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for nearly three months. During this time, Henry the Seventh availed himself of the situation and inexperience of his young guest so far, as to extort from him two treaties, not altogether reconcilable, as far as the latter was concerned, with sound policy or honor.³¹ The respect which the English monarch entertained for Ferdinand the Catholic, as well as their family connexion, led him to offer his services as a common mediator between the father and son. He would have persuaded the latter, says Lord Bacon, "to be ruled by the counsel of a prince, so prudent, so experienced, and so fortunate as King Ferdinand;" to which the archduke replied, "If his father-in-law would let him govern Castile, he should govern him."³²

At length Philip, having reassembled his Flemish fleet at Weymouth, embarked with Joanna and his numerous suite of courtiers and military retainers, and reached Coruña, in the northwestern corner of Galicia, after a prosperous voyage, on the 28th of April.

A short time previous to this event, the count of Cifuentes having passed into France for the purpose, the betrothed bride of King Ferdinand quitted that country under his escort, attended by a bril-

³¹ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 204. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1506. — St. Gelais, Hist. de Louys XII., p. 186. — Bacon, Hist. of Henry VII., Works, vol. v. pp. 177 - 179. — Guicciardini, Istoria, lib. 7. — Rymer, Fœdera, tom. xiii. pp. 123 - 132.

One was a commercial treaty with Flanders, so disastrous as to be known in that country by the name of "malus intercursus"; the other involved the surrender of the unfortunate duke of Suffolk.

³² Bacon, Hist. of Henry VII., Works, vol. v. p. 179.

liant train of French and Neapolitan lords.³³ On the borders, at Fontarabia, she was received by the archbishop of Saragossa, Ferdinand's natural son, with a numerous retinue, composed chiefly of Aragonese and Catalan nobility, and was conducted with much solemnity to Dueñas, where she was joined by the king. In this place, where thirty years before he had been united to Isabella, he now, as if to embitter still further the recollections of the past, led to the altar her young and beautiful successor. "It seemed hard," says Martyr, in his quiet way, "that these nuptials should take place so soon, and that too in Isabella's own kingdom of Castile, where she had lived without peer, and where her ashes are still held in as much veneration as she enjoyed while living."³⁴

1506.
March 18.

It was less than six weeks after this, that Philip and Joanna landed at Coruña. Ferdinand, who had expected them at some nearer northern port, prepared without loss of time to go forward and receive them. He sent on an express to arrange the place of meeting with Philip, and advanced himself as far as Leon. But Philip had no intention of such an interview at present. He had pur-

Philip joined
by the nobles.

³³ Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 36. — *Mémoires de Bayard*, chap. 26.

³⁴ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 300. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 36. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1506. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 203.

"Some affirmed," says Zurita, "that Isabella, before appointing her husband to the regency, exact-

ed an oath from him, that he would not marry a second time." (*Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 84.) This improbable story, so inconsistent with the queen's character, has been transcribed with more or less qualification by succeeding historians from Mariana to Quintana. Robertson repeats it without any qualification at all. See *History of Charles V.*, vol. ii. p. 6.

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posely landed in a remote corner of the country, in order to gain time for his partisans to come forward and declare themselves. Missives had been despatched to the principal nobles and cavaliers, and they were answered by great numbers of all ranks, who pressed forward to welcome and pay court to the young monarch.³⁵ Among them were the names of most of the considerable Castilian families, and several, as Villena and Najara, were accompanied by large, well-appointed retinues of armed followers. The archduke brought over with him a body of three thousand German infantry, in complete order. He soon mustered an additional force of six thousand native Spaniards, which, with the chivalry who thronged to meet him, placed him in a condition to dictate terms to his father-in-law; and he now openly proclaimed, that he had no intention of abiding by the concord of Salamanca, and that he would never consent to an arrangement prejudicing in any degree his, and his wife's, exclusive possession of the crown of Castile.³⁶

It was in vain that Ferdinand endeavoured to gain Don Juan Manuel to his interests by the most liberal offers. He could offer nothing to compete with the absolute ascendancy which the favorite held over his young sovereign. It was in vain,

³⁵ "Quisque enim in spes suas pronus et expeditus, commodo serviendum," says Giovio, borrowing the familiar metaphor, "et orientem solem potius quam occidentem adorandum esse dicitabat." *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 278.

³⁶ Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6,

cap. 29, 30. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 57. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 204. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 304, 305. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1506. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 10.

that Martyr, and afterwards Ximenes, were sent to the archduke, to settle the grounds of accommodation, or at least the place of interview with the king. Philip listened to them with courtesy, but would abate not a jot of his pretensions; and Manuel did not care to expose his royal master to the influence of Ferdinand's superior address and sagacity in a personal interview.³⁷

Martyr gives a picture, by no means unfavorable, of Philip at this time. He had an agreeable person, a generous disposition, free and open manners, with a certain nobleness of soul, although spurred on by a most craving ambition. But he was so ignorant of affairs, that he became the dupe of artful men, who played on him for their own purposes.³⁸

His character.

Ferdinand, at length, finding that Philip, who had now left Coruña, was advancing by a circuitous route into the interior, on purpose to avoid him, and that all access to his daughter was absolutely refused, could no longer repress his indignation; and he prepared a circular letter, to be sent to the different parts of the country, calling on it to rise and aid him in rescuing the queen, their sovereign, from her present shameful captivity.³⁹ It

³⁷ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 306, 308, 309. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 59. — Giovinio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 278.

