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The inhabitant of modern Spain or Italy, who wanders amid the ruins of their stately cities, their grass-grown streets, their palaces and temples crumbling into dust, their massive bridges choking up the streams they once proudly traversed, the very streams themselves, which bore navies on their bosoms, shrunk into too shallow a channel for the meanest craft to navigate, — the modern Spaniard who surveys these vestiges of a giant race, the tokens of his nation's present degeneracy, must turn for relief to the prouder and earlier period of her history, when such great works could alone be achieved; and it is no wonder, that he should be led, in his enthusiasm, to invest it with a romantic and exaggerated coloring.<sup>86</sup> Such a period in Spain cannot be looked for in the last, still less in the seventeenth century, for the nation had then reached the lowest ebb of its fortunes; <sup>87</sup> nor in the

excellence and fruitfulness of the soil;” which, “skilfully irrigated by the waters of the Tagus, and minutely cultivated, furnished every variety of fruit and vegetable produce to the neighbouring city.” While, instead of the sunburnt plains around Madrid, it is described as situated “in the bosom of a fair country, with an ample territory, yielding rich harvests of corn and wine, and all the other aliments of life.” *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 12, 13. — *Viaggio*, fol. 7, 8.

<sup>86</sup> Capmany has well exposed some of these extravagances. (*Mem. de Barcelona*, tom. iii. part. 3, cap. 2.) The boldest of them, however, may find a warrant in the declarations of the legislature itself. “En los lugares de obrages de lanas,” asserts the cortes of

1594, “donde se solian labrar veinte y treinta mil arrobas, no se labran hoi seis, y donde habia señores de ganado de grandisima cantidad, han disminuido en la misma y mayor proporcion, acaeciendo lo mismo en todas las otras cosas del comercio universal y particular. Lo cual hace que no haya ciudad de las principales destes reinos ni lugar ninguno, de donde no falte notable vecindad, como se echa bien de ver en la muchedumbre de casas que estan cerradas y despobladas, y en la baja que han dado los arrendamientos de las pocas que se arriendan y habitan.” *Apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. p. 304.

<sup>87</sup> A point which most writers would probably agree in fixing at 1700, the year of Charles II.'s death, the last and most imbecile of the Austrian dynasty. The



close of the sixteenth, for the desponding language of cortes shows that the work of decay and depopulation had then already begun.<sup>88</sup> It can only be found in the first half of that century, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and that of their successor Charles the Fifth; in which last, the state, under the strong impulse it had received, was carried onward in the career of prosperity, in spite of the ignorance and mismanagement of those who guided it.

There is no country which has been guilty of such wild experiments, or has showed, on the whole, such profound ignorance of the true principles of economical science, as Spain under the sceptre of the family of Austria. And, as it is not always easy to discriminate between their acts and those of Ferdinand and Isabella, under whom the germs of much of the subsequent legislation may be said to have been planted, this circumstance has brought undeserved discredit on the government of the latter. Undeserved, because laws, mischievous in their eventual operation, were not always so at the time for which they were originally devised; not to add, that what was intrinsically bad, has been aggravated ten fold under the blind legislation of their successors.<sup>89</sup> It is also true, that many of the

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population of the kingdom, at this time, had dwindled to 6,000,000. See Laborde, (*Itinéraire*, tom. vi. pp. 125, 143, ed. 1830,) who seems to have better foundation for this census than for most of those in his table.

<sup>88</sup> See the unequivocal language of cortes, under Philip II. (*supra*.)

With every allowance, it infers an alarming decline in the prosperity of the nation.

<sup>89</sup> One has only to read, for an evidence of this, the lib. 6, tit. 18, of the "Nueva Recopilacion," on "cosas prohibidas"; the laws on gilding and plating, lib. 5, tit. 24; on apparel and luxury, lib. 7, tit.

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most exceptionable laws sanctioned by their names, are to be charged on their predecessors, who had ingrafted their principles into the system long before;<sup>90</sup> and many others are to be vindicated by the general practice of other nations, which authorized retaliation on the score of self-defence.<sup>91</sup>

Nothing is easier than to parade abstract theorems, — true in the abstract, — in political economy; nothing harder than to reduce them to practice. That an individual will understand his own interests better than the government can, or, what is the same thing, that trade, if let alone, will find its way into the channels on the whole most advantageous to the community, few will deny. But what is true of all together is not true of any one singly; and no one nation can safely act on these principles,

12; on woollen manufactures, lib. 7, tit. 14–17, et leges al. Perhaps no stronger proof of the degeneracy of the subsequent legislation can be given, than by contrasting it with that of Ferdinand and Isabella in two important laws. 1. The sovereigns, in 1492, required foreign traders to take their returns in the products and manufactures of the country. By a law of Charles V., in 1552, the exportation of numerous domestic manufactures was prohibited, and the foreign trader, in exchange for domestic wool, was required to import into the country a certain amount of linen and woollen fabrics. 2. By an ordinance, in 1500, Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited the importation of silk thread from Naples, to encourage its production at home. This appears from the tenor of subsequent laws to have perfectly succeeded. In 1552, however, a law was passed, interdicting the export of manufactured silk,

and admitting the importation of the raw material. By this sagacious provision, both the culture of silk, and the manufacture were speedily crushed in Castile.

<sup>90</sup> See examples of these, in the reigns of Henry III., and John II. (Recop. de las Leyes, tom. ii. fol. 180, 181.) Such also were the numerous tariffs fixing the prices of grain, the vexatious class of sumptuary laws, those for the regulation of the various crafts, and, above all, on the exportation of the precious metals.

<sup>91</sup> The English Statute Book alone will furnish abundant proof of this, in the exclusive regulations of trade and navigation existing at the close of the fifteenth century. Mr. Sharon Turner has enumerated many, under Henry VIII., of similar import with, and, indeed, more partial in their operation than, those of Ferdinand and Isabella. History of England, vol. iv. pp. 170 et seq.

if others do not. In point of fact, no nation has acted on them since the formation of the present political communities of Europe. All that a new state, or a new government in an old one, can now propose to itself is, not to sacrifice its interests to a speculative abstraction, but to accommodate its institutions to the great political system, of which it is a member. On these principles, and on the higher obligation of providing the means of national independence in its most extended sense, much that was bad in the economical policy of Spain, at the period under review, may be vindicated.

It would be unfair to direct our view to the restrictive measures of Ferdinand and Isabella, without noticing also the liberal tenor of their legislation in regard to a great variety of objects. Such, for example, are the laws encouraging foreigners to settle in the country;<sup>92</sup> those for facilitating communication by internal improvements, roads, bridges, canals, on a scale of unprecedented magnitude;<sup>93</sup> for a similar attention to the wants of navigation, by constructing moles, quays, lighthouses along the coast, and deepening and extending the harbours, "to accommodate," as the acts set forth, "the great increase of trade"; for embellishing and adding in various ways to the accommodations of the cities;<sup>94</sup> for relieving the subject from onerous tolls.

