THE

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

THE

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.
M.R.I.A. F.R.A.S. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

History.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND JOHN TAYLOR,
UPPER GOWER STREET.
1833.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In closing the present compendium with the French Revolution, the author and editor have been actuated by two considerations: — 1. The number of volumes which it already comprises exceeds the just scale of proportion in regard to the historic part of the Cabinet Cyclopædia. 2. The most heart-stirring events since that period — those connected with the Peninsular war — have been so ably and so fully recorded in works accessible to every one, that the subject is no longer novel, perhaps no longer susceptible of interest. The author has, assuredly, no wish to follow such men as Southey and Napier.

Throughout these volumes it has been the author's wish to do justice to a noble people, to their institutions and character, of which neither is much understood in this country. Had, however, his limits been less circumscribed, he could have executed his task with more satisfaction to himself and the reader. As he intimated in the preface to Volume I., he has encountered difficulties enough. Of these, the greatest is that of imparting interest to a subject which has no unity. Down to

the sixteenth century, owing to the multiplicity of kingdoms consequent on the simultaneous efforts of the people to throw off the Mohammedan yoke, the history of Spain diverges into as many streams as our own under the Saxons; and since that time it is the history of all Europe. That the subject is an unmanageable one for a general history was the conviction of the most eminent writer now living, who, for that reason alone, declined the present undertaking. That undertaking, had this reason been known to the author, he would not, assuredly, have been so presumptuous as to accept. This explanation is due to himself: where a want of interest is perceptible — and he knows that it is frequently so — it is right that the reader should be acquainted with the true cause.

After all, he who adds something to the stock of popular knowledge does not labour in vain. That the present work is original; that it contains much that is novel, and something that may be found useful, must be known to every one who has taken the trouble to compare it with preceding histories of Spain. To this fact abundant testimony has been voluntarily given to the author by some of the most learned men whom Spain can rank among her living children, — men who have cheered him in his progress, and, by their unbiassed approbation, crowned the completion. He need scarcely add, that this is his proudest satisfaction.

In conclusion, he may advert to an *impression* — a stronger term would be inapplicable — which he is told is prevalent among enlightened Spaniards, that because he has not represented the ancient constitution of Castile quite so favourable to popular rights as some other writers he is no friend to liberal institutions; that he belongs to the apostolic party. Surely such an inference is drawn without the aid of logic. To represent with honesty the spirit of former ages, is one thing; to approve it, not quite the same. So far is the author from belonging to the apostolic party, that without a convocation of the cortes, on a scale more comprehensive than has been observed for four centuries, he has no hope of a thorough regeneration for Spain. Still, by this declaration, he would not be understood as approving the constitutions which, during the present century, have obtained a transient sway in that country.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE

OF THE

HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK IV.

MODERN HISTORY OF THE PENINSULA.

SECTION I.

THE SPANISH MONARCHY.

1516—1788.

CHAPTER I.

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

1516—1700.

CARLOS I.

1516—1556.

A. D.		Page
	The History of Spain, in an extended Sense, the History of Europe	1
1516.	Proclamation of Carlos in conjunction with his Mother	2
1516, 1517.	Administration of Cardinal Ximenes; his Genius, Vigour, Death, and Character	3
1517—1519.	Rapacity of the Flemings, who accompanied the King to Spain; his Acknowledgment by Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia	7
1519.	His Election to the Imperial Crown of Germany	9
	Dissatisfaction of the Valencians; their Rebellion, Excesses, and Organisation	9
1520.	Imprudent Conduct of Carlos, and the consequent Murmurs of the Castilians	13

A.D.		Page
	The Cortes of Santiago; Opposition of the Deputies; Insurrection of the People; last Dispositions, and Embarkation of the Emperor	15
	His Departure adds to the Fury of the Insurrection; dreadful Excesses at Tordesillas, Burgos, Toledo, and other Places	16
	Indecision of the Regent, the Cardinal Adrian; increased Number and Fury of the revolted Towns	19
	Strange Scene at Tordesillas; Violence at Valladolid; Escape of the Cardinal	21
	Fidelity of Aragon, Catalonia, Andalusia; the Royalists arm; Military Operations	23
1521.	Submission of the confederated Towns; the Heroine, Doña Maria de Padilla	25
1521, 1522.	Horrors in the Kingdom of Valencia; Subjection of its Fortresses by the Royal Officers	27
	Invasion of Navarre by the French; their Defeat and Flight	28
1522.	The Emperor arrives in Spain; his Humanity, and politic Spirit of Conciliation	29
1524—1527.	Insurrection of the Moriscos; they are reduced to Obedience	30
	The Foreign Wars of this Monarch cannot be embraced in a Compendium	31
1524—1554.	Marriage of the Infante Don Philip with Mary of England; Resignation in his Favour of the Italian Possessions	32
1539—1555.	Carlos had long formed the Design of retreating from the World; Reasons for so extraordinary a Resolution	32
1555, 1556.	It is carried into effect at Brussels	34
1556, 1557.	He retires to the Monastery of St. Justus	35
1557—1558.	His Manner of Life in that secluded Place	36
1558.	His Bigotry always rank, though sometimes controlled by Policy	37
	His Religious Austerities; his last Moments	38
	His Character	40

PHILIP II.

1556—1598.

	Division of the Subject of his Reign	41
1555—1559.	1. His Transactions in Italy and Africa	41
1560—1574.	And with the Turks	43
1556—1559.	2. His Transactions with Venice	45
1589—1597.	The same subject continued	45
1556.	3. His Transactions in the Netherlands; Tyranny of the Government	46

A. D.		Page
1559—1565.	Insurrection in those Provinces; Excesses committed in several of the Towns	48
1566.	Severity of Philip towards the Protestants; their Hope in the Prince of Orange	51
1568—1584.	That Prince heads the Insurgents; endless Wars follow; varied Events; general Success of the Protestants; Assassination of their Chief	52
1584—1598.	His Death produces no Advantage to the Catholic King; Policy of Queen Elizabeth; virtual Independence of Holland; Resignation by Philip of the Netherlands	56
1580—1597.	4. Transactions with England; fatal Result of an Expedition against her	58
1580.	5. Conquest of Portugal	62
1567, 1568.	Revolt of the Moriscos; they proclaim as King, Mohammed Aben Humeya	62
1568.	Ineffectual Attempt on the City of Granada	64
	Horrors perpetrated amidst the Mountains of the Alpujarras; Numbers gain the Crown of Martyrdom	65
1568, 1569.	To crush the wide-spread Insurrection, the Spaniards take the Field; Operations of their General, the Marquis de Mondejar	70
1569.	Continued Operations; Picturesque Warfare; gradual Success of the Christians	72
	Grief of Aben Humeya; he is strangled by his own Officers, and succeeded by Muley Abdalla	74
	Actions of the new King; gradual Weakness of the Rebels; they seek Shelter in the Caverns of the Mountains	76
1570.	Submission of Muley's Chiefs; he himself is betrayed, assassinated, and his Corpse brought to Granada: with him ends the War	78
1562—1568.	The Infante Don Carlos; his Madness; his Excesses; Confinement and Death	79
	Vindication of Philip from the Calumnies urged against him	82
1578—1591.	Two mysterious Tragedies; Escevedo murdered at Madrid; Persecution of Antonio Perez; his Flight into Aragon; Struggle between the Inquisition and the Aragonese Authorities; Philip sends an Army, and triumphs; Death of the Grand Justiza; Flight of Antonio Perez	83
1598.	Death and Character of Philip	86

PHILIP III.

1593—1621.

1598—1610.	Imbecility of the new King; Expulsion of the Moriscos from all Spain	87

A. D.		Page
1618—1621.	Internal Administration - - -	89
1601—1618.	Foreign Transactions - - - -	90
1621.	Death and Character of Philip - -	90

PHILIP IV.

1621—1665.

1621—1640.	The new King abandons the Reins of Government to the Conde Duke de Olivares, whose Administration is equally profligate and corrupt - - -	91
1640—1660.	Causes of the Catalan Insurrection; the Insurgents are supported by France; memorable Peace of the Pyrenees	93
1640—1664.	The Portuguese Insurrection; Reverses of the Spanish Arms - - - - -	97
1624—1660.	Transactions with England, Holland, and France; uniform Reverses; Insurrection in Naples - - -	97
1665.	Death and Character of Philip - - -	99

CARLOS II.

1665—1700.

1665—1668.	Troubles during the Minority - - -	100
1667—1677.	Intrigues of Don Juan of Austria; he removes the Queen-Mother, and seizes on the Administration -	101
1677—1680.	His Government not less deplorable than that of his Predecessors - - - - -	105
1680—1697.	Imbecility of the Ministers; rapid Decline of the Monarchy; Invasion of the French; Peace of Ryswick -	106
1698.	Illness of Carlos, who is without Issue; chief Claimants of the Crown in the Event of his Death; their Intrigues; ultimate Choice of the Duke d'Anjou -	107
1699, 1700.	Last Moments, Death, and Character of the helpless Monarch - - - - - -	110

CHAP. II.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

1700—1788.

PHILIP V.

1700—1746.

1700.	The Choice of Philip the best that could have been made; his compulsory Recognition by England and Holland -	111

A. D.		Page
	He enters Spain; his Reception; he marries a Savoyard Princess; her Camerera Mayor, the Princess Orsini	112
1701, 1702.	The Cortes of Catalonia; Philip embarks for Italy, leaving his new Queen Regent; the Cortes of Aragon	114
	Rising Discontent of the Castilians; their Dissatisfaction with the French; Cardinal Portocarrero; Jean Orri; Profligacy and Ignorance of the French	116
1702.	Philip in Italy	118
1701, 1702.	Alliance between England, Holland, and Austria, in favour of the Archduke Charles, Rival of Philip	119
	The War of the Succession	119
1702.	First Expedition of the English and Dutch; its imbecile Conduct; its Excesses; its merited Disgrace	120
1702, 1703.	Defection of the Constable of Castile; Portugal accedes to the League	121
1703—1705.	Divisions in the Spanish Cabinet; Imprudence of the French Ambassadors; Intrigues of the Court	123
1704.	Another Armament of English and Dutch lands in Portugal; the Spanish and French Forces headed by the Duke of Berwick; Imbecility of the Allies; various Successes of the Campaign	124
	A third Expedition proceeds to Catalonia; Conquest of Gibraltar	126
1705.	Lord Peterborough arrives in Spain; lands at Valencia; reduces Denia; proceeds to Barcelona; reduces the Fortress of Montjuich; presses the City itself; it surrenders; Entry of the Archduke Charles; Catalonia and Valencia declare for him	127
1706.	Philip forms the Siege of Barcelona; it is relieved by a British Squadron; precipitate Retreat of the King; Successes of the Allies in the West; they enter Madrid	131
	But Madrid is not Spain; Fortitude of Philip; chivalrous Fidelity of his People; they arm in his Behalf; Charles compelled to abandon Madrid; he retreats, and is pursued into Valencia	133
1707—1710.	Continued Successes of the Spanish Arms; Victory of Almanza; Submission of Valencia and Aragon; Abolition of their ancient Fueros; chequered Character of the War; Madrid again in the Power of Charles, who is again forced to abandon it; defeat of two allied Generals	136
1711—1713.	Change in the Policy of England; Peace of Utrecht; Philip acknowledged by the Allies	139
1713.	Losses of Spain; imbecile Character as well as Injustice of the War; England basely abandons the Catalans	141
1713, 1714.	The Catalans resolve to resist rather than lose their Fueros; memorable Siege of Barcelona by Berwick; indomitable Temper of the besieged; they are at length compelled to surrender	142

A. D.		Page
1712—1715.	Intrigues at the Court of Madrid; Introduction of the Salic Law; Death of the Queen; Philip's Marriage with a Princess of Parma; Disgrace of the Princess Orsini	145
1715—1719.	Influence of the new Queen; Administration of Cardinal Alberoni; his Disgrace, and Retreat to the Apennines	148
1720—1724.	Various Transactions; Philip resigns the Sovereignty in favour of his Son Don Luis; his Repentance; Death of the Infante; he resumes the regal Functions	153
1725.	Rise of the Baron de Ripperda; his Administration; his Disgrace, Imprisonment, and Flight; his subsequent romantic Adventures in Africa	156
1726—1736.	Varied Transactions; Policy of the Spanish Cabinet; Carlos, a Son of Philip, seizes the Throne of the Two Sicilies	159
1737—1746.	Disputes between England and Spain; Contraband Traffic of the former; obscure, but for England inglorious, Wars in the Western World	161
1740—1745.	Transactions in Italy, and with foreign Powers; another Son of Philip obtains a Principality in Italy	162
1746.	Death and Character of Philip	163

FERNANDO VI.

1746—1759.

1746—1749.	Accession, Disposition, Ministers and Favourites of Fernando	164
1756—1759.	Intrigues of the English and French Agents at the Spanish Court; strict Neutrality of the King; his Death without Issue; the Crown devolves to his Brother Don Carlos, King of Naples	166
1754.	His Character, and that of his Reign	167

CARLOS III.

1759—1788.

1759.	Carlos resigns the Crown of Naples, and arrives in Spain	168
1760—1763.	Foreign Relations of the Country; Imbecility of the British Court; Hostilities between the two Nations; they are disastrous to Spain; Peace of Paris	168
1763—1777.	Continued Misunderstanding with England; Aggressions on Portugal; Family Compact of the Bourbons	170
1778—1783.	Spain joins with France in a War against Great Britain; Encouragement afforded to the rising Republic of Ame-	

A. D.		Page
	rica; Imbecility and Disasters of England; inglorious Peace	172
1783—1788.	Impolicy of the Spanish King's Encouragement of the American Insurgents; Rebellion in South America; its Extinction	174
	Other foreign Transactions of Carlos; his successful Policy; continued Humiliation of England	174
1766.	Internal Administration of Carlos; a formidable Insurrection in Madrid; Compromise with the Populace	175
1766, 1767.	These Disorders laid on the Jesuits; Persecution of that Order; its Expulsion from the Peninsula; undeserved Sufferings	177
1766—1773.	Vindication of the Order; Intrigues for its Abolition; their Success; Bull of Clement XIV.	179
	In other Respects the internal Government of Carlos distinguished by great Wisdom	181
1788.	His Death and Character	182

SECTION II.

THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY.

1521—1788.

CHAP. I.

THE ANCIENT DYNASTY — *continued.*

JOAM III.

1521—1557.

1521.	State of Portugal on the Accession of Joam	183
1521—1557.	Transactions in Asia; Administrations of succeeding Viceroys; Violence of the local Governors	184
1523—1557.	Transactions in Africa; gradual Increase of the Moorish Power; Hostilities of the two Xerifs; Consolidation of the Victor's Power; Hostilities with Portugal; Abandonment of four important Fortresses by that Country; Death of the Xerif; Accession of his Son, Muley Abdalla	189
1521—1557.	Internal Administration of Joam; Establishment of the Inquisition; of the Jesuits; Judicial Reforms	192
1557.	His Death and Character; Members of the Royal House	193

SEBASTIAN.

1557—1578.

1557—1568.	The Regency; Transactions in Africa; the young King cherishes the Hope of restoring his Country's Power in Mauritania	194

A.D. Page

1568—1574. All his Thoughts continue fixed on an Expedition against the Moorish King; he pays a Visit to Northern Africa; internal Disputes between the Princes of the Royal House of Morocco; Expulsion of Muley Hamet, son of Muley Abdalla, by his Uncle Muley Moluc - 196

1575—1577. Wild Projects of Sebastian; his Interview with Philip of Spain, who vainly dissuades him from the meditated Expedition; Preparations for it - - 197

1578. The Armament puts to Sea; its inadequate Force; fatal Imprudence of Sebastian after the Disembarkation; he rashly resolves to reach Larache by Land; his Army without Discipline, Provisions, or Affection to the Cause 200

Muley Moluc advances to meet him; he resolves to fight; his Obstinacy; fruitless Representations of his Ally, Muley Hamet - - - - - 201

Memorable Battle of Alcazar-Seguer; Magnanimity of the dying Muley Moluc; utter Defeat of the Christians; Fate of Sebastian - - - - 203

Results of this Victory; absurd Surmises respecting Sebastian - - - - - 206

His Character - - - - 207

HENRIQUE.

1578—1580.

1578. Character of the Cardinal King; he is aged, and without Issue - - - - 207

Claimants of the Succession:—

1. Antonio, Prince of Crato - - - 208
2. Joam, Duke of Braganza - - - 208
3. Rainucci, Prince of Parma - - 208
4. Manuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy - - 208
5. Philip, King of Spain - - - 208

1579—1580. Intrigues of the Candidates; Effrontery of Dom Antonio; Nomination of Commissioners to fix the Succession; Death of Henrique - - - - 210

INTERREGNUM.

1500. Proceedings of the Regents; Intrigues of the Prior, by whom they are expelled from the Administration; Preparations of Philip to invade Portugal - - 212

The Duke of Alva passes the Frontier; receives the Submission of several Towns and Fortresses; reduces others; marches on Lisbon; his final Triumph; Proclamation of Philip - - - - - 214

PHILIP I.

1580—1598.

A. D.		Page
1580, 1581.	Dom Antonio still struggles for the Crown; he is defeated; he assumes a Disguise; his subsequent Departure from the Kingdom	215
1583.	Philip hastens to Lisbon; his enlightened Policy; Transactions in the Azores, which resist for some Time, but are at length subdued	217
	Philip cannot command the Attachment of his new Subjects; he appoints a Regency, and returns to his hereditary Dominions	218
1583—1589.	The exiled Dom Antonio intrigues in England and France; procures the Support of Elizabeth; invades Portugal; is compelled to retreat	219
1585.	An Impostor personates Sebastian; his Adventures, Arrest, and Condemnation	221
	The Example is followed by another, who collects Partisans, raises the Standard of Revolt, commits some Excesses, is defeated, exposed to the Populace, and executed	223
1594.	A third Impostor; his Intrigues; his Apprehension, Trial, and Execution, with three of his Accomplices	225
1598.	Death of Philip	226

PHILIP II.

1589—1621.

PHILIP III.

1621—1640.

1598—1621.	The former of these Princes visits Portugal once in the Course of his Reign; Dissatisfaction of the Portuguese	227
1621—1640.	The Government of the latter still more hateful; Administration of the Conde de Olivares; Intrigues of the Duke de Braganza; mysterious Summons of the Prelates and Nobles to Madrid; the Portuguese determine to shake off the Yoke	228
1640.	Policy of the Duke de Braganza; Progress of the Conspiracy to place him on the Throne; it explodes; Expulsion of the Council of Regency; Proclamation, Arrival, and Recognition of Joam	231

Historic Glance at the Colonies during the late Reigns.

1557—1640.	I. Transactions in India: Administration of the Viceroys; gradual Decline of the Portuguese Influence; Ascendancy of the Dutch; their Successes	238

A. D.		Page
1580—1640.	II. Transactions in Africa - - - -	235
	III. Transactions in the Brazils: Missionary Exertions of the Jesuits; their partial Success; Hostilities of the Dutch; their Successes; they ultimately gain Possession of half that vast Region - - -	236

CHAP. II.

HOUSE OF BRAGENZA.

1640—1788.

JOAM IV.

1640—1656.

1640, 1641.	Alliances of the new King; his Preparations for Defence	239
1641—1655.	Hostilities on the Frontiers; Success generally declares for Joam - - - - -	240
1641—1647.	Conspiracy of the Archbishop of Bragea and some Portuguese Nobles; Domingos Seite undertakes to assassinate the King; failure of the atrocious Design -	241
1642—1656.	Foreign Affairs: —	
	1. Hostilities in Brazil; Reverses of the Dutch -	243
	2. In Africa - - - -	243
	3. In India - - - -	244
1656.	Death and Character of Joam - - -	244

ALFONSO VI.

1656—1667.

1656.	The Regency of the Queen-Mother - -	244
1656—1666.	Wars with Spain; varied Success; ultimate Triumph of the Portuguese at Villaviciosa - -	245
1657—1664.	Perversity of the young King; his low and profligate Habits; Indignation of his Mother, his Nobles, and his Subjects; his Marriage, and Ill-treatment of his Queen - - - - -	246
1665—1667.	Suspicious Connection of the young Queen with the Infante Pedro, Brother of the King; their Intrigues; she flees from the Palace, and charges her Husband with Impotency - - - - -	249
1667.	Surprise and Indignation of Alfonso; he is deposed by his Brother; his Marriage cancelled; his Queen marries his Brother - - - -	250
1568.	Reflections on this most impudent and unparalleled Conspiracy - - - - -	251
1668—1683.	Regency of Pedro - - - -	252

PEDRO II.

1683—1707.

A. D.		Page
1683—1707.	His Reign chiefly remarkable for the War of the Succession	253
1653—1706.	Affairs of India	253

JOAM V.

1707—1750.

1707—1750.	His internal Administration; his Reforms; Disputes with the Pope; Patriarch of Lisbon	255
1750.	His Death; and his Character, however bombastically drawn by the native Historians, not free from Vice	256

JOSÉ.

1750—1777.

1750—1755.	The Earthquake of Lisbon the most remarkable Event in this Reign; Humanity of the British Government	257
1757—1759.	Conspiracy against the Life of José; its Authors detected and punished	258
1760—1763.	His Disputes with Spain; his Country invaded; he is assisted by England; he triumphs	258
1763—1772.	His internal Reforms	260
1777.	His Death and Character	260

MARIA.

1777—1790.

1777.	The Reign of this Princess the Opening of a new Era	261
1777—1780.	If her Abilities were slender, her Intentions were good; general Character of her Administration	261
1790, &c.	Her Infirmities; her Son ultimately proclaimed Regent	263

SECTION III.

GLANCE AT THE DECLINE OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY UNDER THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, AND ITS RESTORATION UNDER THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

Character of the Subject - - - - - 264

1. *House of Austria.*

Page

Reign of Charles I. — General Prosperity of the Country; Policy of Cardinal Ximenes; yet this bright Period had its Drawbacks, in

1. The Influence of the Nobles - - - 264
2. The public Contributions lying in the Third Estate - 264
3. The want of native Capitalists - - - 265
4. The Ignorance of the Government - - - 265
5. The Decrease in the Value of Money, and consequent Rise of Necessaries - - - - 265
6. The inadequate Scale of pecuniary Mulcts - - 266
7. The Acquisition of Estates by the Church - - 266
8. Hereditary Successions, and the Law of Primogeniture - 267
9. Disputes with the Papal See - - - - 268
10. The undue Multiplication of Ecclesiastics - - 269

Reign of Philip II. — His Policy; his Increase of Power; his Error in not fixing the Seat of his Empire at Lisbon; Return of the Ecclesiastics in his immense Dominions; Manufactures of Toledo, Segovia, La Mancha, and Seville - - - - 269

Causes of Decline: —

1. Persecution of the Flemings and Dutch - - 272
2. Wars with England - - - - 272
3. Support of the Roman Catholic Religion in France - - 272
4. The Persecutions of the Moriscos - - - 272
5. The baneful activity of the Inquisition - - - 272

Pretensions of the Church; clashing of the Spiritual and Temporal Tribunals; the Bull *In Cœnâ Domini;* disputes with the Holy See - - - - - - 273

Reign of Philip III. — the Golden Age of Ecclesiastics; their prodigious Multiplication; national Disasters - - 274

1. The Independence of the Netherlands - - - 274
2. The entire Expulsion of the Moriscos - - 274
3. Decrease of native Capitalists - - - 275

Profligacy of the Duke de Lerma; Condition of Ecclesiastical Tenants - - - - - - - 275

A. D. Page

Reign of Philip IV. — Increased Decline of the Country; violent and artificial Rise of the royal Revenues; alarming State of the national Industry; Ruin of Segovia, Toledo, La Mancha, Seville; other Causes of Decline: — - 275

1. The Catalan Insurrection - 276
2. The Revolt of Portugal - 276
3. The Dismemberment of the Kingdom - 276
4. The Annihilation of the West India trade - 276
5. The Reverses of the Spanish arms in the Low Countries, and Italy - 276

Continued Exercise of the ecclesiastical Orders; fatal Policy of the Spanish Monarchs in regard to the Church - 277

Reign of Carlos II. — Lamentable State of the public Departments, — of the Arsenals, the Navy, the Army; Obstinacy of the Government to ancient Forms; Imbecility of Carlos - 277

2. *House of Bourbon.*

Reign of Philip V. — Reforms of this Monarch; the Spanish Fleet; Attention to Literature; Ferreras; Feyjoo; Florez; Character of these celebrated Men; Resistance to the Pretensions of the Holy See; Boldness of Macanaz; Opposition of the Inquisition; its Punishment by the incensed Monarch; Concordat with Clement XII.; Rights of Sanctuary; the Bull, *In supremo Justitiæ Solio;* Limitation of the Right during the middle Ages; Subjection of future Church Property to the Wants of the State; Papal Nomination to Benefices - 278

Reign of Fernando VI. — Result of the Royal Commission to enquire into the Statistics of the Nation; Possessions and Revenues of the Laity and Clergy; enormous Wealth of the latter; Improvement in the Collection of the Royal Revenues; Encouragement of Literature and Science; new Concordat with Benedict XIV.; its important Provisions - 282

Reign of Carlos III. — Rapid Rise of the Nation; Economical Societies; prodigious Increase of the Population, of the Revenue, of the Indian Trade, of the Navy and Army; corresponding Improvement in Literature; Disobedience of an Inquisitor; spirited Resolution of the Council of Castile; Boldness of a Civilian of Valladolid; consequent Step of the Council; Amelioration of the Inquisition - 283

Conclusion; the Spanish Character; the national Regeneration - 285

LIST

OF

THE CHIEF LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC WRITERS

OF

SPAIN,

BOTH MOHAMMEDAN AND CHRISTIAN,

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

Arranged according to the Order of Sciences.

NOTICE. — In the first part of this List are included only the Writers of whom some MS. remains in the Royal Library of the Escurial. To detail the names of all the Writers of Mohammedan Spain whose names are preserved in the numerous Bibliothecas still extant in that vast Library, would require a separate and ample work; nor can we find room for more than one work of each author. *Anonymous* works are also excluded

---

I. MOHAMMEDAN WRITERS.

1. GRAMMARIANS.

Kemaledin Abu Yahia. *Commentary on the Grammar of Saibuza.*

Abuzaid Abdelrahman Ebn Ali ben Salem Almacudi. *Commentary on the grammatical poem "Alphia."*

Mohammed Ebn Assameldin. *Commentary on the same poem.*

Ebn Hayan. *Ad Viam Manductio* (a commentary on the great grammarian Ben Maleki).

Badredin Abu Abdalla ben Mohammed ben Althai. *Commentary on the "Alphia."*

Schemseddin Mohammed ben Abdeldajem Albarmavi. *Commentary on the same.*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Alabbas. *Commentary on the "Lamiat, or Poetical Treatise on Conjugations."*

Yacub ben Said Almakelati. *On the same poem.*

Abi Abdalla Albagi. *Appendix to the above work.*

Ahmed ben Mohammed ben Ali ben Nomari ebn Munis Albegiani. *Hortus Aurœ Lenis.*

Abi Ali Omar ben Mohammed ben Abdalla Azadita. *Commentary on an anonymous grammatical work.*

Hassan ben Abdalla Alcaisi. *Grammatical Commentary.*

Athireldin Abu Hian Mohammed ben Hayan ben Yussef. *Commentary on Ben Malek.*

Kemaledin Abdelwahid ben Halaf Alansari. *Grammatical Commentary.*

Abi Mohammed Abdalla ben Abbas ben Mohammed Alkhazragi. *Commentary on Ben Malek.*

Schemseddin Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Giabar Alhavari. *Declaratio Alphiæ* (an explanation of Ben Malek's grammatical poem).

Abu Abdalla ben Malek Althai. *Millenarium* (a grammatical treatise, of one thousand verses).

Abul Hassan Ali Alschadli. *Astra Lucida* (another grammatical commentary).

Abu Said Faraz ben Cassim Alnati. *A grammatical Comment.*

Abdalla Almakhzumi. *The Rudiments of Grammar.*

Ahmed Ebn Almostafi. *The same subject.*

Ben Cassem Alcaschairi. *Commentary on the above.*

Abu Ishac Abdelsalam Alsanhagi. *Grammatical Commentary.*

Ben Malek, the Prince of Grammarians. *Alphia* (a grammatical poem, of one thousand verses), *with many other works.*

Abdalla Alhassam Yussef ben Mahd Alziati. *Commentary on the "Lamiat."*

Schemseddin Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Mohammed Alansari (9th). *Commentary on the "Giarumia."*

Abul Hassen Abu Abdalla ben Ahi Alzahi Alcarschi. *Excerpta* (a grammatical compilation).

Abdelhumid ben Abilhadid. *Poem on Eloquence.*

Abul Cassem ben Abi Alhassan (6th). *Quæstiones* (relating to grammar).

Abu Zacharia Yahia ben Math ben Abdelma Alzavani. *Margarita Millenaria.*

2. Rhetoricians.

Mohammed ben Abdelrahman. *Commentary on the Art of Speaking.*

Abul Hassen ben Alnamat. *Liber Pandectarum.*

Abu Mohammed Abdalla ben Mohammed. *Scribendi Methodus.*

Kemaleldin Abi Mohammed Abdelwahid Abdelcarim ben Khalaf. *Demonstrationes.*

Ali ben Issa. *Commentary on the "Demonstrationes."*

Ebn Cassem. *Scholia in Epitomen Rhetoricæ.*

Muley Hassan. *A work on Rhetoric.*

Abi ben Daud ben Yussef ben Omar Algassani (6th). *Viri Elegantis Oblectamentum et Regum Munus.*

Badredin Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Malek. *Candelabrum.*

Ahmed ben Ali ben Abdelrahman Almangiuri. *Commentaries on "Metaphoræ Applicatio."*

3. Poets and Poetical Commentators.

Abi Mohammed Abdelmugid ben Abdum. *An Historic Poem on the Royal Family of Badajos.*

Abu Meruan Abdelmalek ben Abdalla ben Badrun. *Commentary on the above.*

Abu Abdalla. *Commentary on the poem "Vestis Elegans."*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Ali ben Khaled. *Commentary on an ancient poet.*

Abdalla Mohammed ben Mohammed ben Edris Alfarani Alcodai. *Sigillum Reserratum* (a treatise on metre).

Ali ben Mohammed ben Haric. *Commentary on a poem of Abu Cassem.*

Abul Abbas Ahmed ben Yahia. *Commentary on the "Alagschi."*

Saleh ben Ali ben Ahmed Alnamari Alkhazragi. *Commentary on an ancient Arabic poem.*

Abu Ali Mohammed ben Khaldun. *Legum Lingua.*

Abu Abdalla ben Hixem Alansari. *Commentary on an Arabian poem.*

Abu Othman Saad ben Yussef ben Saad. *Commentary on the poem "Hamziath."*

Schemseddin Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Giabar. *Ars Poetica ad Usum Rudium ac Perspicacium.*

Abul Cassem Ali Ebn Alcodai. *Tractatus Universæ Poeticæ in Compendium contractæ.*

Mohammed Alsawi. *Ars Metrica et Rhythmica.*

Abaidala ben Abd Alkafi Alabardi. *Commentary on the preceding.*

Abul Cassem Ali ben Giafar. *Poeticæ Eloquentia in Compendium contracta.*

Abulwalid Ismail ben Mohammed ben Amer. *Treatise on the Art of Poetry.*

Abdelrahman ben Ahmed ben Ali Alhomaidi. *Artis Poeticæ Paraphrasis.*

Abi Bahr Sefuan ben Edris. — 1. *Collectio Poetico-Hispana.* This MS. work (numbered 353. in Casiri) contains extracts from 72 poets of Spain.

2. *Viatoris Commeatus.* Another collection, containing extracts from the following: —

Abu Abdalla ben Hebus, Granada.
Abu Abdalla ben Maimun, Cordova.
Abul Abbas Algiorafi.
Abu Baker ben Hagiar, Velez.
Abu Baker ben Zohair, Seville.
Abu Rogiab ben Galbun, Murcia.
Abdelrahman Mohammed Alsolemi, Murcia.
Junes ben Issa, Murcia.
Abu Baker ben Mazan, Setubal.
Abu Giafar ben Assem, Murcia.
Abu Ishac ben Abi Othman, Cordova.

