practices and personal immorality of those who filled the chair of St. Peter at this period.

<sup>47</sup> The public acts of this reign afford repeated evidence of the pertinacity, with which Isabella insisted on reserving the benefits of the Moorish conquests and the American discoveries for her own subjects of Castile, by whom and for whom they had been mainly achieved. The same thing is reiterated in the most emphatic manner in her testament.

<sup>48</sup> *Opus Epist.*, epist. 31.

ionary. The best proof of this is, that she lived to see most of them realized.

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She was quick to discern objects of real utility. She saw the importance of the new discovery of printing, and liberally patronized it, from the first moment it appeared.<sup>49</sup> She had none of the exclusive, local prejudices, too common with her countrymen. She drew talent from the most remote quarters to her dominions, by munificent rewards. She imported foreign artisans for her manufactures; foreign engineers and officers for the discipline of her army; and foreign scholars to imbue her martial subjects with more cultivated tastes. She consulted the useful, in all her subordinate regulations; in her sumptuary laws, for instance, directed against the fashionable extravagances of dress, and the ruinous ostentation, so much affected by the Castilians in their weddings and funerals.<sup>50</sup> Lastly, she showed the same perspicacity in the selection of her agents; well knowing that the best measures become bad in incompetent hands.

But, although the skilful selection of her agents was an obvious cause of Isabella's success, yet another, even more important, is to be found in her

Her unwearied activity.

<sup>49</sup> Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 49.

<sup>50</sup> The preamble of one of her *pragmáticas* against this lavish expenditure at funerals, contains some reflections worth quoting for the evidence they afford of her practical good sense. "Nos deseando proveer e remediar al tal gasto sin provecho, e considerando que esto no redundará en sufragio e alivio de

las animas de los defuntos" &c. "Pero los Católicos Christianos que creemos que hai otra vida despues desta, donde las animas esperan folganza e vida perdurable, desta habemos de curar e procurar de la ganar por obras meritorias, e no por cosas transitorias e vanas como son los lutos e gastos excesivos." Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 318.

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own vigilance and untiring exertions. During the first busy and bustling years of her reign, these exertions were of incredible magnitude. She was almost always in the saddle, for she made all her journeys on horseback; and she travelled with a rapidity, which made her always present on the spot where her presence was needed. She was never intimidated by the weather, or the state of her own health; and this reckless exposure undoubtedly contributed much to impair her excellent constitution.<sup>51</sup>

She was equally indefatigable in her mental application. After assiduous attention to business through the day, she was often known to sit up all night, dictating despatches to her secretaries.<sup>52</sup> In the midst of these overwhelming cares, she found time to supply the defects of early education by learning Latin, so as to understand it without difficulty, whether written or spoken; and indeed, in the opinion of a competent judge, to attain a critical accuracy in it.<sup>53</sup> As she had little turn for light amusements, she sought relief from graver cares by

<sup>51</sup> Her exposure in this way on one occasion brought on a miscarriage. According to Gomez, indeed, she finally died of a painful internal disorder, occasioned by her long and laborious journeys. (*De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 47.) Giovio adopts the same account. (*Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 275.) The authorities are good, certainly; but Martyr, who was in the palace, with every opportunity of correct information, and with no reason for concealment of the truth, in his private correspondence with Tendilla

and Talavera, makes no allusion whatever to such a complaint, in his circumstantial account of the queen's illness.

<sup>52</sup> Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. vii. p. 411. — *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 182. — "Pronunciaba con primor el latin, y era tan habil en la prosodia, que si erraban algun acento, luego le corregia." *Idem*, apud Florez, *Reynas Cathólicas*, tom. ii. p. 834.

some useful occupation appropriate to her sex; and she left ample evidence of her skill in this way, in the rich specimens of embroidery, wrought with her own fair hands, with which she decorated the churches. She was careful to instruct her daughters in these more humble departments of domestic duty; for she thought nothing too humble to learn, which was useful.<sup>54</sup>

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With all her high qualifications, Isabella would have been still unequal to the achievement of her grand designs, without possessing a degree of fortitude rare in either sex; not the courage, which implies contempt of personal danger, — though of this she had a larger share than falls to most men; <sup>55</sup> nor that, which supports its possessor under the extremities of bodily pain, — though of this she gave ample evidence, since she endured the greatest suffering her sex is called to bear, without a groan; <sup>56</sup> but that moral courage, which sustains the spirit in the dark hour of adversity, and, gathering light from within to dispel the darkness, imparts its own cheering influence to all around. This was

Her courage.

<sup>54</sup> If we are to believe Florez, the king wore no shirt but of the queen's making. "Preciabase de no haverse puesto su marido camisa, que elle no huviesse hilado y cosido." (Reynas Cathólicas, tom. ii. p. 832.) If this be taken literally, his wardrobe, considering the multitude of her avocations, must have been indifferently furnished.

<sup>55</sup> Among many evidences of this, what other need be given than her conduct at the famous riot at Segovia? Part I. Chapter 6, of this History.

<sup>56</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part.

I, cap. 4. — "No fue la Reyna," says L. Marineo, "de animo menos fuerte para sufrir los dolores corporales. Porque como yo fuy informado de las dueñas que le servian en la camara, ni en los dolores que padescia de sus enfermedades, ni en los del parto (que es cosa de grande admiracion) nunca la vieron quejarse; antes con increíble y maravillosa fortaleza los sufría y dissimulava." (Cosas Memorables, fol. 186.) To the same effect writes the anonymous author of the "Carro de las Doñas," apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 559

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shown remarkably in the stormy season which ushered in her accession, as well as through the whole of the Moorish war. It was her voice that decided never to abandon Alhama.<sup>57</sup> Her remonstrances compelled the king and nobles to return to the field, when they had quitted it, after an ineffectual campaign. As dangers and difficulties multiplied, she multiplied resources to meet them; and, when her soldiers lay drooping under the evils of some protracted siege, she appeared in the midst, mounted on her war-horse, with her delicate limbs cased in knightly mail;<sup>58</sup> and, riding through their ranks, breathed new courage into their hearts by her own intrepid bearing. To her personal efforts, indeed, as well as counsels, the success of this glorious war may be mainly imputed; and the unsuspecting testimony of the Venetian minister, Navagiero, a few years later, shows that the nation so considered it. "Queen Isabel," says he, "by her singular genius, masculine strength of mind, and other virtues most unusual in our own sex, as well as hers, was not merely of great assistance in, but the chief cause of the conquest of Granada. She was, indeed, a most rare and virtuous lady, one, of whom the Spaniards talk far more than of the king, sagacious as he was, and uncommon for his time."<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> "Era firme en sus propósitos, de los cuales se retraía con gran dificultad." Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 1, cap. 4.