Internal im-  
provements.

<sup>92</sup> Ordenanças Reales, lib. 6, tit. 4, ley 6.

<sup>93</sup> Archivo de Simancas; in which most of these ordinances appear to be registered. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 11.

<sup>94</sup> "Ennoblescense los cibdades é villas en tener casas grandes é bien fechas en que fagan sus ayuntamientos é concejos," &c. (Ordenanças Reales, lib. 7, tit. 1, ley 1.) Señor Clemencin has specified

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and oppressive monopolies;<sup>95</sup> for establishing a uniform currency and standard of weights and measures throughout the kingdom,<sup>96</sup> objects of unwearied solicitude through this whole reign; for maintaining a police, which, from the most disorderly and dangerous, raised Spain, in the language of Martyr, to be the safest country in Christendom;<sup>97</sup> for such equal justice, as secured to every man the fruits of his own industry, inducing him to embark his capital in useful enterprises; and, finally, for enforcing fidelity to contracts,<sup>98</sup> of which the sovereigns gave such a glorious example in their own administration, as effectually restored that public credit, which is the true basis of public prosperity.

While these important reforms were going on in the interior of the monarchy, it experienced a greater change in its external condition by the immense augmentation of its territory. The most important of its foreign acquisitions were those nearest home, Granada and Navarre; at least, they

the nature and great variety of these improvements, as collected from the archives of the different cities of the kingdom. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilustracion 11.

<sup>95</sup> Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 63, 91, 93. — Recop. de las Leyes, lib. 5, tit. 11, ley 12. — Among the acts for restricting monopolies may be mentioned one, which prohibited the nobility and great landholders from preventing their tenants' opening inns and houses of entertainment without their especial license. (Pragmáticas del Reyno, 1492, fol. 96.) The same abuse, however, is noticed by Mad. d'Aul-

noy, in her "Voyage d'Espagne," as still existing, to the great prejudice of travellers, in the seventeenth century. Dunlop, Memoirs of Philip IV. and Charles II., vol. ii. chap. 11.

<sup>96</sup> Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 93-112. — Recop. de las Leyes, lib. 5, tit. 21, 22.

<sup>97</sup> "Ut nulla unquam per se tuta regio, tutiorem se fuisse jactare possit." Opus Epist., epist. 31.

<sup>98</sup> For various laws tending to secure this, and prevent frauds in trade, see Ordenanças Reales, lib. 3, tit. 8, ley 5. — Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 45, 66, 67, et alibi.



Increase of  
empire.

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were the ones most capable, from their position, of being brought under control, and thoroughly and permanently identified with the Spanish monarchy. Granada, as we have seen, was placed under the sceptre of Castile, governed by the same laws, and represented in its cortes, being, in the strictest sense, part and parcel of the kingdom. Navarre was also united to the same crown. But its constitution, which bore considerable analogy to that of Aragon, remained substantially the same as before. The government, indeed, was administered by a viceroy; but Ferdinand made as few changes as possible, permitting it to retain its own legislature, its ancient courts of law, and its laws themselves. So the forms, if not the spirit of independence, continued to survive its union with the victorious state.<sup>99</sup>

The other possessions of Spain were scattered over the various quarters of Europe, Africa, and America. Naples was the conquest of Aragon; or, at least, made on behalf of that crown. The queen appears to have taken no part in the conduct of that war, whether distrusting its equity, or its expediency, in the belief that a distant possession in the heart of Europe would probably cost more to maintain than it was worth. In fact, Spain is the only nation, in modern times, which has been able to keep its hold on such possessions for any very considerable

<sup>99</sup> The fullest, though a sufficiently meagre, account of the Navarrese constitution, is to be found in Capmany's collection, "Práctica y Esulo," (pp. 250-258,) and in

the "Diccionario Geográfico-Hist. de España," (tom. ii. pp. 140-143.) The historical and economical details in the latter are more copious.

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period; a circumstance implying more wisdom in her policy than is commonly conceded to her. The fate of the acquisitions alluded to forms no exception to the remark; and Naples, like Sicily, continued permanently ingrafted on the kingdom of Aragon.

Government  
of Naples.

A fundamental change in the institutions of Naples became requisite to accommodate them to its new relations. Its great offices of state and its legal tribunals were reorganized. Its jurisprudence, which, under the Angevin race, and even the first Aragonese, had been adapted to French usages, was now modelled on the Spanish. The various innovations were conducted by the Catholic king with his usual prudence; and the reform in the legislation is commended by a learned and impartial Italian civilian, as breathing a spirit of moderation and wisdom.<sup>100</sup> He conceded many privileges to the people, and to the capital especially, whose venerable university he resuscitated from the decayed state into which it had fallen, making liberal appropriations from the treasury for its endowment. The support of a mercenary army, and the burdens incident to the war, pressed heavily on the people during the first years of his reign. But the Neapolitans, who, as already noticed, had been transferred too often from one victor to another to be keenly sensible to the loss of political indepen-

<sup>100</sup> "Queste furono," says Giannone, "le prime leggi che ci diedero gli Spagnuoli: leggi tutte provvide e savie, nello stabilir delle quali furono veramente gli Spa-

gnuoli più d' ogni altra nazione avveduti, e più esatti imitatori de' Romani." *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 30, cap. 5.

dence, were gradually reconciled to his administration, and testified their sense of its beneficent character by celebrating the anniversary of his death, for more than two centuries, with public solemnities, as a day of mourning throughout the kingdom.<sup>101</sup>

But far the most important of the distant acquisitions of Spain were those secured to her by the genius of Columbus and the enlightened patronage of Isabella. Imagination had ample range in the boundless perspective of these unknown regions; but the results actually realized from the discoveries, during the queen's life, were comparatively insignificant. In a mere financial view, they had been a considerable charge on the crown. This was, indeed, partly owing to the humanity of Isabella, who interfered, as we have seen, to prevent the compulsory exaction of Indian labor. This was subsequently, and immediately after her death indeed, carried to such an extent, that nearly half a million of ounces of gold were yearly drawn from the mines of Hispaniola alone.<sup>102</sup> The pearl fish-

Revenues  
from the  
Indies.

<sup>101</sup> Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 29, cap. 4; lib. 30, cap. 1, 2, 5. — Signorelli, *Coltura nelle Sicilie*, tom. iv. p. 84. — Every one knows the persecutions, the exile, and long imprisonment, which Giannone suffered for the freedom with which he treated the clergy, in his philosophical history. The generous conduct of Charles of Bourbon to his heirs is not so well known. Soon after his accession to the throne of Naples, that prince settled a liberal pension on the son of the historian, declaring, that "it did not comport with the honor

and dignity of the government, to permit an individual to languish in indigence, whose parent had been the greatest man, the most useful to the state, and the most unjustly persecuted, that the age had produced." Noble sentiments, giving additional grace to the act which they accompanied. See the decree, cited by Corniani, *Secoli della Letteratura Italiana*, (Brescia, 1804-1813.) tom. ix. art. 15.