Abul Abbas ben Henun, Seville.
Abul Abbas ben Said, Seville.
Abu Baker Alkotandi, Granada.
Abul Hassan Sahl ben Malek, Granada.
Abu Musa ben Abdelwaded, Murcia.
Abu Ali Hassan Alnaschar, Valencia.
Ebn Hagiag, Seville.
Ebn Hixem, Cordova.
Abu Abdalla ben Jarbu, Setubal.
Abul Hassan ben Alfadhl, Seville.
Alhagi Abul Hassan ben Giobair, Setubal.
Almakhzumi, Murcia.
Abu Baker ben Almondhoi, Seville.
Abu Amer ben Othman, Setubal.
Abu Abdalla ben Aias, Valencia.
Abu Abdalla ben Jasim, Setubal.
Abu Abdalla ben Ayad, Cordova.
Abu Obaid Algiazar, Saragossa.

Ebn Badis. *Amicus et Familiaris.*

Ahmed ben Alhagi. *Commentary on the preceding.*

Abu Abdelrahman Alhapedita. *Commentary on an Arabian poet.*

Abilhokm Malek ben Abi Said Abdelrahman ben Almurgel. *Vicenarium.*

Negemeddin Abul Ganay. *A Poem in Praise of Nassir Scdinalla.*

Abulfath ben Abdalla Sebth Taavini. *A Poem* (not described by Casiri).

Abu Ishac Ibrahim. *A Collection of Poems, &c.*

Abu Ishac Ibrahim ben Sahl. *Miscellaneous Songs.*

Abdalla Ahmed ben Ali ben Khatmat Ansari. *Poems on different Subjects.*

Abul Hassan Hazem Ansari. *Alphia* (a poem, in one thousand verses).

Abu Abdalla Alsekak. *Poems in Praise of Mohammed.*

Nassireddin ebn Assad. *Reconditioris Elegantiæ Liber.*

Abufath Almozi. *Bonorum Morum Exercitatio et Amicorum Oblectatio.*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ebn Alzohd. *A Poem on Canon Law.*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Abulcassel. *Methodus Viarum Arduarum.*

Abu Ishac Ibrahim ben Massud. *Miscellaneous Songs.*

Mohammed ben Alhassan ben Makhluf Alraschedi. *Commentary on a great Arabian Poet.*

Mehieldin Alarbi Alhatemi Althai. *Liber Decastichorum.*

Abu Giafar Ahmed ebn Abi Abdalla ben Zarcala. *Lyrical Poems.*

Ali ebn Thaher Alhaiti. *Res primum inventa.*

Ali ben Dhafer. *Fenestrarum Lumina.*

Abulcassim Mohammed ben Hani. *Miscellaneous Songs.*

Abulhassan Hazem ben Mohammed Alansari. *A Poem* (not described).

Ebn Alkhathib. *Composer and Editor of elegant Poems.*

Abulrabi ben Abi Mohammed. *Margaritarum Series ac Apparatus Vestis elegantis et laneæ.*

Abilmoali Sad ben Ali Alkhothairi Alvarrac. *Specimen lepidè ac falsè loquendi.*

Dhilvazratin Abi Abdalla ben Alkhathib. *Poetic Description of the Author's Voyage to Africa and Return to Spain.*

Abu Baker ben Mohammed ben Ahmed ben Scherez. *Poetical History of the Caliphs and Kings of Spain.*

Abu Nassir Alfath ben Abdalla. *Poetical Epistles.*

4. METAPHYSICIANS, LOGICIANS, MORALISTS, &c.

Abu Baker Yahi ben Alsayegh Mohammed. *Commentary on the Logic of Alfarabius and several logical Writers.* (This commentator is praised by Thomas Aquinas.)

Abulwalid Mohammed ben Ahmed Ebn Roschd, vulgarly called Averroes. *Prologomena Philosophica.* (This great man also translated and illustrated by comments most of Aristotle's works.)

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Yussef Alsenusi Alhasni. *A work on Dialectics; with Commentaries on various Philosophers.*

Abu Abdallah Mohammed ben Marzuc. *A Commentary on the Logic of Avicenna.*

Abulsat Omiah ben Abdelasis. *Mentis Directio* (a treatise on Logic).

Abul-hagiag Yussef ben Mohammed ben Thaml. *Liber Isagoges.*

Mohammed ebn Alomaidi. *Veritatis Instructio de Propositionum Veritate.*

Berhaneddin Abul Hassan Ali ben Abul Cassem ben Arpha Ras. *Particulæ Auri* (a chemical treatise).

Abu Baker Mohammed ben Assem Alcaisi. *Steps to the Knowledge of Jurisprudence.*

Mohammed ben Scherif Alhasbati. *Elements of Logic.*

Abu Abdalla ben Sad. *Encyclopædia.*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Abi Baker. *Iter Viatorum ad Ædes Sanctorum.*

Ibrahim ben Abdelwahid ben Abilnur. *Regum ac Militiæ Ducum Regimen.*

Ahmed ben Mohammed. *Book of Mohammedan Traditions.*

Abul Abbas Ahmed ben Mohammed ben Alarif. *Res pretiosa et pulchra Familiaritas.*

Abulwalid Albugi. *A work on Ethics.*

Schahabeddin Ahmed ben Mohammed Albornai. *Auxilium Dei Miserentis* (a work in praise of asceticism).

Mohammed ben Ali ben Mohammed Alarbi Althai. *Works on the same subject.*

Ahmed ben Mohammed ben Omer ben Mathir Alrabi. *Revelations to Mohammed concerning Moral Duties.*

Belbab Ebn Adel. *An ascetic work.*

Mohammed ben Salamah ben Abdalla Alcodai. *A Book of Moral Sentences.*

Mohammed ben Abi Mohammed Ebn Zafur. *On the Circulation of Religion.*

Serageddin Abu Giafar Omar Alakhamita Alfakani. *Splendidus Lucifer.*

Mohammed ben Abi Baker ben Ali. *Manual for the Truth.*

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Wafa. *On Ascetic Life.*

5. MEDICAL WRITERS. *

Averroes. *Commentaries on Galen and Avicenna.*
Ali ben Alabbas. *Ars Medicæ Regiæ.*
Ebn Wafed. *Manductio ad Artem Medicam.*
Garibay ben Said. *On the Fœtus, Infants, &c.*
Mohammed Algafeki. *A work on Anatomy.*
Ahmed ben Ibrahim. *A work on Medicines.*
Abu Giafar Ahmed ben Ishac Alhosaini. *Medicorum Collegium.*
Abu Zacuria Yahia ben Mohammed Almudi. *A work on Pathology.*
Abu Giafar ben Ibrahim ben Khaled. *De Aromatum Substitutione.*

6. NATURAL HISTORY, &c.

Abu Mohammed Abdalla Lukhamita. *On the Breeding and Training of Horses.*
Issa ben Ali Hassan Asadita. *On Hunting and Fowling.*
Abu Zacaria Yahia ben Mohammed, or Ebn Alnam. *A Treatise on Agriculture.* (It also contains a copious list of Hispano-Arabic writers on the several branches of natural history; but our plan includes those only of whom some work is extant.)

7. MATHEMATICIANS.

Abul Abbas Ahmed ben Mohammed Ebn Othman Alazadi. *Astronomical Tables.*
Abul Hassan Ali ben Abi Ali. *On Astronomy.*
Ali ben Ahagial. *On Judicial Astrology.*
Ahmed ben Alconfud. *Commentary on the preceding.*
Abi Mohammed Giafar ben Aflah. *The Elements of Astronomy, and other works.*
Alsaid ben Ali Mohammed. *A work on Chiromancy.*
Abul Abbas ben Othman ben Albanna. *On Judicial Astrology.*
Abi Abdalla Mohammed. *On the Sphere.*
Abdelasis Massud. *On Trigonometrical Figures.*
Abul Hassan ben Abi Alrugel. *On Judicial Astrology.*
Moslema ben Ahmed ben Cassem ben Abdalla. *Litteratorum Societas* (a collection of scientific works).
Abulthaher Mohammed ben Abdelasis ben Yussef Almoradi. *Analecta Geometrica Superficiorum.*
Abu Abdalla Abilfath Mohammed. *On the Square, and on other kindred Subjects.*
Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Abi Schaker. *Tabularum Corona.*
Ebn Albauna. *On Arithmetic, and other kindred Subjects.*
Abu Zacaria Mohammed. *Commentary on the preceding.*
Abi Said Abderahman Ali ben Omar. *On Arithmetic.*
Abi Othman Said ben Mohammed. *Commentary on the preceding.*
Abi Abdalla Mohammed ben Omar. *On Algebra, &c.*

* We omit the medical writings of Jews, considerable in point of number, as appears from the Arabian MSS. in the Escurial; and the endless translations from Aristotle, Galen, Hippocrates, &c. Nor do we include anonymous treatises.

Mohammed ben Alcassem. *Comment on the preceding.*
Abu Meruan. *On the Horoscope.*
Hassan ben Ali Alamir. *An Almanack.*
Abulfadhl Abdelasis ben Abi Giamah. *Poem on Arithmetic.*
Ben Scherif Alzahdi. *On Chronology.*
Isaia ben Fraigvi. *Encyclopædia.*
Abdelasis Ali ben Daud Alhevari. *Commentaries on Arithmetic, &c.*
Abdalla Mohammed ben Moad. *On the Sphere.*
Mohammed ben Nassir ben Sad. *On the Astrolabe.*
Schemseddin Mohammed ben Ahmed Almozi. *On the Quadrant.*
Abu Ali Hossain ebn Ahmed ebn Mas. *On the Astrolabe.*
Abu Ishac ben Yahia Zarcalli. *Astronomical Tables.*
Noureddin; vulgò, Petruci. *On the Theory of the Planets.*
Ahmed ben Alsofar. *On the Astrolabe.*
Ali ben Issa. *On the Construction and Use of that Instrument.*
Gemaleddin Abulmohassan Alnoduri. *Luminum Fomes.*

8. Jurisprudence, &c.

Averroes. *De Causis Forensibus, and other works on Jurisprudence.*
Abu Said Khalaf ben Abulcassem Azadita. *Compiler of a Code of Laws.*
Khalib ben Ishac. *Abbreviation of the Codex.*
Nassireddin Abbul-abbas, &c. *Commentary on the Canons of the Koran.*
Abul Abbas ben Alschath Albagiai. *Institutes of the Canon Law.*
Yahia ben Yahia ben Cassem. *On the Laws of Matrimony.*
Abul Cassem ben Isa ebn Alnagi. *Commentary on the Canon Law.*
Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Ali, &c *On the same Subject.*
Yussef ben Omar Alcufasi, &c. *Commentary on Algozali.*
Abulwahed Hixem ben Abdalla. *Canons and Institutes of Mohammedan Law.*
Hixem ben Ahmed ben Khaled. *On the same Subject.*
Ebn Alcassar. *Legal Disquisitions.*
Abul Hassan Ali ben Abdalla. *Finis Scientiæ Juris.*
Abu Ishac Ibrahim ben Abdelrahman. *Legal Decisions.*
Abu Baker Asemo Alcaisi. *Munus Judicibus oblatum.*
Abu Baker Yahia ben Abdalla. *On the Laws of Inheritance.*
Alwalid ben Hixem Azadita. *On Justice and Judges.*
Mohieddin Mohammed ben Ibrahim. *Theatrum Judicum.*

With about twenty more, for whom we have no space.

9. Theologians, &c.

Athireddin Mohammed ben Yussef. *Oceani Rivus* (a commentary on the Koran).
Mohammed Abu Baker ben Alarbi. *On the same subject.*
Ahmed ben Amer ben Abulabbas. *On the same.*
Abulabbas Abusiri. *On the same.*

With about fifty more, for whose names or works we have no space.

10. Historians, &c.

Ali ben Abdelrahman ben Hazil. *Animorum Munus et Tessera Hispana.*

Abul Hassan Ali Abi Mahommed Abdalla Algiazami. *Lectoris Oblectamentum* (being a history of the kings of Granada of the Beni Nassir dynasty).

Abu Baker Alcodai ebn Alabar. *Vestis Serica* (or, a biography of eminent Spanish Moors who cultivated poetry).

Ben Abdun Ab Mohammed Abdelmugid. *History of Omar ben Mohammed, King of Badajox.*

Abdelmalek ebn Abdalla. *Commentary on the preceding.*

Mohammed Abu Abdalla Allakhamita. *Apum Opes* (a history of the sciences).

Ibrahim ben Ali ben Farun. *Doctorum Arabum Classes* (a biographical and bibliographical work).

Abi Baker Mohammed ben Khair. *Index Litterarius* (an account of the seventy Mohammedan libraries of Spain).

Mohammed ben Abdalla ebn Alkhathib. *Granatensis Encyclica.* (This invaluable work is a Bibliotheca of eminent Spanish Arabs and Moors.)

Ahmed ben Yahia ben Ahmed ben Amira Aldhobi. *Viri cupida Res expedita* (a work on the same subject).

Abul Cassem; vulgò, Ben Pasqual. *Munus Chronologicum Hispanum* (a similar work).

Ben Rascid ben Ahmed Alnanschrisi. *Itinerarium* (containing the author's travels through Northern Africa, Egypt, Syria, &c.).

Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Muza. *Fax in Tenebris* (being the life and miracles of Mohammed).

Mohammed ben Alsaib Alkhalbi. *A work on Genealogy.*

Abu Amru Yussef ben Abdalla. *Monumenta* (or Arabian Annals).

Abu Omar Ahmed ben Mohammed. *Rerum Temporumque Series.*

Abu Mohammed ben Abdel-halim. *Hortus Foliorum Amœnus* (or Annals of Mauritiania).

Ahmed Alnuscharsi. *Analecta* (a biography of Yussef Abul Hegiag, king of Granada).

Abul-hassan Ali ben Abdelmehsen. *Acta Eruditorum* (a biographical work).

Ali Abi Alhassan Alraini. *Index Doctorum* (on the same subject).

Abu Baker Alcodai; vulgò, Ben Alabar. *Alphabetum* (a Bibliotheca of Spanish Moors), *with several other works.*

Averroes. *A Bibliotheca of Spanish Jurists.*

Abu Ali ben Abi Scheraf. *One of Traditional Writers.*

Abul-Cassim ben Abdalla. *One of Theologians.* (These Bibliothecas are too numerous to be noticed.)

Abu Abdalla ben Alkhathib ben Abdalla Mohammed. *Vestis Acu Picta* (a chronology of Spanish and African kings). 2. *Splendor Plenilunii* (a history of the kings of Granada).

With about twenty others, for whose names or works we have no space.

II. Christian Writers,

ARRANGED IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

In the Eighth Century.

Egila, Bishop of Granada. *Epistolæ.*
Juan, Presbyter of Granada. *Epistolæ.*
Cixila, Bishop of Toledo. *Vita seu Gesta Sancti Ildefonsi.*
Isidorus Pacensis, or Isidore, Bishop of Beja. *Chronicon, and other works now lost.*
Pedro el Hermoso. *Wrote on the right Method of calculating Easter.*
Migecio, Presbyter of Seville. *Wrote in defence of his own Heresies.*
Felix, Bishop of Urgel. *Epistolæ, in defence of his Heresy.*
Elipando, Bishop of Toledo. *Epistola ad Felicem, &c., in defence of his Heresy.*
San Beato, Presbyter or Abbot of Liebana. *Apocalypsin Commentaria, &c.*
Heterio, Bishop of Osma. *Adversus Elipandum Libri duo.*
Militan. *Wrote against San Beato.*
Ascarico, Bishop. *Epistolæ duo ad Elipandum.*

In the Ninth Century.

Claudio, Bishop of Turin. *Commentaries and Epistles.*
Theodulfo, Bishop of Orleans. *Various Subjects, in Prose and Verse.*
San Eulogio, Bishop elect of Toledo. *Memoriale Sanctorum, &c.*
Pablo Alvaro, a secular Noble. *Vita Beatissimi Martyris S. Eulogii, and many Hymns.*
Speraindeo, Abbot. *The Martyrdom of Two Saints of Seville.*
Samson, Abbot. *Wrote against Hostigesio, Bishop of Malaga.*
Leovigildo, Presbyter. *De Habitu Clericorum.*
Ildefonso, Bishop. *De Pane Eucharistico.*
San Benito, Abbot. *Concordia Regularum.*
Sebastiano, Bishop of Salamanca. *Chronicon Regum Legionensium.*
Cypriano, Archpriest of Cordova. *Epigrams, Epitaphs, and Hymns.*
Juan, Bishop of Seville. *A learned Scriptural Commentator in Arabic.*
Prudencio Zelindo, Bishop of Troyes. *On Predestination, &c.*

In the Tenth Century.

Vigila, Monk of Albelda. *Continued the Chronicle of his Monastery.*
Salvo, Abbot of the same Monastery. *Hymns, Prayers, and Monastic Rules.*
Sanacino, Monk of the same House. *Carmina, &c.*
Pedro de Mosoncio, Bishop of Santiago. *Hymns.*
Juan, Deacon of Leon. (Biographer and Expositor.)
Raymundo, Bishop of Granada. (Biographer.)
Raguel, Presbyter of Cordova. (Biographer.)
Hatto, Bishop of Vique. (Mathematician.)
Joseph (probably, however, a Jew). *A Treatise on Arithmetic.*
Lupito of Barcelona. (An Astrologer.)

In the Eleventh Century.

Osmundo, Bishop of Astorga. (Writer of Letters.)
Sampiro, Bishop of Astorga. *Chronicles of the Kings of Leon.*
Ferriola de Bolea. (Historian: his work is apparently lost).
Grimaldo, Monk of San Millan. *Vita et Mors Sancti Dominici de Silos.*
Oliva, Monk of Ripol. (Mathematician.)
Oliva, Bishop of Vique. (Biographer and Theologian.)
Vicente, Presbyter, Collector of Canons.

In the Twelfth Century.

Pedro Alfonsez, Physician to Alfonso VI., a Convert from Judaism. *De Scientia et Philosophia* (a controversial work against the Jews).
Pedro, Bishop of Leon. *Chronicle of Alfonso VI.*
Alberto, Monk of San Facundo and Primitivo. *A History of his Monastery.*
Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo. *Continued the Chronicle of Sampiro.*
Nonnio, Abbot of Tibaens, in Portugal. *Life of the Abbot Juan.*
Berengario Perez Pardinez, probably a Catalan. *Sumari de Poblacio de Espanya, &c.*
Muno, Bishop of Mondoñedo.
Hugo, Bishop of Oporto.
Gerardo, Canon of Compostella.
} Authors of *Historia Compostellana.*
Salviano, Presbyter of Portugal. *Vita Sancti Martini Sauriensis.*
Fernando, Monk of San Millan de la Cogulla. *Historia Translationis Sancti Æmiliani.*
Bernardo Atto, Abbot of Valle-Umbrosa. *Vita Sancti Joannis Gualberti.*
Juan Cirita, a Cistercian Abbot of Portugal. *A Rule for the Knights of Avis.*
Ordoño and Estevan, Monks of Galicia. *Vita Sancti Rudesindi.*
Paschasio, Abbot of Santa Maria in Palencia. *Vita Didaci Martinez de Villamayor.*
Martino, Presbyter of Leon. 1. *In Apocalypsin Commentarius;* 2. *In Epistolas SS. Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis Apostolorum;* 3. *Conciones ab Adventu usque ad Festum Trinitatis.*
Gregorio, Presbyter. *Collectio Canonum.*
Alfonso II., King of Aragon. (A Troubadour.)

In the Thirteenth Century.

Durando de Huesca. *Epistolæ.*
Alfonzo Ramirez, Bishop of Auria. *De Miraculis Sanctæ Euphemiæ.*
Didaco de Campos, Chancellor. *Planeta* (a work concerning Christ, the Virgin, &c.).
San Antonio, surnamed Patavinus, a Lusitanian. *Numerous Sermons, and Treatises on Mystical Theology.*
Rodrigo Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. 1. *Breviarium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ;* 2. *Historia Veteris ac Novi Testamenti;* 3. *Rerum in Hispaniâ Gestarum Chronicon;* 4. *Historia Ostro-Gothorum;* 5. *Historia Hunnorum, et Wandalorum, et Suevorum, et Alanorum, et Silingorum;* 6. *Historia Arabum: with other works.*

THE

HISTORY

OF

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK IV.

MODERN HISTORY OF THE PENINSULA.

SECTION I.

THE SPANISH MONARCHY.

1516—1788.

CHAP. I.

THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

1516—1700.

CARLOS I. (THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.)

1516—1556.

IF, from the present period, the history of Spain were to be written at length, it would, in fact, be that of all Europe. But as neither the limits nor the design of the present compendium would admit so wide a range, the present volume must necessarily be confined to events purely peninsular; or if others of a more general

character are occasionally noticed, the reason will be, that they are too closely connected with the former to be separated without violence.

1516. During the last illness of Fernando, Adrian dean of Louvain had been sent by the archduke Carlos, the eldest son of Philip and Juana, and consequently heir of the monarchy *, into Spain, for the ostensible purpose of condoling with the sufferer, but in reality to spy out the position of parties, and to prevent the archduke Fernando, brother of Carlos, from inheriting some advantages — among the rest, the administration of the military orders — which the dying king had proposed to dismember from the crown. On that monarch's death, Adrian, in virtue of the commission he had received, claimed the regency. The claim, however, was justly resisted by the royal council, on the ground that Carlos was yet far from the age appointed for his majority by his grandmother's will †, and that he could not be allowed to exercise any authority in the government. But cardinal Ximenes Cisneros, to whom the regency had been left by the deceased king ‡, unwilling to make an enemy of his future sovereign, consented that Adrian should have a share in the administration. A letter of congratulation was next addressed to Carlos, who was invited to visit his new inheritance. In his reply he confirmed the cardinal in the regency. Soon afterwards he assumed the title of king; an assumption which gave considerable dissatisfaction to some members of the council. They justly contended, that during the life of his mother, "la reyna proprietaria," the crown was strictly hers, and that the only thing he could expect, even on reaching his twentieth year, was to rule as her lieutenant. The majority, with the cardinal at their head, considering the utter incompetency of that princess to govern, decided differently; and orders were despatched to proclaim the king without delay. To save the rights of the mother, however, she was proclaimed

* Vol. II. p. 281. † Ibid. p. 282. ‡ Ibid. p. 290.

at the same time, and her name even preceded her son's, — *Doña Juana y don Carlos, regna y rey de Castilla,* &c.*

The short administration of the cardinal — for Adrian was a cipher — was distinguished by great capacity, activity, and vigour. His first antagonist was the dethroned king of Navarre, Jean d'Albret, who, having assembled 20,000 followers, laid siege to St. Jean Pied de Port, while the marshal of Navarre crossed the Pyrenees. The duke of Najera, who had been created viceroy, easily triumphed over the undisciplined levies, and forced the unfortunate Jean hastily to retreat. Neither Jean nor Catherine de Foix long survived this disaster. — But the cardinal's most bitter enemies were the nobles of Castile, who, envious of his dignity, displeased with his firmness, and hopeful of impunity under a young monarch, soon showed a disposition to refuse him obedience. When, with the view of repairing the royal revenues, he began to revoke or curtail the profuse grants which had been made to certain families, their indignation knew no bounds. Having assembled at Guadalaxara, in the house of the duke del Infantado, they deputed three of their body to know by what authority he exercised his functions: he could not, they contended, derive it from Fernando, because that prince only exercised a delegated power; nor from Carlos, who could have no right to the sovereignty during the life of Juana. To this insulting representation, the churchman listened with great composure, and promised that, if the three nobles would return the following day, he would exhibit the required powers. During the night he marched 2000 armed men from their cantonments in the vicinity of Madrid, and posted them in a tower of his house which he also flanked with

1516 to 1517.

* Alvarus Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenii, lib. iv. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Gulielmus Zenocarus à Scauwenburgo, De Republica, Vita, Moribus, &c. Caroli Quinti, lib. i. Juan Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion (variis foliis). Miniana, Continuatio ad Historiam Marianæ, lib. i. Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, Epitome de la Vida y Hechos del Invicto Emperador Carlos V., p. 1—13. Prudencio de Sandoval, Vida y Hechos del Emperador, Carlos V., tom. i. lib. 2.

artillery. When the deputies called, triumphantly pointing to the soldiers and guns, and to the treasures which he had purposely displayed in one of his apartments, he exclaimed, "Behold the powers by which I govern the kingdom!" The tone of superiority with which these words were uttered was not less galling than the words themselves; and the humbled though still indignant nobles fled from his presence. On his revoking some pensions, which he knew to have been improperly granted, and displacing some officers in the household of Juana, to make way for others devoted to his views, the cry of opposition became louder and fiercer. It was proclaimed that he was establishing an authority independent of the crown, and that he was preparing to renew scenes similar to those which had disgraced the realm under don Alvaro de Luna.* Had not passion blinded the minds of men, such a report would have been received with the contempt it deserved. The cardinal was drawing toward the close of life. Though he inhabited a palace, his manners were as simple, his austerities as rigid, his self-mortification as complete, as they had ever been during his abode in the cloister. Active, laborious, just, blameless in morals, and assiduous in his secret devotions, his only relaxation was to dispute with a few schoolmen on the dark subjects of metaphysical theology. But no lustre of virtues can dazzle envy; and care was taken to misrepresent his best measures. He wished to discipline by military exercise the inhabitants of towns; both that, in case of invasion, the nation might have more numerous arms for its defence, and that by their means he might repress the rebellious designs of the nobles. Some towns received the novelty; others, pretending to regard it only as a prop to support his own personal authority, refused to obey him. Valladolid was the first to remonstrate; and, when remonstrance was found unavailing, to arm in defence of its privileges. Burgos and Leon next followed the ex-

* Vol. II. p. 248, &c.

ample, and eventually Toledo, Avila, Segovia, and Salamanca. To punish the most guilty of these cities, a body of royal troops was immediately put in motion. The inhabitants armed, and in such numbers as to prevent the meditated assault. The cardinal complained by letter to the king. The rebels sent a deputy to justify their conduct, and to expose the oppressive character of the government. Similar complaints were daily received at Brussels, until Carlos associated two other persons with the cardinal. But this expedient was useless: his commanding genius continued to direct the whole machine of administration; and, however unpopular he might be with a certain class, even that class preferred a native to a stranger at the head of the state. Besides, the rapacity of the Flemings, who are said to have exhibited the most unquenchable thirst for gold, to have sold all offices over which they had any control to the highest bidder, filled the people with disgust. The dissensions of some powerful houses added to the difficulties of the regent: two disputed for the duchy of Medina-Sidonia, and two for the priory of St. John, and troops were necessary to keep them in check. Some other causes rendered the arrival of the king desirable. The Aragonese, or rather the grand justiciar, had refused to acknowledge as regent the archbishop of Saragossa, who had been appointed to that dignity by the will of Fernando *, until the act of confirmation had been sent by Carlos. The popular discontent increased when they thought that the royal absence proved something like indifference to the rich inheritance which awaited him. Many, too, were justly displeased that the richest benefices were conferred on foreign favourites, who bearing royal grants, flocked like locusts to various parts of the peninsula. — Sicily had not been less dissatisfied than Aragon. The conduct of its viceroy, don Hugo de Moncada, had been stern. The people, thinking the opportunity favourable for revenge, had conspired

* Vol. II. p. 290.

against him; and he had precipitately fled, leaving the mob to plunder the houses of the rich. While he despatched an account of these transactions to the new king, the Sicilians, like the inhabitants of Valladolid, sent one of their number to complain of him, and to justify their own proceedings. Unable to discover the truth in these conflicting statements, Carlos sent one of his knights to collect it on the spot; and though, from the report he received, he cited don Hugo to appear before him, and nominated another governor *ad interim*, the minds of men were unsettled, and averse to obedience. He now perceived the necessity of his presence in Spain. In August he embarked at Middleburg, and in a month arrived within sight of Villa Viciosa in the Asturias. While his fleet continued at a distance, the inhabitants of this mountainous country, fearing that it belonged to France, placed their wives and children in safety, and prepared to resist the disembarkation, — a spectacle which could not fail to gratify the king; — but the royal standard of Spain was soon hoisted, and their alarm changed into joy. The nobles and prelates now hastened to meet their sovereign; among the rest the venerable Ximenes. But that sovereign he was doomed to see no more: he suddenly sickened and died in Old Castile. By many his death was believed to have been produced by poison, administered by some courtiers, who dreaded the exposure of their own conduct, or that the influence he was likely to obtain over the royal mind would be still more fatal to the privileges of the aristocracy. Another account throws the guilt on the Belgians, but apparently with as little justice. At that time a pestilential disorder was raging in northern Spain, and Ximenes doubtless fell a victim to it. It must not, however, be concealed, that a cold letter from his king, written at the instance of his enemies, embittered and even hastened his end. He felt that a life worn out in his country's cause demanded a recompence different from an intimation that his services would hereafter be spared: but neither his

own sickness nor the royal ingratitude prevented him from dictating, on his bed of death, letters full of the most salutary advice to the inexperienced king. It was his consolation to reflect on the good he had done during his administration; that, whether in rewarding or punishing, he had never listened to his heart, but had always been guided by justice. His loss to Spain was irreparable; for he departed when his counsel was most needed. To the learned world he is better known as the founder of the university of Alcala de Henares, and as the publisher of the Complutensian Polyglot, than as a minister. That this distinguished man had a great defect, is apparent from his conduct in Granada.* His unbending rigour, and iron sternness of manner, might inspire fear and respect, but never affection: no wonder that he made enemies on every side.†

The Flemish locusts who accompanied the king instinctively settled on every inviting spot. From the archiepiscopal mitre of Toledo, which was bestowed on the bishop of Cambray, a nephew of de Chièvres, the favourite minister, to the lowest officers of the administration and the church, every thing was grasped by the avaricious strangers, or sold to the highest bidder. Fearful that the archbishop of Saragossa, the king's uncle, might obtain the primacy, that prelate was not

1517 to 1519.

* Vol. II. p. 275.

† Alvarus Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenii, lib. v.—vii. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V., lib. ii. Miniana, Continuatio Nova, lib. i. Antonio de Vera, Epitome de la Vida de Carlos V. Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion (under the proper dates). Zenocarus, De Republica, Vita, &c. Caroli Quinti, lib. i. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, par Hermilly, tom. vii. (sub propriis annis).

Sandoval is by far the most copious and satisfactory authority for the reign of Charles. It contains, however, some strange things, sufficiently characteristic of the times, the country, and the religion of the writer. He enters with reluctance on the subject of Martin Luther, because, as he sagely observes, sinners — meaning heretics — do not even deserve the honour of mention. He gives us the pedigree of the emperor — no doubt very accurately — from Adam to Philip and Juana. It is traced downwards through Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Osiris, Hercules, Dardanus, Priam, Hector (who is made to be the root of the Scythian dynasty), and on through thirty successive generations, to Priam V., who settled in Germany: it next descends through thirteen generations to Frank, founder of the Franks, and through still more to Dagobert and Childeric: from the latter to Rodolph of Hapsburg are twenty generations.

allowed access to the royal presence until the necessary bulls had been obtained from the pope. This favouritism so incensed the people, that, when the states were convoked at Valladolid (July 4. 1518), to swear allegiance to the king, the deputies were instructed to insist on a previous oath from the throne, — that thenceforward no stranger should be elected to any civil or ecclesiastical dignity in Leon or Castile. Though the ministers of the crown prevailed on the representatives to abandon the intention, they did so only from the assurance that the required promise should be made by Carlos. Homage was accordingly sworn; a supply of money granted by the deputies; and a council established, called the *consejo de camara*, to see that the royal briefs were issued only in favour of natives, and in other respects to control the royal revenues. From Valladolid he proceeded to Saragossa, to sanction the laws of the kingdom, and to receive its homage in return; but he found the Aragonese less tractable than even the Castilians. The states, which were duly opened in the archiepiscopal palace, warmly disputed whether he should be acknowledged king, or regent only; contending that Juana was the rightful sovereign, and that he could only govern as her lieutenant. After some sharp debates, it was at length agreed that, as in Castile and Leon, he should be proclaimed in conjunction with his mother; and that, in case he had no issue, his brother Fernando should be acknowledged his successor. This second difficulty being removed by the Aragonese, he issued his writs for the convocation of the Catalan states at Barcelona. This province was no less tenacious of its will than the rest. The same obstacle was opposed to his recognition as count; but in the end it followed the example of the two kingdoms. Valencia, however, still remained: but, unwilling to endure the repetition of the same mortification, he resolved not to meet the deputies in person; he swore by anticipation the observance of the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and commissioned Adrian, whom he had raised to the see of

Tortosa, and whom the pope had still further elevated to the dignity of cardinal, to preside in the cortes: but the nobles and clergy refused to receive the cardinal, or to swear allegiance to Carlos, unless he appeared in person to guarantee their privileges and receive their homage.*

While the king remained at Barcelona, an event hap- 1519.
pened destined to exercise great influence over his future life, over his hereditary states, in fact over all Europe. This was no other than his election to the imperial throne of Germany, vacant by the death of his grandfather, Maximilian. It had been offered to the elector of Saxony, who, considering the vast preparations which the Turks were making for the subjugation of all Christendom, wisely declined it, and recommended to the diet the choice of Carlos, as the most powerful prince of his age, and the only one capable of making head against the barbarians. Unfortunately, however, the disappointed ambition of Francis I., king of France, a candidate also for the imperial diadem, who, in hatred of his successful rival, leagued with the enemy of the Christian faith, destroyed the advantage which the election was calculated to procure for Europe.†

But this elevation, though it pleased, did not dazzle, the Spaniards, so as to render them insensible to the conduct of their sovereign. To replenish the royal coffers, dignities continued to be sold; and, what was still more galling, chiefly to foreigners. With the view of arresting the progress of so serious an evil, Segovia and Avila resolved to form a confederation of the great towns for the defence of their undoubted privileges. Toledo, Cuença, and Jaen soon joined the first two; and it was agreed that a deputation from the five should repair to the court, to remonstrate against the abuse. At the same time, the clergy refused to vote the tenth portion of the

* The same authorities.