<sup>58</sup> The reader may refresh his recollection of Tasso's graceful sketch of Erminia in similar warlike panoply.

"Col durissimo accliar preme ed offende  
Il delicato collo e l' aurea chioma;  
E la tenera man lo scudo prende  
Pur troppo grave e insopportabil soma.  
Così tutta di ferro intorno splende,  
E in atto militar se stessa doma."  
Gerusalemme Liberata,  
canto 6, stanza 82.

<sup>59</sup> Viaggio, fol. 27.

Happily these masculine qualities in Isabella did not extinguish the softer ones which constitute the charm of her sex. Her heart overflowed with affectionate sensibility to her family and friends. She watched over the declining days of her aged mother, and ministered to her sad infirmities with all the delicacy of filial tenderness.<sup>60</sup> We have seen abundant proofs how fondly and faithfully she loved her husband to the last,<sup>61</sup> though this love was not always as faithfully requited.<sup>62</sup> For her children she lived more than for herself; and for them too she died, for it was their loss and their afflictions which froze the current of her blood, before age had time to chill it. Her exalted state did not re-

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Her sensibility.

<sup>60</sup> We find one of the first articles in the marriage treaty with Ferdinand enjoining him to cherish, and treat her mother with all reverence, and to provide suitably for her royal maintenance. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Apend. no. 1.) The author of the "Carro de las Doñas" thus notices her tender devotedness to her parent, at a later period. "Y esto me dijo quien lo vido por sus propios ojos, que la Reyna Doña Isabel, nuestra señora, cuando estaba alli en Arevalo visitando a su madre, ella misma por su persona servia a su misma madre. E aqui tomen ejemplo los hijos como han de servir a sus padres, pues una Reina tan poderosa y en negocios tan arduos puesta, todos los mas de los años (puesto todo aparte y pospuesto) iba a visitar a su madre y la servia humilmente." Viaggio, p. 557.

<sup>61</sup> Among other little tokens of mutual affection, it may be mentioned that not only the public coin, but their furniture, books, and other articles of personal property,

were stamped with their initials, F & I, or emblazoned with their devices, his being a yoke, and hers a sheaf of arrows. (Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 3.) It was common, says Oviedo, for each party to take a device, whose initial corresponded with that of the name of the other; as was the case here, with *jugo* and *flechas*.

<sup>62</sup> Marineo thus speaks of the queen's discreet and most amiable conduct in these delicate matters. "Amava en tanta manera al Rey su marido, que andava sobre aviso con celos a ver si el amava a otras. Y si sentia que mirava a alguna dama o donzella de su casa con señal de amores, con mucha prudencia buscava medios y maneras con que despedir aquella tal persona de su casa, con su mucha honrra y provecho." (Cosas Memorables, fol. 182.) There was unfortunately too much cause for this uneasiness. See Part II. Chapter 24, of this History.

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move her above the sympathies of friendship.<sup>63</sup> With her friends she forgot the usual distinctions of rank, sharing in their joys, visiting and consoling them in sorrow and sickness, and condescending in more than one instance to assume the office of executrix on their decease.<sup>64</sup> Her heart, indeed, was filled with benevolence to all mankind. In the most fiery heat of war, she was engaged in devising means for mitigating its horrors. She is said to have been the first to introduce the benevolent institution of camp hospitals; and we have seen, more than once, her lively solicitude to spare the effusion of blood even of her enemies. But it is needless to multiply examples of this beautiful, but familiar trait in her character.<sup>65</sup>

It is in these more amiable qualities of her sex, that Isabella's superiority becomes most apparent

Parallel  
with Queen  
Elizabeth.

<sup>63</sup> The best beloved of her friends, probably, was the marchioness of Moya, who, seldom separated from her royal mistress through life, had the melancholy satisfaction of closing her eyes in death. Oviedo, who saw them frequently together, says, that the queen never addressed this lady, even in later life, with any other than the endearing title of *hija marquesa*, "daughter marchioness." *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

<sup>64</sup> As was the case with Cardenas, the comendador mayor, and the grand cardinal Mendoza, to whom, as we have already seen, she paid the kindest attentions during their last illness. While in this way she indulged the natural dictates of her heart, she was careful to render every outward mark of respect to the memory of those whose rank or services entitled them to such consideration. "Quan-

do," says the author so often quoted, "quiera que fallencia alguno de los grandes de su reyno, o algun principe Christiano, luego embiavan varones sabios y religiosos para consolar a sus heredores y deudos. Y demas desto se vestian de ropas de luto en testimonio del dolor y sentimiento que hazian." *L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables*, fol. 185.

<sup>65</sup> Her humanity was shown in her attempts to mitigate the ferocious character of those national amusements, the bull-fights, the popularity of which throughout the country was too great, as she intimates in one of her letters, to admit of her abolishing them altogether. She was so much moved at the sanguinary issue of one of these combats, which she witnessed at Arevalo, says a contemporary, that she devised a plan, by guarding the horns of the bulls, for preventing any serious injury to the men and horses; and she never

over her illustrious namesake, Elizabeth of England,<sup>66</sup> whose history presents some features parallel to her own. Both were disciplined in early life by the teachings of that stern nurse of wisdom, adversity. Both were made to experience the deepest humiliation at the hands of their nearest relative, who should have cherished and protected them. Both succeeded in establishing themselves on the throne after the most precarious vicissitudes. Each conducted her kingdom, through a long and triumphant reign, to a height of glory, which it had never before reached. Both lived to see the vanity of all earthly grandeur, and to fall the victims of an inconsolable melancholy; and both left behind an illustrious name, unrivalled in the subsequent annals of their country.