³⁸ "Nil benignius Philippo in terris, nullus inter orbis principes animosior, inter juvenes pulchrior," &c. (*Opus Epist.*, epist. 285.) In a subsequent letter he thus describes the unhappy predicament of the young prince; "Nescit

hic juvenis, nescit quo se vertat, hinc avaris, illinc ambitiosis, atque utrimque vaftris hominibus circumseptus alienigena, bonæ naturæ, apertique animi. Trahetur in diversa, perturbabitur ipse atque obtundetur. Omnia confundentur. Utinam vana prædicem!" *Epist.* 308.

³⁹ Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 2.

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does not appear that he sent it. He probably found that the call would not be answered; for the French match had lost him even that degree of favor, with which he had been regarded by the commons; so the very expedient, on which he relied for perpetuating his authority in Castile, was the chief cause of his losing it altogether.

Ferdinand
unpopular.

He was doomed to experience still more mortifying indignities. By the orders of the marquis of Astorga and the count of Benevente, he was actually refused admittance into those cities; while proclamation was made by the same arrogant lords, prohibiting any of their vassals from aiding or harbouring his Aragonese followers. "A sad spectacle, indeed," exclaims the loyal Martyr, "to behold a monarch, yesterday almost omnipotent, thus wandering a vagabond in his own kingdom, refused even the sight of his own child!"⁴⁰

Of all the gay tribe of courtiers who fluttered around him in his prosperity, the only Castilians of note who now remained true, were the duke of Alva and the count of Cifuentes.⁴¹ For even his son-in-law, the constable of Castile, had deserted him. There were some, however, at a distance from the scene of operations, as the good Talavera, for instance, and the count of Tendilla, who saw with much concern the prospect of changing the steady and well-tried hand, which had held the

⁴⁰ Opus Epist., epist. 308.

"Ayer era Rey de España,
oy no lo soy de una villa;
ayer villas y castillos,
oy ninguno poseya;
ayer tenia criados," &c.

The lament of King Roderic, in

this fine old ballad, would seem hardly too extravagant in the mouth of his royal descendant.

⁴¹ "Ipse amicos res optime parant,
adverse probant."

Pub. Syrus.

helm for more than thirty years, for the capricious guidance of Philip and his favorites.⁴²

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An end was at length put to this scandalous exhibition, and Manuel, whether from increased confidence in his own resources, or the fear of bringing public odium on himself, consented to trust his royal charge to the peril of an interview. The place selected was an open plain near Puebla de Senabria, on the borders of Leon and Galicia. But even then, the precautions taken were of a kind truly ludicrous, considering the forlorn condition of King Ferdinand. The whole military apparatus of the archduke was put in motion, as if he expected to win the crown by battle. First came the well-appointed German spearmen, all in fighting order. Then, the shining squadrons of the noble Castilian chivalry, and their armed retainers. Next followed the archduke, seated on his war-horse and encompassed by his body-guard; while the rear was closed by the long files of archers and light cavalry of the country.⁴³

Interview
with Philip.

June 23.

Ferdinand, on the other hand, came into the field attended by about two hundred nobles and gentlemen, chiefly Aragonese and Italians, riding on mules, and simply attired in the short black cloak and bonnet of the country, with no other weapon

⁴² Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 306, 311. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, p. 143. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 19. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 19. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 10.

pomp of war was the rumor, that the king was levying a considerable force, and the duke of Alba mustering his followers in Leon; — rumors willingly circulated, no doubt, if not a sheer device of the enemy. Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 7, cap. 2.

⁴³ The only pretext for all this

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than the sword usually worn. The king trusted, says Zurita, to the majesty of his presence, and the reputation he had acquired by his long and able administration.

Courteous
deportment
of Ferdin-
and.

The Castilian nobles, brought into contact with Ferdinand, could not well avoid paying their obeisance to him. He received them in his usual gracious and affable manner, making remarks, the good-humor of which was occasionally seasoned with something of a more pungent character. To the duke of Najara, who was noted for being a vain-glorious person, and who came forward with a gallant retinue in all the panoply of war, he exclaimed, "So, duke, you are mindful as ever, I see, of the duties of a great captain!" Among others, was Garcilasso de la Vega, Ferdinand's minister formerly at Rome. Like many of the Castilian lords, he wore armour under his dress, the better to guard against surprise. The king, embracing him, felt the mail beneath, and, tapping him familiarly on the shoulder, said, "I congratulate you, Garcilasso, you have grown wonderfully lusty since we last met." The desertion, however, of one who had received so many favors from him, touched him more nearly than all the rest.

Phillip's dis-
trust.

As Philip drew near, it was observed he wore an anxious, embarrassed air, while his father-in-law maintained the same serene and cheerful aspect as usual. After exchanging salutations, the two monarchs alighted, and entered a small hermitage in the neighbourhood, attended only by Manuel and Archbishop Ximenes. They had no sooner entered,

than the latter, addressing the favorite with an air of authority it was not easy to resist, told him, "It was not meet to intrude on the private concerns of their masters," and taking his arm, led him out of the apartment and coolly locked the door on him, saying at the same time, that "He would serve as porter." The conference led to no result. Philip was well schooled in his part, and remained, says Martyr, immovable as a rock.⁴⁴ There was so little mutual confidence between the parties, that the name of Joanna, whom Ferdinand desired so much to see, was not even mentioned during the interview.⁴⁵

But, however reluctant Ferdinand might be to admit it, he was no longer in a condition to stand upon terms; and, in addition to the entire loss of influence in Castile, he received such alarming accounts from Naples, as made him determine on an immediate visit in person to that kingdom. He resolved, therefore, to bow his head to the present storm, in hopes that a brighter day was in reserve for him. He saw the jealousy hourly springing up between the Flemish and Castilian courtiers, and he probably anticipated such misrule as would afford an opening, perhaps with the good-will of the nation, for him to resume the reins, so unceremoni-

⁴⁴ "Durius Caucasiâ rupe, paternum nihil auscultavit." Opus Epist., epist. 310.