† Frcher, Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores, tom. iii. Guicciardini, Istoria de Italia dopo l'anno 1490, &c. Girolamo della Corte, Istoria di Verona, ii. 635. Antonio Summonte, Historia della Città et Regno di Napoli, tom. iv. lib. 6.

church revenues, which the pope had granted to the new emperor for the meditated war with Turkey; and when the incensed pontiff placed an interdict on the kingdoms, few churches observed it. The sacraments continued to be administered with the same defiance of papal and royal authority, until Carlos himself applied for the removal of the ineffectual ban. The deputies performed their office. Being introduced to the emperor at Barcelona, they represented the discontent of Castile, on account not only of the abuse in question, but of his favouring with his residence Aragon and Catalonia, in preference to the ancient kingdom. The freedom of this remonstrance gave no offence: on the contrary, he promised that means should be used to satisfy his faithful towns. But this spirit was not long confined to Castile and Andalusia: a confederation was formed in Valencia, which threatened to be more formidable than the other, and which yet originated in accident. The plague visited the capital; the nobles fled from its ravages, leaving the city in possession of the people and magistrates. On the feast of St. Magdalen, a Franciscan friar expatiated with great zeal on the turpitude of a crime which he averred was often practised in Valencia, and which had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven, in the shape of pestilence, on that devoted capital. His discourse roused the people, who, resolved that the guilty should not escape, hastily ran to arms, and proceeded to take justice into their own hands. Four men were speedily arrested, were proved guilty of the crime before the criminal judge, and were condemned to the flames, — a sentence which was instantly executed. A fifth, a baker, against whom there were only slight presumptions, was committed to prison; and as, in his younger days, his head had been shaven for a religious life, he was intrusted to the guard of ecclesiastics. The sentence of the official was, that he should be exposed in the cathedral during the celebration of mass, and afterwards confined for life in a fortress. Though sufficiently severe, it did not satisfy the resentment of

the populace, who thirsted for his blood. At first a multitude of boys assembled, and threw stones at the windows of the sacristy, where the prisoner was confined. Three magistrates and two clergymen hastened to the scene of riot; and, by promising to guard the reputed culprit with rigour, prevailed on them to disperse. Towards evening, however, they collected in greater numbers: old as well as young hoisted a standard, repaired to the church, and demanded the baker, whom they swore to burn alive. The archbishop issued out, seized their ensign, and returned into his palace, the gates of which he ordered to be closed; while, in the view of frightening them, a piece of ordnance was fired over their heads. This ineffectual measure only increased the popular fury. Fire was immediately placed to the gates of the archbishop's residence, which would speedily have been consumed, had not an armed force hastened to extinguish the flames. Seeing the crowd increase alike in number and fury, the official laid an interdict on the city. The priests of several parishes now appeared with the consecrated host, beseeching the people to disperse, but with as little success; for spiritual thunders had lost their effect. The gates of the cathedral were assailed, and the rage of the insurgents was increased by the junction of another body, who, with a crucifix borne before them, demanded justice. In vain did the local authorities endeavour to repress the tumult: in the end, they had the weakness not only to desist, but to deliver the criminal. He was borne away in triumph by the infuriated mob. A fire was made; but he was strangled before his body was consumed. After this barbarous execution, so characteristic of popular violence, they went in pursuit of a mechanic who had been denounced; but not being able to find him, they dispersed. In a few days the governor, who had been absent, resolving to vindicate the authority of the laws, ordered strict enquiries to be made for the ringleaders, and stationed a considerable

force to overawe the mob. Alarmed at the fate which awaited them in the event of apprehension, the really guilty had influence enough to organise another confederation. By proclaiming the near invasion of the Moors, —by holding out to the peasantry the prospect of escape from the oppression of the nobles, and to all the defence of their privileges, and a more equitable imposition of the national burdens, — they prevailed on the various trades to combine, each under its own captain. Thus, the weavers, the shoemakers, the tailors, the carpenters, the bakers, &c. left the city, headed by the chiefs whom they had elected, and each with a distinctive standard. On reaching the appointed place of rendezvous, a weaver, Juan Llorente by name, asked the reason of these *germanias*, or combinations: the people replied, — and in this reply there was doubtless much truth, — that the chief cause was the tyranny of the nobles, who paid no debts, who treated them with the last contempt; nay, who forced their wives and daughters whenever they claimed their due. The weaver told them that, if they wished for redress, they must bind themselves by oath to act in concert; that each trade should elect a syndic; and that the thirteen syndics, thus chosen, should be empowered to act for the whole body. The proposal was tumultuously embraced: the new authorities were chosen; and a deputation waited on the emperor at Barcelona, requesting his sanction to their proceedings. The two objects which they ostensibly put forward as the cause of their confederation,—the defence of the kingdom against an expected invasion, and the limitation of the aristocratic tyranny,—seemed specious enough; but they owed the favour with which they were received to the circumstances of the times. The determination of the nobles not to do homage unless he appeared personally in Valencia, and of the clergy not to grant the tithe of ecclesiastical revenues, had greatly exasperated him. He allowed the trades to remain in arms, exhorting them only to do nothing without the

consent of the governor, and in all cases to be regulated by moderation and by due regard for the laws.*

The emperor had soon reason to repent of this con- 15
cession. When, after the cessation of the plague, the nobles returned to Valencia, they found the city in possession of an armed, insolent, and lawless mob. Their representation caused him to issue a decree that the inhabitants should lay down their arms. To procure its revocation, four citizens were deputed by the confederation to wait on him at Barcelona; but though they artfully expatiated how necessary their body was for the defence of the kingdom, they would never have attained their object, had not the states, by a new refusal to acknowledge him without his presence in the cortes, exasperated him still more than on the former occasion. His resentment prevailed, and the deputies returned in triumph to their countrymen. But at this period it was his misfortune to make enemies on every side. As the constitution of Valencia required that he should be present, to fulfil the compact with his people, he should, doubtless, have hastened thither, and, by yielding prompt obedience to the laws, have removed all pretext for rebellion. The same imprudence, the same disregard of established custom, made him summon the cortes of Castile and Leon to meet him at Santiago; a thing never before attempted by the most arbitrary of his predecessors. To the murmurs produced by this innovation, the ministers paid no attention: on the contrary, they did all they could to fan the flame of discontent, by interfering in the return of the deputies, and by bribing such as they could not nominate to submit in every thing to the royal will. If to these just causes of dissatisfaction we add the conviction entertained by all, that a large grant of money would be required from the cortes, not for any national object, but to

* Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos de Carlos V. lib. iii.; necnon Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion (sub propriis annis). Antonio de Vera, Epitome de la Vida, &c. p. 16, &c. Gulielmus Zenocarus, De Republica, &c. lib. i. Miniana, Continuatio Nova, lib. ii. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d' Espagne, tom. viii. (sub propiis annis).

gratify the vain splendour of their monarch, and to be wholly expended among foreigners, we shall not be surprised at the opposition which was now rapidly organised to his will. Toledo displaced the deputies whom it had chosen, and nominated others more submissive to the popular voice. It next prevailed on some other towns to join in insisting on the following concessions: — that the king should not leave Spain; that he should require no subsidy; that, instead of conferring dignities on foreigners, he should deprive the possessors of those which they actually held; that no money, under any pretext whatever, should leave the kingdom; that offices should cease to be venal; and that the cortes should be assembled, according to ancient custom, in some town of Leon or Castile, not in an angle of Galicia. Most of these demands were reasonable enough; but the first two were insulting; and all were sure to be highly unpalatable to the court. The deputies who bore them waited on Carlos, now at Valladolid, on his way to Galicia, and with some difficulty obtained an audience. He told them, however, that he was in too much haste to take the subject into consideration; but that, if they would meet him near Tordesillas, he would commune with them. To Tordesillas they accordingly repaired; but a report being maliciously spread in Valladolid, that he was not only about to leave the kingdom, but to take away his mother, the populace were excited to the highest pitch. A Portuguese lacemaker mischievously ascended the tower of a church, the bell of which was never sounded except on extraordinary occasions, and rang with such good will that 6000 men were speedily under arms. It was immediately resolved that all the Flemings should be put to death: but the intended victims had timely intimation of their danger, and with the king fled at midnight, the rain descending in torrents, to Tordesillas, where they arrived at daybreak. The authorities of Valladolid showed great activity in the apprehension of the ringleaders in the riot, and a few were punished; but the

king, who was naturally clement, ordered the remainder to be liberated. He now hastened towards Galicia, the Toledan deputies closely following him, and at every town requesting an audience; but he refused to see them until they reached Santiago.*

On the first day of April, the states were opened in 1520.
the convent of San Francisco. The speech from the throne laid stress on the necessity of the king's immediate voyage to Germany; on the expenses with which it would be attended, as well as on that which had been incurred in preparations for war with the infidels; and ended by demanding a gratuity. For a moment the deputies were silent; but those of Salamanca rose, and protested that they could not take the accustomed oath of allegiance unless the king would comply with the demands which had been presented to him. They were immediately supported by a deputy of Toledo, who asserted that, rather than consent to any thing prejudicial either to the city he represented, or to the kingdom, he would sacrifice his life. Emboldened by the example, the delegates of Seville, Cordova, Zamora, Toro, and Avila joined with the three, and the business of the assembly was for some days interrupted. Nothing can better show the degraded state in which the cortes were held, and the power which the crown had been accustomed to exercise over the proceedings, — *debates* were unknown among them, — than the next step of the king: it was no less than to order the Toledan deputies, the most violent of the party, to leave the court. In vain did they petition: they were compelled to obey. When the news reached Toledo, the population was in an uproar; and their anger still further inflamed by the arrest of two of their magistrates, Juan de Padilla, and Fernando Davalos. Whether a royal order was sent for the arrest, or a citation for the appearance, of both, is doubtful: the mob opposed its execution; and would have murdered the corregidor, the alcalde, and alguacil mayor,

* The same authorities.

had not all three contrived to escape. The fortress and gates, with the government of the city, were now seized by the mob, and the royal officers expelled. The example was imitated by the whole kingdom of Murcia. When intelligence of these events reached Santiago, the king proposed to march on Toledo, and inflict a summary vengeance on that city; but his ministers,—fearing that if he remained any longer in Spain, he would risk the imperial crown, some members of the diet having already threatened to proceed to a second election,—dissuaded him from his purpose. The states were now transferred to Coruña, where, with some reluctance,—so effectually had the royal influence been exercised in the interim,—a considerable subsidy was granted to the monarch. The great cities, however, refused to sanction it; and even the few deputies who voted it accompanied it by requests exceedingly obnoxious to the court. Anxious to take possession of the brilliant dignity which awaited him, and perhaps to escape from so troubled a kingdom, Carlos closed the cortes, and prepared to embark. He left the regency of Castile to cardinal Adrian; of Aragon, to don Juan de Lanuza; of Valencia, to the conde de Melito; and he intrusted the command of the troops to approved officers. The choice of Adrian, a foreigner, was peculiarly offensive to the nobles and deputies at court: they solicited another; but Carlos, who generally adhered to his plans with uncommon tenacity, refused to change. In May he embarked, and proceeded to England, to concert with our Henry VIII. the means of humbling the power of the French king.*

1520. The departure of the king was not likely to assuage the turbulence of the times. If the opposition, so long as it was constitutionally exercised, was just, and even laudable, it had now degenerated into rebellion, and patriotism been succeeded by schemes of personal ambition. In Toledo, Padilla, by pretending to follow the popular current, guided it at his will: his wife,

* Authorities, Prudencio de Sandoval, Miniana, Juan de la Ochoa, Antonio de Vera, Gulielmus Zenocarus, Ferreras, and others.

doña Maria Pacheco, who had greater talents and even greater ambition than himself, headed the popular processions, and by her presence authorised some revolting scenes. From Murcia the governor, the marquis de los Velez, had been expelled, and a royal officer, who had been sent to institute proceedings against the guilty, compelled to flee for his life, followed by 8000 of the combined rebels. The example of these great places was too attractive to remain inoperative. Segovia immediately rose, and hung two of the magistrates. The mob were, above all, anxious to murder their deputies, of whom both had agreed to the subsidy at Coruña; but one of them, wisely distrustful of their intention, had not returned: the other, who returned at midnight, was advised by his friends to remain concealed. He disregarded the counsel, and the following morning was rash enough to mount his mule, and proceed to meet his constituents in the church of San Miguel. His appearance was the signal for violence; the mob, who were outside the edifice, demanded that he should come forth; and when, with the view of resisting their murderous intention, the doors were shut, they proceeded to break them open. Tordesillas now ventured out; and endeavoured to appease the tumult, by stating that he was ready to explain his conduct at the Cortes. He was interrupted by cries of *Take him to prison! Kill him!* Some of the more desperate soon laid hands on him, and dragged him towards the public gaol, but finding the gates locked, the cry of *Kill him! kill him! A cord! a cord!* was vehemently raised on all sides. One was soon furnished by a spinner; it was thrown over the victim's neck, who was dragged along the streets to the place of execution. Several ecclesiastics, joined by the more respectable portion of the inhabitants, hastened to intercede for Tordesillas: the monks of San Francisco issued from their cloisters, with the holy sacrament for the same purpose: the interference was unavailing; nor was it without difficulty that permission could be obtained for a confessor to attend him. A monk ap-

proached, and though the office was speedily performed, loud murmurs were raised, by the murderous herd, at the time so unnecessarily lost. They again seized the rope, dragged the deputy along, hooted the clergy of Santa Eulalia, who renewed the attempt of the Franciscans; and, though he was dead before they reached the gallows, they hung him on the same tree that had proved fatal to two preceding victims.* The very day on which the insurrection broke out at Segovia, the populace of Zamora rose against their deputies, who, however, contrived to escape to a neighbouring monastery. They were nevertheless hung in effigy, and the monks compelled to dismiss them, otherwise the house would have been consumed by fire. Here the mob was headed by the bishop, whose only object in the rebellion appears to have been jealousy of the conde de Alba, a faithful and respected servant of the king. Though Valladolid was honoured with the abode of Adrian and the council of regency, the rabble rose to put the deputies to death; and when these, too, had the good fortune to escape, even the cardinal was arrested, but, as it appears, soon released, through the interposition of the nobles and clergy. Burgos was still more criminal. Unable to find the bishop or his brethren, individuals peculiarly obnoxious, the rioters, headed by a cutler, burnt a house in which many valuable archives were consumed. They next proceeded in search of a royal favourite, whose house shared the same fate. Hearing that the owner had fled towards Lara, some horsemen were despatched in his pursuit: he was overtaken at Vibar, dragged from the church where he had sought sanctuary, brought to Burgos, and committed to prison, where he immediately died from the effect of the blows he had received. Not satisfied with taking his life, they dragged his corpse through the city, and sus-

* The reader will find our relation of the events of this period very different in some respects from that of Robertson. We intended to point out the variation, and to establish our own accuracy by the necessary quotations; but the task would be invidious, and would require more foot notes than we can admit.

pended it, the head downwards, from the public gallows. The arrival at Madrid of a royal magistrate said to be proceeding to Toledo to try the rebels, raised the rioters, who swore to take his life; and, as he was fortunate enough to escape, they deposed the magistrates, elected others, seized all the arms they could find, and summoned the governor of the Alcazar to remit that fortress into their hands; but he had fidelity enough to set them at defiance. Knowing that his force was insufficient to withstand a long siege, he secretly left the place, which he confided to the defence of his wife, and went in search of reinforcements. He was intercepted on his return by a force too great to be assailed; but his noble-minded lady, doña Iñes de Carvajal, continued the defence, during many days, with a courage which would have done honour to heroes. At length the rebels having procured from Toledo a reinforcement of 400 foot and 300 horsemen, the siege was prosecuted with new vigour: a mine was sprung, the gallant handful of defenders was destroyed, and the place capitulated. Finally, at Avila, Guadalajara, and Siguenza, the legitimate authority was overthrown; brute force, murder, rape, and plunder reigned in its stead.*

Unfortunately for the interests of order, the regency 1520.
was held by a man, estimable and virtuous indeed, but little fitted for such a crisis. In a council assembled in consequence of the disasters at Segovia, a resolution was taken to punish the sedition; but the obvious consideration, whether there was sufficient force to put that regulation into effect, seems never to have struck the members. The alcalde Ronquillo was despatched against that fortress; but the rebels were under arms, in numbers too powerful for him to effect an entrance, and he retired to Santa Maria de Nieva, where he established his head quarters, and issued a proclamation, threatening to inflict the last punishment on whoever should carry

* Authorities: Miniana, Sandoval, Vera, Ochoa de la Salde, Ferreras, &c. under the proper date. To these must be added the judicious Leti, Istoria di Carlo V. tom. i.

provisions to Segovia. While here he had the consolation of arresting two manufacturers who were journeying from Salamanca to that fortress, and who had been concerned in the murder of Rodrigo de Tordesillas: they were hung and quartered. In a few days 4000 of the rebels, headed by a weaver, left the walls to dislodge him from his position. Their courage, however, did not correspond with the demonstration: they fled, characteristically enough, on the first assault of the cavalry; a few were taken and hung. In their distress they solicited aid from the other rebellious communities, which agreed to act in concert for the common cause, and to send their representatives to Avila, to hold a sort of national Cortes. Accordingly, Toledo, Madrid, Guadalajara, Soria, Murcia, Cuença, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Toro, Zamora, Leon, Valladolid, Burgos, and Ciudad Rodrigo, successively and within short intervals, joined their respective deputies, while from several of these places troops daily arrived to defend the besieged fortress. For some time, however, nothing important was attempted: the royalist general, Fonseca, was too busily occupied in raising troops to assail Segovia; and Ronquillo was too weak to take the field. Fonseca was near being made prisoner in Valladolid, whither a deceitful calm had drawn him: under cover of a disguise he escaped, and hastened to Medina del Campo to seize the ammunition and ordnance, which had been placed there by Cardinal Ximenes. The inhabitants refused to deliver up the stores and fired on his soldiers; in revenge he ordered fire to be set to some houses, and the flames raged with such fury that one half of the streets were laid in ashes. This impolitic and cruel measure forced them into the confederation. Two magistrates wished to remain faithful to their oaths; but a weaver entered the municipal hall and poniarded both. Other murders followed; several houses were plundered; and violence of every description succeeded the quiet empire of the laws. When the rabble of Valladolid heard of the conflagration at Me-

dina, their fury augmented ten-fold. Without caring for either cardinal or council, the bell of San Miguel was sounded, and 6000 armed wretches poured through the streets to plunder and consume the property, and to destroy the lives of their reputed enemies. They forced the nobles to approve the confederation. The weakness of the regent, who in the fear of violence expressed his dispprobation of the hostilities commenced by Fonseca, redoubled their audacity. Anarchy was now at its height; private enmities sharpened the dagger under the pretext of political freedom, or often without any pretext. Thus the lord of Jodar assassinated a member of the house of Benavides: the son of the fallen nobleman immediately assembled his followers, assaulted Jodar, set fire to the town, and slew 2000 of the inhabitants. The insurrection spread to other cities and towns, from Jaen to Leon, and from Murcia to Badajoz: every where was obedience to the laws withheld, and the government insulted; every where were plunder, rape, and murder triumphant.*

The next proceeding of the rebels was distinguished 1520.
for more boldness, and for something like originality. At the head of the troops furnished by Toledo, Medina del Campo, and other places, and accompanied by two other chiefs, Padilla proceeded to Tordesillas to gain possession of the imbecile Juana. He demanded and obtained an audience, expatiated on the evils which had befallen the kingdom since the death of the catholic sovereigns, her parents, and said that her son had abandoned the kingdom to its fate; he ended by informing her that he placed the troops of Toledo, Madrid, and Segovia, at her disposal. For a moment the queen seemed to have regained the use of her faculties; she replied that she had never before heard of her father's

* Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos, lib. vi. et vii. Miniana, Continuatio nova, p. 15. Ulloa, Vita del Imperatore Carlo v. p. 64., &c.; necnon Vita del Potentissimo e Christianissimo Imperatori Ferdinando I. passim. Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion (under the proper date). Gulielmus Zenocarus, De Republica, &c. p. 38. Antonio de Vera, Epitome de la Vida, p. 82. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. viii. cum aliis.

death; that if she had, she would not have permitted the disorders which prevailed; that she desired the weal of the kingdom, and that on Padilla, in quality of captain-general, she devolved the duty of restoring the public tranquillity. Her rational manner of discourse made the deputies hope that she had been restored to sanity; they did homage to her as their sovereign queen; and in her name the representatives of the confederation were brought from Avila to Tordesillas. By issuing all decrees in her name and by her authority, they hoped to give legitimacy to their own. But she almost instantly relapsed into her former lethargy, a circumstance, however, which they carefully concealed from the world. Emboldened by the success of their enterprise, and by the number of armed men who daily joined them, they now resolved to subvert the power of regent and council, and even to arrest the members. A monk was sent to Valladolid, to prevail on the community of that place to seize certain persons whose names were designated. The ecclesiastic assembled the people in the cathedral of Santa Maria, and from the pulpit exhorted them to put into execution the orders he had received. The proceeding appeared so audacious, that even they hesitated to adopt it. In the meantime the intended victims had notice of their danger; some disguised themselves as priests or women, and escaped; some took refuge in the monasteries; Padilla arrived with 1200 men and arrested the remainder. The cardinal now prepared to flee; the gates were shut on him; and he was forced to return to his hostel, to be detained as a sort of hostage for the safety of the rebel chiefs. In a few days, however, he assumed a disguise and silently escaped. His first step was to acquaint his master with the events which had happened. On their side, the confederates, with an impudence unparalleled in all history, attempted in the same manner to justify what they had done. Carlos was in a difficult position: the hostility of the Lutherans, the rivalry of Francis I., the disturbances which threatened to afflict Italy, and the preparations of

the grand Turk, rendered it impossible for him to revisit Spain, even though his absence endangered the security of that crown. In this emergency he associated the constable and admiral of Castile in the regency with Adrian, and wrote to all the revolted communities calling on them to obey the laws and to restore tranquillity, promising to return the moment his pressing affairs would allow him. To dispose them in his favour he renounced the subsidy which had been voted him at Coruña, and promised that no benefices should be conferred on foreigners. His letters, however, had for some time little effect on the majority of the confederates, who declared that they were dictated by insincerity.*

In this critical position of the royal cause, it was 1520.
fortunate that Aragon, Catalonia, and most of Andalusia, stood aloof from the confederation. Aragon, indeed, was subsequently troubled for a moment, through an organised opposition to the viceroyalty of Lanuza; but tranquillity was restored without much difficulty. Seville, Cordova, Xeres, and Grenada, either returned, without condescending to open, the proposals of that body, or reproached it for its excesses. The rebellious towns no less persevered in their career of violence. Burgos expelled one of the regents, who narrowly escaped with his life; and the confederacy of Tordesillas ordered all three not only to resign their authority, but to appear and answer for their conduct. It was evident that nothing less than civil war could decide the problem, whether the king or the mob should exercise the government. The constable began to act with vigour, to collect his own vassals, and to summon all who held for the sovereign and the laws to join him; and he borrowed money from don Manuel, of Portugal, to support his levies. The cardinal too seemed to awake from his imbecile inactivity; and the admiral went from place to place to rouse the sparks of slumbering loyalty. The result showed what might have been accomplished

* The same authorities.

earlier by an active combination of the royalist party; about 8000 well armed men soon repaired to Rioseco. The extent of the preparations and the expostulations of the constables prevailed on Burgos to withdraw from the confederacy. On their side the assembly at Tordesillas vigorously prepared for the struggle, and placed don Pedro Giron at the head of the rebel forces, among the ranks of which was the bishops of Zamora, with 900 men, of whom 400 were ecclesiastics. With 11,000 men don Pedro advanced towards Rioseco, took and pillaged Tordehumos, without any molestation from the royalists, who were waiting for a reinforcement under the conde de Haro. On the junction of that nobleman, who was raised to the command, the numbers were about equal; but for some time the royalists were unwilling to begin the attack: they knew that the rebel army was not well organised; that it contained many disaffected, and would soon be in want of provisions; and they were averse to shed blood, if the triumph of the good cause could be secured by a little patience. Their anticipations were justified. Don Pedro fell back to Villapando, and by this imprudent step exposed Tordesillas, which, with the queen, Juana, was invested and stormed by the Conde. He was already disgusted with the cause he advocated, and he soon abandoned it for that of the king: his place was supplied by don Juan de Padilla.—While a desultory warfare followed, generally favourable to the royalists, Valencia was the undivided prey of anarchy; here damning deeds were committed, which threw into the shade the horrors of Castile and Leon. The thirteen syndics first endeavoured to oppose the entrance of the viceroy: and when this was found impossible, they artfully misrepresented his actions, organised a determined opposition to his authority, overawed the administration of justice, rescued the most notorious criminals from execution, openly attacked his house, and at length expelled him from the city. The consequences, not in the capital only, but in the towns, might have been easily anticipated. All who were

hostile to the present order of things were pursued with vindictive rage: they were even sacrificed at the altar, their wives violated, their children put to death before their eyes, the priests themselves dragged from their sanctuary, and the holy sacraments trod under foot. In short, there was no species of crime left uncommitted.*

But, fortunately for humanity, evil has its climax as 152
well as good, and the descent in the former case is even more rapid than in the latter. Some of the rebel leaders returned to their duty; and the conde de Haro advanced against Padilla, who was entrenched in Torre Lobaton, but who fled on the approach of the royalists. The conde pursued, overtook, and in a short time entirely defeated the rebels; Padilla himself, with two other generals, being among the prisoners. All three were speedily condemned and executed. Terrified by this blow, Valladolid sued for and obtained its pardon. Medina del Campo, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Zamora, and other places of less note, followed the example. The prior of St. John, who had been sent to chastise the inhabitants of Toledo, defeated the bishop of Zamora, who had ventured to oppose him, and was precipitately driven into the city. For the bishop's devotion to the popular cause, the people escorted him in triumph to the cathedral, and placed him under the archiepiscopal canopy. The see was then vacant through the death of the Fleming, and the canons waiting to receive the nomination of a successor. Resolved to derive his advantage from the popular support, the bishop actually imprisoned the chapter until they should elect him to the primacy; but intelligence arriving of Padilla's defeat, he enlarged them, and soon afterwards fled from the city. Doña Maria Pacheco, the widow of Padilla, a woman of commanding talents, of desperate courage,

* Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos de Carlos V. lib. vii. et viii. Miniana, Continuatio Vera, lib. ii. Antonio de Vera, Epitome de la Vida, &c. p. 41, &c. Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion, fol. 109. Gulielmus Zenocarus, de Republica, &c. passim. Ferreras, Historia Générale, par Hermilly, tom. viii. Ulloa Vita dell Imperatore Carlo V. p. 90, &c. Leti, on the same subject, tom. i.

and of little principle, succeeded to the unbounded authority of her husband. Her character will be best understood by an anecdote Two Biscayan brothers, suspected of ill-will towards her husband, were summoned to appear before her in the Alcazar; scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the fortress when they fell under the daggers of her creatures: the corpses were first thrown into the river, and then dragged through the streets by children.—In the mean time the prior of St. John invested the city, from which sorties were frequently made, with various success. On one occasion, a royalist noble pursued a fugitive party so close to the walls that a number of horsemen issued from the gates and enveloped him. The courage with which he defended himself drew the admiration of doña Maria, who beheld the scene from the Alcazar. When he fell covered with wounds, she ordered him to be carefully attended, and to be supplied with every necessary; and when, through her good offices, he was sufficiently recovered, she offered him the command of the troops of Toledo if he would embrace the popular cause; but the high-spirited nobleman declined her offer, with expressions of ardent gratitude for her conduct towards him,—a conduct which proves that, with all her faults, there was elevation in her character. To the canons of Toledo, who refused to rob the church at her requisition, she was less generous. During two days and nights she confined them to the chapter-house, allowing them neither food nor bed; and there they must doubtless have remained until starvation had released them from her persecution, had they not submitted. But her despotic reign was approaching its end. The loss of 1300 men in a desperate sortie so humbled the inhabitants, that all submitted except a determined number, who retired with her into the Alcazar. Soon afterwards it was compelled to submit, but the heroic doña Maria effected her escape into Portugal, where she passed her remaining days in great poverty.*

* The same authorities.

The success of the royalists in Leon and Castile had little effect on the desperate rebels of Valencia. That city, like other towns of the kingdom, continued in the hands of a furious mob, who loudly proclaimed that no clergy should be maintained, no taxes hereafter paid, no civil government supported, since all were violations of natural liberty. The thirteen syndics themselves were treated with contempt; mortified at the fact, and unable to repress the constant excesses of the ferocious rabble, they privately solicited the expelled viceroy to return, who, however, wisely refused until he had troops sufficient to make his authority respected. Hearing that one of their leaders was defeated at Oropesa by the duke of Segorbe, that the town of San Mateo was quieted by the destruction of the guilty rioters, and that the viceroy had convoked the ban and arriere-ban of the nobles, the fanatics left the capital to prevent the junction of the troops, and if possible to exterminate all their enemies. Four thousand of them furiously assailed several towns which continued faithful to the king; one half of them were annihilated near Murviedro by the same duke: but, to counterbalance this check, another army of rebels defeated the viceroy in person near Xativa. The ferocity of the victors knew no bounds: they had bigotry enough to force the Moors whom they had conquered to receive baptism, but after the ceremony they massacred 600; saying, that possibly the converts might relapse, and that it was better at once to send them to heaven, while in a regenerated state. The viceroy now solicited aid from the regents of Castile: it was immediately sent; the royalists took the field in greater numbers, and with greater confidence of success. Fortress after fortress was reduced; and in several successive actions victory declared for the rightful cause. The rapidity of these successes so frightened even the rebels of the capital, that they sued for pardon; it was granted by the viceroy on the consideration that they would surrender their arms, and in future conform to the laws. In an incredibly short period all the for-

1521, 1522.

tified places submitted, except Xativa and Alzira. The former place was speedily invested; the suburbs were reduced; the rebels promised to surrender; and, under the pretext of negotiating, drew the marquis of Ceneté into the fortress; but, with characteristic perfidy, they retained him prisoner, the moment they knew that in faith of the treaty the royal troops were disbanded. They were at length prevailed on to release their prisoner; but both Xativa and Alzira long continued in open rebellion. They were powerfully aided by the efforts of a nameless Castilian impostor, who gave himself out as the son of the infante don Juan,—in reality he was the son of a Jew,—and as sent by heaven to destroy the faith of Islam.* After the death of this impostor, who was assassinated by two rustics, rather as a favourer of heresy than as a rebel, and after gallantly withstanding a long siege, Xativa surrendered, and Alzira soon afterwards imitated the example. The confederation was for ever destroyed in Valencia; and, though it lingered for a while in the Balearic isles, where it raged almost as furiously as on the continent, it was at length extirpated through the valour of the royalists.†

521. These troubled scenes were not the only evil experienced by the Spaniards at this season: they were afflicted by that of foreign invasion. Knowing that the forces of the kingdom were occupied in extinguishing the flames of rebellion, the French king thought this a favourable opportunity for vindicating the claim of Henri d'Albert to the throne of Navarre. A formidable army advanced under André de Foix, seized on St. Jean Pied de Pont, passed by Roncesvaux, invested and took Pamplona‡, and, as the country had no for-

* The life of this extraordinary adventurer is too important and too interesting to be comprised into a corner of a single paragraph. It will be detailed in the Lives of celebrated Impostors,—a work preparing for the press, and intended to be comprised in the series of the Cabinet Cyclopædia.