But, with these few circumstances of their history, the resemblance ceases. Their characters afford scarcely a point of contact. Elizabeth, inheriting a large share of the bold and bluff King Harry's temperament, was haughty, arrogant, coarse, and irascible; while with these fiercer qualities she mingled deep dissimulation and strange irresolution. Isabella, on the other hand, tempered the dignity of royal station with the most bland and courteous manners. Once resolved, she was constant in her purposes, and her conduct in public and private life was characterized by candor and integrity. Both may be said to have shown that magnanimity,

would attend another of these spectacles until this precaution had been adopted. Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

<sup>66</sup> Isabel, the name of the Catholic queen, is correctly rendered into English by that of Elizabeth.



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which is implied by the accomplishment of great objects in the face of great obstacles. But Elizabeth was desperately selfish; she was incapable of forgiving, not merely a real injury, but the slightest affront to her vanity; and she was merciless in exacting retribution. Isabella, on the other hand, lived only for others,—was ready at all times to sacrifice self to considerations of public duty; and, far from personal resentments, showed the greatest condescension and kindness to those who had most sensibly injured her; while her benevolent heart sought every means to mitigate the authorized severities of the law, even towards the guilty.<sup>67</sup>

Both possessed rare fortitude. Isabella, indeed, was placed in situations, which demanded more frequent and higher displays of it than her rival; but no one will doubt a full measure of this quality in the daughter of Henry the Eighth. Elizabeth was better educated, and every way more highly accomplished than Isabella. But the latter knew enough to maintain her station with dignity; and she encouraged learning by a munificent patronage.<sup>68</sup> The masculine powers and passions of Elizabeth seemed to divorce her in a great measure

<sup>67</sup> She gave evidence of this, in the commutation of the sentence she obtained for the wretch who stabbed her husband, and whom her ferocious nobles would have put to death, without the opportunity of confession and absolution, that "his soul might perish with his body!" (See her letter to Talavera.) She showed this merciful temper, so rare in that rough age, by dispensing altogether with the preliminary

barbarities, sometimes prescribed by the law in capital executions. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 13.

<sup>68</sup> Hume admits, that, "unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this age, Queen Elizabeth's vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality."

from the peculiar attributes of her sex; at least from those which constitute its peculiar charm; for she had abundance of its foibles, — a coquetry and love of admiration, which age could not chill; a levity, most careless, if not criminal;<sup>69</sup> and a fondness for dress and tawdry magnificence of ornament, which was ridiculous, or disgusting, according to the different periods of life in which it was indulged.<sup>70</sup> Isabella, on the other hand, distinguished through life for decorum of manners, and purity beyond the breath of calumny, was content with the legitimate affection which she could inspire within the range of her domestic circle. Far from a frivolous affectation of ornament or dress, she was most simple in her own attire, and seemed to set no value on her jewels, but as they could serve the necessities of the state;<sup>71</sup> when they

<sup>69</sup> Which of the two, the reader of the records of these times may be somewhat puzzled to determine. — If one need be convinced how many faces history can wear, and how difficult it is to get at the true one, he has only to compare Dr. Lingard's account of this reign with Mr. Turner's. Much obliquity was to be expected, indeed, from the avowed apologist of a persecuted party, like the former writer. But it attaches, I fear, to the latter in more than one instance, — as in the reign of Richard III., for example. Does it proceed from the desire of saying something new on a beaten topic, where the new cannot always be true? Or, as is most probable, from that confiding benevolence, which throws somewhat of its own light over the darkest

shades of human character? The unprejudiced reader may perhaps agree, that the balance of this great queen's good and bad qualities is held with a more steady and impartial hand by Mr. Hallam than any preceding writer.

<sup>70</sup> The unsuspecting testimony of her godson, Harrington, places these foibles in the most ludicrous light. If the well-known story, repeated by historians, of the three thousand dresses left in her wardrobe at her decease, be true, or near truth, it affords a singular contrast with Isabella's taste in these matters.

<sup>71</sup> The reader will remember how effectually they answered this purpose in the Moorish war. See Part I. Chapter 14, of this History.

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could be no longer useful in this way, she gave them away, as we have seen, to her friends.

Both were uncommonly sagacious in the selection of their ministers; though Elizabeth was drawn into some errors in this particular, by her levity,<sup>72</sup> as was Isabella by religious feeling. It was this, combined with her excessive humility, which led to the only grave errors in the administration of the latter. Her rival fell into no such errors; and she was a stranger to the amiable qualities which led to them. Her conduct was certainly not controlled by religious principle; and, though the bulwark of the Protestant faith, it might be difficult to say whether she were at heart most a Protestant or a Catholic. She viewed religion in its connexion with the state, in other words, with herself; and she took measures for enforcing conformity to her own views, not a whit less despotic, and scarcely less sanguinary, than those countenanced for conscience' sake by her more bigoted rival.<sup>73</sup>

This feature of bigotry, which has thrown a

<sup>72</sup> It is scarcely necessary to mention the names of Hatton and Leicester, both recommended to the first offices in the state chiefly by their personal attractions, and the latter of whom continued to maintain the highest place in his sovereign's favor for thirty years or more, in despite of his total destitution of moral worth.