⁴⁵ Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 43.—Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, pp. 146—149.—Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom.

ii. lib. 28, cap. 20.—Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 5.—Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 61, 62.—Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15.—Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1506.—Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 204.

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ously snatched from his grasp.⁴⁶ At any rate, should force be necessary, he would be better able to employ it effectively, with the aid of his ally, the French king, after he had adjusted the affairs of Naples.⁴⁷

Ferdinand
resigns the
regency.

Whatever considerations may have influenced the prudent monarch, he authorized the archbishop of Toledo, who kept near the person of the archduke, to consent to an accommodation on the very grounds proposed by the latter. On the 27th of June, he signed and solemnly swore to an agreement, by which he surrendered the entire sovereignty of Castile to Philip and Joanna, reserving to himself only the grandmasterships of the military orders, and the revenues secured by Isabella's testament.⁴⁸

On the following day, he executed another instrument of most singular import, in which, after avowing in unequivocal terms his daughter's incapacity, he engages to assist Philip in preventing any interference in her behalf, and to maintain him, as far as in his power, in the sole, exclusive authority.⁴⁹

His private
protest.

Before signing these papers, he privately made a protest, in the presence of several witnesses, that

⁴⁶ Lord Bacon remarks, in allusion to Philip's premature death, "There was an observation by the wisest of that court, that, if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections." (Hist. of Henry VII., Works, vol. v. p. 180.) The prediction must have been suggested by the general estimation of their respective charac-

ters; for the parties never met again after Ferdinand withdrew to Aragon.

⁴⁷ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 8.

⁴⁸ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 204. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1506. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 7. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 210.

⁴⁹ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 8.

what he was about to do was not of his own free will, but from necessity, to extricate himself from his perilous situation, and shield the country from the impending evils of a civil war. He concluded with asserting, that, so far from relinquishing his claims to the regency, it was his design to enforce them, as well as to rescue his daughter from her captivity, as soon as he was in a condition to do so.⁵⁰ Finally, he completed this chain of inconsistencies by addressing a circular letter, dated July 1st, to the different parts of the kingdom, announcing his resignation of the government into the hands of Philip and Joanna, and declaring the act one, which, notwithstanding his own right and power to the contrary, he had previously determined on executing, so soon as his children should set foot in Spain.⁵¹

It is not easy to reconcile this monstrous tissue of incongruity and dissimulation with any motives of necessity or expediency. Why should he, so soon after preparing to raise the kingdom in his daughter's cause, thus publicly avow her imbecility, and deposit the whole authority in the hands of

His motives.

⁵⁰ Zurita, Anales, ubi supra.

⁵¹ Idem, ubi supra.

Ferdinaand's manifesto, as well as the instrument declaring his daughter's incapacity, are given at length by Zurita. The secret protest rests on the unsupported authority of the historian; and surely a better authority cannot easily be found, considering his proximity to the period, his resources as national historiographer, and the extreme caution and candor with which he

discriminates between fact and rumor. It is very remarkable, however, that Peter Martyr, with every opportunity for information, as a member of the royal household, apparently high in the king's confidence, should have made no allusion to this secret protest in his correspondence with Tendilla and Talavera, both attached to the royal party, and to whom he appears to have communicated all matters of interest without reserve.

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Philip? Was it to bring odium on the head of the latter, by encouraging him to a measure, which he knew must disgust the Castilians? ⁵² But Ferdinand by this very act shared the responsibility with him. Was it in the expectation that uncontrolled and undivided power, in the hands of one so rash and improvident, would the more speedily work his ruin? As to his clandestine protest, its design was obviously to afford a plausible pretext at some future time for reasserting his claims to the government, on the ground, that his concessions had been the result of force. But then, why neutralize the operation of this, by the declaration, spontaneously made in his manifesto to the people, that his abdication was not only a free, but most deliberate and premeditated act? He was led to this last avowal, probably, by the desire of covering over the mortification of his defeat; a thin varnish, which could impose on nobody. The whole of the proceedings are of so ambiguous a character as to suggest the inevitable inference, that they flowed from habits of dissimulation too strong to be controlled, even when there was no occasion for its exercise. We occasionally meet with examples of a similar fondness for superfluous manœuvring in the humbler concerns of private life.

Second interview.
July 5.

After these events, one more interview took place between King Ferdinand and Philip, in which the

⁵² This motive is charitably imputed to him by Gaillard. (*Rivallité*, tom. iv. p. 311.) The same writer commends Ferdinand's *habileté*, in extricating himself from his embarrassments by the treaty, "auquel il fit consentir Philippe dans leur entrevue"! p. 310.

former prevailed on his son-in-law to pay such attention to decorum, and exhibit such outward marks of a cordial reconciliation, as, if they did not altogether impose on the public, might at least throw a decent veil over the coming separation. Even at this last meeting, however, such was the distrust and apprehension entertained of him, that the unhappy father was not permitted to see and embrace his daughter before his departure.⁵³

Throughout the whole of these trying scenes, says his biographer, the king maintained that propriety and entire self-possession, which comported with the dignity of his station and character, and strikingly contrasted with the conduct of his enemies. However much he may have been touched with the desertion of a people, who had enjoyed the blessings of peace and security under his government for more than thirty years, he manifested no outward sign of discontent. On the contrary, he took leave of the assembled grandees with many expressions of regard, noticing kindly their past services to him, and studying to leave such an impression, as should efface the recollection of recent differences.⁵⁴ The circumspect monarch looked forward, no doubt, to the day of his return. The event did not seem very improbable; and there were other sagacious persons besides himself, who

Departure of
Ferdinand.