† Authorities, Prudencio de Sandoval, Alfonso de Ulloa, Juan Ochoa de la Salde, Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, Miniana, Leti, Ulloa, Ferreras, &c.

‡ In defence of Pamplona the celebrated Ignacio Loyola received a wound in his leg. During his illness he resolved, if his life were spared, to found the order of Jesuits; both for the destruction of Lutheranism, and for the propagation of the catholic religion among distant nations.

tresses to defend it, it became the easy prey of the enemy. Had the French been satisfied with this success, and erected fortresses to defend their conquest, the throne of Navarre might have been restored; but the general, in accordance, as is believed, with an understanding with the rebels of the confederation, invaded Castile and invested Logroño. The place made a gallant defence so as to allow the duke of Najera to advance with reinforcements. On his approach, the siege was precipitately raised, the French were pursued, were signally defeated,—6000 of their number remaining on the field, their artillery lost, and many officers captured, among whom was the general in chief, André de Foix: probably a still greater number perished in the pursuit. The kingdom was regained with greater facility than it had been lost. No sooner did Francis hear of this signal failure, than, anxious to vindicate the honour of his arms, he despatched a second army, under the grand admiral Bonnivet. On this occasion the invaders took Fuentarabia after a gallant defence; but on the approach of the Spanish general, don Bertram de la Cueva, they retreated to Bayonne. They returned indeed to resume hostilities on the frontier; but were driven back with serious loss by that general. In 1524 Fuentarabia was recovered by the emperor.*

In July, 1522, the emperor, whose presence had been so often requested by the royalists, arrived in Spain. Early in the same year the Cardinal Adrian had been invested with the pontifical crown. The two co-regents, the admiral and the council, whose efforts had so fortunately extinguished the flames of rebellion, met him at Santandar to congratulate him on his arrival, and to acquaint him fully with the state of the country. Having visited his mother at Tordesillas, he hastened to Valladolid, where his presence was naturally dreaded. It was expected by all that summary justice would be 1522.

* The same authorities.

inflicted on those who had taken a prominent part in the recent disturbances; but clemency was the basis of his character, and on this occasion he exercised it to an extent, perhaps, unparalleled in history. To allay the fears of the guilty, he caused a stage to be erected in the great square of the city: upon it was placed a throne, in which having taken his seat, he caused proclamation to be made that, with the exception of about eighty, all individuals concerned in the recent rebellion were freely pardoned, that all proceedings should cease, that all preceding condemnations should be revoked, and all who had suffered from the judgments of the tribunals should be restored to their possessions and honours. And of the eighty thus excepted, very few suffered: he wished the rest to escape; and, even when informed of their places of refuge, he neither availed himself of that information, nor thanked its authors. This conduct was truly imperial: it necessarily made a deep impression on the hearts of the people; and, as he had gained policy by experience, the deference which he now paid to native customs, the preference which he gave to native habits, the care with which he identified his interests and views with those of the Spaniards, did the rest, and enabled him to exercise an ascendancy over his subjects which few of his predecessors had ever possessed.*

1524 to 527. During the remainder of this prince's reign, the domestic tranquillity was undisturbed, save by an insurrection of the Moors. Of this persecuted people most had been compelled to receive baptism†: no wonder that they should dislike the faith thus forced upon them, and long to resume their own: in some places they did so openly, in more secretly. The Inquisition laid hold

* Sandoval Historia de la Vida, &c. p. 377. Ulloa, Vita di Carlo, lib. ix. et x. Miniana, Continuatio Nova, p. 36., &c. Antonio de Vera Epitome de la Vida, &c. p. 41. Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion, fol. 129. Ferreras, Histoire Générale par Hermilly, tom. viii. Leti, Vita di Carlo V. tom. i.

The warlike bishop of Zamora was confined to the prison of Simancas; there he committed a murder, and was hung for it,—a fit ending of so stormy and unprincipled a life.

† Vol. II. p. 977.

of the opportunity for indulging its propensity to blood, and autos de fe blazed throughout Valencia. As early as 1524 they sent a deputation to the king, declaring that their baptism had been forced, and requesting permission to exercise their ancient faith. He was too catholic a sovereign to receive with patience so reasonable a prayer, and they were told that they must remain Christians, or leave the kingdom. Perceiving that they deferred their reconciliations with the church, an edict was issued the following year allowing them only four months to make their choice. They endeavoured to avert the extremity by the offer of a large sum of money: it procured them only a short suspension from persecution; the edict was soon renewed, and the day appointed for its execution. About 2000 passed over to Africa; a greater number were reconciled with the church; but a greater than both combined raised the standard of revolt. An army was soon raised to oppose them: they were driven from fort to fort, from mountain to mountain; until, after losing a great portion of their number, they were compelled to lay down their arms, and receive the iron yoke of the victors. This was their only insurrection during the reign; but in that of his successor, as we shall soon see, they were much more formidable.*

Into the interminable wars of this sovereign,—in other words, into his transactions as emperor of Germany,—this compendium cannot enter. Those in Italy, Germany, and France, must be sought in the general histories of the time. We may mention that of two expeditions to the African coast, to humble, if not to extirpate, the Mohammedan pirates, one was successful, the other disastrous,—the latter a casualty occasioned by a tempest; that he compelled the Grand Turk, who penetrated into the centre of Europe, to

* Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos, tom. i. Condé by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne, tom. iii. Sandoval, Historia de la Vida, &c. tom. i. Ferreras Histoire Générale, tom. viii.

retreat; and that at the battle of Pavia he made his great rival, Francis I., prisoner. His behaviour to that monarch was neither dignified nor liberal: anxious to derive the utmost advantage from circumstances, he exacted, as the price of liberation, conditions which, after long hesitation, Francis signed, but with a protest that they should not be binding. Accordingly, the French monarch was no sooner in his own dominions than he openly evaded them, and again tried the fortunes of war; but he could never,—not even by his alliance with the Lutherans and the Turks,—obtain any advantage over his great rival.*

1525 to 1554. In 1525 Carlos married the princess Isabel, sister of Joam III. king of Portugal. The issue of this union in 1527 was, besides two daughters, the infante Philip, destined to be no less famous than himself. For this son he endeavoured to procure the imperial crown of Germany, but his brother Fernando, who had been elected king of the Romans, would not forego the dignity, nor would the electors themselves favour the pretensions of the young prince. In 1554, however, he procured for Philip the hand of our princess Mary; and that the marriage ceremony might be performed with more splendour, he invested him with the regal title by abdicating in his favour his Italian possessions,—the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Milan. This was not enough: he was preparing to abdicate the whole of his immense dominions, and to retire for ever from the world.†

1539 to 1555. From the very prime of life the emperor appears to have meditated his retreat from the world. One of his German biographers tells us, that the design was formed thirty years before its execution. Sandoval states, that both he and the empress, who died in 1539, had agreed to retire into the cloister. That he acquainted St. Fran-

* Authorities, the French, German, Italian, and Spanish historians of the period.

† Authorities, Sandoval, Ochoa de la Salde, Antonio de Vera, Gulielmus Zenocarus, Ulloa, Leti, Ferreras, Strada de Bello Belgico, and many others.

cis Borgia with his extraordinary resolution as early as 1542, is indisputable from the relation of the prior of St. Justus, in whose monastery he ended his days. Some years before it was carried into execution, one of his most distinguished officers had requested and obtained permission to retire, assigning as a reason the necessity of some preparation before the hour of death. The officer's remark had made profound impression on a mind not unfrequently occupied with the concerns of eternity. That he would himself have retired at a much earlier period, had his affairs been in a more settled state, or his son Philip arrived at maturer years, rests both on his own declaration, and on the evidence of his friends. In 1555, the death of his mother, queen Juana, made him decide on the immediate fulfilment of his long-cherished project. For this step, indeed, other reasons might be given. Though only fifty-six, his frame was greatly enfeebled,—the result alike of constitutional weakness, and of incessant activity; and he was subject to grievous attacks of the gout, no less than to other acute pains. In such a state, where the least exertion naturally augmented his infirmities, we may easily conceive that empire could afford him little gratification, and that life itself must be a burden. That, in the hope of some alleviation, he should wish to resign his load of "sceptred care," has nothing to create surprise. Besides, with one or two accidental failures, his career had been one of unparalleled triumph, and he might not choose to risk the glory of his laurels now that his arm was enfeebled and his head less enterprising. But the chief cause of his retreat must be traced to his religious temperament, which, even when ambition was most powerful, and health least affected, was honourably conspicuous. *

* Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos de Carlos V. tom. ii. lib. 32. Godlevaeus, Relatio Abdicationis Caroli V. (apud Goldasti, Polit. Imper.). Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. Vera y Figueroa, Epitome de la Vida, &c. p. 236. Leti, Vita di Carlo V. tom. iv. Ulloa, on the same subject, book the last. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. ix. Summonte,

1555, 1556. Having concluded a truce with Henry, the successor of Francis,—a truce, however, which the perfidy of the Frenchman, and the ambition of the pope, rendered of short duration,—and recalled Philip from England, the emperor assembled at Brussels the states of the Netherlands. There, amidst the most imposing solemnity ever witnessed since the days of the Roman Cæsars, he resigned the sovereignty of the Low Countries, which he had inherited from his father, the archduke Philip, into the hands of his son. His conduct on that occasion was distinguished by equal dignity and affection,—affection no less for his Flemish subjects than for Philip. As he stood up amidst the assembled princes and nobles, having on one side the throne his sister, the queen of Hungary, on the other his son, and leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, while he addressed the states for the last time; during his enumeration of the expeditions which he had undertaken; of the services, both military and civil, which he had performed; of his present infirmities, and his consequent inability to retain the sceptre with advantage to his people, for whom he exhibited in every gesture and word a regard truly paternal; his deportment was elevated by the sublimity of the scene. His address to the now kneeling king, whom he exhorted to justice, to a sacred regard for the laws, to love for his subjects, was no less pathetic. Both the spectators and the actors in this spectacle were deeply affected—many even to tears. Never did sovereign meet his people under circumstances of such interest; never did one leave them with more of their reverence or of their regret. In a few weeks after this august ceremony, Charles, in one no less imposing, resigned the crown of Spain, and the

---

Della Historia della Citta e Regno di Napoli, tom. iv. lib. ix. cap. 4., et lib. x. cap. 1 and 2.

Foreign historians have been anxious to discover reasons the most selfish, or the most imperative, for the abdication of Charles. Human virtue is so rare a quality, that, by many, credit will not be given for it where it really exists. See, among many others, Robertson, vol. iv., and Watson's History of Philip II. book i.

dominions dependant on it both in the old and new world. The imperial crown he still retained, with the view of once more negotiating with his brother Ferdinand in behalf of his son; but in a few months afterwards he despatched the instrument of resignation from his monastic retreat.*

Having taken an affectionate leave of his son, Charles, accompanied by his two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary, embarked in Zealand, the 17th day of September, and landed at Laredo in Biscay, the 28th of the same month. The place which he had chosen for his retreat was the monastery of St. Justus, one of the most secluded and delightful situations in Estremadura. At Valladolid he bade adieu to his two sisters, whom he would not permit to accompany him into his last retirement; and in the same manner he rejected the offers of some nobles, who wished to soothe by their attentions his declining days. His journey is said to have been delayed some weeks by the difficulty of procuring the necessary money from his son: but this imputation on the filial duty of Philip is a slander; it rests on no other authority than that of the jesuit Strada, a writer not likely to be well acquainted with what passed in Spain, and it is opposed to reason. The only pension he would consent to receive was 12,000 ducats annually; and to believe that there could be any difficulty, much more any reluctance, in supplying him with a moiety of that small sum, would be monstrous. In fact, he wanted no money: he was accompanied by eight or ten domestics only; and his limited establishment could very willingly have been supported by the monks of St. Justus, had he arrived there pennyless. His apartments, six only in number, all furnished with the utmost simplicity, or, to speak more justly, all destitute of furniture, except some couches and a few old chairs for himself and servants, had been prepared for him

1556, 1557.

* The same authorities.

some months preceding.* He reached his destination in November, 1557; and there, in solitude, and silence, he buried the vast schemes which had so long agitated Europe.†

1557, 1558. The manner of life followed by this great prince, in his retirement, was exceedingly simple. His chief exercises were those of devotion: he observed, as far as his infirmities would permit, the rule of the order (hermits of St. Jerome) with as much scrupulosity as if he had contracted the obligation by vow. For some months he relaxed from this severity by horticultural and mechanical recreations; but he never allowed them to interfere with more serious pursuits. Every morning he heard mass, and repeated a given number of prayers; every afternoon he listened to a sermon, or a homily of St. Augustine; every evening, vespers and complins. The interstices of his time were filled by devout meditation, or by occasional converse with his domestics and the brotherhood, who were greatly edified by his religious zeal, and by his deep humility. Not only was all ceremonial banished, but he insisted on being accounted as merely one of the fraternity, declaring that he would rather serve than be served. He sang with so much sweetness and skill, that the monks are said frequently to have crept to the door of his cell to hear him more distinctly. That he had a scientific knowledge of the art, appeared from his instantly detecting a false note, when raised by any brother in the choir. He had not much to distribute in private charity, as that duty was well performed by the monastery. In one instance, however, the manner was objectionable, and he solicited its disuse. The winter following his arrival, and most of the succeeding spring, was a season of famine. The peasantry flocked in great numbers to the gates; and when the porter of the

* Sandoval (tom. ii. p. 607.) tells us, that the only apartment in which the bare walls were covered, was the bed-room of the emperor, which was hung with black cloth; and that the only chair was so worn as not to be worth four reals.

† Authorities,—Prudencio de Sandoval, Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, Ulloa, Leti, Ferreras, and some others.

monastery was unequal to the task of relieving the multitude, the monks joined him in the charitable office. Among the applicants were many women; some young and beautiful. Charles, who feared for the virtue of the fathers, loudly condemned the intercourse; and complained with such effect to the visiters general of the order, that, in a chapter held for the occasion, it was decreed that no alms should thenceforth be distributed at the gate; but that a certain quantity of corn should be given to each poor family by the alcaldes of the neighbouring towns and villages. At the same time, he himself caused proclamation to be made, that whatever woman ventured nearer to the monastery than a chapel about two miles distant, should receive 100 stripes.*

Throughout life, Charles had been a bigot, though 1558.
policy had often made him smother the sentiment. Here, where no disguise was wanted, he appeared in all the deformity of the character. In his conversations with the prior and brotherhood, he observed, that if any thing could draw him from his retreat, it would be the hope of punishing heretics; and that he had written to the inquisitors, exhorting them to pursue all with relentless severity, to deliver all over to the flames, and to have mercy on none, not even if they should recant. He said, that no dependence could be placed on the man who had once apostatised; nor was the sincerity of the recantation to be believed. Nay, he expressed his regret that he had not executed Luther, even though, by so doing, he would have violated the safe-conduct he himself had granted, and brought everlasting infamy on his name. Heresy, he said, was a crime, not against human but the Divine Majesty; and that to connive at its escape, was treason to the Highest. Yet, notwithstanding these execrable sentiments, he was ignorant, even by his own confession, of the protestant tenets of faith. When

* Prudencio de Sandoval, Vida del Emperador en Juste, tom. ii. p. 823, &c. Miniana, Continuatio Nova, tom. ii. Antonio de Vera, Epitome de la Vida, p. 247, &c. Gulielmus Zenocarus, De Republica, p. 123. Ferreras, par Hermilly, tom. ix. Læti, Vita Carlo V. tom. iv.; cum aliis.

a deputation from the duke of Saxony and other reformed princes had waited on him, requesting that the preachers of the new doctrine might dispute in his presence with the Roman catholic divines, and that the decision of the victory should rest with himself; nay, when assured that, in return for such a permission, the protestant princes would join him, with all their forces, against the king of France; he refused his consent; for fear, as he confessed, lest some heretical opinion should find entrance into his mind. He added, by way of triumph, that once when other princes of the same faith humbly besought him not to believe them heretics unheard, but to afford them at least the means of vindicating themselves,—when they proposed as a lure the junction of their arms against the Grand Turk, promising him even the reduction of Constantinople,— he had turned his back on them, exclaiming, "God forbid that I should consent to such a condition with the view of my own advantage! All my ambition is to know Christ, and him crucified!" Such a mind was obstinately shut against all evidence; nor would the demonstrations of an apostle have removed the impediment. The relation is not honourable either to the justice or the understanding of the emperor.*

558. In perusing the monastic life of the imperial penitent, it is difficult to believe that he preserved at all times his mental sanity. He used the discipline with such severity that he was often covered with gore; and he expressed his regret that, owing to his bodily infirmities, he could not incur the additional mortification of sleeping in his clothes. St. Francis de Borgia, who had exchanged a ducal coronet for the coarse mantle of the jesuits, and who visited him in his retirement, observed, with more justice than we should have expected from an enthusiast, that he should comfort himself by reflecting how many nights he had passed under arms in the service of Christendom, and should thank God for having thereby done

* The same authorities.

what would be more acceptable in the sight of Heaven, than could be performed by many monks in their cells.* He spoke with more justice, and with a better insight into his state, when he observed, that he looked back with the more sorrow on his past life, as the retrospect did not exhibit a single day that pleased him; not one sufficiently devoted to the glory of God. At length he drew towards the close of his career. From a feeling common enough in the cloister, he caused not only his own tomb to be constructed, but his coffin and shroud to be made, and assisted at his own obsequies. Shortly afterwards he was seized by a fever, then by a cold shivering. In vain was blood drawn from him: his disorder rapidly increased, and he rapidly grew weaker. All hope of recovery being abandoned, he confessed daily; and at length caused the extreme unction to be administered to him by the prior, just as was practised with the monks, some of whom were by his couch, joining him in repeating the penitential psalms. The following morning he again asked for the communion; and, on the representation of his confessor that the repetition so soon was unnecessary, he persisted, observing, that he had need of every preparation for so long a journey. When the sacred rite was administered, he exclaimed with pathos, "In me manes, ego in Te maneam!" Towards evening he grew worse. After midnight, perceiving that all around him were wrapt in melancholy silence, he said, "My hour is come! Give me that taper and crucifix!" Though, a few hours preceding, four of his domestics had not been able without difficulty to turn him in bed, he now, we are told, changed from one side to the other with as much facility as if nothing ailed him. He took the lamp with one hand, the crucifix with the other; and after gazing for some time on the holy symbol of salvation, he exclaimed, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the neighbouring

* "Señor," are the words of the saint, "las noches que V.M. velo armado causan que no puede dormir vestido, pero gracias á Dios que tiene merecido mas con aver las passado asi en defensa de la Fe, que muchos religiosos que las cuentan rodeados de silicios."—*Vera y Figueroa*, p. 253.

cells, "JESUS!" and at the same moment surrendered his soul to God! *

Thus ended the life of the most powerful sovereign Europe had seen since the days of Charlemagne. Emperor of Germany, king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, duke of Milan, lord of the Netherlands and of the Indies, his sway stretched over most of Europe, and a vast portion of the American continent. His character has been variously described by natives and foreigners: the former can see little in it to condemn, the latter nothing to admire. His talents were unquestionably of a high order, not naturally, but by culture: no sovereign was ever more cautious in forming, or persevering in the execution of his plans; and none had ever a clearer insight into the character of man. Hence he was seldom deceived in the choice of his servants. As he treated them with confidence, he merited in return their most steadfast adherence. His policy was always close, but not always honourable: whatever might be his successes in the field, he was still more eminent in the cabinet. To civil or religious liberty he was no friend: doubtless the experience which he had had of the comuneros in Spain, and the Lutherans in Germany, rendered the names of freedom and dissent odious, and more closely attached him to the maxims of despotism and the infallibility of the church. That religion was a momentous affair in his eyes, is proved from the fact, that he could pardon rebellion, but never dissent. He did not, like his rival Francis, court the protestants in one country while he burnt them in the other, nor did he call the barbarians of Turkey into the heart of Christian Europe. In every respect he was superior to that vain and unprincipled monarch, who, to gratify a selfish ambition, would have sacrificed every thing to it, and

* Sandoval, Vida del Emperador en Juste, tom ii. Vera y Figueroa, Epitome, p. 256. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. preface by Hermilly.

According to the bishop of Pampeluna (ii. 835.), a strange bird, which could bark like a dog, appeared on five successive evenings opposite the imperial corpse, to the great terror of the monks.

who had little of the boasted honour ascribed to him by Gallic historians. Tortuous as was sometimes the policy of the emperor, he never, like Francis, acted with treachery; his mind had too much of native grandeur for such baseness. Sincere in religion and friendship, faithful to his word, clement beyond example, liberal towards his servants, indefatigable in his regal duties, anxious for the welfare of his subjects, and generally blameless in private life, his character will not suffer by a comparison with that of any monarch of his times. Its only serious blemish — always excepting his despotic maxims, and his persecution of dissenters, which we cannot contemplate without execration — was his amours with two foreign ladies, by whom he had two natural children; — Margarita, married first to Alexander de Medicis, next to Octavio Farnese; and don Juan, surnamed of Austria, celebrated for his victories over the Mohammedans.*

PHILIP II.

1556—1598.

To acquire a clear understanding of the interminable and complex events of this remarkable reign, it will be necessary to class them under general heads, without much regard to the chronological order. Unlike the reign of the preceding monarch, some brief space must be devoted to foreign transactions; but such only will be noticed as have an inseparable connection with Spain, and are absolutely necessary to explain its condition.

I. ITALY and AFRICA. — Immediately after the resignation by the emperor of Naples and Sicily in favour of Philip, the duke of Alva, a nobleman of stern dis- 155[illegible] to 155[illegible]

* Here we must again caution the reader to be on his guard, lest his judgment should be biassed by the declamation of Robertson, who is generally misled by his French guides. We intended to prepare a list of his misrepresentations — some evidently wilful — but it swelled to such an extent that we were compelled to abandon it.

position but of great capacity, was sent to protect that kingdom and the honour of Spain, against the secret enmity of the pope and the open hostility of the French. Paul IV., who was bound with the tiara in 1555, was as favourable to France as he was hostile to her rival; a disposition in no small degree owing to the representations of his unprincipled nephew, cardinal Caraffa, who, though a Neapolitan, had always held the Spanish sway in detestation, and was become the creature of Henry III. The papal displeasure was signalised by the arrest of the Spanish ambassador, and by the citation of Philip, whom, as king of Naples, Rome considered as its vassal. Confiding in the promises of France, Paul in full consistory declared Philip deprived of the Neapolitan throne. The latter, having consulted the most celebrated theologians, whether, as a dutiful son of the church, he could arm against its chief, and having, as was to be expected, received an answer in the affirmative, prepared to defend his rights. The duke of Alva, aware how unpopular such a war would be with the bigots of his communion endeavoured to incline the pontiff to peace by concessions which would have satisfied any other sovereign; but seeing them haughtily rejected, he put his troops in motion, entered the papal states, and seized on several fortresses. The eternal city began to tremble for its security, and was forcing Paul to negotiate with the victor, when, notwithstanding the truce concluded by the emperor, a French army under the duke de Guise advanced, and hostilities were continued. — On another part of the frontier, the truce was broken at the same time by the admiral Coligny, governor of Picardy, who made an unsuccessful attempt on Douay. Philip himself inflicted so severe a blow on the French at St. Quentin, that Henry in great consternation recalled the duke. The pope was accordingly left at the mercy of the duke of Alva, who advanced on Rome, and forced him to purchase peace by withdrawing from the French alliance. As Turkey was banded with the unscrupulous Frenchman, that alli-

ance was little honourable to the head of the church. At this very time the Ottoman fleet was ravaging the coast of Calabria, whence it retired with great booty and many captives. The duke of Alva, whose presence was required in Flanders, was for a season replaced in the viceroyalty of Naples by the marquis of Santa Cruz. In 1559, peace was made with France; and Philip, who, by the death of our Mary, was a widower, confirmed it by marrying Elizabeth, sister of the French king.*

But if this peace freed Naples from the hostilities of the French, it could not arrest the frequent depredations of the Turks. In general, however, these depredations led to no result; the Mohammedans retiring before the Spanish forces. But, in 1565, the sultan Solyman equipped a powerful armament, both for the conquest of Malta, which the emperor Charles had conferred on the knights of St. John, and for the invasion of the Spanish possessions on the Continent. The details of the wonderful siege sustained by those military monks, must be sought in the histories of the order. It is not easy to account for the apathy apparently shown by Philip towards their cause, especially after ordering the viceroy of Sicily to defend them. In vain did don Juan of Austria, his natural brother, to whom, very honourably for himself, he had granted a splendid household, flee from the court with the intention of embarking at Barcelona, in aid of the knights; the prince was constrained to return. Perhaps he thought that the forces of the viceroy would be sufficient for the occasion; probably, too, the delay of the latter in despatching the aid required, must not be attributed to the monarch, but to the cautious fear of the governor. However this be, after the most gallant defence on record, when nearly two thirds of the assailants, and most of the defenders, were cut off, about 10,000 Spaniards were landed on the island,

1560 to 1574

* Cabrera, Historia del Rey d'España, necnon Leti, Vita di Philippo II. (sub propriis annis). Vanderhaminen, Don Felipe el Prudente, p. 2—14. Thuanus, Historia sui Temporis, tom. i. lib. 20, &c. Summonte, Della Historia della Citta e Regne di Napoli, tom. iv. lib. 10. Miniana, Continuatio Vera (variis libris). Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. et x.; cum multis aliis.

and the siege was raised; but the Turks did not re-embark until they had sustained a defeat. In 1570, the war between the Venetian republic and the Porte again brought the Spaniards into collision with the latter power; Rome, Venice, and Spain, having confederated for the common defence of Christendom. The combined fleet assembled at Messina, and resolved to assail the formidable armament of the sultan. In the celebrated battle which followed (that of Lepanto), the papal galleys being headed by Marco Antonio Colonna, the Venetians by Doria, and the Spaniards by don Juan of Austria, a splendid victory declared for the Christians: 30,000 of the enemy were killed in the combat, 10,000 were made prisoners, while four fifths of the vessels were destroyed or taken. But this advantage was not improved, and the vanquished were soon able to resume the opponents. In the sequel they made several descents on the Italian coast, and harassed the Spanish possessions on the African. But, on the whole, the war with the misbelievers was honourable to the Spanish arms. The isle of Gerba; Peñon de Velez, a strong fortress on the African coast; and subsequently Tunis, were reduced; and in various isolated engagements, the advantage rested with the Christians. Such conquests, however, were more easily made than retained: the Mohammedans, accustomed to the climate, more active in their motions, and with their resources always at hand, generally weakened the garrisons so much, as to recover what they had lost before reinforcements could arrive from a government characteristically slow in its operations. Gerba and Tunis were retaken by storm: the fortress of Oran was abandoned, after most of its defenders had perished either by the climate or the harassing warfare.*

* Vanderhammen, Cabrera, Leti, Miniana, Thuanus, Summonte, Fereras, and many others. As the transactions in the text are not consecutive in the authorities, but are taken from every part, in order to preserve the unity of the subject, it is impossible to particularise the passages, or even the books. Often a single paragraph in this compendium is founded on the whole of an authority, and even on several authorities. Though this is the

II. FRANCE.—The jealousy which had actuated the emperor and Francis was transmitted to their heirs. Philip, however, had no intention to break the truce which it had been one of his father's latest acts to procure; but, as before observed, the hatred of the pope, and the faithlessness of Henry, forced him into the war. Assisted by the troops of his consort, Mary of England, Philip invaded France; and his generals laid siege to St. Quentin, while the duke of Alva, as before related, vigorously defended Italy against a French army under the duke of Guise. The constable, accompanied by the martial chivalry of the country, hastened to relieve St. Quentin; but under the walls of that fortress he sustained a disastrous defeat, which was followed by the surrender of the place. Mary had little reason to congratulate herself on her impolitic quarrel with Henry; she lost Calais, and two smaller forts,—all that remained of the English possessions in the country,—and died before the conclusion of the war. So far was Philip from indemnifying his ally for the loss sustained, that, four months after her decease, he made peace with France, and confirmed it by a new marriage.* 1556 to 1559.

For many years after this event, the two monarchs remained outwardly in peace, but inwardly agitated by jealousy or ill-will: France had reason to dread the ambitious views of the Castilian; and the latter was far from satisfied with the secret encouragement afforded by the French protestants, with the full connivance of the court, to their brethren of the Low Countries, who were striving to shake off the Spanish yoke. The troubles which distracted the Gallic kingdom during the wars of the League, afforded Philip an opportunity which he 1589 to 1597

---

clearest way of treating the subject, it is by far the most tedious: to run through a work in four volumes merely to compose a single paragraph, and, as the classification changes, again to travel the same ground to arrange the events under different heads, must surely teach patience. The historians of Spain are mere annalists: they have no idea of arranging the events under appropriate heads, and thereby of preserving unity of subject.