<sup>73</sup> Queen Elizabeth, indeed, in a declaration to her people, proclaims, "We know not, nor have any meaning to allow, that any of our subjects should be molested, either

by examination or inquisition, in any matter of faith, as long as they shall profess the Christian faith." (Turner's Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 241, note.) One is reminded of Parson Thwackum's definition in "Tom Jones," "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the church of England." It would be difficult to say which fared worst, Puritans or Catholics, under this system of toleration.

shade over Isabella's otherwise beautiful character, might lead to a disparagement of her intellectual power compared with that of the English queen. To estimate this aright, we must contemplate the results of their respective reigns. Elizabeth found all the materials of prosperity at hand, and availed herself of them most ably to build up a solid fabric of national grandeur. Isabella created these materials. She saw the faculties of her people locked up in a deathlike lethargy, and she breathed into them the breath of life for those great and heroic enterprises, which terminated in such glorious consequences to the monarchy. It is when viewed from the depressed position of her early days, that the achievements of her reign seem scarcely less than miraculous. The masculine genius of the English queen stands out relieved beyond its natural dimensions by its separation from the softer qualities of her sex. While her rival's, like some vast, but symmetrical edifice, loses in appearance somewhat of its actual grandeur from the perfect harmony of its proportions.

The circumstances of their deaths, which were somewhat similar, displayed the great dissimilarity of their characters. Both pined amidst their royal state, a prey to incurable despondency, rather than any marked bodily distemper. In Elizabeth it sprung from wounded vanity, a sullen conviction, that she had outlived the admiration on which she had so long fed, — and even the solace of friendship, and the attachment of her subjects. Nor did she seek consolation, where alone it was to be

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found, in that sad hour. Isabella, on the other hand, sunk under a too acute sensibility to the sufferings of others. But, amidst the gloom, which gathered around her, she looked with the eye of faith to the brighter prospects which unfolded of the future; and, when she resigned her last breath, it was amidst the tears and universal lamentations of her people.

Universal  
homage to  
her virtues.

It is in this undying, unabated attachment of the nation, indeed, that we see the most unequivocal testimony to the virtues of Isabella. In the downward progress of things in Spain, some of the most ill-advised measures of her administration have found favor and been perpetuated, while the more salutary have been forgotten. This may lead to a misconception of her real merits. In order to estimate these, we must listen to the voice of her contemporaries, the eyewitnesses of the condition in which she found the state, and in which she left it. We shall then see but one judgment formed of her, whether by foreigners or natives. The French and Italian writers equally join in celebrating the triumphant glories of her reign, and her magnanimity, wisdom, and purity of character.<sup>74</sup> Her own subjects extol her as "the

<sup>74</sup> "Quum generosi," says Paolo Giovio, speaking of her, "prudētisque animi magnitudine, tum pudicitie et pietatis laude antiquis heroidibus comparanda." (*Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 205.) Guicciardini eulogizes her as "Donna di onestissimi costumi, e in concetto grandissimo nei Regni suoi di magnanimità e prudenza." (*Istoria*,

lib. 6.) The *loyal serviteur* notices her death in the following chivalrous strain. "L'an 1506, une des plus triumpantes et glorieuses dames qui puis mille ans ait esté sur terre alla de vie a trespas; ce fut la royne Ysabel de Castille, qui ayda, le bras armé, à conquerer le royaume de Grenade sur les Mores. Je veux bien asseurer aux lecteurs

most brilliant exemplar of every virtue," and mourn over the day of her death as "the last of the prosperity and happiness of their country."<sup>75</sup> While those, who had nearer access to her person, are unbounded in their admiration of those amiable qualities, whose full power is revealed only in the unrestrained intimacies of domestic life.<sup>76</sup> The judgment of posterity has ratified the sentence of her own age. The most enlightened Spaniards of the present day, by no means insensible to the errors of her government, but more capable of appreciating its merits, than those of a less instructed age, bear honorable testimony to her deserts; and, while they pass over the bloated magnificence of succeeding monarchs, who arrest the popular eye, dwell with enthusiasm on Isabella's character, as the most truly great in their line of princes.<sup>77</sup>

de ceste presente hystoire, que sa vie a esté telle, qu'elle a bien mérité couronne de laurier après sa mort." Mémoires de Bayard, chap. 26. — See also Comines, Mémoires, chap. 23. — Navagiero, Viaggio, fol. 27. — et al. auct.

<sup>75</sup> I borrow the words of one contemporary; "Quo quidem die omnis Hispaniæ felicitas, omne decus, omnium virtutum pulcherrimum specimen interiit;" (L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, lib. 21,) — and the sentiments of all.

<sup>76</sup> If the reader needs further testimony of this, he will find abundance collected by the indefatigable Clemencin, in the 21st Ilust. of the Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi.

<sup>77</sup> It would be easy to cite the

authority over and over again of such writers as Marina, Sempere, Llorente, Navarrete, Quintana, and others, who have done such honor to the literature of Spain in the present century. It will be sufficient, however, to advert to the remarkable tribute paid to Isabella's character by the Royal Spanish Academy of History; who in 1805 appointed their late secretary, Clemencin, to deliver a eulogy on that illustrious theme; and who raised a still nobler monument to her memory, by the publication, in 1821, of the various documents compiled by him for the illustration of her reign, as a separate volume of their valuable Memoirs.

## CHAPTER XVII.

FERDINAND REGENT.—HIS SECOND MARRIAGE.—DISSENSIONS  
WITH PHILIP.—RESIGNATION OF THE REGENCY.

1504—1506.

Ferdinand Regent.—Philip's Pretensions.—Ferdinand's Perplexities.  
Impolitic Treaty with France.—The King's second Marriage.—  
Landing of Philip and Joanna.—Unpopularity of Ferdinand.—  
His Interview with his Son-in-law.—He resigns the Regency.

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THE death of Isabella gives a new complexion to our history, a principal object of which has been the illustration of her personal character and public administration. The latter part of the narrative, it is true, has been chiefly occupied with the foreign relations of Spain, in which her interference has been less obvious than in the domestic. But still we have been made conscious of her presence and parental supervision, by the maintenance of order, and the general prosperity of the nation. Her death will make us more sensible of this influence; since it was the signal for disorders, which even the genius and authority of Ferdinand were unable to suppress.

Philip and  
Joanna pro-  
claimed.