<sup>102</sup> Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 18. — According to Martyr, the two mints of Hispaniola yielded 300,000 lbs. of



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eries,<sup>103</sup> and the culture of the sugar-cane, introduced from the Canaries,<sup>104</sup> yielded large returns under the same inhuman system.

Ferdinand, who enjoyed, by the queen's testament, half the amount of the Indian revenues, was now fully awakened to their importance. It would be unjust, however, to suppose his views limited to immediate pecuniary profits; for the measures he pursued were, in many respects, well contrived to promote the nobler ends of discovery and colonization. He invited the persons most eminent for nautical science and enterprise, as Pinzon, Solis, Vespucci, to his court, where they constituted a sort of board of navigation, constructing charts, and tracing out new routes for projected voyages.<sup>105</sup> It was in his capacity of head of this department, that the last-mentioned navigator had the glory, the greatest which accident and caprice ever granted to man, of giving his name to a new hemisphere.

Fleets were now fitted out on a more extended scale, which might vie, indeed, with the splendid equipments of the Portuguese, whose brilliant successes in the east excited the envy of their Castilian rivals. The king occasionally took a share in the voyage, independently of the interest which of right belonged to the crown.<sup>106</sup>

gold annually. De Rebus Oceanicis, dec. 1, lib. 10.

<sup>103</sup> The pearl fisheries of Cuba-gua were worth 75,000 ducats a year. Herrera, Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 9.

<sup>104</sup> Oviedo, Historia Natural de las Indias, lib. 4, cap. 8. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 165.

<sup>105</sup> Navarrete, Coleccion de Viajes, tom. iii. documentos 1-13. — Herrera, Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Navarrete, Coleccion de Viajes, tom. iii. pp. 48, 134.

The government, however, realized less from these expensive enterprises than individuals, many of whom, enriched by their official stations, or by accidentally falling in with some hoard of treasure among the savages, returned home to excite the envy and cupidity of their countrymen.<sup>107</sup> But the spirit of adventure was too high among the Castilians to require such incentive, especially when excluded from its usual field in Africa and Europe. A striking proof of the facility, with which the romantic cavaliers of that day could be directed to this new career of danger on the ocean, was given at the time of the last-meditated expedition into Italy under the Great Captain. A squadron of fifteen vessels, bound for the New World, was then riding in the Guadalquivir. Its complement was limited to one thousand two hundred men; but, on Ferdinand's countermanding Gonsalvo's enterprise, more than three thousand volunteers, many of them of noble family, equipped with unusual magnificence for the Italian service, hastened to Seville, and pressed to be admitted into the Indian armada.<sup>108</sup> Seville itself was in a manner depopulated by the general fever of emigration, so that it actually seemed, says a contemporary, to be tenanted only by females.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Bernardin de Santa Clara, treasurer of Hispaniola, amassed, during a few years' residence there, 96,000 ounces of gold. This same *nouveau riche*, used to serve gold dust, says Herrera, instead of salt, at his entertainments. (Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 3.) Many believed, according to the

same author, that gold was so abundant, as to be dragged up in nets from the beds of the rivers! Lib. 10, cap. 14.

<sup>108</sup> Ante, Part II., Chapter 24. — Herrera, Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 10, cap. 6, 7.

<sup>109</sup> "Per esser Sevilla nel loco che è, vi vanno tanti di loro alle

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discovery.

In this universal excitement, the progress of discovery was pushed forward with a success, inferior, indeed, to what might have been effected in the present state of nautical skill and science, but extraordinary for the times. The winding depths of the Gulf of Mexico were penetrated, as well as the borders of the rich but rugged isthmus, which connects the American continents. In 1512, Florida was discovered by a romantic old knight, Ponce de Leon, who, instead of the magical fountain of health, found his grave there.<sup>110</sup> Solis, another navigator, who had charge of an expedition, projected by Ferdinand,<sup>111</sup> to reach the South Sea by the circumnavigation of the continent, ran down the coast as far as the great Rio de la Plata, where he also was cut off by the savages. In 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa penetrated, with a handful of men, across the narrow part of the Isthmus of Darien, and from the summit of the Cordilleras, the first of Europeans, was greeted with the long-promised vision of the southern ocean.<sup>112</sup>

Indie, cha la città resta mal popolata,  
e quasi in man di donne.”  
(Navagiero, Viaggio, fol. 15.)  
Horace said, fifteen centuries before,

“Impiger extremos curris mercator ad  
Indos,  
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa,  
per ignea.”

Epist. 1. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 10. — Almost all the Spanish expeditions in the New World, whether on the northern or southern continent, have a tinge of romance, beyond what is found in those of other European nations. One of the

most striking and least familiar of them is, that of Ferdinand de Soto, the ill-fated discoverer of the Mississippi, whose bones bleach beneath its waters. His adventures are told with uncommon spirit by Mr. Bancroft, vol. i. chap. 2, of his *History of the United States*.

<sup>111</sup> Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 2, lib. 1, cap. 7.

<sup>112</sup> The life of this daring cavalier forms one in the elegant series of national biographies by Quintana, “*Vidas de Españoles Célebres*,” (tom. ii. pp. 1–82,) and is familiar to the English reader in Irving’s “*Companions of Colum-*

The intelligence of this event excited a sensation in Spain, inferior only to that caused by the discovery of America. The great object which had so long occupied the imagination of the nautical men of Europe, and formed the purpose of Columbus's last voyage, the discovery of a communication with these far western waters, was accomplished. The famous spice islands, from which the Portuguese had drawn such countless sums of wealth, were scattered over this sea; and the Castilians, after a journey of a few leagues, might launch their barks on its quiet bosom, and reach, and perhaps claim, the coveted possessions of their rivals, as falling west of the papal line of demarkation. Such were the dreams, and such the actual progress of discovery, at the close of Ferdinand's reign.

Our admiration of the dauntless heroism displayed by the early Spanish navigators, in their extraordinary career, is much qualified by a consideration of the cruelties with which it was tarnished; too great to be either palliated or passed over in silence by the historian. As long as Isabella lived, the Indians found an efficient friend and protector; but "her death," says the venerable Las Casas, "was the signal for their destruction."<sup>113</sup> Immediately on that event, the system of *repartimientos*, originally authorized, as we have seen, by Columbus, who seems to have had no doubt, from the first, of the

Excesses of  
the Span-  
iards.

bus." The third volume of Navarrete's laborious compilation, is devoted to the illustration of the minor Spanish voyagers, who followed up the bold track of discov-

ery, between Columbus and Cortes. Coleccion de Viages.

<sup>113</sup> Las Casas, Mémoire, Œuvres, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 189.