⁵³ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 10. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 21. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 64. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 210.

⁵⁴ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 10. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 9.

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read in the dark signs of the times abundant augury of some speedy revolution.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 10.— See also the melancholy vaticinations of Martyr, (*Opus Epist.*, epist. 311,) who seems to echo back the sentiments of his friends Tendilla and Talavera.

Authorities
for the ac-
count of
Philip.

The principal authorities for the events in this Chapter, as the reader may remark, are Martyr and Zurita. The former, not merely a spectator, but actor in them, had undoubtedly the most intimate opportunities of observation. He seems to have been sufficiently impartial too, and prompt to do justice to what was really good in Philip's character; although that of his royal master was of course calculated to impress the deepest respect on a person of Martyr's uncommon penetration and sagacity. The Aragonese chronicler, however, though removed to a somewhat further distance as to time, was from that circumstance placed in a point of view more favorable for embracing the whole field of action, than if he had taken part and jostled in the crowd, as one of it. He has accordingly given much wider scope to his survey, exhibiting full details of the alleged grievances, pretensions, and policy of the opposite party; and, although

condemning them himself without reserve, has conveyed impressions of Ferdinand's conduct less favorable, on the whole, than Martyr.

But neither the Aragonese historian, nor Martyr, nor any contemporary writer, native or foreign, whom I have consulted, countenances the extremely unfavorable portrait, which Dr. Robertson has given of Ferdinand in his transactions with Philip. It is difficult to account for the bias which this eminent historian's mind has received in this matter, unless it be that he has taken his impressions from the popular notions entertained of the character of the parties, rather than from the circumstances of the particular case under review; a mode of proceeding extremely objectionable in the present instance, where Philip, however good his natural qualities, was obviously a mere tool in the hands of corrupt and artful men, working exclusively for their own selfish purposes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COLUMBUS.—HIS RETURN TO SPAIN.—HIS DEATH.

1504—1506.

Return of Columbus from his Fourth Voyage.—His Illness.—Neglected by Ferdinand.—His Death.—His Person.—And Character.

WHILE the events were passing, which occupy the beginning of the preceding chapter, Christopher Columbus returned from his fourth and last voyage. It had been one unbroken series of disappointment and disaster. After quitting Hispaniola, and being driven by storms nearly to the island of Cuba, he traversed the gulf of Honduras, and coasted along the margin of the golden region, which had so long flitted before his fancy. The natives invited him to strike into its western depths in vain, and he pressed forward to the south, now solely occupied with the grand object of discovering a passage into the Indian ocean. At length, after having with great difficulty advanced somewhat beyond the point of Nombre de Dios, he was compelled by the fury of the elements, and the murmurs of his men, to abandon the enterprise, and retrace his steps. He was subsequently defeated in an attempt to establish a colony on terra firma, by the ferocity of

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Columbus's
last voyage.

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the natives; was wrecked on the island of Jamaica, where he was permitted to linger more than a year, through the malice of Ovando, the new governor of St. Domingo; and finally, having reëmbarked with his shattered crew in a vessel freighted at his own expense, was driven by a succession of terrible tempests across the ocean, until, on the 7th of November, 1504, he anchored in the little port of St. Lucar, twelve leagues from Seville.¹

He learns
Isabella's
death.

In this quiet haven, Columbus hoped to find the repose his broken constitution and wounded spirit so much needed, and to obtain a speedy restitution of his honors and emoluments from the hand of Isabella. But here he was to experience his bitterest disappointment. At the time of his arrival, the queen was on her death-bed; and in a very few days Columbus received the afflicting intelligence, that the friend, on whose steady support he had so confidently relied, was no more. It was a heavy blow to his hopes, for "he had always experienced favor and protection from her," says his son Ferdinand, "while the king had not only been indifferent, but positively unfriendly to his interests."² We may readily credit, that a man of the cold and prudent

¹ Martyr, *De Rebus Oceanicis*, dec. 3, lib. 4. — Benzoni, *Novi Orbis Hist.*, lib. 1, cap. 14. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 88-108. — Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 2-12; lib. 6, cap. 1-13. — Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. i. pp. 282-325.

The best authorities for the fourth voyage are the relations of Mendez and Porras, both engaged

in it; and above all the admiral's own letter to the sovereigns from Jamaica. They are all collected in the first volume of Navarrete. (*Ubi supra.*) Whatever cloud may be thrown over the early part of Columbus's career, there is abundant light on every step of his path after the commencement of his great enterprise.

² *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 108.

character of the Spanish monarch would not be very likely to comprehend one so ardent and aspiring as that of Columbus, nor to make allowance for his extravagant sallies. And, if nothing has hitherto met our eye to warrant the strong language of the son, yet we have seen that the king, from the first, distrusted the admiral's projects, as having something unsound and chimerical in them.