While the queen's remains were yet scarcely cold, King Ferdinand took the usual measures for announcing the succession. He resigned the crown

of Castile, which he had worn with so much glory for thirty years. From a platform raised in the great square of Toledo, the heralds proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, the accession of Philip and Joanna to the Castilian throne, and the royal standard was unfurled by the duke of Alva, in honor of the illustrious pair. The king of Aragon then publicly assumed the title of administrator or governor of Castile, as provided by the queen's testament, and received the obeisance of such of the nobles as were present, in his new capacity. These proceedings took place on the evening of the same day on which the queen expired.<sup>1</sup>

A circular letter was next addressed to the principal cities, requiring them, after the customary celebration of the obsequies of their late sovereign, to raise the royal banners in the name of Joanna; and writs were immediately issued in her name, without mention of Philip's, for the convocation of a cortes to ratify these proceedings.<sup>2</sup>

The assembly met at Toro, January 11th, 1505. The queen's will, or rather such clauses of it as related to the succession, were read aloud, and received the entire approbation of the commons, who, together with the grandees and prelates present,

1505.

<sup>1</sup> Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 52. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 279. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 20, cap. 1. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1504. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 9.

"*Sapientiae alii*," says Martyr, in allusion to those prompt proceedings, "*et summæ bonitati ad-*

*scribunt; alii, rem novam admirati, regem incusant, remque arguunt non debuisse fieri.*" Ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> Philip's name was omitted, as being a foreigner, until he should have taken the customary oath to respect the laws of the realm, and especially to confer office on none but native Castilians. Zurita, *Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 84.



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took the oaths of allegiance to Joanna as queen and lady proprietor, and to Philip as her husband. They then determined that the exigency, contemplated in the testament, of Joanna's incapacity, actually existed,<sup>3</sup> and proceeded to tender their homage to King Ferdinand, as the lawful governor of the realm in her name. The latter in turn made the customary oath to respect the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the whole was terminated by an embassy from the cortes, with a written account of its proceedings, to their new sovereigns in Flanders.<sup>4</sup>

All seemed now done, that was demanded for giving a constitutional sanction to Ferdinand's authority as regent. By the written law of the land, the sovereign was empowered to nominate a regency, in case of the minority or incapacity of the heir apparent.<sup>5</sup> This had been done in the present instance by Isabella, and at the earnest solicitation of the cortes, made two years previously to her death. It had received the cordial approbation of that body, which had undeniable authority to control such testamentary provisions.<sup>6</sup> Thus, from the

<sup>3</sup> The maternal tenderness and delicacy, which had led Isabella to allude to her daughter's infirmity only in very general terms, are well remarked by the cortes. See the copy of the original act in Zurita, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15, sec. 2. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 3. — Marina, Teoria, part. 2, cap. 4. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 12. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Siete Partidas, part. 2, tit. 15, ley 3.

<sup>6</sup> Guicciardini, with the ignorance of the Spanish constitution natural enough in a foreigner, disputes the queen's right to make any such settlement. Istoria, lib. 7.

<sup>6</sup> See the whole subject of the powers of cortes in this particular, as discussed very fully and satisfactorily by Marina, Teoria, part. 2, cap. 13.

first to the last stage of the proceeding, the whole had gone on with a scrupulous attention to constitutional forms. Yet the authority of the new regent was far from being firmly seated; and it was the conviction of this, which had led him to accelerate measures.

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Many of the nobles were extremely dissatisfied with the queen's settlement of the regency, which had taken air before her death; and they had even gone so far as to send to Flanders before that event, and invite Philip to assume the government himself, as the natural guardian of his wife.<sup>7</sup> These discontented lords, if they did not refuse to join in the public acts of acknowledgment to Ferdinand at Toro, at least were not reserved in intimating their dissatisfaction.<sup>8</sup> Among the most prominent were the marquis of Villena, who may be said to have been nursed to faction from the cradle, and the duke of Najara, both potent nobles, whose broad domains had been grievously clipped by the resumption of the crown lands so scrupulously enforced by the late government, and who looked forward to their speedy recovery under the careless rule of a young, inexperienced prince, like Philip.<sup>9</sup>

Discontent  
of the nobles.

But the most efficient of his partisans was Don Juan Manuel, Ferdinand's ambassador at the court

Don Juan  
Manuel.

<sup>7</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 203. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15, sec. 3. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 274, 277.

<sup>8</sup> Zurita's assertion, that all the nobility present did homage to Ferdinand, (Anales, tom. vi. cap. 3.)

would seem to be contradicted by a subsequent passage. Comp. cap. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Isabella in her will particularly enjoins on her successors never to alienate or to restore the crown lands recovered from the marquise of Villena. Dormer, Discursos Varios, p. 331.

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of Maximilian. This nobleman, descended from one of the most illustrious houses in Castile, was a person of uncommon parts; restless and intriguing, plausible in his address, bold in his plans, but exceedingly cautious, and even cunning, in the execution of them. He had formerly insinuated himself into Philip's confidence, during his visit to Spain, and, on receiving news of the queen's death, hastened without delay to join him in the Netherlands.

Philip's pretensions.

Through his means, an extensive correspondence was soon opened with the discontented Castilian lords; and Philip was persuaded, not only to assert his pretensions to undivided supremacy in Castile, but to send a letter to his royal father-in-law, requiring him to resign the government at once, and retire into Aragon.<sup>10</sup> The demand was treated with some contempt by Ferdinand, who admon-

<sup>10</sup> "Nor was it sufficient," says Dr. Robertson, in allusion to Philip's pretensions to the government, "to oppose to these just rights, and to the inclination of the people of Castile, the authority of a testament, the genuineness of which was perhaps doubtful, and its contents to him appeared certainly to be iniquitous." (History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V., (London, 1796,) vol. ii. p. 7.) But who ever intimated a doubt of its genuineness, before Dr. Robertson? Certainly no one living at that time; for the will was produced before cortes, by the royal secretary, in the session immediately following the queen's death; and Zurita has preserved the address of that body, commenting on the part of its contents relating to the succession. (Anales, tom. vi. cap. 4.) Dr.