* The French, Spanish, and English histories of the period.

had long coveted, of interfering in the affairs of that kingdom, ostensibly in support of the Roman catholic faith, but quite as much for his own advantage. As the protector of the League, he at first furnished the rebels with money, and subsequently ordered the governor of the Netherlands, the prince of Parma, to invade the country, and to effect a junction with them. But the abilities of Henry IV., and the valour of his protestant adherents, the assistance of Elizabeth, queen of England, and, above all, his conversion to the established faith, rendered the combined efforts of Spaniards and Leaguers of no ultimate avail. His subsequent absolution by the pope destroyed the unnatural coalition which had been formed against him, and enabled him, with the pontiff's mediation, to obtain an honourable peace. Into the interminable transactions of this period,—transactions which are more intimately connected with the history of France than that of Spain,—we cannot enter: they may be seen in Mezeray, Daniel, Anquetil, Lacretelle, Sully, and above all, in the correspondence of Duplessis Mornay, the secretary and friend of Henry.*

1556. III. THE NETHERLANDS.—The most important of the wars of Philip were with his revolted subjects of the Low Countries. Soon after his accession, he learned that the reformation had made alarming progress in these provinces, and he resolved to extirpate it. His bigotry to the ancient religion, his stern, we may add cruel, character, caused him to prefer violent to persuasive measures. A little reflection might have convinced him that he could never succeed in his object, and that by the bare attempt he would risk the security of his government. His repulsive manners, his arbitrary measures, and the manifest preference which he gave to

* Mezeray, Histoire de France, tom. iii. Anquetil, L'Esprit de la Ligue, tom. i. et ii., necnon Histoire de France, tom vii., &c., Lacretelle, Histoire des Guerres de Religion, tom. i.—iv. Sully, Mémoires, tom. i.—vi. (8vo ed.). Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis Mornay, tom. i.—xi. It is to be hoped that the last named work will be finished: it exhibits a better view of the state of parties in France than is to be found any where else.

his Spanish subjects, soon estranged both Flemings and Dutch from his person. To his father, whose demeanour was marked by unwonted condescension, and who really loved them, they had been devotedly attached. Though the emperor was no less a bigot than the son, —though from 1521 to 1555, no fewer than 50,000 protestants are said to have perished by fire or sword, —the Roman Catholics were by far the more numerous party, and ready to support him in his bloody proscriptions. But now the new opinions had seized on all classes of men, and their professors were approaching to a numerical level with the rest: in the southern or Belgian provinces, indeed, they were much less numerous, but north of the Scheldt they had probably the superiority. This fact, however, was unknown to the government: many of the converts were so only in secret; and the few who, in despite of the penal decrees attended the public profession of the reformed doctrines, were regarded, not indeed as all, but as the chief portion of protestants. In his resolution of extirpating them, the king commenced by giving new vigour to those decrees; and to insure their execution, he created a new tribunal, with powers similar to those of the ancient Spanish inquisition*, to take cognizance of heresy. But lest this institution, which could not, as in Spain, be present by its familiars in every part of the country, should be insufficient, he increased the number of bishops from five to seventeen; each of whom, in virtue of his jurisdiction, should co-operate for the same purpose. Both measures were obnoxious to the people, not merely to the secret protestants, but to the catholics, who were subjected to new impositions to defray the expense of both. The latter, too, joined with the former, in exclaiming against the presence of the Spanish troops, which they justly characterised as an infraction of a fundamental law, that prohibited the sojourn in these provinces of armed foreigners. Philip, who had extra-

* See Vol. IV. p. 309—313.

vagant notions of the royal power, paid no regard to murmurs which he was resolved to stifle by force. As Spain demanded his presence, he intrusted the regency to his natural sister, Margarita duchess of Parma, a princess devoted to his will. *

1559. After the king's departure, the regent put the obnoxious edicts into execution, and the blood of martyrs moistened the soil of the Low Countries. Her natural disposition was doubtless averse to cruelty; but she was governed by cardinal Granville, a furious zealot, to whose suggestions, as they were strictly in conformity with the instructions of Philip, she was almost compelled to defer. The native nobles who formed the council of regency were not a little chagrined to find their voices powerless; that measures were framed not only without their consent, but without their knowledge; and they resolved to remove the odious churchman. Among these were two of more than ordinary consideration; William prince of Orange, and count Egmont; the former governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht—the latter of Artois and Flanders. Both could boast of great services; both were actuated by no ordinary degree of ambition; both had aspired, and probably now aspired, to the regency. With the view of regaining the influence they so much coveted, they complained bitterly in their letters to the king of the cardinal's measures, which they declared would produce a general rising in the provinces, unless their author were speedily recalled. Philip paid no attention to the representation: he suspected what was probably

* Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. Bentivoglio, Las Guerras de Flandes, lib. i. (we have not the Italian original, but the Spanish translation of Varen, Amberes, 1687, fol.) a valuable yet bigoted work. Antonio Carnero, Historia de los Guerras Civiles que ha avido en los Estrados de Flandes, cap. i. et ii.—one of miserable prejudice. Thuanus, Historia sui Temporis, lib. 22. Vanderhammen, Don Filipe el Prudente, p. 59.,—ill-informed and bigoted. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. Watson's History of the Reign of Philip II. vol. i. This author has compiled his history from French, Flemish, and Dutch authorities, and has not noticed those of Spain. Hence, though justice demanded that he should hear both sides, he has leaned to one only. His work is more than unjust: it is a violent tirade against the subject, and is often erroneous in its statements.

the truth, that William, who had married a protestant princess, was no longer of the ancient religion; that the count participated in the new opinions; and that both were in consequence naturally averse to witness the persecution of their sect. They were soon joined by count Horn, a nobleman of equal ambition, and equally jealous of Granville's ascendency. The cardinal, indeed, had few of the qualities which command esteem: haughty in his manners, and inflexibly bent, both from principle and mistaken duty, on the execution of his measures for the destruction of the reformed religion, he listened to no representations, but with a blind obstinacy persevered in his dangerous career. Perceiving the execration in which he was held,—by the laity, because he loaded them with taxes, and by the monastic orders, because he had despoiled them of a portion of their revenues,—the three discontented nobles treated him with studious disrespect, nay, even with insult, and rendered his situation so uncomfortable, that he himself applied for a release from his unenviable post. It was reluctantly granted by the king, who never forgave the men that had occasioned it. But it produced no relief for the dissenters: the decrees of the council of Trent,—decrees written in blood,—were ordered to be executed with even increased severity by some bigoted counsellors. The manner in which they were received by some of the local magistracy, and the murmurs raised against them even by the more sensible catholics, made a deep impression on the regent. In the fear,—certainly no ill-grounded one,—that a wide-spread insurrection would be the result, she despatched count Egmont to Madrid to represent the exact position of affairs to the king. He was politely, and even honourably, received by Philip, who, however, would not deviate from the line of policy that had been so unfortunately commenced. A confederacy was now formed, professed to prevent the dreaded introduction of the inquisition, but in reality to procure uncontrolled liberty of conscience, or to throw off the Spanish yoke. It was headed by Philip de Marnix,

lord of St. Aldegonde; but though the three nobles before mentioned were not members, they were the soul of its proceedings. In a short time such numbers acceded to it, that the regent was compelled either to raise an army, or to relax in her persecution: as none of the great barons would take the command, she adopted the former expedient. Unfortunately for the reformed cause, this concession did not produce the benefit it ought to have done. Emboldened by their numbers, and still more by their recent triumph, the lower class of protestants rose in several of the towns to inflict on the Roman catholics what they themselves had suffered; perhaps more still were incited by the hope of plunder. At Bois-le-Duc the authorities were seized and imprisoned, while the criminals were released; the church of St. John was forced and rifled, and two convents shared the same fate. This was but the beginning of horrors: a furious organised band, amplified as it went along, hastened to the neighbouring towns; and, if the relations of catholic writers are to be believed, soon laid waste four hundred sacred edifices. Even at Ghent, the seat of count Egmont's government, churches were pillaged, and libraries consumed by fire, without any opposition from him. — So long as the prince of Orange remained in Antwerp, the mob were tranquil; but being summoned to a council at Brussels, held for the purpose of suppressing these alarming commotions, they broke out in their characteristic manner. A public procession of the clergy, on the day of the Assumption, so exasperated them, that they repaired to the church to hoot the catholics, and curse the idolatrous exhibition. A tailor ascended the pulpit, and challenged the dean to a controversy; but he paid dearly for his temerity: a zealous catholic followed him, and fairly pitched him from his eminence on the mosaic pavement below. At the same moment a pistol ball wounded the catholic. Night put an end to the disgraceful riot; but on the following morning a few hundreds of desperate sectarians returned to the edifice, demolished the organs, threw

down the altars and images, and dispersed the relics. During the three ensuing days, the same disorders abounded; the churches and monasteries were profaned, and the great libraries committed to the flames.* These excesses were committed by a handful of men: their number seldom reached one thousand,—a proof that their proceedings were tacitly connived at by the local authorities. At length the protestant nobles, ashamed of these horrors, and convinced how much prejudice they must do to the cause, assisted the regent to restore tranquillity, and their efforts were soon crowned with success.†

When Philip received intelligence of these events, he 1566.
called a council, which, after some deliberation, resolved that an army should be sent to extirpate heresy by open force. Its command was intrusted to the duke of Alva, whose relentless disposition seemed well adapted for the task. His powers were much more ample than those of a general-in-chief: they went so far as to control the authority of the regent. His arrival spread great consternation in the provinces; the more so, when counts Egmont and Horn were arrested (prince William, too wise to await him, had fled into Germany); and the regent, finding that she was in fact superseded, resigned her authority, and returned into Italy. Many thousands, in dread of the approaching persecution, fled into the protestant states of Europe; to no country more readily than to England. A new tribunal, called the Council of Tumults, was formed: its name implied that it was to take cognisance of the late disorders; but, in reality, it was to be an inquisition. Its fatal activity was soon manifest: confiscations, imprisonment, executions, were of hourly occurrence. The number of victims is impossible to be estimated: the protestants say

* Watson, like some other protestant historians, very gently alludes to these scenes. This is highly disingenuous. Nor are the catholics less to blame; they exaggerate as much as their rivals conceal. The truth is to be gained from neither: it may with difficulty be extracted from both.

† Authorities,—Strada, Bentivoglio, Thuanus, Carnero, Cabrera, Herrera, Leti, Miniana, Vanderhammen, Ferreras, and many others, under the proper dates.

it amounted to thousands; the catholics, that the ring-leaders only suffered the last penalty. It was, however, severe enough to fill all the protestant states of Europe with concern, and even to draw forth expostulation from several catholic. How little such remonstrance availed with either the king or his viceroy, appeared from the execution of the counts Egmont and Horn, and from the confiscation of prince William's possessions. If the two first noblemen had been guilty of remissness in suppressing the late disorders, or if even their guilt were heavier, they had welcomed the approach of Alva, had offered to assist him in his difficult task, and been received by him with outward cordiality. Policy, therefore, to say nothing of generosity, clearly demanded their pardon. Their death made a deep impression on the people, who began to turn their eyes towards the prince of Orange, whom they requested to arm in behalf of his suffering country. William was sufficiently inclined, both by love of liberty and personal ambition, to make the attempt. He and his brothers had for some time been making preparations, — raising money and troops in the protestant states of Germany, and collecting the exiles who had fled from the scaffold.*

1568 to 1598. To enter into the details of the interminable wars which followed, from 1568 to 1598, would little accord either with the limits or the design of this compendium: we can allude only to the prominent events. Success was for some time a stranger to the arms of the prince and his allies. Though at the opening of the first campaign Louis of Nassau, brother of the prince, defeated the Spanish general count Aremberg, the victor was speedily compelled to flee into Germany, by Alva in person. The first campaign of William was no less disastrous. His hasty levy, 20,000 strong, of raw troops, or enthusiastic religionists, were little fitted to encounter the cool discipline of the enemy; nor was he himself a

* Bentivoglio, Las Guerras de Flandes, lib. ii. Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. vii. Thuanus, Historia, &c. lib. 43. Carnero, Historia de las Guerras, &c. cap. iii. Vanderhammen, Don Felipe, p. 60, &c. Miniana, Continuatio Nova; and Ferreras, Histoire Générale (sub propriis annis).

match for the able Castilian. After some skirmishes, which weakened him without procuring him the least advantage, the Germans, in dread of their powerful antagonist, and incensed that their arrears of pay were not furnished them, deserted in great numbers, and compelled him to disband his army. The failure of this attempt enabled the duke to indulge in his sanguinary disposition. All who had shared in it, or expressed a wish for its success, were visited with unmitigated vengeance; and, in many cases, both the spirit and the forms of law were disregarded. Again did thousands emigrate; and as these were, for the most part, the most industrious and useful of the people, their retreat inflicted a serious blow on the resources of the country. Such as reached England were received with kindness by Elizabeth, who had probably furnished money to the prince, and who was eager to humble the pride of Spain. The unpopularity of the duke was still further increased by the contributions which he wrung from the public,—often in direct violation of the constitutional forms,—to support his armaments and endless array of civil government. Emboldened by the universal murmurs, the states ventured to remonstrate against the innovation, as equally oppressive and odious: the governor persisted, and thereby added to the general discontent. Of this circumstance advantage was naturally taken by prince William. Before collecting a second army, he sent his faithful emissaries,—the protestant exiled preachers,—in disguise through the provinces, to open a correspondence with the inhabitants. At length some of the seafaring exiles commenced another series of operations, by taking the town of Brille, on the isle of Vorn, in the name of the prince of Orange. This first success was sullied by savage barbarity: the monks and priests were massacred in every direction. Next Flushing revolted: the example was speedily followed by other towns of Zealand; especially when military stores, several companies of exiles, and some of the British adventurers arrived from England. The defeat of a Spanish fleet,

under the duke of Medina-Celi, spread the spark into a conflagration. The insurrection now extended to Holland; all the cities and towns of which, Amsterdam only excepted, declared for the patriotic cause. Mons was taken through stratagem by count Louis, on his return from the civil wars of France. It was besieged by Alva; the prince of Orange advanced to relieve it; but it was recovered by the Spaniard, and the prince was even obliged to disband his army. But if the cause was, on the whole, unfortunate in the southern provinces, it continued to improve in the northern. In an assembly of the Dutch states, held at Dort, they openly recognised William as their governor, and voted him supplies for carrying on the war. By their invitation he arrived among them, and the reformed religion was declared that of the state. Alva and his son took the field, to recover the places which had rebelled; and wherever their arms were successful, the cruelties inflicted by them on the inhabitants were certainly horrible. It may, however, be doubted whether they were not fully equalled by the atrocities of the count de la Marck, and other protestant leaders; atrocities which William, with laudable humanity, endeavoured to end. Philip was at length convinced that a wrong policy had been adopted; and Alva was either recalled, or permitted to retire. He was succeeded by Requesens, a nobleman of equal talents and moderation. The fortune of his administration was varied. He soon lost Middleburg; but he defeated and slew count Louis of Nassau. He failed before Leyden, the inhabitants of which defended themselves with a heroism and a constancy never surpassed; but, on the other hand, he gained some fortresses in North Zealand. On the whole, however, he was so dissatisfied with his success, that anxiety brought him to his grave. Under the council of state which next governed the Netherlands, Spanish affairs wore a much worse aspect. Sometimes the troops mutinied for their arrears of pay, which Philip's coffers could not often satisfy. They seized Alost, and plundered Antwerp, which had shown

more attachment to the prince's cause. To restore the fortune of the war, in 1576, don Juan of Austria, the king's brother, was appointed to the regency. Before his arrival, however, the states, both catholic and protestant, assembled at Ghent, with the intention of devising measures for the common weal. These both agreed, that until the Spanish troops were expelled, there could be no happiness for the people. On Juan's arrival, he was required to dismiss them; and on his refusal, applications for succour were made to the protestant powers. Even the duke of Anjou, brother of the French king, declared for the states; not, however, from any sympathy with struggling freedom, but from a hope of the crown, which a party promised to procure for him. Alarmed for the result, the regent agreed to the demand, on the condition that Philip should continue to be recognised as the lawful sovereign. But though the catholic states willingly accepted the condition, Holland and Zealand refused to concur; and, ere long, such was the impolitic, nay, perfidious conduct of the governor, who had recalled the troops, that even the former invited the prince of Orange to Brussels to undertake the administration. But William, feeling that he had not sufficient influence to quell domestic faction, advised the states to choose some foreign prince, whom all would be disposed to obey, and who might defend the provinces against the arms of Spain. The archduke Matthias, brother of the German emperor, though a relation of Philip, was invited to accept the proffered dignity. But this prince proved a mere phantom of power: he had neither capacity nor resources. So that, after some warlike operations, in which assistance was furnished by Elizabeth, and which were to the advantage of the confederates, the duke of Anjou, who could muster an army, was invited by the catholics to take possession of the government. Before the negotiations with this prince were concluded, don Juan died; and the prince of Parma, by far the ablest officer in the Spanish service, arrived, took command of the king's forces, and by his valour no less than

his policy changed the position of affairs. He gained possession of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault; but William of Orange had address enough to maintain all Holland, Guelderland, and Friesland, with a proportion of Brabant, in his interests. These states he formed into a confederacy, called the Union of Utrecht, from the place where it was held. The apparent object was to secure the common weal; the real one, to subvert the Spanish sway. This confederacy was the foundation of the Seven United Provinces. The election of the duke of Anjou threatened for ever to destroy the expiring domination of Spain, which the same states (in 1580) declared to be at an end. But Anjou was weak and faithless, and was soon expelled by his new subjects. Subsequently, indeed, they showed a disposition to be reconciled with him; but his death intervened, and again left the prince of Parma a theatre for the exercise of his talents. It was immediately followed by that of the prince of Orange, who was assassinated by the fanatic Balthasar Gerard, at the instigation, we are told, of the Spanish general, if not of a higher personage. Though William had been denounced as a traitor for the part which he had taken in the election of Anjou, and in the abjuration of Philip's authority; and though two preceding attempts — one of which had nearly proved fatal — had been made on his life; it is highly improbable that so dark and base a deed was ever contemplated by the monarch. Philip was stern and cruel; but he was no lurking assassin.*

1584 to 1598. The death of this justly celebrated man did not produce any advantage for Spain: though his eldest son, the count de Buren, was a hostage in the hands of Philip, the second, prince Maurice, soon showed that he was able to tread in his steps. The southern provinces, indeed, as far as the Scheldt, were persuaded or compelled by Farnese to swear anew allegiance to the

* Authorities: — Thuanus, Bentivoglio, Cabrera, Herrera, Leti, Carnero, Strada, Vanderhammen, Ferreras, and many others, in almost as many passages as there are pages in these writers.

Spaniard: from community of religious feeling, and from hereditary attachment, his path here was smoothened; but in the northern, where the principles of the reformation had struck so deeply into the soil, the house of Orange had laid the sure foundation of its future sway. The latter, after the loss of Antwerp, which was reduced by Farnese in 1585, were strengthened by the accession of the protestants from the Spanish provinces, and by the arrival of exiles from Germany and Britain. So much alarmed, however, were the confederated states at the successes of their able enemy, that they offered the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the king of France, on the condition of his sending an army to their defence; and, when he declined it, the same offer was made to Elizabeth. But though that queen had assisted, and was still ready to assist, the insurgents, she did not wish, by an open acceptance of the crown, to plunge at once into a war with the formidable Philip. She satisfied herself with sending 6000 men, under the weak and profligate earl of Leicester, to assist the cause. That she had ultimate views on the sovereignty, is beyond dispute; but the poor, vain favourite, her general, did more harm than good: in addition to his military blunders, he had the art of incurring, in an extraordinary degree, the hatred, no less than the contempt, of the confederates. Being suspected, and on no slight grounds, of aspiring to that sovereignty himself, and seeing the universal current against him, he fled to England, when Elizabeth compelled him to resign his authority as governor. But the impolitic war of Philip with France, which drew the prince of Parma from the Low Countries, more than counterbalanced the mischiefs occasioned by the worthless minion of the English court. The confederates had not only time to consolidate their powers north of the Scheldt, but to make even destructive irruptions into Brabant and Flanders. The extraordinary military talents of prince Maurice rendered him no mean antagonist for even the able Farnese. In 1592, the latter died, and with him ended

the hope of subduing the northern provinces. The administration of count Mansveldt, of Ernest archduke of Austria, of the conde de Fuentes, led to little advantage, though the last was an able man. In 1595, the archduke Albert was appointed to the government, but it was disastrous: under it Maurice reduced not a few of the northern fortresses. Philip now opened his eyes to the impossibility of maintaining the Netherlands in obedience: he found that, even with the catholic states, the name of Spaniard was odious; and, as he was approaching the end of his days, he was naturally anxious to settle the affairs of the country. These considerations, added to the affection which he bore for his daughter, the infanta Isabel, and the esteem which he entertained for Albert, made him resolve to marry the two, and resign the government to them and their heirs. This was one of his most prudent measures: if it could not recall Holland, and the other protestant provinces to obedience, it seemed likely at least to preserve those which were still left. The deed of abdication was executed in May, 1598, about four months before the monarch's death.*

1580 to 1597. IV. ENGLAND.—The succours which Elizabeth had from time to time afforded the insurgents of the Netherlands was not the only cause of Philip's resentment, and of his desire for revenge. She had fomented the disturbances in Portugal, consequent on the death of cardinal Henrique†; and her captains, among whom sir Francis Drake was the most active, had for many years committed unjustifiable depredations on the Spanish possessions of South America, and more than once on the coasts of the Peninsula itself. Thus, omitting all mention of preceding devastations in Portugal, in 1585, he plundered the coast of Galicia, ravaged the Cape de

* Bentivoglio, Las Guerras de Flandes, partes ii. et iii. (variis libris). Carnero, Historia de las Guerras, lib. vii. viii. et ix. (variis capitulis). Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente, passim. Thuanus, Historia sui Temporis, lib. c., &c. Miniana, Continuatio Vera, lib. ix. et x. (variis capitulis). Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. x.

† See the contemporary portion of the history of Portugal, in the present volume.

Verd islands, pillaged the town of San Domingo, and still more fatally that of Carthagena on the Gulf of Florida. By the Spanish historians, these hostilities are represented as unprovoked in their origin, and as barbarous in their execution; and candour must allow that there is but too much justice in the complaint. When Philip's patience was exhausted, and his affairs in the Netherlands allowed him a few months' respite to avenge the insults he had so long sustained, he diligently began to prepare a mighty armament, which, though its destination was secret, was suspected by all to be intended against England. In 1597, Elizabeth despatched sir Francis to reconnoitre the coasts of the Peninsula, and if possible to annihilate the preparations which were proceeding with so much rapidity. In April, that admiral, accompanied by twenty-five vessels, appeared before Cadiz, and, by hoisting French and Flemish colours, entered the bay. But he found the troops aware at length of his country, and drawn up to receive him: he therefore made no attempt to land; but having set fire to twenty-six merchant vessels, he returned, after capturing a spice ship from India.* This aggression, though in itself of no great importance, was not likely to cool the animosity of Philip: the preparations were hastened; all the sea-ports of Spain, the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, the governor of Milan and the Netherlands, furnished vessels, troops, or money. The general rendezvous was Lisbon, and the command of the fleet confided to the duke of Medina-Sidonia, while the prince of Parma was to conduct the land forces. After some fruitless attempts at negotiation, in which neither party was sincere, and in which both merely sought to gain time,—how would such conduct be deprecated in private life?—a fleet of 130 ships, some the largest that ever ploughed the deep, carrying, exclusive of 8000 sailors, no less than 20,000 of the bravest troops in the Spanish armies, and the flower of

* The English historians say that the number of vessels destroyed was near a hundred, besides two galleons. We prefer the Spanish relation.

the Spanish chivalry, in May, 1588, left the harbour of Lisbon. The pompous epithet of *the Invincible*, which self-confidence had applied to this mighty armament, the approbation of the pope, and the great reinforcement which the prince of Parma had prepared in Flanders, might well inspire the enemy with hope of success. Off the coast of Galicia, the ships were assailed by a furious tempest: some of them were shattered; a month was required to repair them; so that the fleet did not arrive within sight of the English coast before the end of July. Though lord Howard and sir Francis were not so imprudent as openly to assail so formidable an enemy, they harassed him without intermission, and inflicted irreparable damage on some of the larger ships. It was the intention of the Spanish admiral to join the fleet of the Netherlands which lay in Dunkirk, and which were ready to embark above 30,000 veteran troops. As the duke of Medina-Sidonia proceeded up the Channel, he lost two of his best galleons; while at anchor before Calais, eight fireships from the English fleet threw his into confusion: all endeavoured to escape, but owing to the darkness of the night they ran one against another, and many were seriously damaged. The brave Englishman did not fail to take advantage of the disaster: an action followed, in which ten of the Spanish vessels were sunk, destroyed, or compelled to surrender, while the loss of the English was absolutely nothing. Well might the duke begin to despair of success: his only hope lay in the meditated junction with Farnese; but that junction was prevented by the allied English and Dutch fleet, which, from the vessels being so much lighter, could venture into shallows where his huge and useless machines must have perished. As the south wind blew with violence, he could not retrace his voyage; and to remain where he was could only hasten his destruction. He was even now sufficiently inclined — one account says, that he had already resolved — to abandon the enterprise; and he steered northwards: he was not so desperate as to attempt a landing on the English coast without the prince

of Parma, for whose arrival he waited for some time — the English fleet hovering in sight, but not disposed to attack him. At length he gave melancholy orders for his return; and as the wind still raged from the south, as besides he well knew that reinforcements from that quarter were daily reaching his enemy, he resolved to return by coasting the northern shores of Scotland and Ireland. But his disasters were not ended: his fleet was assailed by another storm, by which many vessels were engulfed, some dashed to pieces on the Norwegian, others on the Scottish coast. Off the Irish, a second storm was experienced, with almost equal loss. Had the English admiral been well supplied with stores, instead of being compelled to return in search of them, not a vessel would ever have revisited Spain. How many actually perished, has been disputed; but the Spaniards, who fix the number at thirty-two, are probably right. They must, however, have been the largest, since half the soldiers returned no more, and most of the noble families had to mourn a lost member. On this trying occasion Philip acted with great moderation: he ordered extraordinary care to be taken of the survivors; received the duke of Medina-Sidonia with kindness; observed that no human prudence or valour could avail against the elements, and caused thanksgiving to be made that any of his subjects had returned. The following year an English fleet landed, first in Galicia, where, according to the Spanish accounts, the loss of the invaders was 1000; and next in Portugal, to support the pretensions of the prior of Crato*, but with as little effect. This expedition was injudiciously planned: at this time the authority of Philip in Portugal was too firm to be shaken. The satisfaction which he felt was subsequently alloyed by the hostilities of his enemy in South America, and at Cadiz. In the former, indeed, his fleet triumphed; but in 1596, that flourish-

* Our own historians pass very gently over the failure of this expedition. Some do not even condescend to notice it. See the corresponding period in the history of Portugal.

ing sea-port was taken and pillaged. The excesses committed on this occasion by the English troops under the earl of Essex are strongly reprobated by the Spanish historians, while their existence is denied by our own: here again we prefer the evidence of the natives. Both admit that the plunder was immense. The insult so enraged the king, that he resolved to equip an expedition for the invasion of Ireland, where he would certainly have been joined by the disaffected Romanists. This new fleet, however, was even more disastrous than the famous one of 1588: it was assailed by so furious a tempest, that forty of the vessels were lost, and the rest disabled. The severity of this second blow deterred Philip from any future attempts on the most hated of his enemies.*

1500 to 1513. V. PORTUGAL. — The transactions of Philip with Portugal will be best related in the section devoted to the modern history of that kingdom. It is here sufficient to observe, that, on the death of cardinal Henrique without issue, the crown was claimed by the Castilian monarch in right of his mother; that though there were other competitors, of whom one was supported by England, and though the Portuguese themselves, from hatred to their neighbours, armed to oppose him, his forces placed him on the throne of that country; and that he continued to fill it unto his death. This acquisition, added to the other extensive dominions of Philip, rendered him by far the most powerful monarch in Europe.†

So far with respect to the foreign transactions of Spain under the eventful reign of this monarch: its domestic history must now be noticed.

1567, 1568. The revolt of the Moriscos occupies a remarkable place in the native annals of the sixteenth century. These christianised Moors still remained Mohammed-

* Bentivoglio, Las Guerras de Flandes; Strada, de Bello Belgico; Carneo, Las Guerras, &c.; Thuanus, Historia; Vanderhammen, Don Felipe; Miniana, Continuatio Nova; Ferreras, Histoire Générale, under the proper years.

† Vasconcellos, La Clède, Lemos, and the historians of Castile.

ans at heart; and though they attended at mass, they made amends in secret for this compulsory apostasy, by celebrating the rites of their own religion. To wean them from usages, which, however innocent, reminded them of their ancient faith and glory, early in 1567 a decree was published, that the children of the Moriscos should frequent the Christian church; that the Arabic should cease to be used in writing; that both men and women should wear the Spanish costume; that they should discontinue their ablutions; that they should no longer receive Mohammedan names; and that they should neither marry, nor remove from one place to another, without permission from the proper authorities. The tenacity with which men adhere to ancient forms, even where there is not the slightest compromise of principle, appears from the opposition raised to the edict. The Moriscos contended, with great reason, that no particular mode of dress involved religious considerations, since, in every country, even where the same religion prevailed, it was found to vary; that if their women continued to use the veil, modesty only was the cause; that their musical instruments were equally harmless; that the use of the Arabic language could not surely be a sin, since it was the mother tongue of many Oriental Christians; and that their baths were used, not from religion, but from cleanliness. The marquis of Mondejar, captain-general of Granada, who had strongly disapproved the royal ordinance, was persuaded to lay these representations before the king. They had no effect, — a result which so irritated this people, that a general revolt was planned. Its chief authors were Ferag ben Ferag, descended from the royal house of Granada, and Diego Lopez ben Aboo. Having ascertained the dispositions of the inhabitants of the Alpujarras, where the best stand could be made against the royal forces, solicited aid from the kings of northern Africa, and persuaded the mountain banditti to embrace their cause, the evening of Christmas-day was fixed for the general rising. With the romantic view of

restoring their ancient kingdom, they secretly elected in Granada a sovereign, Fernando de Valor, whom they named Mohammed Aben Humeya, and whose family was of royal extraction. The new king was immediately invested with a scarlet robe; four banners, pointing to the four cardinal points, were placed on the ground; and, while kneeling on these, he swore that he would defend the faith of the prophet to his hour of death: homage was then done, and fidelity sworn, by the kneeling chiefs, who ended with exalting him on their shoulders, exclaiming, "God bless Mohammed Aben Humeya, king of Granada and of Cordova!" *

1568. This bold step was followed by other measures equally secret and vigilant. Officers were nominated; the mountaineers and inhabitants of the plain armed, and ordered to rise on the night appointed, — when alarm guns should be fired by the Christians from the fortress of the Alhambra. When the day arrived, 8000 men lay in the mountains which overlook the towers of Granada, and 2000 more in a different direction, waiting for the signal. They had agreed to assail three of the gates, while another party should scale the walls: the Mohammedans who had been committed to the prisons of the inquisition, or to those of the state, were immediately to be released, and every Christian in the place to be massacred. Fortunately for the city, several accidents conspired to avert the catastrophe. The night was dark; a heavy snow fell in the mountains; it was followed by a still heavier rain, which rendered them impassable, and compelled the 8000 in ambush to retire. Ignorant of this disaster, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, Aben Ferag, accompanied by 180 resolute Moriscos, advanced to the walls of the Albaycin, which they soon scaled, and with loud voices called on their brethren of that quarter to join them. The call, which, as it was issued by trumpets,

* Marmol Cavajal, Historia del Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, tom. i. (8vo edition). Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. Condé, by Marlès, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes, &c. tom. iii.

amidst the silence of night, was heard by all, was applied to deaf ears; none obeyed it. Perhaps the rain cooled their patriotism; certainly the small number of the assailants afforded little ground for enterprise. Their disappointment was increased by the prudent caution of the marquis (Mondejar); who seeing that they were so few in number, and were not joined by the Moriscos of that quarter, would not allow the guns to be fired from the fortress: hence the 2000 men, who were waiting on the plain, being disappointed in the expected signal, did not advance to the support of their comrades. After a time the latter retired, without doing any other mischief than breaking a stone cross, wreaking their vengeance on an obnoxious apothecary, and cutting down a solitary sentinel.*

But if no impression was made on the capital, the 1568
case was far different with respect to the towns and villages in the province, the Moorish inhabitants of which rose simultaneously with this attempt. The excesses committed on this occasion, and the hostilities undertaken to punish them, are sufficiently ample to form a separate work: in fact they have been made the subject of several. We can allude only to the more striking scenes. From Granada Aben Ferag led his followers into the Alpujarras, where being joined by the Monfis, or banditti of these mountains, he passed from place to place to sustain the insurrection. At the same time orders were given by Aben Humeya to massacre all Christians above the age of ten years. The vengeance of these ferocious apostates fell chiefly on the priests who had forced them to mass, on the altars and images which they had been compelled to venerate, on collectors of the taxes, and the officers of justice. At Soportujar, after destroying the interior of the church, — uniformly the first object of their assault, — they seized the priests and some women (the rest had fled), and led them out of the place to be put to death. As they proceeded the

* The same authorities.