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crown's absolute right of property over the natives,<sup>114</sup> was carried to its full extent in the colonies.<sup>115</sup> Every Spaniard, however humble, had his proportion of slaves; and men, many of them not only incapable of estimating the awful responsibility of the situation, but without the least touch of humanity in their natures, were individually intrusted with the unlimited disposal of the lives and destinies of their fellow-creatures. They abused this trust in the grossest manner; tasking the unfortunate Indian far beyond his strength, inflicting the most refined punishments on the indolent, and hunting down those who resisted or escaped, like so many beasts of chase, with ferocious bloodhounds. Every step of the white man's progress in the New World, may be said to have been on the corpse of a native. Faith is staggered by the recital of the number of victims immolated in these fair regions within a very few years after the discovery; and the heart sickens at the loathsome details of barbarities, recorded by one, who, if his sympathies have led him sometimes to overcolor, can never be suspected of wilfully misstating facts of which he was an eyewitness.<sup>116</sup> A selfish indif-

<sup>114</sup> "Y crean (Vuestras Altezas) questa isla y todas las otras son asi suyas como Castilla, que aqui no falta salvo asiento y mandarles hacer lo que quisieren." Primera Carta de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. p. 93.

<sup>115</sup> Herrera, Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 8, cap. 9. — Las Casas, Œuvres, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. pp. 228, 229.

<sup>116</sup> See the various Memorials

of Las Casas, some of them expressly prepared for the council of the Indies. He affirms, that more than 12,000,000 lives were wantonly destroyed in the New World, within thirty-eight years after the discovery, and this in addition to those exterminated in the conquest of the country. (Œuvres, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 187.) Herrera admits that Hispaniola was reduced, in less than twenty-five

ference to the rights of the original occupants of the soil, is a sin which lies at the door of most of the primitive European settlers, whether papist or puritan, of the New World. But it is light, in comparison with the fearful amount of crimes to be charged on the early Spanish colonists; crimes that have, perhaps, in this world, brought down the retribution of Heaven, which has seen fit to turn this fountain of inexhaustible wealth and prosperity to the nation into the waters of bitterness.

It may seem strange, that no relief was afforded by the government to these oppressed subjects. But Ferdinand, if we may credit Las Casas, was never permitted to know the extent of the injuries done to them.<sup>117</sup> He was surrounded by men in the management of the Indian department, whose interest it was to keep him in ignorance.<sup>118</sup> The remonstrances of some zealous missionaries led him,<sup>119</sup> in 1501, to refer the subject of the *reparti-*

Slavery in  
the colonies.

years, from 1,000,000 to 14,000 souls. (*Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 10, cap. 12.) The numerical estimates of a large savage population, must, of course, be, in a great degree, hypothetical. That it was large, however, in these fair regions, may readily be inferred from the facilities of subsistence, and the temperate habits of the natives. The minimum sum in the calculation, when the number had dwindled to a few thousand, might be more easily ascertained.

<sup>117</sup> *Cœuvres*, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 228.

<sup>118</sup> One resident at the court, says the bishop of Chiapa, was proprietor of 800 and another of 1100 Indians. (*Cœuvres*, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 238.) We

learn their names from Herrera. The first was Bishop Fonseca, the latter the comendador Conchillos, both prominent men in the Indian department. (*Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 14.) The last-named person was the same individual sent by Ferdinand to his daughter in Flanders, and imprisoned there by the archduke Philip. After that prince's death, he experienced signal favors from the Catholic king, and amassed great wealth as secretary of the Indian board. Oviedo has devoted one of his dialogues to him. *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 9.

<sup>119</sup> The Dominican and other missionaries, to their credit be it told, labored with unwearied zeal

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*mientos* to a council of jurists and theologians. This body yielded to the representations of the advocates of the system, that it was indispensable for maintaining the colonies, since the European was altogether unequal to labor in this tropical climate; and that it, moreover, afforded the only chance for the conversion of the Indian, who, unless compelled, could never be brought in contact with the white man.<sup>120</sup>

On these grounds, Ferdinand openly assumed the responsibility to himself and his ministers, of maintaining this vicious institution; and subsequently issued an ordinance to that effect, accompanied, however, by a variety of humane and equitable regulations for restraining its abuse.<sup>121</sup> The license was embraced in its full extent; the regulations were openly disregarded.<sup>122</sup> Several years

and courage for the conversion of the natives, and the vindication of their natural rights. Yet these were the men, who lighted the fires of the Inquisition in their own land. To such opposite results may the same principle lead, under different circumstances!

<sup>120</sup> Las Casas concludes an elaborate memorial, prepared for the government, in 1542, on the best means of arresting the destruction of the aborigines, with two propositions. 1. That the Spaniards would still continue to settle in America, though slavery were abolished, from the superior advantages for acquiring riches it offered over the Old World. 2. That, if they would not, this would not justify slavery, since "*God forbids us to do evil that good may come of it.*" Rare maxim, from a Spanish churchman of the sixteenth centu-

ry! The whole argument, which comprehends the sum of what has been since said more diffusely in defence of abolition, is singularly acute and cogent. In its abstract principles it is unanswerable, while it exposes and denounces the misconduct of his countrymen, with a freedom which shows the good bishop knew no other fear than that of his Maker.

<sup>121</sup> Recop. de Leyes de las Indias, August 14th, 1509, lib. 6, tit. 8, ley 1. — Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 14.

<sup>122</sup> The text expresses nearly enough the subsequent condition of things in Spanish America. "No government," says Heeren, "has done so much for the aborigines as the Spanish." (*Modern History*, Bancroft's trans., vol. i. p. 77.) Whoever peruses its colonial codes, may find much ground for

after, in 1515, Las Casas, moved by the spectacle of human suffering, returned to Spain, and pleaded the cause of the injured native, in tones which made the dying monarch tremble on his throne. It was too late, however, for the king to execute the remedial measures he contemplated.<sup>123</sup> The efficient interference of Ximenes, who sent a commission for the purpose to Hispaniola, was attended with no permanent results. And the indefatigable "protector of the Indians" was left to sue for redress at the court of Charles, and to furnish a splendid, if not a solitary example there, of a bosom penetrated with the true spirit of Christian philanthropy.<sup>124</sup>

I have elsewhere examined the policy pursued by the Catholic sovereigns in the government of their colonies. The supply of precious metals yielded by them eventually, proved far greater than had ever entered into the conception of the most sanguine of the early discoverers. Their prolific soil and genial climate, moreover, afforded an infinite variety of vegetable products, which might have furnished an unlimited commerce with the

the eulogium. But are not the very number and repetition of these humane provisions sufficient proof of their inefficacy?

<sup>123</sup> Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 2, lib. 2, cap. 3. — Las Casas, *Mémoire*, apud *Cœuvres*, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 239.

<sup>124</sup> In the remarkable discussion between the doctor Sepulveda and Las Casas, before a commission named by Charles V., in 1550, the former vindicated the persecution of the aborigines by the conduct of

the Israelites towards their idolatrous neighbours. But the Spanish Fenelon replied, that "the behaviour of the Jews was no precedent for Christians; that the law of Moses was a law of rigor; but that of Jesus Christ, one of grace, mercy, peace, good-will, and charity." (*Cœuvres*, ed. de Llorente, tom. i. p. 374.) The Spaniard first persecuted the Jews, and then quoted them as an authority for persecuting all other infidels.