Carbajal, a member of the royal council, and who was present, as he expressly declares, at the approval of the testament, "a cuyo otorgamiento y aun ordenacion me hallé," has transcribed the whole of the document in his Annals, with the signatures of the notary and the seven distinguished persons who witnessed its execution. Dormer, the national historiographer of Aragon, has published the instrument, with the same minuteness in his "Discursos Varios," "from authentic MSS. in his possession," "escrituras auténticas en mi poder." Where the original is now to be found, or whether it be in existence, I have no knowledge. The codicil, as we have seen, with the queen's signature, is still extant in the Royal Library at Madrid.

ished him of his incompetency to govern a nation like the Spaniards, whom he understood so little, but urged him at the same time to present himself before them with his wife, as soon as possible.<sup>11</sup>

Ferdinand's situation, however, was far from comfortable. Philip's, or rather Manuel's, emissaries, were busily stirring up the embers of disaffection. They dwelt on the advantages to be gained from the free and lavish disposition of Philip, which they contrasted with the parsimonious temper of the stern *old Catalan*, who had so long held them under his yoke.<sup>12</sup> Ferdinand, whose policy it had been to crush the overgrown power of the nobility, and who, as a foreigner, had none of the natural claims to loyalty enjoyed by his late queen, was extremely odious to that jealous and haughty body. The number of Philip's adherents increased in it every day, and soon comprehended the most considerable names in the kingdom.

The king, who watched these symptoms of disaffection with deep anxiety, said little, says Martyr, but coolly scrutinized the minds of those around him, dissembling as far as possible his own sentiments.<sup>13</sup> He received further and more unequivocal evidence, at this time, of the alienation of his son-in-law. An Aragonese gentleman, named Con-

His party  
increases.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 282. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 1. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 53. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 12.

<sup>12</sup> "Existimantes," says Giovio, "sub florentissimo juvene rege aliquanto liberius atque licentius ipso-

rum potentiâ fruituros, quam sub austero et parum liberali, ut aiebant, *sene Catalano*." *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 277.

<sup>13</sup> "Rex quæcunque versant atque ordiuntur, sentit, dissimulat et animos omnium tacitus scrutatur." *Opus Epist.*, epist. 289.

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chillos, whom he had placed near the person of his daughter, obtained a letter from her, in which she approved in the fullest manner of her father's retaining the administration of the kingdom. The letter was betrayed to Philip; the unfortunate secretary was seized and thrown into a dungeon, and Joanna was placed under a rigorous confinement, which much aggravated her malady.<sup>14</sup>

He tampers  
with Gon-  
salvo de  
Cordova.

With this affront, the king received also the alarming intelligence, that the emperor Maximilian and his son Philip were tampering with the fidelity of the Great Captain; endeavouring to secure Naples in any event to the archduke, who claimed it as the appurtenance of Castile, by whose armies its conquest, in fact, had been achieved. There were not wanting persons of high standing at Ferdinand's court, to infuse suspicions, however unwarrantable, into the royal mind, of the loyalty of his viceroy, a Castilian by birth, and who owed his elevation exclusively to the queen.<sup>15</sup>

The king was still further annoyed, by reports of the intimate relations subsisting between his old enemy, Louis the Twelfth, and Philip, whose children were affianced to each other. The French monarch, it was said, was prepared to support his ally in an invasion of Castile, for the recovery of

<sup>14</sup> Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15, sec. 4. — Lanuza, Historias, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 18. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 286. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 8. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 9. — Oviedo had the story from Conchillos's brother.

<sup>15</sup> Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, pp. 275 — 277. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 5, 11. — Ulloa, Vita de Carlo V., fol. 25. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15, sec. 3.

his rights, by a diversion in his favor on the side of Roussillon, as well as of Naples.<sup>16</sup>

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The Catholic king felt sorely perplexed by these multiplied embarrassments. During the brief period of his regency, he had endeavoured to recommend himself to the people by a strict and impartial administration of the laws, and the maintenance of public order. The people, indeed, appreciated the value of a government, under which they had been protected from the oppressions of the aristocracy more effectually than at any former period. They had testified their good-will by the alacrity, with which they confirmed Isabella's testamentary dispositions, at Toro. But all this served only to sharpen the aversion of the nobles. Some of Ferdinand's counsellors would have persuaded him to carry measures with a higher hand. They urged him to reassume the title of King of Castile, which he had so long possessed as husband of the late queen;<sup>17</sup> and others even advised him to assemble an armed force, which should overawe all opposition to his authority at home, and secure the country from invasion. He had facilities for this in the disbanded levies lately returned from Italy, as well as in a considerable body drawn from his native dominions of Aragon, waiting his orders on the

Ferdinand's  
perplexities.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 290. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario*, p. 94.

<sup>17</sup> The vice-chancellor Alonso de la Caballeria, prepared an elaborate argument in support of Ferdi-

nand's pretensions to the regal authority and title, less as husband of the late queen, than as the lawful guardian and administrator of his daughter. See Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. cap. 14.

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frontier.<sup>18</sup> Such violent measures, however, were repugnant to his habitual policy, temperate and cautious. He shrunk from a contest, in which even success must bring unspeakable calamities on the country;<sup>19</sup> and, if he ever seriously entertained such views,<sup>20</sup> he abandoned them, and employed his levies on another destination in Africa.<sup>21</sup> His situation, however, grew every hour more critical. Alarmed by rumors of Louis's military preparations, for which liberal supplies were voted by the states general; trembling for the fate of his Italian possessions; deserted and betrayed by the great nobility at home; there seemed now no alternative left for him but to maintain his ground by force, or to resign at once, as required by Philip, and retire into Aragon. This latter course appears never to have been contemplated by him. He resolved at all hazards to keep the reins in his own grasp, influenced in part, probably, by the consciousness of his rights, as well as by a sense of duty, which for-

<sup>18</sup> Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 5, 15. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 291.