Morisco captain exhorted the priest to confess Mohammed, at least in appearance, since that was the only way to escape the fate before him: he replied, that he was resolved to die for the love of Christ. They were met by Aben Humeya, who had pity,—and this is almost a solitary instance,—on the women, but ordered the ecclesiastics to be slain.—At Conchar, near Poqueyra, many Christians took refuge in a tower: it was set on fire; they were compelled to descend, and were consigned, thirty-eight in number, to a dreary dungeon. After lying there nineteen days, persisting in their refusal to apostatise, they were drawn forth; and while marching to the place of execution were encouraged, by two ecclesiastics of their number, to suffer with courage and with hope: they were all cut down, and their corpses left a prey to dogs. At Portugus, in the district of Ferreyra, the terrified Christians ascended the tower of the church: as usual, fire was set to it; the victims descended, were seized, their hands tied behind them, and committed to prison. In most, if not in all cases, attempts were made to convert the persons thus immured; in almost all, to the honour of the Spanish character be it spoken, without success. These victims, to the number of twenty-eight, were drawn from the prison by fours, and put to death. In this place was a woman of Moorish race who had married a Christian: the rebels used every art to regain her; but not the noblest Castilian lady could have shown more constancy than she: as she was expressing her thankfulness that she had an opportunity of suffering for the truth, a sabre cleft her head.—At Ragol, in the district of Marchena, the priest was dragged from the altar where he was celebrating mass, and was hung from a pillar: when dead, he was flayed, and his skin nailed to the wall. At Messina, the houses of the Christians were first robbed,—for plunder always attended these massacres,—the vicar was thrown out of his own window and dashed to pieces on the pavement, while two other ecclesiastics, and fourteen other Christians, fell under

the sabre. — At Pitres, after the church and private houses had been plundered, the prisoners were brought out to suffer; but for the priest, who, with his aged mother, exhorted them not to flinch in the trial before them, a more lingering death was reserved. He was first drawn up by a pulley to the top of the steeple, and suffered to fall; but though his legs and arms were broken, he was not dead: he was then heavily cudgelled; still he breathed: a cord was thrown over his neck, and the end given to some Morisco women, who dragged him through the mire, plunging needles, scissors, and knives into his body, until he perished. These demons of women next destroyed the venerable matron in the same manner. In some places the executions were conducted with whimsical caprice. In one, the rebels first shaved both the head and beard of the curate, but not so dexterously as to avoid inflicting some severe wounds; they next put him to death. In another, the priest and several of his flock having taken refuge in the church, and knelt, to prepare for their inevitable fate, before the high altar, they were seized by the Moorish alguazil; who, in delivering them into the hands of the blood-hounds outside, observed, "Kill these dogs! Let the priest have the first blow, in reward for the anxiety he showed about our souls: let the sacristan have the second, in return for the chastisement he inflicted on us when we either failed to attend mass, or arrived too late!" In a third, after shaving the victim, laying open his skull, and knocking out one of his eyes, they stripped him naked, and poured boiling water on his head. In a fourth, they seized an image of Our Lady, which, after buffeting, and kicking, and dragging through the mud, they rolled it down a steep eminence, calling on the idol, with ludicrous jeers, to save itself if it had any virtue in it. In another, as a Moorish wag was dragging a large crucifix through a sewer, he perceived a Christian physician, to whom he cried out, — "Dog, here is thy creator! canst thou not cure him?" The horrified Christian immediately knelt,

kissed the log, which he declared was indeed his creator, and was immediately transfixed by the contemptuous by-standers. A magistrate of Santa Cruz was stripped before his three daughters and one of his grandsons; his nose was cut off and nailed to his forehead; and in this state all were led out. On the way to the place of execution, with hands tied behind them, he forgot his own sufferings to strengthen their constancy by his exhortations; and his discourse so incensed the Moriscos that one cut off his ears, and crammed them into his mouth; another, improving on the barbarity, cut open his belly, and thrust into the cavity, ears, nose, tongue, hands, and feet; and in this state the poor sufferer was thrown into the flames. The daughters were spared,—probably to satiate the brutal lust of the misbelievers. The priest of Andarax was roasted over a brazier; and while sustaining the agony with devout constancy, his mouth was gagged, that he might not invoke the divine mercy: the women, tired of waiting for his death, at length despatched him with their knives and needles. At one place, with the view of ridiculing the sacrifice of the mass, the rebels killed a pig on the high altar. At another, where, under the assurance of safety, about one hundred prisoners who had sought refuge in the fortress surrendered and were immediately butchered, two priests rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their zealous exhortations to the martyrs. One of them was suspended with the head downwards, and with a noose round his neck; at the other end of the cord a second noose was made, and thrown over the neck of the other priest, who was similarly suspended: in their agony they strangled each other, amidst the shouts of the spectators. At Oanez, twenty-five Christian maidens of surpassing beauty, were reserved as a present to the African princes whose aid had been solicited. As usual, endeavours were made to convert them, but without effect. Policy yielding to religious fury, they were stripped naked, conducted into the fields, tied to trees, pricked from head to foot with briars and thorns, and a

rope being passed round them as they stood in a circle, was drawn so tight as to produce excruciating agony: in the end they were shot. Even children triumphed over human infirmity. Gonsalo de Valcazar, a school-boy of Uxijar, not more than eleven years of age, took refuge with his father and other Christians in the church. Hearing of their desperate situation, doña Isabel de Melgar, the wife and mother, who was in a place of safety, hastened to assist or to suffer with them. The child first encouraged the father to suffer with courage; and when he had witnessed the execution of one parent, he hastened to the other to encourage her also. In vain did the Moriscos endeavour to wean him from his religion; promises and threats were unavailing. He was forced from the church: the mother, with her female attendants, burst out into loud wailing; but he turned towards her, and, with a serene countenance, besought her to be comforted, since he was going to die for Jesus Christ. On the way he encouraged another boy, two years older than himself, to meet death with the same cheerfulness: both obtained in the same hour the crown of martyrdom.*

Such are a few of the horrors perpetrated by the Moriscos on this occasion. The number of victims cannot be estimated; it probably amounted to thousands. They are among the truest martyrs of Spain: far worthier of the title than the mad enthusiasts of Cor-

* Cabrera, Historia de Felipe II., necnon Diego de Mendoza, Guerras de Granada, passim. Herrera, Historia del Mundo, part ii. Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos, tom. i. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. ix. Miniana Continuatio Nova. (an. 1568.)

In his account of the martyrdoms of this period, Ferreras draws largely from a MS. book of enquiries, instituted, in the places where the victims suffered, by order of Don Pedro de Guerrero, archbishop of Granada. As the information it contains was derived chiefly from eye-witnesses, it is much more correct than that given by either Escolano or Marmol Carvajal.

In this war, Dr. Watson (Life of Philip II. vol. i.) can find nothing to interest a reader: faithful to the school in which he studied, he carefully omits all mention of *religious*, but never of *political* sufferings. His work is of little value: it has misrepresentations — some evidently wilful — in almost every page; and his few authorities — none original — are strictly confined to one side of the question. It is little better than a compilation, and can boast as little of talent as of industry.

dova *, even than many of those under the memorable Roman persecutions. †

1568 to 1570. When intelligence of these events reached the marquis of Mondejar, after providing for the defence of Granada, he took the field. Aben Humeya, confiding in the defiles of the Alpujarras, prepared to receive him; while another band of the rebels placed themselves in opposition to the marquis de los Velez, on the southern frontier of this mountainous district. In some isolated actions, the Moriscos had the advantage; but this was only when the Christians went in scattered detachments, and were consequently subject to surprise. The former were too weak, even with the succours they derived from Africa, to risk a general engagement. Fortress after fortress fell into the power of the royal generals, who pursued the enemy into the depths of this region. The warfare was sometimes picturesque. Thus the governor of Almeria, wishing to surprise the mountaineers, secretly and silently marched out his garrison; and, to prevent his soldiers being recognised, he caused each to throw a husbandman's frock over the uniform and armour. The Moorish sentinels were enabled, by the feeble light of the stars, to perceive objects approaching; but such were the dimness and silence, that they mistook them for a flock of sheep. After a desperate struggle, the Moors were driven from their strong-hold, leaving many of their numbers on the field.—The women not unfrequently joined in all the dangers of battle, and exhibited great heroism. A priest, who inhabited a tower near Marbella, left in it his niece and a female domestic. The rebels entered, plundered the lower apartments, and were beginning to ascend the narrow perpendicular ladder, when they met with an opposition little expected. Some huge stones had been raised to the upper compartments for the purpose of repair: these the niece and the servant, with much difficulty, rolled to the mouth of the opening, and tumbled down one with hearty good-will:

* Vol IV. p. 290—304. † Vol. I. p. 84.

it killed a Moresco, and forced the rest to retreat. The heroine descended, fastened the door, and again remounted. As she had anticipated, the rebels soon returned in greater force, and assailed the door. Having carried to the battlements the largest stones they could remove, she and the servant let them fall, and dangerously, if not mortally, wounded many below. Though an arrow entered the heroine's arm, and during two hours remained quivering in the wound, she continued the defence with amazing resolution, until a detachment of Christian cavalry arrived, and rescued her from her perilous situation.—In the mean time, the marquis de Mondejar continued the desultory warfare with more or less success: that success would have been much more decisive, but for the opposition between him and the marquis de los Velez: the former was for tempering mercy with justice; the latter for extermination. Still it was sufficient to induce Fernando el Zagar, uncle and chief general of Aben Humeya, to sue for a safe conduct, that he might hasten to Mondejar's camp and obtain pardon; but the marquis had the impolicy to refuse it, and thereby to continue much longer the horrors of this warfare. Those horrors were as much the work of the Christians as of the Moriscos. An event, which happened in the fortress of Jubiles, made a deep impression on the rebels, and contributed more than any other cause to feed the flame of civil strife. That fortress being invested by the marquis, three aged Moriscos issued from it with the banner of peace, and agreed to its surrender, on the condition that the lives of the garrison, consisting of 300 men and 1500 women, should be respected. It was accordingly entered by the royal troops, to whom the plunder was abandoned. The men were lodged with the inhabitants of the town; the women were ordered to be accommodated in the church. As that edifice, however, would contain no more than 500, the remaining thousand were compelled to pass the night in the square before it. Guards were posted to protect them. About the middle of the night, one of the sol-

diers, being enamoured with a young Morisca, wished to detach her from her companions. She resisted; he pulled her away by force; when one of the persons by her side — her husband or brother, in the disguise of a woman — took her part, engaged, and disarmed the soldier. The confusion produced by this struggle led to a tumult; the soldiers rushed from their camp; it was proclaimed that many armed Moriscos were disguised among the prisoners; and, in the fury of the moment, the whole number were pitilessly massacred. In vain did the marquis endeavour to stay the carnage: the authority of the officers was disregarded. At break of day their fury cooled, and gave way to remorse on perceiving the bloody corpses of 1000 helpless, unarmed women. This bloody crime will never be blotted from the minds of men.*

1570. The tyranny of Aben Humeya somewhat counterbalanced the effect which this terrific tragedy was so well calculated to produce. First Aben Aboo sought and obtained pardon, as the price of submission. Even Miguel de Rojas, father-in-law of the royal Morisco, opened a negotiation for the same end. Informed of this circumstance, Aben Humeya sent for his father-in-law, who, on entering his quarters, was assassinated by the guards. He next repudiated his wife, put to death several of her relatives, and threatened the same fate for her brother, Diego de Rojas, one of his ablest adherents. By this hasty vengeance he naturally estranged many of his followers. As the Christian army advanced into the mountains, he was compelled to flee from one position to another; but not without loss to his pursuers. On one occasion, his mother and sister fell into their hands, and he himself had great difficulty in effecting his escape. On another, while he, El Zagar, his uncle, and Dalai, one of his chief captains, were sleeping profoundly in a mountain fort, the place was approached by a detachment of Christians; and all three would as-

* The same authorities.—The English reader may be informed that *o* is the masculine, *a* the feminine termination: hence Morisco is a male, Morisca a female Moor.

suredly have been taken, had not one of the soldiers' muskets been accidentally discharged. The report awakened the two latter, who leaped from an opposite window; and, though injured by the fall, they escaped. The king being roused by one of the domestics, and perceiving that the house was absolutely surrounded by his enemies, had recourse to stratagem. He posted himself behind the door, which they were breaking open: no sooner had they forced an entrance, than he quietly stole from the house, and was instantly lost amidst the rocks. Mondejar considered that the war was at an end, and that the fugitive would infallibly be captured. He did not know that, notwithstanding the heavy losses sustained by the enemy, they were still 6000 in number; many of them determined to resist to the last extremity. In a few days, however, on the heights of the Sierra Nevada, 1000 were exterminated by the marquis de los Velez. But such were the excesses of the Christian soldiers, the want of faith which characterised some of their leaders, and the rapacity of all, that no reverses could make the rebels lay down their arms; and on several occasions they were enabled to inflict a suitable revenge. The Moriscos had learned, to their cost, that even when conditions of capitulation had been proposed and accepted, in violation of their terms the prisoners were plundered or massacred. It was asserted, that no faith could be placed in a Christian's word or bond; and the report naturally strengthened the bands of Aben Humeya. Nor was he less served by the dissensions which continued between the Christian chiefs: some honourably leaning towards mercy; others, in revenge for the atrocities which have been described, persisting on no quarter. Philip himself was distracted by their contradictory opinions: he saw that the two marquises would never cordially co-operate so long as each led an independent power; and he subjected both to the authority of his bastard brother, don Juan of Austria. A supreme head was wanting; one that would not only enforce unanimity, or at least uniformity of action, but should

repress the excesses of the royal troops. So great was the indignation produced by them that several districts which had submitted rebelled anew, and some which had not hitherto declared for the cause now hastened to support it. In short, Aben Humeya, in appearance, had escaped from the brink of destruction, and was at the head of a far more numerous force than had ever yet taken the field. Emboldened by this unexpected good fortune, he assembled 10,000 men at Valor, and marched on Verja, to annihilate the marquis de los Velez. But though he fought with great courage, and was well sustained, he lost 1500 of his followers, and abandoned the field to his rival. This disaster was succeeded by a greater: at Peñon de Frigillana, which was stormed by the commendador of Castile, 2000 Moriscos found a grave. Both, indeed, were nearly counterbalanced by subsequent successes; but, while the resources of the rebels were so limited that their losses could not be repaired, new supplies continued to reach the Christian camp from all parts of Spain. Had the Moorish inhabitants of the Albaycin—the quarter assigned them in Granada—joined their brethren of the mountains, the contest might have been prolonged for years; but such was the vigilance of the president, Deza, that all communication between the two bodies was prevented. Still there was a fear, which had doubtless some foundation, that the former might, at any moment, rise. To prevent this, all were assembled in the parochial churches; and from thence removed, in different bodies, to various towns in Andalusia, where they were so dispersed among the more numerous Christians, that they ceased to inspire alarm.*

569. This vigorous measure affected Aben Humeya with great grief, which was still further heightened by the captivity of his father and brother in that capital. He negotiated for their release, offering in exchange some of his most distinguished prisoners. This negotiation was conducted silently, but not so much so as to escape

* Authorities: Cabrera, Herrera, Diego de Mendoza, Marmol Carvajal, Ferreras, and Condé by Marlès.

the penetration of some Moriscos, who, ignorant of its nature, began to suspect that their king was about to betray them. This suspicion, added to his cruelty on other occasions, and his tyranny on all, organised a conspiracy against his life; but as his partisans were still numerous, and his power unbounded, its execution was deferred to a more favourable opportunity. Yet the king was faithful to the cause. At Valor, whither the Marquis de los Velez penetrated, he made a vigorous stand; but notwithstanding his valour, which was never perhaps surpassed, and his abilities which were of a high order, he was signally defeated and compelled to flee almost alone. This disaster was partially repaired by a reinforcement from Africa, and by the spirit of desertion which prevailed in the camp of the marquis. His own conduct, however, continually increased the number of his enemies. One of his adherents he deprived of a mistress whom he took to his own bed; the offended Morisco, named Diego Alguazil, plotted his ruin. He had long distrusted his African allies: he now removed them from his camp to the frontier of Almeria, and placed them under the command of Aben Aboo, his cousin, who had again joined him. Having one day despatched a letter to Aboo, whom he directed to march with the Africans on a point likely to be assailed by the Christians, the messenger was waylaid and assassinated by the creatures of the incensed rival Diego. The latter caused another letter to be written to Aben Aboo, and the hand-writing was so well counterfeited that it could not easily be detected: its purport was that the general should lead the Africans to a fortress in the interior, and put every one to death. The astonished Aben Aboo could scarcely believe his senses; but when the artful Diego arrived with 600 horse, protesting that he himself was sent to assist in the carnage, all doubt vanished. The African chiefs were soon acquainted by Diego with the fate which had been intended for them. These sons of the desert instantly arose, swore to be revenged, acknow-

ledged Aben Aboo, as chief of the Moriscos, and despatched 400 Africans, with the newly recognised king at their head, to the head quarters of Aben Humeya. As they were allies they were suffered to pass by the guards: they entered the house, seized on the king, and bound him, notwithstanding his protestations of innocence, and devotion to the cause. During the night he was strangled, and Aben Aboo was proclaimed under the name of Muley Abdalla.*

1569. The first act of the new king, who had no participation in the design of Diego Alguazil, was to besiege Orguiva; but the place, after an heroic defence, was relieved by a reinforcement from Granada. The war now raged with various success; to each party the loss of one day was counterbalanced by the gain of the next, until don Juan of Austria, who had assembled troops on every side, again took the field in person, in the resolution of ending the contest by more vigorous measures. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he intrusted to the duke of Sessa, while with the other he proceeded to reduce the mountain fortresses. One after another fell into his hands, but cost him so many men that he was compelled to suspend his operations until reinforcements arrived. The submission, or rather correspondence of Abaqui, one of Muley's ablest generals, with those of Philip, greatly facilitated the progress of the royal arms. To prevent another insurrection after submission, the inhabitants of the newly subdued towns were transplanted to other parts, generally to the towns of Andalusia; a few into New Castile. This measure contributed more than any other to weaken the rebels, and to hasten the conclusion of the war. In almost every partial action,—the enemy could no longer dream of a general one,—the advantage lay with the Christians; nor was the success less rapid than decided. Several of the Morisco chiefs now sought a reconciliation

* The same authorities.

with Philip through don Juan. Believing, that mildness might now be tried with effect, a proclamation was made that every rebel, who within twenty days should visit the Christian camp and submit, should be freely pardoned. It does not, however, appear that much advantage was derived from the promised indulgence: the mountaineers so much dreaded what they well knew would be their lot,—an expulsion from their native haunts,—that they preferred remaining in arms, even though all hope of successful resistance were banished. As they retired from hill to hill, from cavern to cavern, a negotiation was opened with Muley himself, to whom unlimited pardon was promised as the price of submission. But power, even in these scenes, was too sweet to be resigned, and though the rebel exhibited a desire to treat, his object was only to gain time, until some expected succours should arrive from Barbary. Not so, however, with the other chiefs, who perceiving that resistance was hopeless, were anxious to obtain the best terms they could: in their name, Albaqui proceeded to the camp of don Juan, and did homage to him as the representative of their liege sovereign. But the determination to transport every Morisco from the kingdom of Granada, again forced the people to resistance. They took refuge on the summits of precipices, and did what mischief they could to their pursuers. It was sometimes considerable; a circumstance which Muley readily seized to exasperate the minds of his people, and to inspire them with hope. Albaqui, however, still passed from one camp to the other, with the view of completing the negotiations which had been commenced. Seeing the obstinacy of Muley, he entered into an engagement to raise 400 men, and with them to deliver the king, dead or alive, into the hands of the Christian general. He was betrayed, and assassinated by order of Muley, who abruptly broke off all communication with don Juan. Hostilities accordingly recommenced, but so much to the disadvantage of the rebels, that they were glad to take refuge in the deep

caverns with which these mountains abound. Into one of these Muley threw himself, with his wife, two daughters, and about sixty followers: as usual the royal troops made a fire at the mouth, with a view of suffocating such as refused to surrender. All perished, except Muley, and two others, who were acquainted with a secret issue from the place.*

1570. As the whole range of mountains was now almost depopulated, the Moriscos being uniformly transferred to other parts; and as but a handful of desperate adventurers, most of whom had been professed banditti, remained, the chiefs who still adhered to Muley, now advised him to submit. Among these, were two who had always possessed the greatest share of his confidence, Abu Amer, and Gonsalo Seniz, a famous bandit chief. One day, the bandit intercepted a letter to the former, in which a reward was held out on the condition of delivering Muley, dead or alive, into the hands of the garrison of Cadiar. Being himself most anxious to procure the royal pardon, both for his recent rebellion, and for his preceding crimes, and the deliverance of his wife and daughter, prisoners in New Castile, he desired the messenger to return, and tell the governor that he could serve the royal cause better than Abu Amer. His proffered service was accepted; but, before he executed it, he procured a promise of all that he desired from the president of Granada. The negotiation reached the ears of Muley, who resolved to know its object. One night, accompanied by Abu Amer and some archers, he went to the cave of Seniz. Leaving them at the entrance, he entered alone, lest he should excite suspicion; two Moriscos only awaited his return, the rest proceeded to the neighbouring caverns to see their friends. Muley demanded of Seniz, by whose authority and for what object he had been treating with the governor of Cadiar; the chief replied, by his own, with the view of procuring

* Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebellion, &c., t. ii. Cabrera, Historia de Felipe II. Herrera, Historia del Mundi; necnon Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente (sub propriis annis). Ferreras, Histoire Générale, t. x.

pardon for all, the promise of which he had already obtained. The king called him a liar and traitor; high words arose, the creatures of the robber-chief gathered round; two of them slew one of the Moriscos left at the entrance, the other fled. Muley now endeavoured to escape, he was forcibly detained; and in the struggle Seniz struck him a blow on the head, which brought him to the ground, when he was immediately despatched. His lifeless body was conveyed to Cadiar, and thence to Granada. Its entrance into that city was extraordinary: being supported by some boards, it was placed upright on a mule, which was led by the governor: Seniz rode on one side, another man on the other, and the procession was closed by the Moriscos who had submitted. In this manner, amidst discharges of artillery, and the sound of trumpets, all proceeded to the palace, where the bandit chief knelt, and was again assured, not only of pardon, but of royal gratitude. With Muley was extinguished the last spark of the rebellion.*

The next important feature in the domestic administration of Philip, is the fate of his first-born son, don Carlos. This prince, who was born in 1545, was by nature of fiery temperament, and of irregular manners. In his seventeenth year he sustained an accident, which was, doubtless, the chief cause of all his misfortunes. One day, while at the university of Alcala, he fell headlong down the staircase, and was for some time stunned by the blow. As no external injury was visible, his medical attendant hoped that he would soon be restored; but in a few days he was seized by an alarming fever, and they were painfully convinced that a serious internal one had been sustained. The fever increased, delirium approached, the king was sent for, and all hope of cure abandoned. In this extremity, when human aid was evidently unavailing, recourse was had to the merits of San Diego of Alcala, who had always been the

1562. to 1568

* The same authority. Seniz obtained an annual pension from the king, and settled at Valladolid. Eventually, however he resumed his old courses, was taken, and quartered.

peculiar object of the prince's veneration. The holy corpse was exhumed and brought into the bed-chamber of Carlos, whose hands were devoutly placed on it, and whose lips implored the intercession of the saint; at the same time a part of the shroud was laid on his burning face. While a procession of monks removed the corpse to the tomb, the prince, we are gravely informed, fell into a sweet sleep, in which San Diego appeared to him, and assured him of a speedy recovery. The prediction, we need scarcely add, was immediately verified! Unfortunately, however, the saint could only restore the body: from this moment must be dated the periodical insanity of the patient, and that invariable eccentricity of manner which is inconsistent with soundness of intellect. As he grew in years he exhibited his wayward humour; sometimes the most extravagant freaks. Displeased with the salutary discipline under which he was made to live, he frequently planned an escape into the Low Countries, where he hoped to rule at pleasure; but those provinces were fortunately saved from the infliction of his presence: his designs were discovered and frustrated. Nothing can more clearly show his unfortunate state of mind, than his behaviour to the duke of Alva, when that nobleman, on being appointed to the government of the Netherlands, called to take leave of him. He told the duke that to him alone belonged the dignity, and that he would take the life of any one who usurped it from him. Alva, with great mildness, endeavoured to pacify him, but in vain: in his fury he drew forth a dagger, and would assuredly have buried it in the governor's heart, had not the latter seized his hands and held him until some gentlemen of the household hastened to the scene. — One of his favourite diversions was to walk the streets by night, sometimes indecently exposing his person. One night, as he was walking under the windows of a house, something not quite so pure or fragrant as water accidentally fell on him. In a transport of rage he ordered an attendant to enter the house, set it on fire, and kill every one within. To pacify him

the man was forced to enter; but he instantly returned, feigning that the host was within, administered to a sick inmate, and that he could not decently kill them in the divine presence — an excuse which was admitted as satisfactory. On another occasion a pair of new boots were brought, which the prince, finding too tight, immediately cut into pieces, and made the poor workman swallow several: he next struck the cavallero who had ordered them. — One day his chamberlain, don Alfonso de Cordova, brother of the marquis de las Navas, being summoned by the bell, was unable to arrive in time for his impatience: he took the chamberlain in his arms, swore he would throw him out at the window, and advanced to one for the purpose, when the cries of don Alfonso brought the domestics to his aid. — A strolling actor, Cisneros by name, had been banished from Madrid by the president Spinosa: Carlos requested the actor to join in a play which he intended to be performed at his own house; but the mimic refused, through fear of the president. The next time he saw Spinosa he seized the officer with the left hand, while with the right he drew a poniard. "So you dare to prevent Cisneros from coming to Madrid! by my father's life, but I will kill you!" The terrified judge fell on his knees, and so humbly begged forgiveness, that he at length obtained it. — Being one day in a neighbouring forest with his governor, don Garcia de Toledo, whom he hated, for attempting to restrain his desperate excesses, he proceeded to stab that nobleman; but the intended victim escaped and reported him to the king. In short, his conduct to all his servants was intolerable, alike for its cruelty and caprice: several he beat, a few he maimed; nor could the exhortations of his father or his confessor make any impression on him. To the former he bore a bitter hatred: the cause was that Philip, who knew his fatal infirmity, would not allow him to interfere with public affairs. At length, being discovered in an attempt to flee into the Netherlands, to place himself at the head of the insurgents, the king felt that he should be com-

pelled to do what he ought to have done long before, — to place a guard over his frenzied son. He did not, however, adopt this expedient without the advice of his best counsellors. On the night of January 19, 1568, accompanied by four of his nobles and some armed guards, he proceeded to the prince's apartment, took away his papers, his sword, knives, and every thing that could be hurtful to him; assuring him at the same time that he had no end in view beyond his good. He confided the care of the prince to six gentlemen of the noblest families of Spain, two of whom were always to be with him night and day; and he placed over all the duke de Feria and the prince de Evoli. This measure, however well intended, did no good: Carlos grew sullen and obstinate; his freaks more frequent and capricious. To walk in a state of nudity through his apartments; to refrain from food two days together, and then to eat voraciously; to drink immoderate quantities of the coldest water; to steal ice and convey it into his bed; to devour the sourest fruits, were his constant occupation. The infallible consequences soon appeared: his stomach refused to retain the most wholesome food, much more the medicines that were administered to him; a malignant fever assailed him; and he was told to prepare for death. At this period his better feelings returned; he asked for his father, whose pardon he humbly demanded, and whose blessing he received; he received the last sacraments, commended his soul to God, and died at midnight, July 24, 1568.*

The fate of this maniac prince has called forth much affected commiseration, inasmuch as it has enabled malignity to assail the memory of the father. It has been stated that Philip was the rival of his son in the affections of a German princess; that after she became queen of Spain, she loved the latter, and detested the

* Cabrera, Historia del Rey de España Don Phelipe II. Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente (sub propriis annis). Gregorio Leti, Vita di Philippo II. tom. i. Herrera, Historia del Mundo, en el tiempo del Rey don Phelipe II. parte i. Juan Lopez, Vida del Principe don Carlos, passim. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. (cum multis aliis).

former; that jealousy forced the king to the most tyrannical treatment of the youth; that Carlos was persecuted by the inquisition, and at length poisoned, by order of the father. Such tales are without even the shadow of a foundation, in contemporary writers of Spain, or even in common sense. The truth is, that Philip behaved with much moderation to a son who was fit only for a receptacle for lunatics.

But if impartial justice acquit Philip of guilt, or even of undue severity, in regard to his son, the same favourable verdict cannot be given in regard to two other affairs, which have been studiously wrapt in great darkness: they were the assassination of Juan de Escovedo, secretary to don Juan of Austria, and the subsequent persecution of Antonio Perez, Philip's secretary of state. The former, who had been sent to Spain on business of his master, was murdered at Madrid, in March 1578. The assassins were not unknown; but they were suffered to escape into Italy, and were afterwards employed in the service of the Neapolitan viceroy. That they were hired by Antonio Perez is undoubted, from his own confession; but what interest had *he*, what revenge to gratify, in such a crime? The same confession — published many years after the tragedy — throws the entire blame on the king; nor is there any reason to doubt its truth. But if the action be apparent, not so the cause. The most probable hypothesis is, that Escovedo was the prime intriguer in the ambitious schemes which don Juan is known to have formed: that he had persuaded his master to aspire to the hand of Elizabeth, queen of England, was seriously affirmed by letters from the Low Countries; and that he had passed two months in England in trying to open negotiations for that end, was said to rest on the authority of the Spanish ambassador at Rome. Mysterious as is the transaction just related, the arrest of Antonio Perez the following year is wrapt in still deeper gloom. The ostensible motive of this arrest, was the murder of Escovedo; but as the princess of Evoli, a lady to whom Perez had free access,

1578 to 1591.

and who had never been implicated in the alleged crime, was seized at the same moment, this was evidently a mere pretext to cover the real one. Among the various hypotheses that have been framed on this subject, two only appear entitled to the least credit: the first, that Perez had been imprudent enough to hint the implication of the king in the death of Escovedo; the second, that he was admitted to the last familiarities with the princess, the supposed object of the royal affection. There must certainly have been some powerful reason to call forth the dark resentment of the monarch; and each or both of these may be received. Some other charges were urged against him; such as his mal-administration and betrayal of state secrets; but they are too frivolous to require notice. A pretended investigation was instituted into his conduct; and the result was, that he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, eight years' exile from the court, and a heavy fine. At first, his own house was assigned as his place of confinement; he was afterwards ordered to be transferred to a fortress; but, through the art of his wife, he contrived one night to descend from a window of his prison, and to reach Aragon before his pursuers could overtake him. The unbounded rage which Philip exhibited on this occasion, proves that he was in the power of his late servant. As the fugitive, in virtue of the Aragonese laws, appealed to the protection of the justiza*, insisting on a fair, open trial, the monarch was for a moment embarrassed how to proceed; but it was only for a moment. Regardless of the boasted manifestation, of the authority or character, of the justiza, of the people's liberties, or his own oaths to maintain them, he commanded the magistrates of Calatayud to seize the secretary and confine him in the royal prison of Sarragossa. As this infringement of the constitution was no less arbitrary in itself than it was insulting to the Aragonese, the cry of *contrafuero!* or breach of privilege, became loud and general: the people at length rose, and by force released the prisoner

* See Vol. IV. p. 179, &c.

from the royal jurisdiction. In the mean time, Philip had recourse to an expedient, which he hoped would be conclusive. Perez corresponded with Catherine, who governed Bearne, sister to Henry IV. king of France, and a protestant. The logical inference was, that he was also a protestant in heart, — an inference which the council of the inquisition, expressly assembled by the king, declared to be most legitimate and irrefutable. Orders were accordingly transmitted to the inquisitors of Aragon to convey the fugitive to their own dungeons, and they were executed. The patriotic justiza protested against this infraction of the manifestation; and the people, enraged to the last pitch, dragged the marquis de Almenera, minister of Philip, to the public prison of Sarragossa. Their resentment against this nobleman arose, first, from his being *a foreigner* (not an Aragonian); and, secondly, from his being the ready instrument of the crown: the ill usage he experienced cost him his life in a few hours after his imprisonment. Their next step was to invest the inquisition, and to rescue Perez by force from the power of that hellish tribunal. In the tumult some lives were lost. — No sooner did Philip hear of the revolt, than he ordered a considerable army to enter Aragon and punish the refractory rebels. This was another violation of the national privileges. The justiza called on the municipalities to arm in defence of their outraged freedom; but the call was very partially obeyed: a tumultuous levy, headed by the justiza, hastily fled at the approach of the royal forces; and that unfortunate nobleman, whose courageous efforts on this occasion must entitle him to the respect of posterity, was immediately seized and executed by order of the tyrannical monarch. Amidst the confusion of such a scene, Perez contrived to escape over the Pyrenees.*

* The usual authorities. In these transactions Ferreras (tom. x. part 16.) has the baseness to defend the conduct of Philip. This gives us the more pain, in a writer to whose honesty almost every page bears witness, and who, in general accuracy, has never been surpassed by any historian in any nation.

1598. Philip died in September 1598, in the palace of the Escurial, of which he was the founder, and which is the noblest monument of his reign. His character must be sufficiently clear from his actions: that it was gloomy, stern, and cruel; that he allowed neither civil freedom, nor religious toleration, but was on all occasions the consistent enemy of both; that he was suspicious, dark, and vindictive, are truths too evident to be denied. On his return to Spain, immediately after his father's resignation, a characteristic scene occurred in Valladolid, at an *auto-da-fé*, which he attended with much *devotion*. When the condemned arrived at the place where the fire and faggot awaited them, one of them, an officer of distinction, asked the king how he could have the heart to behold the exquisite torments of his people. "Were my own son," replied the bigoted tyrant, "such a wretch as thou, he should suffer the same fate!" And when the archbishop of Toledo, don Bartolomeo de Carranza, was arrested on suspicion of heresy by the office blasphemously called holy, the king wrote to the inquisitors commanding them to show no respect for persons, however exalted, but to proceed even against his own son, should the latter ever dare to doubt the infallibility of the church. All this is bad enough; yet, by the French writers as well as by our own historians, he has been treated with injustice. His ambition was certainly subservient to his zeal for religion; his talents were considerable; for prudence he was almost unrivalled; his attention to public affairs, and to the best interests of his country, have been surpassed by few monarchs; his habits were regular, his temperance proverbial; his fortitude of mind, a virtue which he had often occasion to exercise, was admirable; and, in general, he was swayed by the strictest sense of justice. Even his religious bigotry, odious as it was, was founded on conscientious principles, and his arbitrary acts on high notions of the regal authority. By many of his subjects he was esteemed, by many feared, by some hated, by none loved.