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mother country. Under a judicious protection; their population and productions, steadily increasing, would have enlarged to an incalculable extent the general resources of the empire. Such, indeed, might have been the result of a wise system of legislation.

Colonial administration.

But the true principles of colonial policy were sadly misunderstood in the sixteenth century. The discovery of a world was estimated, like that of a rich mine, by the value of its returns in gold and silver. Much of Isabella's legislation, it is true, is of that comprehensive character, which shows that she looked to higher and far nobler objects. But with much that is good, there was mingled, as in most of her institutions, one germ of evil, of little moment at the time, indeed, but which, under the vicious culture of her successors, shot up to a height that overshadowed and blighted all the rest. This was the spirit of restriction and monopoly, aggravated by the subsequent laws of Ferdinand, and carried to an extent under the Austrian dynasty, that paralyzed colonial trade.

Under their most ingeniously perverse system of laws, the interests of both the parent country and the colonies were sacrificed. The latter, condemned to look for supplies to an incompetent source, were miserably dwarfed in their growth; while the former contrived to convert the nutriment which she extorted from the colonies into a fatal poison. The streams of wealth which flowed in from the silver quarries of Zacatecas and Potosí, were jealously locked up within the limits of the Peninsula.

The great problem, proposed by the Spanish legislation of the sixteenth century, was the reduction of prices in the kingdom to the same level as in other European nations. Every law that was passed, however, tended, by its restrictive character, to augment the evil. The golden tide, which, permitted a free vent, would have fertilized the region through which it poured, now buried the land under a deluge which blighted every green and living thing. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, every branch of national industry and improvement, languished and fell to decay; and the nation, like the Phrygian monarch, who turned all that he touched to gold, cursed by the very consummation of its wishes, was poor in the midst of its treasures.

From this sad picture, let us turn to that presented by the period of our History, when, the clouds and darkness having passed away, a new morn seemed to break upon the nation. Under the firm but temperate sway of Ferdinand and Isabella, the great changes we have noticed were effected without convulsion in the state. On the contrary, the elements of the social system, which before jarred so discordantly, were brought into harmonious action. The restless spirit of the nobles was turned from civil faction to the honorable career of public service, whether in arms or letters. The people at large, assured of the security of private rights, were occupied with the different branches of productive labor. Trade, as is abundantly shown by the legislation of the period, had not yet fallen into the discredit which attached to

General  
prosperity

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it in later times.<sup>125</sup> The precious metals, instead of flowing in so abundantly as to palsy the arm of industry, served only to stimulate it.<sup>126</sup>

The foreign intercourse of the country was every day more widely extended. Her agents and consuls were to be found in all the principal ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.<sup>127</sup> The Spanish mariner, instead of creeping along the beaten track of inland navigation, now struck boldly across the great western ocean. The new discoveries

<sup>125</sup> It is only necessary to notice the contemptuous language of Philip II.'s laws, which designate the most useful mechanic arts, as those of blacksmiths, shoemakers, leather-dressers, and the like, as "*oficios viles y bajos.*"

A whimsical distinction prevails in Castile, in reference to the more humble occupations. A man of gentle blood may be a coachman, lacquey, scullion, or any other menial, without disparaging his nobility, which is said to *sleep* in the mean while. But he fixes on it an indelible stain, if he exercises any mechanical vocation. "Hence," says Capmany, "I have often seen a village in this province, in which the vagabonds, smugglers, and hangmen even, were natives, while the farrier, shoemaker, &c. was a foreigner." (Mem. de Barcelona, tom. i. part. 3, p. 40; tom. iii. part. 2, pp. 317, 318.) See also some sensible remarks on the subject, by Blanco White, the ingenious author of *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, p. 44.

<sup>126</sup> "The interval between the acquisition of money, and the rise of prices," Hume observes, "is the only time when increasing gold and silver are favorable to industry." (Essays, part 2; essay 3.) An ordinance of June 13th, 1497,

complains of the scarcity of the precious metals, and their insufficiency to the demands of trade. (Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 93.) It appears, however, from Zuñiga, that the importation of gold from the New World began to have a sensible effect on the prices of commodities, from that very year. Anales de Sevilla, p. 415.

<sup>127</sup> Mr. Turner has made several extracts from the Harleian MSS., showing that the trade of Castile with England was very considerable in Isabella's time. (History of England, vol. iv. p. 90.) A pragmatic of July 21st, 1494, for the erection of a consulate at Burgos, notices the commercial establishments in England, France, Italy, and the Low Countries. This tribunal, with other extensive privileges, was empowered to hear and determine suits between merchants; "which," says the plain spoken ordinance, "in the hands of lawyers are never brought to a close; porque se presentauan escritos y libelos de letrados de manera que por mal pleyto que fuesse le sostenian los letrados de manera que *los hazian immortales.*" (Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 146-148.) This institution rose soon to be of the greatest importance in Castile.

had converted the land trade with India into a sea trade; and the nations of the Peninsula, who had hitherto lain remote from the great highways of commerce, now became the factors and carriers of Europe.

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The flourishing condition of the nation was seen in the wealth and population of its cities, the revenues of which, augmented in all to a surprising extent, had increased in some, forty and even fifty fold beyond what they were at the commencement of the reign; <sup>128</sup> the ancient and lordly Toledo; Burgos, with its bustling, industrious traders; <sup>129</sup> Valladolid, sending forth its thirty thousand warriors from its gates, where the whole population now scarcely reaches two thirds of that number; <sup>130</sup> Cordova, in the south, and the magnificent Granada, naturalizing in Europe the arts and luxuries of the east; Saragossa, "the abundant," as she was called from her fruitful territory; Valencia, "the beautiful"; Barcelona, rivalling in indepen-

<sup>128</sup> The sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of History, contains a schedule of the respective revenues afforded by the cities of Castile, in the years 1477, 1482, and 1504; embracing, of course, the commencement and close of Isabella's reign. The original document exists in the archives of Simancas. We may notice the large amount and great increase of taxes in Toledo, particularly, and in Seville; the former thriving from its manufactures, and the latter from the Indian trade. Seville, in 1504, furnished near a tenth of the whole revenue. Ilustracion 5.

<sup>129</sup> "No ay en ella," says Marineo of the latter city, "gente ocio-

sa, ni baldia, sino que todos trabajan, ansi mugeres como hombres, y los chicos como los grandes, buscando la vida con sus manos, y con sudores de sus carnes. Unos exercitan las artes mecánicas: y otros las liberales. Los que tratan las mercaderias, y hazen rica la ciudad, son muy fieles, y liberales." (Cosas Memorables, fol. 16.) It will not be easy to meet, in prose or verse, with a finer colored picture of departed glory, than Mr. Slidell has given of the former city, the venerable Gothic capital, in his "Year in Spain," chap. 12.