<sup>20</sup> Robertson speaks with confidence of Ferdinand's intention to "oppose Philip's landing by force of arms," (*History of Charles V.*, vol. ii. p. 13,) an imputation, which has brought a heavy judgment on the historian's head from the clever author of the "*History of Spain and Portugal*." (*Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*.) "All this," says the latter, "is at variance with both truth and probability; nor does Ferreras, the only authority cited for this unjust declamation,

afford the slightest ground for it." (*Vol. ii. p. 286, note.*) Nevertheless, this is so stated by Ferreras, (*Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 282,) who is supported by Mariana, (*Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 16,) and, in the most unequivocal manner, by Zurita, (*Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 21,) a much higher authority than either. Martyr, it is true, whom Dr. Dunham does not appear to have consulted on this occasion, declares that the king had no design of resorting to force. See *Opus Epist.*, epist. 291, 305.

<sup>21</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 202. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1505.

bade him to resign the trust he had voluntarily assumed into such incompetent hands as those of Philip and his counsellors; and partly, no doubt, by natural reluctance to relinquish the authority, which he had enjoyed for so many years. To keep it, he had recourse to an expedient, such as neither friend nor foe could have anticipated.

He saw the only chance of maintaining his present position lay in detaching France from the interests of Philip, and securing her to himself. The great obstacle to this was their conflicting claims on Naples. This he purposed to obviate by proposals of marriage to some member of the royal family, in whose favor these claims, with the consent of King Louis, might be resigned. He accordingly despatched a confidential envoy privately into France, with ample instructions for arranging the preliminaries. This person was Juan de Enguera, a Catalan monk of much repute for his learning, and a member of the royal council.<sup>22</sup>

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Proposals  
for a second  
marriage.

<sup>22</sup> Before venturing on this step, it was currently reported, that Ferdinand had offered his hand, though unsuccessfully, to Joanna Beltraneja, Isabella's unfortunate competitor for the crown of Castile, who still survived in Portugal. (Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 14. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 13. — et al.) The report originated, doubtless, in the malice of the Castilian nobles, who wished in this way to discredit the king still more with the people. It received, perhaps, some degree of credit from a silly story, in circulation, of a testament of Henry IV. having lately come into Ferdinand's possession, avowing Joanna to be

his legitimate daughter. See Carbajal, (*Anales*, MS., año 1474,) the only authority for this last rumor.

Robertson has given an incautious credence to the first story, which has brought Dr. Dunham's iron flail somewhat unmercifully on his shoulders again; yet his easy faith in the matter may find some palliation, at least sufficient to screen him from the charge of wilful misstatement, in the fact, that Clemencin, a native historian, and a most patient and fair inquirer after truth, has come to the same conclusion. (*Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 19.) Both writers rely on the authority of



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Policy of  
Louis XII.

Louis the Twelfth had viewed with much satisfaction the growing misunderstanding betwixt Philip and his father-in-law, and had cunningly used his influence over the young prince to foment it. He felt the deepest disquietude at the prospect of the enormous inheritance which was to devolve on the former, comprehending Burgundy and Flanders, Austria, and probably the Empire, together with the united crowns of Spain and their rich dependencies. By the proposed marriage, a dismemberment might be made at least of the Spanish monarchy; and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, passing under different sceptres, might serve, as they had formerly done, to neutralize each other. It was true, this would involve a rupture with Philip, to whose son his own daughter was promised in marriage. But this match, extremely distasteful to his subjects, gradually became so to Louis, as every way prejudicial to the interests of France.<sup>23</sup>

Without much delay, therefore, preliminaries were arranged with the Aragonese envoy, and immediately after, in the month of August, the count of Cifuentes, and Thomas Malferit, regent of the royal chancery, were publicly sent as plenipotentiaries on

Sandoval, an historian of the latter half of the sixteenth century, whose naked assertion cannot be permitted to counterbalance the strong testimony afforded by the silence of contemporaries and the general discredit of succeeding writers. (*Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 10.) Sismondi, not content with this

first offer of King Ferdinand, makes him afterwards propose for a daughter of King Emanuel, or in other words, his own granddaughter! *Hist. des Français*, tom. xv. chap. 30.

<sup>23</sup> Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap. 15.—Seyssel, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, pp. 223—229.

the part of King Ferdinand, to conclude and execute the treaty.

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Treaty with  
France.

It was agreed, as the basis of the alliance, that the Catholic king should be married to Germaine, daughter of Jean de Foix, viscount of Narbonne, and of one of the sisters of Louis the Twelfth, and granddaughter to Leonora, queen of Navarre,— that guilty sister of King Ferdinand, whose fate is recorded in the earlier part of our History. The princess Germaine, it will be seen, therefore, was nearly related to both the contracting parties. She was at this time eighteen years of age, and very beautiful.<sup>24</sup> She had been educated in the palace of her royal uncle, where she had imbibed the free and volatile manners of his gay, luxurious court. To this lady Louis the Twelfth consented to resign his claims on Naples, to be secured by way of dowry to her and her heirs, male or female, in perpetuity. In case of her decease without issue, the moiety of the kingdom recognised as his by the partition treaty with Spain was to revert to him. It was further agreed, that Ferdinand should reimburse Louis the Twelfth for the expenses of the Neapolitan war, by the payment of one million gold ducats, in ten yearly instalments; and lastly, that a

<sup>24</sup> Aleson, *Annales de Navarre*, tom. v. lib. 35, cap. 7, sec. 4.— Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 56.— Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía*, tom. i. p. 410.

"Laquelle," says Fleurange, who had doubtless often seen the princess, "étoit bonne et fort belle princesse, du moins elle n'avoit

point perdu son embonpoint." (*Mémoires*, chap. 19.) It would be strange if she had at the age of eighteen. Varillas gets over the discrepancy of age between the parties very well, by making Ferdinand's at this time only thirty-seven years! *Hist. de Louis XII.*, tom. i. p. 457.