The affliction of the latter at the tidings of Isabella's death is strongly depicted in a letter written immediately after to his son Diego. "It is our chief duty," he says, "to commend to God most affectionately and devoutly the soul of our deceased lady, the queen. Her life was always Catholic and virtuous, and prompt to whatever could redound to his holy service; wherefore, we may trust, she now rests in glory, far from all concern for this rough and weary world."³

Columbus, at this time, was so much crippled by the gout, to which he had been long subject, that he was unable to undertake a journey to Segovia, where the court was, during the winter. He lost no time, however, in laying his situation before the king through his son Diego, who was attached to the royal household. He urged his past services, the original terms of the capitulation made with him, their infringement in almost every particular, and his own necessitous condition. But Ferdinand was too busily occupied with his own concerns, at this crisis, to give much heed to those

His illness.

³ Cartas de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. p. 341.

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May.He visits the
court.

of Columbus, who repeatedly complains of the inattention shown to his application.⁴ At length, on the approach of a milder season, the admiral, having obtained a dispensation in his favor from the ordinance prohibiting the use of mules, was able by easy journeys to reach Segovia, and present himself before the monarch.⁵

He was received with all the outward marks of courtesy and regard by Ferdinand, who assured him that "he fully estimated his important services, and, far from stinting his recompense to the precise terms of the capitulation, intended to confer more ample favors on him in Castile."⁶

These fair words, however, were not seconded by actions. The king probably had no serious thoughts of reinstating the admiral in his government. His successor, Ovando, was high in the royal favor. His rule, however objectionable as regards the Indians, was every way acceptable to the Spanish colonists;⁷ and even his oppression of the poor natives was so far favorable to his cause, that it enabled him to pour much larger sums into the royal coffers, than had been gleaned by his more humane predecessor.⁸

The events of the last voyage, moreover, had

⁴ See his interesting correspondence with his son Diego; now printed for the first time by Señor Navarrete from the original MSS. in the duke of Veragua's possession. Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. p. 338 et seq.

⁵ Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 14. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 108.

For an account of this ordinance see Part II. Chapter 3, note 12, of this History.

⁶ Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 13; lib. 6, cap. 16-18. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 14.

probably not tended to dispel any distrust, which the king previously entertained of the admiral's capacity for government. His men had been in a state of perpetual insubordination; while his letter to the sovereigns, written under distressing circumstances, indeed, from Jamaica, exhibited such a deep coloring of despondency, and occasionally such wild and visionary projects, as might almost suggest the suspicion of a temporary alienation of mind.⁹

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But whatever reasons may have operated to postpone Columbus's restoration to power, it was the grossest injustice to withhold from him the revenues secured by the original contract with the crown. According to his own statement, he was so far from receiving his share of the remittances made by Ovando, that he was obliged to borrow money, and had actually incurred a heavy debt for his necessary expenses.¹⁰ The truth was, that, as the resources of the new countries began to develop themselves more abundantly, Ferdinand felt greater reluctance to comply with the letter of the original capitulation; he now considered the compensation as too vast and altogether disproportioned to the services of any subject; and at length was so un-

Ferdinand's
unjust treat-
ment of him.

⁹ This document exhibits a medley, in which sober narrative and sound reasoning are strangely blended with crazy dreams, doleful lamentation, and wild schemes for the recovery of Jerusalem, the conversion of the Grand Khan, &c. Vagaries like these, which come occasionally like clouds over his

soul, to shut out the light of reason, cannot fail to fill the mind of the reader, as they doubtless did those of the sovereigns at the time, with mingled sentiments of wonder and compassion. See *Cartas de Colon*, apud Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. i. p. 296.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

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generous as to propose, that the admiral should relinquish his claims, in consideration of other estates and dignities to be assigned him in Castile.¹¹ It argued less knowledge of character than the king usually showed, that he should have thought the man, who had broken off all negotiations on the threshold of a dubious enterprise, rather than abate one tittle of his demands, would consent to such abatement, when the success of that enterprise was so gloriously established.

What assistance Columbus actually received from the crown at this time, or whether he received any, does not appear. He continued to reside with the court, and accompanied it in its removal to Valladolid. He no doubt enjoyed the public consideration due to his high repute and extraordinary achievements; though by the monarch he might be regarded in the unwelcome light of a creditor, whose claims were too just to be disavowed, and too large to be satisfied.

He declines
in health
and spirits.

With spirits broken by this unthankful requital of his services, and with a constitution impaired by a life of unmitigated hardship, Columbus's health now rapidly sunk under the severe and reiterated attacks of his disorder. On the arrival of Philip and Joanna, he addressed a letter to them, through his brother Bartholomew, in which he lamented the infirmities which prevented him from paying his respects in person, and made a tender of his future services. The communication was graciously re-

¹¹ Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 108. — Herrera, Indias Occidentales, lib. 6, cap. 14.

ceived, but Columbus did not survive to behold the young sovereigns.¹²

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His mental vigor, however, was not impaired by the ravages of disease, and on the 19th of May, 1506, he executed a codicil, confirming certain testamentary dispositions formerly made, with special reference to the entail of his estates and dignities, manifesting, in his latest act, the same solicitude he had shown through life, to perpetuate an honorable name. Having completed these arrangements with perfect composure, he expired on the following day, being that of our Lord's ascension, with little apparent suffering, and in the most Christian spirit of resignation.¹³ His remains, first deposited in the convent of St. Francis at Valladolid, were, six years later, removed to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville, where a costly monument was raised over them by King Ferdinand, with the memorable inscription,

His death.