<sup>130</sup> Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 60.

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dence and maritime enterprise the proudest of the Italian republics;<sup>131</sup> Medina del Campo, whose fairs were already the great mart for the commercial exchanges of the Peninsula;<sup>132</sup> and Seville,<sup>133</sup> the golden gate of the Indies, whose quays began to be thronged with merchants from the most distant countries of Europe.

Public em-  
bellishments.

The resources of the inhabitants were displayed in the palaces and public edifices, fountains, aqueducts, gardens, and other works of utility and ornament. This lavish expenditure was directed by an improved taste. Architecture was studied on purer principles than before, and, with the sister arts of design, showed the influence of the new connexion with Italy in the first gleams of that excellence,

<sup>131</sup> It was a common saying in Navagiero's time, "Barcelona la ricca, Saragossa la harta, Valentia la hermosa." (Viaggio, fol. 5.) The grandeur and commercial splendor of the first-named city, which forms the subject of Capmany's elaborate work, have been sufficiently displayed in Part I., Chapter 2, of this History.

<sup>132</sup> "*Algunos suponen,*" says Capmany, "que estas ferias eran ya famosas en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos," &c. (Mem. de Barcelona, tom. iii. p. 356.) A very cursory glance at the laws of this time, will show the reasonableness of the supposition. See the Pragmáticas, fol. 146, and the ordinances from the archives of Simancas, apud Mem. de Acad., tom. vi. pp. 249, 252, providing for the erection of buildings and other accommodations for the "great resort of traders." In 1520, four years after Ferdinand's death, the city, in a petition to the regent, represented

the losses sustained by its merchants in the recent fire, as more than the revenues of the crown would probably be able to meet for several years. (Ibid., p. 264.) Navagiero, who visited Medina some six years later, when it was rebuilt, bears unequivocal testimony to its commercial importance. "Medina è buona terra, e piena di buone case, abbondante assai se non che le tante ferie che se vi fanno ogn' anno, e il concorso grande che vi è di tutta Spagna, fanno pur che il tutto si paga più di quel che si faria.\*\*\*\*\* La feria è abbondante certo di molte cose, ma sopra tutto di speciarie assai, che vengono di Portogallo; ma le maggior faccende che se vi facciano sono cambij." Viaggio, fol. 36.

<sup>133</sup> "Quien no vió á Sevilla  
No vió maravilla."

The proverb, according to Zúñiga, is as old as the time of Alonso XI. Annales de Sevilla, p. 183.

which shed such lustre over the Spanish school at the close of the century.<sup>134</sup> A still more decided impulse was given to letters. More printing presses were probably at work in Spain in the infancy of the art, than at the present day.<sup>135</sup> Ancient seminaries were remodelled; new ones were created. Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalá, whose cloistered solitudes are now the grave, rather than the nursery of science, then swarmed with thousands of disciples, who, under the generous patronage of the government, found letters the surest path to preferment.<sup>136</sup> Even the lighter branches of literature felt the revolutionary spirit of the times, and, after yielding the last fruits of the ancient system, dis-

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<sup>134</sup> The most eminent sculptors were, for the most part, foreigners; — as Miguel Florentin, Pedro Torregiano, Felipe de Borgoña, — chiefly from Italy, where the art was advancing rapidly to perfection in the school of Michael Angelo. The most successful architectural achievement was the cathedral of Granada, by Diego de Siloe. Pedraza, Antiquedad de Granada, fol. 82. — Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.

<sup>135</sup> At least so says Clemencin, a competent judge. “Desde los mismos principios de su establecimiento fue mas comun la imprenta en España que lo es al cabo de trescientos años dentro ya del siglo décimonono.” Elogio de Doña Isabel, Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi.

<sup>136</sup> Ante, Introduction, Sect. 2; Part I., Chapter 19; Part II., Chapter 21. — The “Pragmáticas del Reyno” comprises various ordinances, defining the privileges of Salamanca and Valladolid, the manner of conferring degrees, and

of election to the chairs of the universities, so as to obviate any undue influence or corruption. (Fol. 14–21.) “Porque,” says the liberal language of the last law, “los estudios generales donde las ciencias se leen y aprenden effuerçan las leyes y fazen a los nuestros subditos y naturales sabidores y honrrados y acrecientan virtudes: y porque en el dar y assignar de las cátedras salariadas deue auer toda libertad porque sean dadas á personas sabidores y cientes.” (Taragona, October 5th, 1495.) If one would see the totally different principles on which such elections have been conducted in modern times, let him read Doblado’s Letters from Spain, pp. 103–107. The university of Barcelona was suppressed in the beginning of the last century. Laborde has taken a brief survey of the present dilapidated condition of the others, at least as it was in 1830, since which it can scarcely have mended. Itinéraire, tom. vi. p. 144, et seq.

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tation of  
revenue.

played new and more beautiful varieties, under the influence of Italian culture.<sup>137</sup>

With this moral development of the nation, the public revenues, the sure index, when unforced, of public prosperity, went on augmenting with astonishing rapidity. In 1474, the year of Isabella's accession, the ordinary rents of the Castilian crown amounted to 885,000 reals; <sup>138</sup> in 1477, to 2,390,078; in 1482, after the resumption of the royal grants, to 12,711,591; and finally in 1504, when the acquisition of Granada <sup>139</sup> and the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom had encouraged the free expansion of all its resources, to 26,283,334; or thirty times the amount received at her accession.<sup>140</sup> All this, it

<sup>137</sup> See the concluding note to this chapter.

Erasmus, in a lively and elegant epistle to his friend, Francis Vergara, Greek professor at Alcalá, in 1527, lavishes unbounded panegyric on the science and literature of Spain, whose palmy state he attributes to Isabella's patronage, and the coöperation of some of her enlightened subjects. "— Hispaniæ vestræ, tanto successu, prisecam eruditionis gloriam sibi postliminiò vindicanti. Quæ quum semper et regionis amenitate fertilitatèque, semper ingeniorum eminentium ubere proventu, semper bellicâ laude floruerit, quid desiderari poterat ad summam felicitatem, nisi ut studiorum et religionis adjungeret ornamenta, quibus aspirante Deo sic paucis annis effloruit ut cæteris regionibus quamlibet hoc decorum genere præcellentibus vel invidiæ queat esse vel exemplo. \* \* \* \* \* Vos istam felicitatem secundùm Deum debetis laudatissimæ Regionum Elisabetæ, Francisco Cardinali quondam, Alonso Fonsecæ

nunc Archiepiscopo Toletano, et si qui sunt horum similes, quorum autoritas tuetur, benignitas alit fovetque bonas artes." Epistolæ, p. 978.

<sup>138</sup> The sums in the text express the *real de vellon*; to which they have been reduced by Señor Clemencin, from the original amount in *maravedis*, which varied very materially in value in different years. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 5.