By the last of his four wives, Anne of Austria, Philip left a son, who succeeded by the title of Philip III.; his other male children preceded him to the tomb. Two daughters also survived him.*

PHILIP III.

1598—1621.

THE two preceding reigns, being by far the most important in the modern history of Spain, have commanded a corresponding share of our attention. But as with Philip II. ends the greatness of the kingdom, which from that period declined with fearful rapidity,—as in the present chapter little remains to be recorded beyond the reign of worthless favourites, the profligacy of courts, and the deplorable weakness of government,—the journey before us will be speedily performed.

The first courtier to whom the destinies of the peninsula were confided, was the duke of Lerma; but as he had no talents either for peace or war, the burden of administration devolved on a needy adventurer, Rodrigo Calderon, one of his pages. In his domestic policy,—if profligate imbecility deserve the name,—the most signal circumstance is the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia, Andalusia, New Castile and Granada. The reader has seen how, during and after the rebellion, those baptised infidels were transported from the last-named kingdom, and dispersed among the christian inhabitants of the countries adjoining. Tranquillity could scarcely be hoped from so arbitrary a measure; the Moriscos felt that they had been treated with equal perfidy and cruelty, and they thirsted for revenge. They accordingly renewed their correspondence with the African princes, and the grand signior, whom they continually 1598 to 1610.

* Vanderhammen, Cabrera, Herrera, Leti, Ferreras, and many others.

urged to invade the peninsula, and in whose favour they promised to rise on the first signal. Though they were compelled to attend mass, they sought in secret ample amends for the violation of conscience, by observing the rites of their own religion, and by heaping insult on that which they had been constrained to honour with their lips. To this we may add, that in places where the local authorities were few or powerless, their insurrections were frequent, especially when justice was to be executed on such of their brethren as had been discovered in treason or apostacy. These circumstances were reported to the royal council, and the expulsion of the whole body was decreed. Into the serious loss which such an expulsion would inflict on the agriculture and commerce of the country, no enquiry was made; the Moriscos were by far the most ingenious, and industrious portion of the community; and the abstraction of so many hands and of so much capital must of necessity sap the foundation of the national prosperity. Perhaps, however, the advantages arising from the industry of this people, was more than counterbalanced by the mischief already mentioned, and their removal was consequently become necessary. It were, indeed, to be wished that their exasperations would have been soothed, and their good-will cultivated; but in the distrustful state of their minds, the inevitable result of past perfidy, all overtures to this effect would have been received with contempt. The grand error had been committed, and its consequences could not be averted: in the beginning, instead of being branded with infamy, their errors should have been silently tolerated, and no discouragement should have been given to their entering the church. But, on the contrary, sincere converts were regarded with haughtiness, and no hope of rising from degradation to distinction, or even to a level with the native Christians, was held out to them. What inducements then did the dominant religion offer to a high spirited and insulted people? Ignominy for what conscience approves will infallibly produce exasperation, and

exasperation is as naturally followed by treason. "I am persuaded," says the canon Navarete, "that if the Moriscos had not been branded with infamy, they would all have submitted to the catholic religion: they regarded it with horror, because even when conforming to it they were treated with as much contempt as before, and because there was no hope that time would ever obliterate the stain of their extraction. As the erroneous policy with which they were treated originated in ancient deep-rooted prejudices, the only remedy for the evil lay in their expulsion." These considerations, however, had probably no influence on the government. The king observed, that he would rather be without subjects than rule over infidels: the foolish saying was applauded by the courtiers; and orders, dated September 1609, were despatched to the captains general to force the Moriscos on board the galleys prepared for them, and land them on the African coast. Those of Valencia, 150,000 in number, were first expelled; they were followed, though not without great opposition, nor in some places without open resistance, by their brethren of the other provinces. In the whole, no fewer than 600,000 were thus forcibly driven from their ancient habitations, omitting the mention of such as, by assuming the disguise of Christians, spread over Catalonia and southern France, and of the still greater number of children, who, being born from Moriscos and hereditary Christians, were suffered to remain. Those who disembarked in Africa were treated with characteristic inhumanity by the most cruel and perfidious people on earth.

In 1618, the duke of Lerma was disgraced, and the real minister, don Rodrigo Calderon, who had been adorned with numerous titles, was imprisoned. Subsequently he was tortured, tried, and sentenced to death; but, before the sentence could be put into execution, the king died. Philip IV., however, ordered him to the block. The removal of the duke only made way for another as imbecile and worthless as himself. So that the king was not troubled with state business, but al- 1618 to 1621.

lowed to have his women and his diversions, to provide for mistresses and parasites, he cared not who held the post of minister. Towards the close of his reign, indeed, he appeared to take some interest in the report of his council, which,—with the view of encouraging the population, now alarmingly decreased, and restoring the national industry, now almost expiring,—suggested some salutary expedients. Of these, the chief were the alleviation of the burdens which weighed on the agriculturists, the forcible residence of the señores with their tenants and vassals, the dismissal of a whole army of placemen, the resumption of improvident grants to favourites, the enforcement of the old sumptuary laws, and the gradual diminution of monastic houses. But, though he approved the proposed measures, he had not the rigour to carry them into effect.

1601 to 1618. The foreign transactions of this reign would be too unimportant to be detailed, if even they could be admitted into a compendium like the present. In revenge for the maritime hostilities of the English, an expedition was sent to Ireland to raise the inhabitants against the government; but it was annihilated at Kinsale. In the Low Countries the war continued with little glory to the archduke Albert until 1609, when the independence of the Seven United Provinces was acknowledged by treaty. With France there was continued peace, which, in 1612, was strengthened by the double marriage of the prince of the Asturias with Isabelle de Bourbon, and of Louis XIII. with the infanta Ana, eldest daughter of the Spanish monarch. With the Venetians, Turks, and Moors of Africa, there were some engagements, but nothing decisive was the result. Spain still retained the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and the fortresses on the African coast.

1621. Philip died March 31st, 1621. Besides his heir, and Ana, queen of France, he left children, Maria, queen of Hungary, don Carlos and don Fernando, who entered the church, and attained the dignity of cardinal. His character needs no description: it was chiefly dis-

tinguished for helpless imbecility, for dissipation and idleness. Though apparently well intentioned, he was a curse to the nation he governed.*

PHILIP IV.

1621—1665.

WHEN the new king ascended the throne he was only in his seventeenth year, and he began, like his father, by surrendering the reins of government to a worthless favourite. This was the conde de Olivares, who had been a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Asturias. This haughty minion commenced his career by removing from the ministry his benefactor, the duke de Uceda, and by recalling the valiant don Pedro Giron, duke of Osuna, from the viceroyalty of Naples. Whoever had ability, or popular fame or favour with the king, was sure to experience his envy, often his deadly persecution. Every servant of the late government was dismissed or imprisoned, to make way for creatures, if possible, more worthless. It is, however, certain, that by revoking many of the profuse grants made by the two preceding sovereigns, by dismissing two thirds of the locusts in office, by enforcing the residence of many señores, by sumptuary regulations, and other measures, he increased the revenues of the crown. But these reforms were but temporary; the minister was too corrupt to persevere in any line of public advantage; his object was his own emolument, and that of his creatures; nor would he have so much as touched a single abuse had not the voice of the public compelled him to it. When he had acquired some reputation for these measures, he outstripped even his predecessors in the race of corrup- 1621 to 1640.

* Gonzalo de Cespedes, Historia del Rey Don Felipe III. (throughout). Peñafiel, Genealogia del Rey Felipe III. (throughout). Escalano, Historia de Valencia, tom. ii. Navarete, Conservacion de las Monarquias, disc. 7. Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. xix.

tion; and, what is still worse, his heart was as depraved as his aims were selfish. He is accused,—with what justice would be vain to enquire, though there are not wanting strong grounds of suspicion,—with causing the assassination of his own uncle, who possessed more of the royal confidence than he approved. How little Spain could flourish under such princes, and such administrations, may be readily conjectured. In its internal affairs, there was the same gradual decline of agriculture, of commerce, of the mechanical arts, and, consequently, of the national resources; yet, while the mass of the people were thus sinking into hopeless poverty, the court exhibited more splendour than ever. Thus, the reception of Charles, prince of Wales, and of his tutor, the duke of Buckingham,—who, with the view of obtaining the hand of the infanta Maria, sister of the king, had been romantic enough to visit Madrid in disguise,—is a favourite subject of historic description. The English reader need not be told that this prodigal expenditure was thrown away, and that Charles, ultimately, obtained a French princess. One cause of the failure was, doubtless, the bigotry of the Spanish court; but another, and no mean one, was the profligacy of Buckingham, which highly disgusted the royal family. Still more expensive were the festivities consequent on the election of the king of Hungary — who had married the infanta Maria, sister of Philip — to be king of the Romans, and, consequently, heir to the imperial crown. If to these fooleries we add the money sent out of the kingdom to assist the German emperor in the wars with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, we shall not be surprised that the whole nation beheld the conduct of Philip and his minister with discontent. While tens of thousands were famishing, from the stagnation of the usual branches of industry; — while plays, pantomimes, entertainments, and other frivolities of the most costly description, were succeeding each other in the capital, in contempt of so much misery, — it required no ordinary stock of patience to witness the disgraceful contrast. Murmurs and complaints were treated with

contempt, until the Catalans openly opposed the flagitious minister and the royal puppet.*

The profligate extravagances of the court were not the only cause which led to the Catalan insurrection. At the close of a war with France — a war of which mention will hereafter be made — the Castilian troops, in the fear that hostilities would be recommenced by the enemy, were stationed on the northern frontier, at the expense of the inhabitants, on whom they were billetted. This regulation was as unjust as it was arbitrary, and even odious. The people remonstrated, observing, that neither by law nor custom were they obliged to furnish the troops with more than shelter, bed, fire, salt, and water, and then only when the soldiers were on the march. In reply, the viceroy was commanded by the court to enforce the regulation. If to this we add the desire which the minister had always shown to abolish, or at least to violate, the privileges of the principality, and the fact, that Philip himself had, for the first five years of his reign, deferred visiting Barcelona to take the accustomed oaths, we shall not be surprised that a people, fiercely tenacious in all ages of their reasonable rights, should be excited to a very high pitch. At first, the peasantry, on whom the burden fell with the most severity, were contented with expelling their unwelcome inmates; but, when the soldiers resisted, lives were lost on both sides. The ringleaders were imprisoned or fined; to release them formidable bands of countrymen hastened to Barcelona, the residence of the viceroy, with the crucifix borne before them, burst open the prisons, committed many excesses throughout the city, ill-treated the royal officers, and ultimately killed the viceroy himself as he was endeavouring to escape by sea. Though their opposition to royal tyranny was approved, their presence

1640 to 1660

* For the domestic portion of this, and much of the following reign, there are no native contemporary authorities extant, at least we know of none. The French accounts are not to be received. Our only Spanish authority is Ortiz, tom. vi. lib. xx. He complains of the difficulty he experienced in relating the events of this period,— a difficulty which, he asserts, would have been insurmountable but for the papers in the royal library at Madrid, and in private collection

was by no means welcome to the inhabitants of Barcelona; soon afterwards, however, they returned to their respective villages. From these scenes, and from the universal hostility of the Catalans to his violent regulations, Olivares might have learned something useful; but he was incapable of profiting by the lessons of experience. Ignorant of the indomitable character of the people, he sent the duke de Cardona successor to the late viceroy, with instructions to enforce the obnoxious measure. The duke did not long survive his nomination, and his death paved the way to greater disasters. The deputies from the lordship were refused admission to the king, and the marquis de los Velez was sent with an army to reduce the rebels to obedience. Convinced that of themselves they should be unequal to the royal forces, they implored the aid of the French king. That aid was readily promised, but as it did not immediately arrive, the whole principality, except the city of Tortosa, armed. This was not all: contending that the king, by violating their ancient privileges, had broken his compact with them, and, consequently, forfeited all claim to their obedience, they proclaimed a republic. But as the marquis had quickly reduced several important fortresses, and was advancing, breathing revenge on the capital, the new republic was soon destroyed by its authors, and Louis XIII. proclaimed count of Barcelona. Convinced that violence was not the way to treat the fierce Catalans, the marquis obtained from the king the revocation of the obnoxious regulation; and a letter, dictated by great mildness, and by paternal regard, calling on the people to renew their homage to their liege indulgent lord. The deputies, whose resistance from this moment becomes criminal, refused to obey the invitation, or even to vouchsafe a reply, until the royal troops were withdrawn from the province. The marquis scorned the condition, and invested Montjuich, a fortress which overlooks the capital; but he was repulsed in the attempt to storm it. In the mean time the French monarch had accepted the dignity, even on conditions—

such was the jealous spirit of Catalan freedom—which left him the bare protection of the province, which excluded him from the slightest influence in it, and which in fact transformed it into a republic under the name of a sovereign. Not that he intended to observe those conditions, for it is admitted even by the national writers that with his characteristic duplicity—duplicity to which he was urged by his ambassador Argenton—he had resolved to annul them the first favourable opportunity. After this treaty 5000 French soldiers passed the Pyrenees; Tarragona, which now held for the king, and in which all the royal forces were concentrated, was invested, but after a time relieved; Castilian reinforcements arrived to make head against the enemy; near 12,000 French came to assist their countrymen, and Louis himself advanced to the frontiers of Rousillon to direct their operations. At this moment, Philip intended to conduct the war in person, and he actually left Madrid for the purpose at the head of a considerable force; but at Aranjuez he halted, under the pretext of waiting the arrival of Olivares, who was in no hurry to join him. In fact, neither king nor minister had courage enough to meet the enemy; the former waited tranquilly until the season was too far passed for operation, and returned to Madrid, assuming great appearance of anger with the count. In the mean time the French armies were actively gaining several important advantages: to counterbalance them, Olivares formed a conspiracy in the very heart of France to assassinate the minister cardinal Richlieu, and even to dethrone Louis; but it was detected, and its prime instrument beheaded. Though a natural death soon called away the cardinal, his successor, Mazarine, who succeeded also to his Machiavelian principles, continued the war. It lingered for years, with various success, or rather with no decided success, to either part, until the inhabitants themselves grew tired of the French yoke, and joined with their Castilian brethren. Whether this change in the public

feeling was owing to the haughtiness of their allies, which is said to have been intolerable, or to the inconsistency of the popular mind, or still more, probably, to both united, fortune at length began to favour the arms of Philip. Still the war with the Netherlands and with the Portuguese, to which allusion will shortly be made, rendered the Spanish court desirous of peace. The wish was shared by Mazarine, whose resources were nearly exhausted by hostilities of so many years continuance, and in so many countries. In 1660, the plenipotentiaries of both powers met at St. Jean de Luz, and the conditions of peace, after three months' deliberation, were sanctioned by the respective monarchs. By a new line of demarcation — drawn by the learned Pierre de Marca, archbishop of Paris, in conjunction with other French and some Spanish commissioners — the whole of Rousillon and Conflans was included in the French territory. Neither this dismemberment of the kingdom, nor the cession of several fortresses in the Netherlands, appears to have grieved the imbecile Spaniard. By other articles the Catalans were not only pardoned, but their privileges recognised as inviolable. But the most remarkable circumstance attending this celebrated treaty, usually known as the treaty of the Pyrenees, was the marriage of the infanta Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip, with the youthful Louis XIV. On this occasion, to prevent the union of two such powerful kingdoms, Louis was compelled to renounce all claim to the Spanish crown, either for himself or for his successors. That, however solemn the obligation thus contracted, he had no disposition to fulfil it, will abundantly appear from the sequel; his grandson, as we shall hereafter perceive, ascended the Spanish throne under the title of Philip V.*

* Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. 20. Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain, *Introduction.* Marca, Limes Hispanicus, lib. i.—iv.

The work of Coxe is creditable to him. It is elaborate and interesting; it is also accurate where the author does not slavishly follow his French guides.

Commensurate with the origin of the Catalan insurrection was that of Portugal. As this is not the proper place to enter into an examination of the causes which produced, or the circumstances which attended that natural burst of freedom, we defer both to a future chapter. * Here it is sufficient to observe that the discontented Portuguese, despising the royal puppet at Madrid, and burning with an intolerable thirst for the restoration of their independence, proclaimed the duke of Braganza under the name of Joam IV.; and that in several campaigns they nobly vindicated the step. Assisted by their allies the English, Dutch, and French, they continued the war with indomitable valour, and with general success until 1664, when, in the battle of Villaviciosa, they inflicted so severe a blow on the arms of Philip that he precipitately abandoned hostilities. This was one of the causes which led to the disgrace of Olivares. Nothing can better show the uncontrolled power of this minister, and the criminal negligence of every public duty by the king, than the fact that the latter remained long ignorant of the momentous events in Portugal. At length, fearing to conceal them any longer, the count one day observed, with an air of studied carelessness, "The duke of Braganza has run stark mad; he has proclaimed himself king of Portugal! This folly will bring your majesty 12,000,000 in confiscations!" The only reply was, "We must put an end to the mischief;" but the remonstrances of his queen, and the rebellion of the minister's nephew, the duke of Medina Sidonia, for whom the minister wrung a reluctant pardon, determined Philip to exile Olivares from the court. This was actually done; but the kingdom experienced no benefit by a change of favourites.† 1640 to 1664

During his long reign, Philip was frequently at war with England, Holland, or France. The former deprived him of Jamaica and Dunquerque, ravaged the 1624 to 1660

* See Section II. Chapter I. of the present volume.

† The same authorities, with the addition of Lemos, La Clede, and the other historians of Portugal.

neighbourhood of Cadiz, assisted the Portuguese in their efforts for independence, and were sometimes allied with the other powers to humble him still more. The Dutch inflicted dreadful ravages on the American coasts, and secured immense spoil. France, both in the Low Countries and Italy, extended her domains, but at the peace of the Pyrenees she surrendered her conquests in the latter, so that Milan, as well as Naples, still remained to Spain. Naples, however, under the Spanish domination in 1646, suffered a terrible shock through the insurrection of a fisherman, Tomas Aniello, generally known as Massaniello. Taking advantage of the discontent produced by the heavy taxes imposed by the viceroys, and especially of a recent one by the duke de Arcos, which fell with peculiar severity on the lower classes of the people, he raised the populace, freed the public prisoners, and compelled the duke to abolish the odious imposition. This concession, however, did not satisfy the people, who, having made Aniello their captain-general, remained under arms, and plainly gave him to understand that they would not be satisfied with any thing less than the admission of their body to the same privileges as those of the nobles, and that with a deputy of their own body alone should rest the fixing of the price of provisions. As their unreasonable demands were not instantly gratified, they spread throughout the city, plundered and burnt the houses of all whom they conceived hostile to their cause, overpowered the guard, seized the artillery, and invested their chief with, or allowed him to exercise, the most unbounded power,—a power which no monarch, however despotic, had ever possessed. For some time his conduct was guided by something like reason, but in the end he grew vain of his fortune, and abused his powers; nor did he, as his adherents expected, show any disposition to resume his former employment. Whatever might be the benefits procured through his instrumentality, they could not, without envy, behold one of themselves thus exalted; his capricious cruelties inspired them

with the additional passions of fear and hatred; for nothing was more common than his putting to death those who refused to pay him sovereign honour. At length he was assassinated by a ferocious band, no doubt at the instigation of the government, or of the nobles whom he had been impolitic enough to disarm, and to exasperate by the most insulting violence.*

The character of Philip, who died in 1665, needs 1665
no description. His reign, next to that of Roderic the Goth, was the most disastrous in the annals of Spain. Omitting the distress which it brought on the people, and the horrors of the Catalan insurrection, the loss of Rousillon, Conflans, a part of Cerdaña, Jamaica, much of the Low Countries, and above all Portugal, and his recognition of the independence of the Seven United Provinces, are melancholy monuments of his imbecility. A still worse effect was produced by the frequent reverses of his arms in Italy and the Low Countries; reverses which encouraged the smallest states to set his power at defiance: thus, both in the East Indies, and on the coast of America, his settlements were plundered or seized by Holland. In private life, his conduct was as little entitled to respect: by his mistresses he had six or seven children, of whom the most famous was Don Juan, surnamed of Austria, believed to be the son of an actress of Madrid, and born in 1629. On this son the choicest favours of the crown were conferred; he was made prior of St. John, and was several times at the head of the Spanish armies. In Italy, the Netherlands, Catalonia and Portugal, he showed that he was not unworthy to bear the name of his great predecessor, the son of the emperor Charles: in the last named country his success would have been more decided, had not the queen, who hated his popularity, and envied his fame, diverted the supplies which were intended for him, and left him no other alternative than that of retiring from the service. Hence the foundation

* Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. 20. Rocoles, Les Imposteurs Insignes, tom. ii. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. i. Introduction.

of the dissensions, which, as we shall perceive in the ensuing reign, distracted the state. Of Philip's numerous offspring by his two queens, Isabella, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and Maria Anna, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III., three only survived him, Maria Teresa queen of France, Margarita queen of Hungary, and his successor don Carlos.*

CARLOS II.

1665—1700.

1665 to 1668. If the affairs of this kingdom had been so unfortunate during the reigns of the two Philips, they were not likely to improve under a child, who, at his accession, had not attained his fourth year, especially as don Juan, the favourite of the nation, was at open hostility with the queen-regent and her confessor the father Nitard, a German Jesuit. This churchman is represented as haughty to the nobles, supple to the queen, and in his general conduct corrupt; but as the representation comes from men always jealous of foreigners, it must be received with caution. An unbiassed mind will easily perceive that his chief fault was the unbounded power he exercised through the queen. The disasters which befel her administration, added to the popular discontent. Though the perfidious Louis had disclaimed, both for himself and his successors, all title to the Spanish possessions, one of his first acts, after his marriage, was to assert, in right of his queen, a monstrous pretension to the Low Countries. In an obscure district of a remote province there was an ancient custom, but now virtually abrogated by time, that even a daughter of the first wife should inherit in preference to a son by the second: hence, as Maria Teresa, the consort of Louis, was sprung from the first, and don Carlos from the second marriage of Philip. the French monarch poured his legions over

* Ortiz, Compendio; and Coxe, Memoirs, ubi supra.

the frontier, and with great rapidity reduced most of the fortresses from the Channel to the Scheldt. At his instigation the Portuguese made an irruption into Estremadura. The union of Sweden, Holland, and England, to oppose the ambition of the Frenchman, saved the whole Netherlands from subjugation; but, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he retained the most valuable of his conquests; and by that very union, which thus saved a portion of her northern possessions, Spain was compelled to acknowledge the independence of Portugal.*

Of these disastrous circumstances advantage was taken by don Juan of Austria, who had been exiled from the court, to load both the queen and her confessor, now a counsellor of state, with increased obloquy. During the flagitious career of the French, the voice of the Spaniards proclaimed him as the only man fit to support the sinking fortunes of the monarchy: to remove him from their attachment, and from his own intrigues, he had been nominated governor of the Low Countries. He refused the dignity, doubtless because he knew that, as in the Portuguese campaign, he should be left without resources, and that the disgrace of failure would be visited on him alone: the queen and confessor insisted; he hastened towards the court to expostulate in person against the appointment, but was ordered not to approach within twenty leagues. Being retired to Consuegra, a conspiracy was formed or pretended against the life of Nitard, and revealed by one of the accomplices, who asserted that its hidden spring was Juan. Whether this conspiracy was, as most men suspected, a stratagem of the queen and her party, or as we ourselves are disposed to believe, a really meditated deed of blood, it enabled the regent to act with more vigour: she despatched a strong party of cavalry to arrest Juan, and consign him to the Alcazar of Toledo. But, receiving timely notice of his danger, he fled with thirty horsemen into Aragon; 1667 to 1677.

* Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia, tom. vi. lib. 21. Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. i. Introduction.

and from his refuge in the fortress of Flix, he vindicated, or attempted to vindicate, himself from the charge which had been made against him. He soon assumed a higher tone, insisting that satisfaction should be made him for a suspicion so injurious to his honour, and that the Jesuit should be banished from the kingdom. He compelled the queen to treat with him, and that the conditions he executed might be supported with greater weight, with 700 resolute followers, he advanced towards Madrid. At Torrejon, about three leagues from the capital, he was met by the papal nuncio, who had been charged with the honourable duty of mediation. To the request that he would remain four days at Torrejon until his demands were satisfied; he replied that Nitard must leave court in two, and the kingdom without delay. The insolence of this mandate — for such it was — exasperated the queen; but as the leading members of her council were in the interest of Juan, she was constrained to comply with it, and the Jesuit was dismissed. Father Nitard was certainly a disinterested, he appears to have been a well-meaning man. He refused an embassy which his royal mistress wished to force on him; he would accept no money (a moderate sum excepted, necessary to defray the expense of his journey to Rome), asserting with an honest pride that he entered Spain a poor priest, and a poor priest would leave it: by the favour of that mistress, however, he was subsequently raised to the dignity of cardinal. As might have been expected, his departure only increased the insolence of the rebel, who now insisted that the president and another influential personage should be also removed, and that he himself should either be admitted into it, or invested with the vice-royalty of Aragon and Catalonia. After some deliberation, it was agreed that he should have the government of the Low Countries, and that even several of his new demands should be executed; but he had no wish for the dignity. He felt that in Spain he was

strong by the popular favour, and knew that at a distance his influence would be annihilated. He therefore renewed his intrigues, artfully uniting the cause of the people with his own, and at length compelling the court to invest him with the government of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Isles, and Sardinia. The following years he passed in sovereign state at Saragossa, silently watching the course of events which, as he had anticipated, were of the same adverse character to the nation. France, true to her career of spoliation in all ages, in 1672 invaded Holland, now the ally of Spain, with 100,000 men: to such a host resistance was vain, and most of the country was seized by the invaders. Spain, like England, Germany, and other states who confederated to arrest the daring progress of Louis, flew to the assistance of her prostrate ally, and immediately afterwards declared war against France. As usual, the advantage turned in favour of the stronger party. In Burgundy, Franche-Comté, which Spain had inherited in right of the ancient dukes of that province, was conquered, and some destructive inroads were made into Catalonia; the few fortresses remaining to the Spanish monarch in the Low Countries were threatened, one or two actually reduced; and Messina in Sicily was instigated by the enemy to rebel. In 1675 don Juan was ordered to pass over to that island*, but as the royal majority was at hand when the regent's term of authority would expire, he hoped that he should be called to the ministry; a result for which his friends were actively disposing the king. The very day of that majority he was at Madrid; he was admitted to the presence of Carlos; the public joy was great, but in a few moments it was clouded by disappointment, when intelligence was spread that, through the arts of

* In three years the rebellion subsided of itself, the inhabitants of Messina being glad to escape from the yoke of Louis by returning to their obedience.

the queen, he had been suddenly ordered to leave Madrid. There can be no doubt, however, that his own presumption hastened this disgrace, for he had insisted on being acknowledged as infante of Castile, and consequently as collateral heir to the monarchy. The queen triumphed the more as her son was as imbecile in mind as he was sickly in body, and as with her alone would continue the affairs of administration. A new, and, if scandal is to be believed, a less innocent favourite than father Nitard, was found in Fernando de Valenzuelo, who had been page of the duke del Infantado, and who to specious manners and some knowledge added an agreeable person. This imputation, however, on the queen's chastity, appears to be a calumny. She was now forty — an age when, in woman, the empire of the tender passion is not usually powerful; and in this respect her past life had been unblameable. — But her triumph was transient: the creatures of don Juan became more numerous and clamorous. The leading grandees, who detested the new favourite for his vanity, and still more for his meanness of birth, joined in the cry. The torrent became too strong to be stemmed even by her. She resolved to derive merit from necessity; for knowing that don Juan was preparing to leave Saragossa for Madrid, she not only suffered her son to command his immediate presence, but she herself wrote in the same strain. At his approach Carlos retired to another palace, ordering his mother not to leave the one she inhabited; and despatched the archbishop of Toledo to Hita to welcome his brother. The power of Juan was now unbounded, while Maria Anna's, notwithstanding her efforts to recover the royal favour, was circumscribed to her own household. Juan was affectionately received by the king, and was declared prime minister. The first decree which he signed was for the arrest of Valenzuelo, now degraded from the class of nobles to which the favour of Maria Anna had unworthily raised him. The minion, who was then at the

Escurial, immediately hid himself behind the wainscot of a deserted apartment. Here he might have continued undiscovered, had not the closeness of the atmosphere and his own fright rendered it necessary for him to be blooded by the barber of the monastery, who betrayed him to the emissaries of the minister. He was conveyed to the castle of Consuregra, forced to disgorge his ill-gotten wealth, and banished to the Phillippic islands.*

The administration of don Juan was no less deplor- 1677
able than that of the regent whom he had so criminally to
supplanted. Occupied in the cares of vengeance, or in 1680
providing for his creatures, he feebly opposed the victorious progress of Louis. Valenciennes, Cambray, St. Omer's, and other places, were speedily reduced: Ypres and Ghent were assailed with equal success; and Puicerda, on the Catalan frontier, yielded about the same time to another French army. Most of these places, however, were restored at the peace of Nimeguen, of which the most unpopular condition was that Carlos should receive the hand of the princess Marie Louise, niece of the French king. That nation had always been regarded with jealousy, it was now hated, by the Spaniards. Juan did not live to witness the solemnisation of the nuptials. The ill success of his government, his haughty behaviour towards the grandees, his persecution of such as belonged rather to their country than to his party, and his tyranny even over the king, rendered him not merely unpopular, but odious. In this state mental anxiety put an end to his life, at the moment his enemies were preparing to hasten his downfall. The queen-dowager returned to court, not indeed to resume her ancient influence, but to assist in multiplying intrigues, and, consequently, the perplexities of her imbecile son.†

* Ortiz, Historia de Españo, tom. vi. lib. 21. cap. i.—iv. Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. i. Introduction, § 2.
† The same authorities.

680. From the accession of the third Philip, the decline of Spain had been sensible to every observer; it was now amazingly rapid. Her destinies were no longer confided to men even of ordinary abilities, but to mere courtiers — to courtiers, too, noted even among that class for helpless ignorance, for insatiable avarice — who fluttered in their gewgaw colours, or trifled in their puerile diversions, or, what is worse, interfered with matters which not one of them was capable of comprehending. Of the duke de Medina Celi, the Condes de Monterey, Oropesa, Melgar, the dukes de Sessa and Infantado, and the other ministers, whom intrigue raised to the difficult post, one or two indeed were not without a portion of talent; but they had neither the caution nor the honesty to effect any good. Arbitrary variations in the value of money, ruinous regulations for commerce, measures half planned, crude and incongruous in their nature, and speedily abolished by others as exceptionable, succeeded each other, and brought the nation to the very brink of insolvency. To these internal distresses must be added, extraordinary inflictions of Providence — hurricanes, inundations, conflagrations, which were frequent both in the present and the preceding reign. In one of these visitations, Seville was nearly ruined; in others, the shipping was destroyed in the ports; the corn spoiled in the fields; whole streets were on fire, the loss of life was severe. The foreign affairs of the kingdom were not more enviable. Omitting the detail of obscure wars, — obscure at least to the Spaniards, — which almost uniformly turned to their prejudice, on the death of Marie Louise, in 1689, the French monarch again poured the storm of war over the frontier of Catalonia. What most heightened his resentment was the immediate marriage of the widowed Carlos with a princess of the house of Austria; to that house he had always been a mortal enemy, and he feared lest the king, who was hitherto childless, should at length have an heir. For some

time, indeed, the efforts of the invaders, owing to their insignificant numbers, were often repulsed, or neutralised by subsequent reverses; but, in 1691, Urgel was taken by the duke de Noailles; Barcelona and Alicante were severely bombarded by sea. Two years afterwards Palemos and Rosas capitulated; the following year the Spaniards were defeated in a considerable battle; the victors took Gerona; Hostalric, and other places, followed the example; and Barcelona itself was threatened. Destitute of money and of troops, the efforts of the cabinet to raise both were but partially successful; and the time which should have been spent in vigorous hostilities, was thus wasted in almost useless preparation. After a short suspension of hostilities, Barcelona fell into the power of Vendôme. Spain trembled to her most distant extremities; and she could scarcely believe in the reality of her good fortune when, at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, Louis restored all his conquests. She was too much confounded by this display of magnanimity to divine the cause; yet that cause was not insufficient. From his niece, Louise de Bourbon, the French monarch had learned to suspect the impotency of Carlos; the sterility of the recent marriage confirmed the suspicion; and as he aspired in consequence to place a prince of his family on the throne of Castile, he did not wish to diminish the value of the inheritance by its dismemberment.*

In 1698 the health of Carlos, which had always been indifferent, began so visibly to decline, that all hope of issue was abandoned. On his demise three chief claimants could aspire to his throne. 1st, The dauphin of France, as the eldest son of Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV. 2dly, The emperor Leopold, who not only descended from Fernando, brother of Charles V., but whose mother was the daughter of Philip III. 3dly, The electoral prince of Bavaria, whose mother was the only daughter of the infanta Margarita, 1698 to 1700.