1506.
May 20.

"A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon ;"

"the like of which," says his son Ferdinand, with as much truth as simplicity, "was never recorded of any man in ancient or modern times."¹⁴ From

¹² Navarrete has given the letter, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. iii. p. 530. — *Herrera*, *Indias Occidentales*, ubi supra.

¹³ *Zuñiga*, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 429. — *Fernando Colon*, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 108. — *Bernaldez*, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 131. — *Navarrete*, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. ii., *Doc. Dipl.* 158.

¹⁴ *Hist. del Almirante*, ubi sup. The following eulogium of Paolo Giovio is a pleasing tribute to the deserts of the great navigator,

showing the high estimation in which he was held, abroad as well as at home, by the enlightened of his own day. "*Incomparabilis Liguribus honos, eximium Italiæ decus, et præfulgidum jubar seculo nostro nasceretur, quod priscorum heroum, Herculis, et Liberi patris famam obscuraret. Quorum memoriam grata olim mortalitas æternis literarum monumentis cælo consecravit.*" *Elogia Virorum Illust.*, lib. 4, p. 123.

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this spot his body was transported, in the year 1536, to the island of St. Domingo, the proper theatre of his discoveries; and, on the cession of that island to the French, in 1795, was again removed to Cuba, where his ashes now quietly repose in the cathedral church of its capital.¹⁵

His person
and habits.

There is considerable uncertainty as to Columbus's age, though it seems probable it was not far from seventy at the time of his death.¹⁶ His person has been minutely described by his son. He was tall and well made, his head large, with an aquiline nose, small light-blue or greyish eyes, a fresh complexion and red hair, though incessant toil and exposure had bronzed the former, and bleached the latter, before the age of thirty. He had a majestic presence, with much dignity, and at the same time affability of manner. He was fluent, even eloquent in discourse; generally temperate in deportment, but sometimes hurried by a too lively sensibility into a sally of passion.¹⁷ He was abstemious in his diet, indulged little in amusements of any kind, and, in truth, seemed too much absorbed by

¹⁵ Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viajes*, tom. ii., Doc. Dipl. 177.

On the left of the grand altar of this stately edifice, is a bust of Columbus, placed in a niche in the wall, and near it a silver urn, containing all that now remains of the illustrious voyager. See Abbot's "Letters from Cuba," a work of much interest and information, with the requisite allowance for the inaccuracies of a posthumous publication.

¹⁶ The various theories respecting the date of Columbus's birth cover a range of twenty years,

from 1436 to 1456. There are sturdy objections to either of the hypotheses; and the historian will find it easier to cut the knot than to unravel it. Comp. Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viajes*, tom. i. Intr. sec. 54. — Muñoz, *Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 2, sec. 12. — Spotorno, *Memorials of Columbus*, pp. 12, 25. — Irving, *Life of Columbus*, vol. iv. book 18, chap. 4.

¹⁷ Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 3. — *Novi Orbis Hist.*, lib. 1. cap. 14. — Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 15.

the great cause to which he had consecrated his life, to allow scope for the lower pursuits and pleasures, which engage ordinary men. Indeed, his imagination, by feeding too exclusively on this lofty theme, acquired an unnatural exaltation, which raised him too much above the sober realities of existence, leading him to spurn at difficulties, which in the end proved insurmountable, and to color the future with those rainbow tints, which too often melted into air.

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This exalted state of the imagination was the result in part, no doubt, of the peculiar circumstances of his life. For the glorious enterprise which he had achieved almost justified the conviction of his acting under the influence of some higher inspiration than mere human reason, and led his devout mind to discern intimations respecting himself in the dark and mysterious annunciations of sacred prophecy.¹⁸

His enthusiasm.

That the romantic coloring of his mind, however, was natural to him, and not purely the growth of circumstances, is evident from the chimerical speculations, in which he seriously indulged before the accomplishment of his great discoveries. His scheme of a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre was most deliberately meditated, and strenuously avowed from the very first date of his proposals to the Spanish government. His enthusiastic communications on the subject must have

¹⁸ See the extracts from Columbus's book of Prophecies, (apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Doc. Dipl. no. 140,) as still existing in the Bibliotheca Colombina at Seville.

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provoked a smile from a pontiff like Alexander the Sixth;¹⁹ and may suggest some apology for the tardiness, with which his more rational projects were accredited by the Castilian government. But these visionary fancies never clouded his judgment in matters relating to his great undertaking; and it is curious to observe the prophetic accuracy, with which he discerned, not only the existence, but the eventual resources of the western world; as is sufficiently evinced by his precautions, to the very last, to secure the full fruits of them, unimpaired, to his posterity.

His lofty
character.

Whatever were the defects of his mental constitution, the finger of the historian will find it difficult to point to a single blemish in his moral character. His correspondence breathes the sentiment of devoted loyalty to his sovereigns. His conduct habitually displayed the utmost solicitude for the interests of his followers. He expended almost his last maravedi in restoring his unfortunate crew to their native land. His dealings were regulated by the nicest principles of honor and justice. His last communication to the sovereigns from the Indies remonstrates against the use of violent measures in order to extract gold from the natives, as a thing equally scandalous and impolitic.²⁰ The grand object to which he dedicated himself seemed

¹⁹ See his epistle to the most selfish and sensual of the successors of St. Peter, in Navarrete, *Collection de Viages*, tom. ii., Doc. Dipl. no. 145.