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complete amnesty should be granted by him to the lords of the Angevin or French party in Naples, who should receive full restitution of their confiscated honors and estates. A mutual treaty of alliance and commerce was to subsist henceforth between France and Spain, and the two monarchs, holding one another, to quote the words of the instrument, "as two souls, in one and the same body," pledged themselves to the maintenance and defence of their respective rights and kingdoms against every other power whatever. This treaty was signed by the French king at Blois, October 12th, 1505, and ratified by Ferdinand the Catholic, at Segovia, on the 16th of the same month.<sup>25</sup>

Such were the disgraceful and most impolitic terms of this compact, by which Ferdinand, in order to secure the brief possession of a barren authority, and perhaps to gratify some unworthy feelings of revenge, was content to barter away all those solid advantages, flowing from the union of the Spanish monarchies, which had been the great and wise object of his own and Isabella's policy. For, in the event of male issue,—and that he should have issue was by no means improbable, considering he was not yet fifty-four years of age,—Aragon and its dependencies must be totally severed from Castile.<sup>26</sup> In the other alternative, the splendid Italian

<sup>25</sup> Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. no. 40, pp. 72-74.

<sup>26</sup> These dependencies did not embrace, however, the half of Granada and the West Indies, as supposed by Mons. Gaillard, who gravely assures us, that "Les états

conquis par Ferdinand étoient conquêtes de communauté, dont la moitié appartenait au mari, et la moitié aux enfans." (Rivalité, tom. iv. p. 306.) Such are the gross misconceptions of fact, on which this writer's *speculations* rest!

conquests, which after such cost of toil and treasure he had finally secured to himself, must be shared with his unsuccessful competitor. In any event, he had pledged himself to such an indemnification of the Angevin faction in Naples, as must create inextricable embarrassment, and inflict great injury on his loyal partisans, into whose hands their estates had already passed. And last, though not least, he dishonored by this unsuitable and precipitate alliance his late illustrious queen, the memory of whose transcendent excellence, if it had faded in any degree from his own breast, was too deeply seated in those of her subjects, to allow them to look on the present union otherwise than as a national indignity.

So, indeed, they did regard it; although the people of Aragon, in whom late events had rekindled their ancient jealousy of Castile, viewed the match with more complacency, as likely to restore them to that political importance which had been somewhat impaired by the union with their more powerful neighbour.<sup>27</sup>

The European nations could not comprehend an arrangement, so irreconcilable with the usual sagacious policy of the Catholic king. The petty Italian powers, who, since the introduction of France and Spain into their political system, were controlled by them more or less in all their movements, viewed this sinister conjunction as auspicious of no good to

<sup>27</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 19. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 16.

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their interests or independence. As for the archduke Philip, he could scarcely credit the possibility of this desperate act, which struck off at a blow so rich a portion of his inheritance. He soon received confirmation, however, of its truth, by a prohibition from Louis the Twelfth, to attempt a passage through his dominions into Spain, until he should come to some amicable understanding with his father-in-law.<sup>28</sup>

Concord of  
Salamanca.

Philip, or rather Manuel, who exercised unbounded influence over his counsels, saw the necessity now of temporizing. The correspondence was resumed with Ferdinand, and an arrangement was at length concluded between the parties, known as the concord of Salamanca, November 24th, 1505. The substance of it was, that Castile should be governed in the joint names of Ferdinand, Philip, and Joanna, but that the first should be entitled, as his share, to one half of the public revenue. This treaty, executed in good faith by the Catholic king, was only intended by Philip to lull the suspicions of the former, until he could effect a landing in the

<sup>28</sup> Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15, sec. 8.—Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 21.—Guicciardini, Istoria, lib. 7.

He received much more unequivocal intimation in a letter from Ferdinand, curious as showing that the latter sensibly felt the nature and extent of the sacrifices he was making. "You," says he to Philip, "by lending yourself to be the easy dupe of France, have driven me most reluctantly into a second marriage; have stripped me of the fair fruits of my Neapoli-

tan conquests," &c. He concludes with this appeal to him. "Sit satis, fili, pervagatum; redi in te, si filius, non hostis accesseris; his non obstantibus, mi filius, amplexabere. Magna est paternæ vis naturæ." Philip may have thought his father-in-law's late conduct an indifferent commentary on the "paternæ vis naturæ." See the king's letter quoted by Peter Martyr in his correspondence with the count of Tendilla. Opus Epist., epist. 293.

kingdom, where, he confidently believed, nothing but his presence was wanting to insure success. He completed the perfidious proceeding by sending an epistle, well garnished with soft and honeyed phrase, to his royal father-in-law. These artifices had their effect, and completely imposed, not only on Louis, but on the more shrewd and suspicious Ferdinand.<sup>29</sup>

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On the 8th of January, 1506, Philip and Joanna embarked on board a splendid and numerous armada, and set sail from a port in Zealand. A furious tempest scattered the fleet soon after leaving the harbour; Philip's ship, which took fire in the storm, narrowly escaped foundering; and it was not without great difficulty that they succeeded in bringing her, a miserable wreck, into the English port of Weymouth.<sup>30</sup> King Henry the Seventh, on learning the misfortunes of Philip and his consort, was prompt to show every mark of respect and consideration for the royal pair, thus thrown upon his island. They were escorted in magnificent style to Windsor, and detained with dubious hospitality

Philip and  
Joanna em-  
bark.  
1506.

<sup>29</sup> Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1506.—Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 23.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 16.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 292.—Zurita has transcribed the whole of this dutiful and most loving epistle. Ubi supra.

Guicciardini considers Philip as only practising the lessons he had learned in Spain, "le arti Spagnuole." (Istoria, lib. 7.) The phrase would seem to have been proverbial with the Italians, like the "Punica fides," which their

Roman ancestors fastened on the character of their African enemy;—perhaps with equal justice.

<sup>30</sup> Joanna, according to Sandoval, displayed much composure in her alarming situation. When informed by Philip of their danger, she attired herself in her richest dress, securing a considerable sum of money to her person, that her body, if found, might be recognised, and receive the obsequies suited to her rank. Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 10.