<sup>139</sup> The kingdom of Granada appears to have contributed rather less than one eighth of the whole tax.

<sup>140</sup> In addition to the last mentioned sum, the extraordinary service voted by cortes, for the dowry of the infantas, and other matters, in 1504, amounted to 16,113,014 reals de vellon; making a sum total, for that year, of 42,396,348 reals. The bulk of the crown revenues was derived from the *alcavalas*, and the *tercias*, or two ninths of the ecclesiastical tithes. These important statements were transcribed

will be remembered, was derived from the customary established taxes, without the imposition of a single new one. Indeed, the improvements in the mode of collection tended materially to lighten the burdens on the people.

The accounts of the population at this early period are, for the most part, vague and unsatisfactory. Spain, in particular, has been the subject of the most absurd, though, as it seems, not incredible estimates, sufficiently evincing the paucity of authentic data.<sup>141</sup> Fortunately, however, we labor under no such embarrassment as regards Castile in Isabella's reign. By an official report to the crown on the organization of the militia, in 1492, it appears that the population of the kingdom amounted to 1,500,000 *vecinos* or householders; or, allowing four and a half to a family (a moderate estimate), to 6,750,000 souls.<sup>142</sup> This census, it will be observed, was limited to the provinces immediately

Increase of  
population

from the books of the *escribanía mayor de rentas*, in the archives of Simancas. *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

<sup>141</sup> The pretended amount of population has been generally in the ratio of the distance of the period taken, and, of course, of the difficulty of refutation. A few random remarks of ancient writers have proved the basis for the wildest hypotheses, raising the estimates to the total of what the soil, under the highest possible cultivation, would be capable of supporting. Even for so recent a period as Isabella's time, the estimate commonly received does not fall below eighteen or twenty millions. The official returns, cited in the text, of the most populous portion

of the kingdom, fully expose the extravagance of preceding estimates.

<sup>142</sup> These interesting particulars are obtained from a memorial, prepared by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, by their *contador*, Alonso de Quintanilla, on the mode of enrolling and arming the militia, in 1492; as a preliminary step to which, he procured a census of the actual population of the kingdom. It is preserved in a volume entitled *Relaciones tocantes á la junta de la Hermandad*, in that rich national repository, the archives of Simancas. See a copious extract, apud *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. Apend. 12.



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composing the crown of Castile, to the exclusion of Granada, Navarre, and the Aragonese dominions.<sup>143</sup>

It was taken, moreover, before the nation had time to recruit from the long and exhausting struggle of the Moorish war, and twenty-five years before the close of the reign, when the population, under circumstances peculiarly favorable, must have swelled to a much larger amount. Thus circumscribed, however, it was probably considerably in advance of that of England at the same period.<sup>144</sup> How have the destinies of the two countries since been reversed!

<sup>143</sup> I am acquainted with no sufficient and authentic data for computing the population, at this time, of the crown of Aragon, always greatly below that of the sister kingdom. I find as little to be relied on, notwithstanding the numerous estimates, in one form or another, vouchsafed by historians and travellers, of the population of Granada. Marineo enumerates fourteen cities and ninety-seven towns, (omitting, as he says, many places of less note,) at the time of the conquest; a statement obviously too vague for statistical purposes. (Cosas Memorables, fol. 179.) The capital, swelled by the influx from the country, contained, according to him, 200,000 souls at the same period. (Fol. 177.) In 1506, at the time of the forced conversions, we find the numbers in the city dwindled to fifty, or at most, seventy thousand. (Comp. Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 23, and Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 159.) Loose as these estimates necessarily are, we have no better to guide us in calculating the total amount of the population of the Moorish kingdom, or of the

losses sustained by the copious emigrations during the first fifteen years after the conquest; although there has been no lack of confident assertion, as to both, in later writers. The desideratum, in regard to Granada, will now probably not be supplied; the public offices in the kingdom of Aragon, if searched with the same industry as those in Castile, would doubtless afford the means for correcting the crude estimates, so current respecting that country.

<sup>144</sup> Hallam, in his "Constitutional History of England," estimates the population of the realm, in 1485, at 3,000,000, (vol. i. p. 10.) The discrepancies, however, of the best historians on this subject, prove the difficulty of arriving at even a probable result. Hume, on the authority of Sir Edward Coke, puts the population of England (including people of all sorts) a century later, in 1588, at only 900,000. The historian cites Lodovico Guicciardini, however, for another estimate, as high as 2,000,000, for the same reign of Queen Elizabeth. History of England, vol. vi. Append. 3.

The territorial limits of the monarchy, in the mean time, went on expanding beyond example ;— Castile and Leon, brought under the same sceptre with Aragon and its foreign dependencies, Sicily and Sardinia, with the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Naples, with the Canaries, Oran, and the other settlements in Africa, and with the islands and vast continents of America. To these broad domains, the comprehensive schemes of the sovereigns would have added Portugal ; and their arrangements for this, although defeated for the present, opened the way to its eventual completion under Philip the Second.<sup>145</sup>

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The petty states, which had before swarmed over the Peninsula, neutralizing each other's operations, and preventing any effective movement abroad, were now amalgamated into one whole. Sectional jealousies and antipathies, indeed, were too sturdily rooted to be wholly extinguished ; but they gradually subsided, under the influence of a common government, and community of interests. A more enlarged sentiment was infused into the people, who, in their foreign relations, at least, assumed the attitude of one great nation. The names of Castilian and Aragonese were merged in the comprehensive one of Spaniard ; and Spain, with an empire which stretched over three quarters of the globe, and which almost realized the proud boast that the sun never set within her borders, now rose, not to the

Patriotic  
principle.

<sup>145</sup> Philip II. claimed the Portuguese crown in right of his mother, and his wife, both descended from Maria, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, as the reader may remember, married King Emanuel.

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first class only, but to the first place, in the scale of European powers.

Chivalrous  
spirit of the  
people.

The extraordinary circumstances of the country tended naturally to nourish the lofty, romantic qualities, and the somewhat exaggerated tone of sentiment, which always pervaded the national character. The age of chivalry had not faded away in Spain; as in most other lands.<sup>146</sup> It was fostered, in time of peace, by the tourneys, jousts, and other warlike pageants, which graced the court of Isabella.<sup>147</sup> It gleamed out, as we have seen, in the Italian campaigns under Gonsalvo de Cordova, and shone forth in all its splendors in the war of Granada. "This was a right gentle war," says Navagiero, in a passage too pertinent to be omitted, "in which, as fire-arms were comparatively little used, each knight had the opportunity of showing his personal prowess; and rare was it, that a day passed without some feat of arms and valorous exploit. The nobility and chivalry of the land all thronged there to gather renown. Queen Isabel, who attended

<sup>146</sup> Old Caxton mourns over the little honor paid to the usages of chivalry in his time; and it is sufficient evidence of its decay in England, that Richard III. thought it necessary to issue an ordinance, requiring those possessed of the requisite £40 a year, to receive knighthood. (Turner, History of England, vol. iii. pp. 391, 392.) The use of artillery was fatal to chivalry; a consequence well understood, even at the early period of our History. At least, so we may infer from the verses of Ariosto, where Orlando throws Cimos's gun into the sea.