²⁰ "El oro, bien que segun informacion el sea mucho, no me

pareció bien ni servicio de vuestras Altezas de se le tomar por via de robo. La buena orden evitará escándolo y mala fama," &c. *Cartas de Colon*, apud Navarrete, *Collection de Viages*, tom. i. p. 310.

to expand his whole soul, and raised it above the petty shifts and artifices, by which great ends are sometimes sought to be compassed. There are some men, in whom rare virtues have been closely allied, if not to positive vice, to degrading weakness. Columbus's character presented no such humiliating incongruity. Whether we contemplate it in its public or private relations, in all its features it wears the same noble aspect. It was in perfect harmony with the grandeur of his plans, and their results, more stupendous than those which Heaven has permitted any other mortal to achieve.²¹

²¹ Columbus left two sons, Fernando and Diego. The former, illegitimate, inherited his father's genius, says a Castilian writer, and the latter, his honors and estates. (Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, año 1506.) Fernando, besides other works now lost, left a valuable memoir of his father, often cited in this history. He was a person of rather uncommon literary attainments, and amassed a library, in his extensive travels, of 20,000 volumes, perhaps the largest private collection in Europe at that day. (*Ibid.*, año 1539.) Diego did not succeed to his father's dignities, till he had obtained a judgment in his favor against the crown from the council of the Indies, an act highly honorable to that tribunal, and showing that the independence of the courts of justice, the greatest bulwark of civil liberty, was well maintained under King Ferdinand. (*Navarrete, Colección de Viages*, tom. ii., *Doc. Dipl. nos. 163, 164*; tom. iii., *Supl. Col. Dipl. no. 69.*) The young *admiral* subsequently married a

lady of the great Toledo family, niece of the duke of Alva. (*Oviedo, Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 8.) This alliance with one of the most ancient branches of the haughty aristocracy of Castile, proves the extraordinary consideration, which Columbus must have attained during his own lifetime. A new opposition was made by Charles V. to the succession of Diego's son; and the latter, discouraged by the prospect of this interminable litigation with the crown, prudently consented to commute his claims, too vast and indefinite for any subject to enforce, for specific honors and revenues in Castile. The titles of Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Jamaica, derived from the places visited by the admiral in his last voyage, still distinguish the family, whose proudest title, above all that monarchs can confer, is, to have descended from Columbus. *Spotorno, Memorials of Columbus*, p. 123.

CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN AND DEATH OF PHILIP I.—PROCEEDINGS IN CASTILE.—FERDINAND VISITS NAPLES.

1506.

Philip and Joanna. — Their reckless Administration. — Ferdinand distrusts Gonsalvo. — He sails for Naples. — Philip's Death and Character. — The Provisional Government. — Joanna's Condition. — Ferdinand's Entry into Naples. — Discontent caused by his Measures there.

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Philip and
Joanna.

KING Ferdinand had no sooner concluded the arrangement with Philip, and withdrawn into his hereditary dominions, than the archduke and his wife proceeded towards Valladolid, to receive the homage of the estates convened in that city. Joanna, oppressed with an habitual melancholy, and clad in the sable habiliments better suited to a season of mourning than rejoicing, refused the splendid ceremonial and festivities, with which the city was prepared to welcome her. Her dissipated husband, who had long since ceased to treat her not merely with affection, but even decency, would fain have persuaded the cortes to authorize the confinement of his wife, as disordered in intellect, and to devolve on him the whole charge of the government. In this he was supported by the archbishop

of Toledo, and some of the principal nobility. But the thing was distasteful to the commons, who could not brook such an indignity to their own "natural sovereign"; and they were so staunchly supported by the admiral Enriquez, a grandee of the highest authority from his connexion with the crown, that Philip was at length induced to abandon his purpose, and to content himself with an act of recognition similar to that made at Toro.¹ No notice whatever was taken of the Catholic king, or of his recent arrangement transferring the regency to Philip. The usual oaths of allegiance were tendered to Joanna as queen and lady proprietor of the kingdom, and to Philip as her husband, and finally to their eldest son, prince Charles, as heir apparent and lawful successor on the demise of his mother.²

1506.
July 12.

By the tenor of these acts the royal authority would seem to be virtually vested in Joanna. From this moment, however, Philip assumed the government into his own hands. The effects were soon visible in the thorough revolution introduced into every department. Old incumbents in office were ejected without ceremony, to make way for new favorites. The Flemings, in particular, were placed in every considerable post, and the principal

Philip's arbitrary government.

¹ Marina tells an anecdote too long for insertion here, in relation to this cortes, showing the sturdy stuff of which a Castilian commoner in that day was made. (Teoria, part. 2, cap. 7.) It will scarcely gain credit without a better voucher than the anonymous scribbler from whom he has borrowed it.

² Mariana, Hist. de España, tom.

ii. lib. 28, cap. 22. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 11. — Abarea, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 15.

Joanna on this occasion was careful to inspect the powers of the deputies herself, to see they were all regularly authenticated. Singular astuteness for a mad woman!

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fortresses of the kingdom intrusted to their keeping. No length or degree of service was allowed to plead in behalf of the ancient occupant. The marquis and marchioness of Moya, the personal friends of the late queen, and who had been particularly recommended by her to her daughter's favor, were forcibly expelled from Segovia, whose strong citadel was given to Don Juan Manuel. There were no limits to the estates and honors lavished on this crafty minion.³

Reckless extravagance.

The style of living at the court was on the most thoughtless scale of wasteful expenditure. The public revenues, notwithstanding liberal appropriations by the late cortes, were wholly unequal to it. To supply the deficit, offices were sold to the highest bidder. The income drawn from the silk manufactures of Granada, which had been appropriated to defray King Ferdinand's pension, was assigned by Philip to one of the royal treasurers. Fortunately, Ximenes obtained possession of the order, and had the boldness to tear it in pieces. He then waited on the young monarch, and remonstrated with him on the recklessness of measures, which must infallibly ruin his credit with the people. Philip yielded in this instance; but, although he treated the archbishop with the greatest outward deference, it is not easy to discern the habitual in-

³ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 312. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 22. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 21. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 65. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.

fluence over his counsels claimed for the prelate by his adulatory biographers.⁴

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Troubles
from the In-
quisition.

All this could not fail to excite disgust and disquietude throughout the nation. The most alarming symptoms of insubordination began to appear in different parts of the kingdom. In Andalusia, in particular, a confederation of the nobles was organized, with the avowed purpose of rescuing the queen from the duress, in which it was said she was held by her husband. At the same time the most tumultuous scenes were exhibited in Cordova, in consequence of the high hand with which the Inquisition was carrying matters there. Members of many of the principal families, including persons of both sexes, had been arrested on the charge of heresy. This sweeping proscription provoked an insurrection, countenanced by the marquis of Priego, in which the prisons were broken open, and Lucero, an inquisitor who had made himself deservedly odious by his cruelties, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the infuriated populace.⁵ The grand

⁴ Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 17. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 65. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, rey 30, cap. 16. — Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, lib. 3, cap. 14.

⁵ Lucero (whom honest Martyr, with a sort of backhanded pun, usually nicknames *Tenebrero*) resumed his inquisitorial functions on Philip's death. Among his subsequent victims was the good archbishop Talavera, whose last days were embittered by his persecution. His insane violence at length provoked again the interference of government. His case was referred to a special commission, with

Ximenes at its head. Sentence was pronounced against him. The prisons he had filled were emptied. His judgments were reversed, as founded on insufficient and frivolous grounds. But alas! what was this to the hundreds he had consigned to the stake, and the thousands he had plunged in misery? He was in the end sentenced, — not to be roasted alive, — but to retire to his own benefice, and confine himself to the duties of a Christian minister! Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 77. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 333, 334, et al. — Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*,

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inquisitor, Deza, archbishop of Seville, the steady friend of Columbus, but whose name is unhappily registered on some of the darkest pages of the tribunal, was so intimidated as to resign his office.⁶ The whole affair was referred to the royal council by Philip, whose Flemish education had not predisposed him to any reverence for the institution; a circumstance, which operated quite as much to his prejudice, with the more bigoted part of the nation, as his really 'exceptionable acts.'⁷

The minds of the wise and the good were filled with sadness, as they listened to the low murmurs of popular discontent, which seemed to be gradually swelling into strength for some terrible convulsion; and they looked back with fond regret to the halcyon days, which they had enjoyed under the temperate rule of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Catholic king, in the mean time, was pursuing his voyage to Naples. He had been earnest-

tom. i. chap. 10, art. 3, 4. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Deza.

⁶ Oviedo has given an ample notice of this prelate, Ferdinand's confessor, in one of his dialogues. He mentions a singular taste, in one respect, quite worthy of an inquisitor. The archbishop kept a tame lion in his palace, which used to accompany him when he went abroad, and lie down at his feet when he said mass in the church. The monster had been stripped of his teeth and claws when young, but he was "espantable en su vista é aspeto," says Oviedo, who records two or three of his gambols, lion's play, at best. *Quincuagenas*, MS.

⁷ Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*,

tom. i, chap. 10, art. 3, 4. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, rey 30, cap. 16. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 333, 334, et al.

"Toda la gente," says Zurita, in reference to this affair, "noble y de limpia sangre se avia escandalizado dello"; (*Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 11;) and he plainly intimates his conviction, that Philip's profane interference brought Heaven's vengeance on his head, in the shape of a premature death. Zurita was secretary of the Holy Office in the early part of the sixteenth century. Had he lived in the nineteenth, he might have acted the part of a Llorente. He was certainly not born for a bigot.

ly pressed by the Neapolitans to visit his new dominions, soon after the conquest.⁸ He now went, less, however, in compliance with that request, than to relieve his own mind, by assuring himself of the fidelity of his viceroy, Gonsalvo de Cordova. That illustrious man had not escaped the usual lot of humanity; his brilliant successes had brought on him a full measure of the envy, which seems to wait on merit like its shadow. Even men like Rojas, the Castilian ambassador at Rome, and Prospero Colonna, the distinguished Italian commander, condescended to employ their influence at court to depreciate the Great Captain's services, and raise suspicions of his loyalty. His courteous manners, bountiful largesses, and magnificent style of living were represented as politic arts, to seduce the affections of the soldiery and the people. His services were in the market for the highest bidder. He had received the most splendid offers from the king of France and the pope. He had carried on a correspondence with Maximilian and Philip, who would purchase his adhesion, if possible, to the latter, at any price; and, if he had not hitherto committed himself by any overt act, it seemed probable he was only waiting to be determined in his future course by the result of King Ferdinand's struggle with his son-in-law.⁹

⁸ Summonte, *Hist. di Napoli*, tom. iv. lib. 6, cap. 5.

⁹ Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 276. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragón*, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 16. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap.

5, 11, 17, 27, 31; lib. 7, cap. 14. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario*, p. 123. — Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 36. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 23.