"Lo tolse e disse: Acciò più non l'atea  
Mal cavalier per te d'essere ardito;  
Nè quanto il buono val, mai più si vanti  
Il rio per te valer, qui giù rimanti."

Orlando Furioso, canto 9, st. 90.

<sup>147</sup> "Quien podrá contar," exclaims the old Curate of Los Palacios, "la grandeza, el concierto de su corte, la cavallería de los Nobles de toda España, Duques, Maestres, Marqueses é Ricos homes; los Galanes, las Damas, las Fiestas, los Torneos, la Moltitud de Poetas é trovadores," &c. Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 201.

with her whole court, breathed courage into every heart. There was scarce a cavalier, who was not enamoured of some one or other of her ladies, the witness of his achievements, and who, as she presented him his weapons, or some token of her favor, admonished him to bear himself like a true knight, and show the strength of his passion by his valiant deeds.<sup>148</sup> What knight so craven, then," exclaims the chivalrous Venetian, "that he would not have been more than a match for the stoutest adversary; or who would not sooner have lost his life a thousand times, than return dishonored to the lady of his love. In truth," he concludes, "this conquest may be said to have been achieved by love, rather than by arms."<sup>149</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Oviedo notices the existence of a lady-love, even with cavaliers who had passed their prime, as a thing of quite as imperative necessity, in his day, as it was afterwards regarded by the gallant knight of La Mancha. "Costumbre es en España entre los señores de estado que venidos á la corte, aunque nó estén enamorados ó que pasen de la mitad de la edad fingir que aman por servir y favorecer á alguna dama, y gastar como quien son en fiestas y otras cosas que se ofrescen de tales pasatiempos y amores, sin que les dé pena Cupido." *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. I, quinc. I, dial. 28.

<sup>149</sup> *Viaggio*, fol. 27.

Andrea Navagiero, whose itinerary has been of such frequent reference in these pages, was a noble Venetian, born in 1483. He became very early distinguished, in his cultivated capital, for his scholarship, poetical talents, and eloquence, of which he has left specimens, especially in Latin verse, in

the highest repute to this day with his countrymen. He was not, however, exclusively devoted to letters, but was employed in several foreign missions by the republic. It was on his visit to Spain, as minister to Charles V., soon after that monarch's accession, that he wrote his *Travels*; and he filled the same office at the court of Francis I., when he died, at the premature age of forty-six, in 1529. (*Tiraboschi*, *Letteratura Italiana*, tom. vii. part. 3, p. 228, ed. 1785.) His death was universally lamented by the good and the learned of his time, and is commemorated by his friend, Cardinal Bembo, in two sonnets, breathing all the sensibility of that tender and elegant poet. (*Rime*, Son. 109, 110.) Navagiero becomes connected with Castilian literature by the circumstance of Boscan's referring to his suggestion the innovation he so successfully made in the forms of the national verse. *Obras*, fol. 20, ed. 1543.

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The Spaniard was a knight-errant, in its literal sense,<sup>150</sup> roving over seas on which no bark had ever ventured, among islands and continents where no civilized man had ever trodden, and which fancy peopled with all the marvels and drear enchantments of romance; courting danger in every form, combating everywhere, and everywhere victorious. The very odds presented by the defenceless natives among whom he was cast, "a thousand of whom," to quote the words of Columbus, "were not equal to three Spaniards," was in itself typical of his profession;<sup>151</sup> and the brilliant destinies to which the meanest adventurer was often called, now carving out with his good sword some "El Dorado" more splendid than fancy had dreamed of, and now overturning some old barbaric dynasty, were full as extraordinary as the wildest chimeras which Ariosto ever sang, or Cervantes satirized.

His countrymen who remained at home, feeding greedily on the reports of his adventures, lived almost equally in an atmosphere of romance. A spirit of chivalrous enthusiasm penetrated the very depths of the nation, swelling the humblest indi-

<sup>150</sup> Fernando de Pulgar, after enumerating various cavaliers of his acquaintance, who had journeyed to distant climes in quest of adventures and honorable feats of arms, continues, "E oi decir de otros Castellanos que con ánimo de Caballeros fueron por los Reynos estraños á facer armas con qualquier Caballero que quisiere facerlas con ellos, é por ellas ganaron honra para sí, é fama de valientes y esforzados Caballeros para los

Fijosdalgos de Castilla." Claros Varones, tit. 17.

<sup>151</sup> "Son todos," says the Admiral, "de ningun ingenio en las armas, y muy cobardes, que mil no aguadarian tres"! (Primer Viage de Colon.) What could the bard of chivalry say more?

"Ma quel ch' al timor non diede albergo,  
Estima la vil turba e l'arme tante  
Quel che dentro alla mandra all' aer cupo,  
Il numer dell' agnelle estimi il lupo."

Orlando Furioso, canto 12.

vidual with lofty aspirations, and a proud consciousness of the dignity of his nature. "The princely disposition of the Spaniards," says a foreigner of the time, "delighteth me much, as well as the gentle nurture and noble conversation, not merely of those of high degree, but of the citizen, peasant, and common laborer."<sup>152</sup> What wonder that such sentiments should be found incompatible with sober, methodical habits of business, or that the nation indulging them should be seduced from the humble paths of domestic industry to a brilliant and bolder career of adventure. Such consequences became too apparent in the following reign.<sup>153</sup>

CHAPTER  
XXVI.

In noticing the circumstances that conspired to form the national character, it would be unpardonable to omit the establishment of the Inquisition, which contributed so largely to counterbalance the benefits resulting from Isabella's government; an institution which has done more than any other to stay the proud march of human reason; which, by imposing uniformity of creed, has proved the fruitful parent of hypocrisy and superstition; which has soured the sweet charities of human life,<sup>154</sup> and, set-

Spirit of  
bigotry.

<sup>152</sup> L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 30.

<sup>153</sup> "I Spagnoli," says the Venetian minister, "non solo in questo paese di Granata, ma in tutto 'l resto della Spagna medesimamente, non sono molto industriosi, ne piantano, ne lavorano volentieri la terra; ma se danno ad altro, e più volentieri vanno alla guerra, o alle Indie ad acquistarsi facultà, che per tal vie." (*Viaggio*, fol. 25.) Testimonies to the same purport

thicken, as the stream of history descends. See several collected by Capmany (*Mem. de Barcelona*, tom. iii. pp. 358 et seq.), who certainly cannot be charged with ministering to the vanity of his countrymen.

<sup>154</sup> One may trace its immediate influence in the writings of a man like the Curate of Los Palacios, naturally, as it would seem, of an amiable, humane disposition; but who complacently remarks, "They (Ferdinand and Isabella) lighted