* The same authorities.

a young daughter of Philip IV.* Of these claims, that of the dauphin was evidently the strongest, since his mother was the eldest sister of Carlos. It is true that she had renounced for her issue all claim to the crown of Spain; but this renunciation had been demanded by the Spaniards, from a fear lest the two crowns should fall on the same brow. To such an union Europe would never have consented; and the objection was almost equally strong to the union of Spain with Germany. Hence the hostility to the pretensions both of the dauphin, as heir of the French monarchy, and of the emperor Leopold. Hence, too, the celebrated, and infamous as celebrated, treaty of partition, which, in October, 1698, was signed at the Hague by the plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, and France. By it Naples and Sicily, with Guipiscoa, San Sebastian, and Fuentarabia were ceded to the dauphin; Spain and the Indies to the prince of Bavaria; while, for the third party, Charles, second son of Leopold, and the representative of his rights, Milan only was reserved. The death of the Bavarian prince destroyed this beautiful scheme of spoliation; but its authors did not long delay in framing another, which gave Spain, the Indies, and Netherlands, to Charles, and which amplified the original portion of the dauphin. But Louis had no intention to renounce the splendid inheritance; if he could not procure it for the dauphin, or, which would ultimately be the same, for the eldest son of the dauphin, there was a second son, Philip, duke of Anjou, who would be less the object of jealousy to the European powers. With the same view, Leopold was willing that his own rights, and those of his eldest son, should devolve on the archduke Charles the youngest. Both princes sent their emissaries to the court of Carlos, to besiege his sick-bed, and to procure a testamentary declaration in favour of their respective pretensions. The intrigues which continued for so many months to distract the court and kingdom, to embitter rival animo-

* See the table, "Claimants of the Spanish Succession," at the beginning of the volume.

sity, and to disturb the last hours of the king, are too endless to be detailed. Carlos himself, as a member of the house of Austria, was sufficiently inclined to the claims of his kinsman, the archduke; and his predilection was naturally strengthened by his queen and by most of the courtiers. But the gold of Louis was distributed with considerable effect; his promises were not less successful; and many, from an honest conviction that the pretensions of the duke of Anjou were most founded in justice, espoused his views. His ablest support was cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, a prelate of enterprising genius, and not less remarkable for his courtly intrigues. Through the cardinal it was that an assembly of jurists and cavalleros declared for the French prince: the decision was sanctioned by pope Innocent XII., and adopted by the council of state. But for such a decision the cortes was the proper tribunal. Its convocation was as much desired by the Austrian, as it was dreaded by the French party. Though the latter triumphed, and though most of his courtiers were now gained over to the same side, Carlos still yearned towards his family, and he would, probably, have persisted in his irresolution, had not the cardinal terrified his conscience by a representation of the civil wars which must inevitably follow the uncertainty of succession, and, above all, by frightening him with the responsibility of the consequent bloodshed. On a mind so religious as the king's, these representations made a deep effect; he observed that, however near the ties of blood, his salvation was still nearer; and after a long, a bitter struggle, he signed the testament which called the duke d'Anjou to the undivided sovereignty of the Spanish dominions. As he subscribed the momentous instrument, his heart still clung to his family, the tears ran from his eyes, while, with a faltering voice, he sorrowfully exclaimed, "God is the disposer of kingdoms!" *

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios de la Guerra de España e Historia de su Rey Philipe V. el Animoso, lib. i. A most valuable work. Ortiz, Compendio Chronologico, tom. vi. lib. 21. Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. i. Introduction, § 3.

699 to 700. Before the signature of this important act, the health and strength of the king had visibly declined; in fact he exhibited in himself a mere shadow of existence. His deplorable, and as it appeared, extraordinary state, one alike of pain, of mental vacuity, and even of half consciousness, gave rise to a report that he was bewitched. Whether "the potent, grave, and reverend seigniors," who gave currency to so strange a fancy, actually believed in its reality, may be doubted; their object was probably to throw odium on their political enemies; but the poor king no less suffered from its mischievous tendency. Under the pretence of expelling the unclean spirit, he was cruelly subjected to a succession of exorcisms, which, by terrifying his imagination, lamentably increased his disorder. An insurrection of the populace, — owing to a scarcity of bread, — who advanced with fury to the palace, insisted on his appearing at the balcony, gave increased celerity to his disease. Another act of superstition concurred to the same end. In the hope that the shades of his departed kindred might intercede for his recovery, he one day descended into the vaults of the Pantheon to visit their corpses. The coffin of his mother was first opened; but the corpse had little to strike his attention: not so that of his first queen, whose features appeared scarcely to have suffered from the ravages of dissolution: they were still mild, tranquil, almost blooming. This unusual appearance filled him with horror; he considered it as a miraculous call for him to follow. Recoiling from the sight, and exclaiming, "I shall, indeed, soon be with her!" he hurried from the vault. Emotion so deep, on a frame so enfeebled, could not be experienced without fatal effects. He prepared for his end; appointed a council of regency, headed by cardinal Portocarrero, until the duke d'Anjou should arrive in Spain; and on the morning of November 1st, 1700, bade adieu to his worldly sorrows, after one of the most disastrous reigns on record. His character needs no description; it is but too apparent from the preceding

relation. Justice, however, requires us to say, that, though in his best days his imbecility was helpless and hopeless, this was his misfortune not his fault; that his heart was right.*

CHAP. II.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

1700—1788.

PHILIP V.

1700—1746.

THE choice of Philip, however umbrageous to England, 1700.
Holland, or Germany, was not only the most legitimate, but the best that could have been made. If he was young (he was only seventeen), his rival Charles was the same; if a renunciation of the throne had been made by his grandmother, so had it also by the maternal ancestor of the archduke. In this respect, therefore, the two rivals stood on equal terms; but, in every other, the advantage lay with the French prince. In the first place, he was the only legal heir in the strict order of descent: in the second, his accession was expressly intended to preserve the integrity of the monarchy, which Charles would not have scrupled to dismember: in the third, as the balance of European power was the first object of the various states, his accession to the French throne was far more remote than that of his rival to the imperial. But to England

* The same authorities The reader will perceive that to the genera affairs of Europe we have referred as little as possible. They are to be found in such numberless volumes, that to repeat them would be superfluous, if even our limits were much more ample.

and Holland, the able, ambitious, and neighbouring Louis was more formidable, and far more hateful, than the mild and distant Austrian. They feared that the resources of Spain and France would henceforth be wielded by the same hand; that Louis, who by his unaided arms had obtained such successes in the Low Countries, notwithstanding the opposition of the chief powers of Europe, would now be resistless; that the iron barrier of fortresses between France and Holland would be for ever thrown down, and that, in consequence, the maritime republic would inevitably become a province of France. A little reflection might, indeed, have convinced them, that two nations, so opposite in genius and manners, so influenced by hereditary enmity, could never permanently coalesce; that even a temporary union could not be effected without violence; that a country so proud as Spain, so jealous of its independence, would rather be an incumbrance than a help to the other; and that if even there were a close similarity, nay, identity of character, a hundred jarring interests would soon arise to dissever the connection. But neither William of Orange nor the states of Holland had much acquaintance either with the Spanish people or with human nature. Both refused to acknowledge Philip, until Louis, by a brilliant campaign into the Low Countries, terrified the latter into the recognition; when the former, too feeble to stand alone, followed the example. Neither, however, had any intention of being bound by the compulsory concession. As to the emperor Leopold, loudly denouncing the will of Carlos as a forgery, or, at least, extorted during the absence of reason, he prepared for hostilities. Though Milan and Naples had acknowledged Philip, he knew that in both he had many partisans; and if he could not shake the throne of his rival in Spain, he hoped to appropriate these Italian possessions.*

1701. The reception of Philip by his new subjects was as

* Macpherson, History of Britain, vol. ii. ch. 4. El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. i. Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia, tom. vii. lib. 22.

gratifying as he could have wished. His grave, even melancholy, exterior, was well adapted to their taste; and his religious feeling, his general decorum, his moral principles, and habits, were not likely to lose their influence. But his good qualities were rather passive than active; he was formed not to impel, but to receive an impulse from others; and his constitutional indolence—an indolence unexampled even among kings—made him prefer being the dupe of the interested, rather than take the trouble to think and act for himself. It was, therefore, evident that he would be the slave of his confidential favourites; and with Louis, who knew him well, the choice of these was matter of great moment. As cardinal Portocarrero had been so instrumental in the nomination of the duke d'Anjou, and as he had uniformly exhibited great devotion to the French court, he was invested by Louis with the chief direction of affairs; and three French nobles were placed about the young king's person, ostensibly to assist him with their councils, but in reality to control both him and every Spaniard who should attempt to weaken the influence of the grand monarque. The choice of a wife was no less an object of anxiety: it fell on a princess of Savoy, a lady of mild habits, and no more than fourteen years of age—one who seemed to be excellently fitted for passive obedience. To prevent her correspondence with the court of Turin, on landing at Figueras she was deprived of all her native domestics; nor was any one of her suite suffered to attend her, except the princess Orsini, as her camarera mayor, or superintendent of her household. As this lady would probably exercise much influence over the queen, and through the queen over the king and government, she had been selected with great caution. By birth she was French, of the illus-

---

Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. i. ch. 1. Lord Mahon, History of the War of the Succession in Spain, ch. 1. The two last named works are useful additions to our literature.

trious family of La Tremouille. Her first husband was Adrian Blaise de Talleyrand, prince of Chalais, with whom she had passed some years in Spain: her second, whom she had married in Italy, and with whom she had spent some years at Rome and Versailles, was Flavio d'Orsini, duke of Bracciano, and grandee of Spain,—a match for which she was indebted to the good offices of two French cardinals. Her intimacy with madame de Maintenon proved of singular service to her ambition, after her husband's death. A Frenchwoman herself, indebted to France for her present fortune and her hopes of greater; acquainted with the Spanish language, society, and manners; possessing an extensive knowledge of the world, a fascinating manner, an intellect at once penetrating and supple; eloquent in her speech, always cheerful and even-tempered, with art sufficient to hide her own views, and to profit by those of others, she appeared admirably adapted for the purpose of Louis. Hence, after receiving minute instructions for her conduct, she was placed with the young queen, to whom she soon became necessary, and over whom her influence was unbounded.*

1701 to 1702. While Philip remained with his new queen at Barcelona, he opened the cortes of Catalonia. His reason for convoking that assembly was the hope of a considerable donative, perhaps, of a supply sufficient to meet the war which his rival the archduke Charles was preparing to wage on his Italian possessions. The province had never been well affected to the dominion of Castile; its fueros had been the sport of the Austrian monarchs; the abuses under which it had long suffered required removal; its spirit of liberty was unconquerable. Hence, before any money was voted, demands were very properly made, and, with some modifications, granted: but whether the concession was wrung from Philip, or whether the province was then poor, the dona-

* San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. i. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vi. lib. 22. cap. 1. et 2. Mémoires de Noailles, tom. ii. passim. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. i. ch. 4.

tive was so trifling in amount as to be scarcely worth acceptance. By the states homage was sworn to the king, — no doubt with sincerity, notwithstanding the bitter injustice of the marquis of San Felipe, who broadly asserts, that they had no intention of observing the oath, and who calls the Catalans naturally perfidious.* Nothing, however, is more certain than that they have never taken up arms against their kings without provocation, — never but to repress the progress of royal tyranny, — never but to defend their natural and dearest rights. From this province Philip was expected to return to Madrid; but in the belief that the wavering loyalty of the Neapolitans and Milanese, — in the former a conspiracy had broken out for Charles, but soon suppressed, — would be confirmed by his presence, he resolved to pass over into Italy. During his absence he left the queen regent of the kingdom, directing her on her return to the capital to hold the cortes of Aragon. They were accordingly opened at Saragossa, but she found the assembly actuated by the same spirit. The despotism in which she and her French advisers had been nurtured was shocked that the states should begin not with voting the subsidy, but with discussing privileges; the money was expected to be humbly laid at her feet; rights were afterwards to be conceded or confirmed at the good pleasure of the sovereign. As the queen's presence in Madrid was urgent, she at length consented to suspend the disputes of privileges, and to prorogue the assembly until the return of the king; but not until 100,000 crowns had been voted to him. In a letter to Louis she owned that if she could have prolonged her stay in Saragossa a fortnight longer, the donative would have been five times as much; and she bore honourable testimony to

* We give the passage: — "A catorce de Henero juro el rey, sus leyes fueros y privilegios, la provincia fidelidad y obediencia, no con intencion de cumplirlo: los de animo natural infiel con facilidad se absuelven del juramento, ni lo creyen acto de religion, sino politica ceremonia, que pueden violar quando se les antoja." (Lib. iii. p. 67.) The character of the Catalans is not to be sought in the historians of Castile. That noble people was distinguished for fidelity so long as its rights were respected.

the respect, and even affection, with which she had been treated by a people so jealous of their ancient freedom. Leaving this noble people, she hastened to Madrid, where, though she could not be received better, she might at least hope that the forms of freedom would offer no obstacle to her authority.*

1701 to 1702. But if, through the gradual usurpation of the crown, especially under the iron despotism of the Austrian princes, Castile had no longer a legislative check on the royal conduct, her sons were still high-minded, proud of their ancient glories, and inclined to resist any infringement of established customs: above every thing they were inimical to foregn, especially to French influence; and they soon showed that if the threatened attack on the monarchy rendered them the allies, they would never be the tools of Louis. After the novelty of their situation had passed away, they were at no pains to conceal their contempt for the profound ignorance, or their hatred for the overbearing confidence of the French. Nor was the administration of their own countryman, cardinal Portocarrero, calculated to restore their good humour. Besides being obnoxious as the agent of a foreign government, his persecution of the Austrian party, — for such a party there had always been, — and of his own political opponents, was as unseasonable as it was revengeful. Many nobles he dismissed from their posts; some he exiled; while to his own creatures he was as lavish as the worst of his predecessors. A stranger to the refined manners of a court, or despising their use, his haughty carriage and stern disposition, multiplied his personal enemies, and injured the cause of his well-meaning sovereign. Nor were his enemies long confined to the nobility, or those who could obtain access to the court: they were to be found in every province, in every town. As the revenues of the crown were completely absorbed by an endless array of farmers, agents, and other officers, and the royal family were in a state of absolute penury; as the frontiers were without adequate fortifications, the places without garrisons, the

* The same authorities

public magazines without ammunition, the arsenals without stores, the ports without ships, and the land without an army; as the resources of the country were exhausted, the officers of administration unpaid, and the laws consequently disregarded,—he commenced a series of reforms by which he hoped to restore the prosperity of his country. He abolished useless, sometimes efficient offices; he revoked pensions and grants, not even excepting many which had been made to religious foundations; and though, by so doing, he effected an insignificant saving, he exasperated the minds of all who were interested in the present abuses. In the conduct of the finances he discovered so much corruption, that he was afraid to assail it; and he desired a minister to be sent from France to preside over this branch of the administration. The choice fell on Jean Orri, a man who in a subordinate capacity had exhibited great skill, and been promoted for the success of his schemes. To him Spain was soon indebted for salutary reforms; but all whose corruptions he swept away he naturally turned into enemies. He is blamed for the precipitation with which he endeavoured to assimilate the financial systems of the two countries, and for the haughtiness with which he treated the native underlings of his department: in addition, his low birth made him contemptible to the nobles; and the taxes which he augmented, or for the first time imposed, no less so to the bulk of the nation. The general discontent was increased by the perpetual arrival of French adventurers, men without money or principle, — pickpockets, gamblers, sharpers, projectors, impostors, nor must we omit to mention a whole army of private and public prostitutes. It became so loud, that even the nobles clamoured for the convocation of the cortes, without whose sanction, they contended, the reforms of Orri could not have the force of law. Well would it have been for both Philip and his kingdom had this constitutional expedient been adopted. Though absent, he refused his sanction: he feared that the assembly would be tumultuous and unmanageable;

that it would greatly circumscribe his authority. In the latter supposition he was doubtless right: his authority, or rather that of the irresponsible agent who acted in his name, required such circumscription, not only for the interests of the kingdom, but for his own; nor, had he wisely conceded to the three estates their ancient rights, would he have encountered either tumult or opposition; on the contrary, he would have secured their steadfast and zealous support. The refusal of a demand so constitutional and reasonable was not likely to diminish the wide-spread dissatisfaction. The jarring opinions of the ministers; the absolute indifference which the king had shown to all public business; the arrival of the count de Marsin, a nobleman of talents, indeed, but without discretion, as successor to the duke of Harcourt, and the recent departure of Philip for Italy, — a departure highly disapproved both by ministers and people, — gave new force to the general complaint. No wonder that the queen, after the honours of her first reception were over, should find her situation far from enviable.*

1702. Unfortunate as was the position of affairs at home, it was not more promising abroad. Though Philip was received with outward, he could not command the cordial respect of the Neapolitans. Most observed a profound silence, especially after the holy blood of St. Januarius refused to liquefy in his presence, and after the pope refused to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. From Naples he hastened to Milan, to oppose the imperial general, prince Eugene, who, notwithstanding the opposition, had established himself in Lombardy. After some unimportant operations, he was present at the bloody but indecisive battle of Lazzara. Soon afterwards he left the camp on his return to Spain, where he was summoned by events which we proceed to record.†

* Authorities: — the Marques de San Felipe; Ortiz; the Mémoires de Noailles et de Tessé; Coxe; and many others.

† San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. iii. Tessé, Mémoires, tom. i. Mémoires du Prince Eugène, écrites par lui-même, an 1702. Coxe, vol.i. ch. 6. Ortiz, tom. vi. lib. 22.

Though William of England, as before related, had acknowledged Philip, he had done so with duplicity: he knew that both his parliaments were at that time averse to war, and he could only wait for some act of hostility on the part of Louis, which, by incensing the English, should enable him to draw the sword. The measures which Louis aimed at the English and Dutch commerce soon furnished him with the opportunity he sought. The two governments now entered into an alliance with Austria, which had hitherto been fighting her own battles in Germany and Italy. The chief objects of this alliance were to obtain satisfaction for the Austrian claims on Spain; to rescue the Netherlands from France; to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns; and to exclude subjects of the former from the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. In revenge for this impolitic conduct of William, Louis, with equal impolicy, acknowledged the son of the exiled James Stuart as king of England. This insult roused the protestant party; supplies were voted for the war; and though the king died in the midst of the preparations, Anne succeeded to the same policy.* 1701 to 1702

Here commences the celebrated war of the succession, which for so many years agitated all Europe, covered the Netherlands with blood, desolated the fairest provinces of Spain, and ended in the loss of her Italian possessions. How much soever we might wish to relate it at length, the limits of the present compendium will allow us to do no more than briefly advert to its more striking incidents. The reader, desirous of fuller information, may refer to the work of archdeacon Coxe, or to the more recent one of lord Mahon.†

* The same authorities, with the general historians of Europe.

† It must, however, be observed, that neither of the above historians are impartial; both too much lean to the policy of England, and both sometimes receive the exaggerations of the French historians. Lord Mahon says, that this war was "undertaken with justice." If Austria had an object in the war, England had surely none: besides, Philip was the choice of the Spaniards, who, whatever might be the faults of his ministers, were determined to preserve him on the throne. Hence the war was at once impolitic and unjust; in the highest degree insulting to a brave, high-minded, and noble people, — for such in all ages have been the Spaniards.

1702. Omitting all mention of the interminable operations in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, in 1702 an expedition consisting of thirty English and twenty Dutch vessels of the line, exclusive of numerous transports, and carrying 11,000 men, was sent against Cadiz. It was headed by the duke of Ormond, who was totally unqualified for the post; nor were the subordinate generals much more happily chosen. Where the Dutch and the English were jealous of each other, and the officers even in the same army were more inclined to quarrel than to obey; where the commander-in-chief had no influence over any of his officers, concord was impossible. If a plan were proposed by one party, it was sure to be rejected by another. Hence three days were lost in quarrelling on what point the disembarkation might best be effected; a time which the Spanish garrison, at first not exceeding 300 men, employed in recruiting its numbers. Fortunately for the country, the captain-general of Andalusia, don Francisco de Castilla, marquis of Villadarias, was not only a true patriot, but a brave and able man. Though he could procure but little assistance from the court, which, during the absence of the king in Italy, was a prey to more than usual discord, he drew some hasty supplies from Seville and Cordova, secured the harbour, strengthened the garrison, and, with a small though resolute force, lined the coast to oppose the landing. So infatuated were the allies, that they had evidently expected little resistance; they had been taught to believe that all Spain was hostile to the Bourbons, and that whenever an army should appear and proclaim the Austrians, that would be the signal for a general rising. Little did they know the natives whom their surmises thus injured: but they were soon undeceived. To the solicitations made by the allied generals, that the local governors would change their sovereign, either insulting replies were returned, or a contemptuous silence was observed. The reply of Villadarias, who said that Spaniards never changed either their religion or their

king, was the sentiment of all except one.* The disembarkation being at length effected, with some loss, the governor of Rota,—the only traitor during the present hostilities, — admitted the invaders, and for his treason was created a marquis, by the agent of the archduke. But the inhabitants had little reason to congratulate themselves: they were plundered, insulted, beaten, and even murdered by the licentious soldiery. At the town of Santa Maria, the inhabitants of which fled at the approach of the invaders, greater excesses were committed. The movable property was seized, the houses set on fire, the churches profaned, the statues of saints thrown to the ground, the magnificent pictures destroyed, and even the host trodden under foot. It seemed, indeed, as if the undivided object of the invaders had been to exasperate the inhabitants by excesses, which would scarcely have been perpetrated even by savages of the desert.† Their next step was to assail the fortress of Matagorda, one of the outworks of Cadiz; but, experiencing a warm resistance from the garrison, and from the harassing attacks of Villadarias, they soon desisted from the enterprise. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of the English ships to force their way into the harbour. To crown their infamy, cowardice was now added to murder and rapine: the invaders precipitately retreated to their ships; 600 of the rear-guard were cut to pieces by half the number of pursuers; more still were drowned in their precipitate efforts to regain the ships: all who straggled behind were massacred by the incensed peasantry. The armament returned, and in Vigo Bay it destroyed the greater part of a Spanish and French fleet, rich by the productions of the Indies.‡

The fate of the governor of Rota, who on the retreat of the English had been hanged by order of Villadarias, 1702 to 1703.

* "Nos Españoles no mudamos de religion ni de rey." The rebuke might have been felt by an Englishman.

† "Y donde cometieron los mas enormes sacrilegios, juntando la rabia de enemigos á la de herejes," says San Felipe.

‡ Macpherson's Britain, vol. ii. ch. 5. p. 242. San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. iii. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. 22. Coxe, Memoirs, 1—98. Mahon, 45, &c.

did not deter a nobleman of the highest rank, of great power, and still greater riches, from the same treason. The admiral of Castile, who in the preceding reign had dispensed the patronage of the crown, from no other feeling than disappointed ambition, at seeing the cardinal Portocarrero in possession of a post to which he considered himself entitled, opened a treasonable correspondence with the court of Vienna. Being suspected, and ordered on an embassy to France, — perhaps, as he feared, to be imprisoned by Louis, — he accepted the proffered dignity; but had proceeded only three days' journey, when he turned aside, and rapidly fled to Lisbon, with the intention of persuading the Portuguese king, who had hitherto remained neutral, to join the confederates against Philip. But if a traitor, he was still a Spanish nobleman, glowing with all the chivalrous honour of his nation: though he knew that his estates would be immediately confiscated, he did not hesitate to restore to Madrid the money — no inconsiderable sum, — which he had received to defray the expenses of his embassy. His intrigues, in a few short months, did more for the allied cause than would have been effected by the English cabinet in as many years: he drew the Portuguese king into the confederacy, and persuaded Leopold to allow the archduke to visit the peninsula. The treaty which was signed at Lisbon in May, 1703, was as infamous to the character of its partisans as any other transaction of this war. Though the constable was a grandee of Spain, he consented to its dismemberment. Badajos, Albuquerque, Tuy, Bayona, Vigo, and other frontier cities, were to be surrendered to don Pedro; nor did the archduke hesitate to sanction this insulting injustice to a country, the integrity of which, in the event of his succession, he would have been so solemnly bound to defend. On his side, Pedro engaged to maintain 15,000 men at his own expense, and 13,000 at that of the allies. — It will readily be supposed that the tenour of this treaty, which would

at once and for ever have roused every Spaniard against the archduke, was carefully concealed.*

On the return of Philip, he found the government embarrassed, and the nation indignant, at the recent loss of his wealthy galleons in Vigo Bay. He found, too, the divisions in his cabinet more bitter than even at the period of his departure. Through the princess Orsini, who was intended to be the passive agent of Louis, yet who often showed that she could pursue plans of her own with even more success than his, the haughty count de Marsin, ambassador of France, had been replaced by the cardinal d'Estrées. To the same influence was owing the declining power of cardinal Portocarrero, and the ascendency of the conde de Montellano, who showed more deference to the queen's favourite. D'Estrées, a man of considerable talent, of great family, and highly in favour with Louis, committed the same errors as his predecessors; he disdained to win the princess: like them, in a few short months, the same influence procured his recall, his own nephew, the abbé d'Estrées, being made an instrument of his disgrace. At the same time, the Spanish cardinal retired in disgust from the helm of affairs. For his conduct in these base intrigues, and because he was expected to prove a faithful and supple dependant on the princess, the abbé succeeded to his uncle's post: he, too, quarrelled with the princess; and by conduct at once rash and double, brought on himself the indignation of the king and queen. In his recall, however, he had the gratification to perceive that his charges against the favourite had their effect, and that she was ordered to leave the Spanish court at the same time. Though indignant at the loss of her favourite, the queen did not condescend to complain: she preserved a sullen silence; but she exhibited her revenge by thwarting the measures of the new French ambassador, the duke de Grammont, and by opposing the execution of every order sent from Paris. As Philip, in obedience to her influence, was made the instrument

1703 to 1705.

* The same authorities, and, in addition, the historians of Portugal.

of this opposition, Louis soon found, that if he wished to retain his ascendency, her resentment must be appeased. This could be effected only by the return of the princess; a measure to which the sensible decline of the French interests since her departure no longer indisposed him. That celebrated woman accordingly resumed her former empire; and Grammont, who, like his predecessors, had rendered himself obnoxious to both her and the queen, like them was replaced by a successor. These changes of men and measures could not fail to prove disastrous: they showed that at court, where union and vigour were necessary to free the soil of the country from the miseries of foreign invasion, nothing but caprice or indecision prevailed.*

1704. While this feeble cabinet was thus a prey to the basest passions, the storm of war again lowered on the frontier. In pursuance of the treaty with Portugal 12,000 English and Dutch troops, who were soon joined by the archduke Charles in person, were landed in that country. But the duke de Schomberg, the general of the English forces, was a man of factitious reputation; he was far inferior in either activity or ability to the duke of Berwick, a son of our James II., whom Louis placed at the head of the combined French and Spanish army. Yet if this celebrated man had abilities of the highest order, joined with native generosity of mind, he was not fitted to exercise much sway in Spain. He was too proud to flatter the queen or the princess Orsini: he despised courtly intrigues; and his discipline was so severe that it displeased his followers, whom laxity had enervated. By all, however, he was respected, and by all was confidence deservedly placed in his talents. With a force considerably superior to that of the enemy, divided into three bodies, and accompanied by Philip in person, he ad-

* San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. iv. et v. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. 22. Mémoires de Noailles, tom. iii. Mémoires de Tessé, tom. ii. Mémoires de St. Simon, tom. iii. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. i. Mahon, History of the War of the Succession, ch. iii.

vanced into Portugal. First, Salvatierra was invested and reduced; other fortresses, as far as Castel-branco, shared the same fate. But these advantages were not gained without loss; the Portuguese peasantry, from hereditary enmity to the Spaniards, made a noble defence even in the open towns and villages,—a fact to which Berwick himself bears honourable testimony. Having fought his way through an angry population, that strong fortress could not long withstand assaults at once vigorous and well directed: in four days it was taken and pillaged. Fagel, the Dutch general, was surprised in the wild recesses of the Sierra Estrella; and though he himself effected his escape, his whole division was captured. From thence Berwick proceeded to Villa Velha to effect a junction with another division of his army, and then march on Lisbon; but that capital was saved through the disobedience, or rather cowardice, of the general, who did not arrive at the appointed place. Leaving a small garrison in the conquered fortresses, the duke returned to the frontier, and reduced Portalegre. During these operations, the allies had continued almost motionless, or been silently gathering round Lisbon, in the expectation of a siege; but, on the compulsory retreat of Berwick, the marquis das Minas, the only good officer in the Portuguese service, took the field, defeated Ronquillo, one of the Spanish generals, and in a few days rescued Castel-branco, with several of the fortresses which had been reduced. Under the walls of Monscato a still more decisive advantage was gained over Ronquillo. The skill of Das Minas was equal to his valour: he baffled every attempt of Berwick to dislodge him from the strong position he occupied in the pass of Peñamaçon, and even forced that general to return across the frontier. The reduction of Castel de Vida by the marquis of Villadarias was the last exploit of this campaign, which the summer heats, and the scarcity of provender for the horses, now brought to a close. Berwick rased the fortifications of his conquests, broke up his camp,

and retired to Salamanca, whence he cautiously watched the proceedings of Das Minas, who advanced to Almeida. As for Schomberg, he did nothing during the whole campaign, says Berwick, but move from place to place with his army: he was consequently removed, and succeeded by lord Galway, a man more imbecile than himself. Subsequently, after the summer heats were passed, hostilities were resumed, but with as little effect. Das Minas was enterprising enough; but his abilities were counteracted by the helpless Galway. Had not Berwick's forces been much thinned by disease, and still more had he not been bewildered by contradictory orders from Madrid, he could easily have triumphed over his stupid or cowardly enemies; but as he was no favourite at court, obstacles were thrown in his way, and towards the close of the campaign he was recalled.*

1704. While these indecisive events were passing in Portugal, an expedition, under the prince of Darmstadt, and sir George Rooke, the English admiral, proceeded to Barcelona. The prince had boasted — whether through credulity or duplicity is needless to enquire — that no sooner should the standard of Charles be erected, than it would be joined by thousands of the disaffected Catalans. But though sufficiently inclined to throw off their allegiance to Philip, none joined the English, who, after an ineffectual attempt on Barcelona, reimbarked, and returned towards Portugal. On their passage, however, they took Gibraltar; and sir George had the satisfaction to inflict some loss on the French fleet off the coast of Malaga. But the transactions of the year were little honourable to the allies of Austria.

* The same authorities, with the addition of the Mémoires de Berwick, under the proper date.

The straightforward character of Berwick is exceedingly honourable to his memory. The true cause of his recall was his refusal to join in procuring the return of the princess Orsini: hence he became odious to the queen, who thus describes him: — "C'est un grand diable d'Anglois sec, qui va toujours droit devant lui." How little was such a man fitted to be the agent of courtiers and women!

Notwithstanding their formidable preparations, no impression was made on the power of Philip.*

The following year was destined to prove more 170.
memorable, and more successful to the allies. Gibraltar, the blockade of which had been commenced the preceding October by the marquis of Villadarias, and which was now pressed by Tessé, the successor of Berwick, made so gallant a defence, that in May its siege was raised. The operations, however, on the Estremadura frontiers were slow, ill-judged, and indecisive, and do not deserve mention. But in the eastern parts of Spain the aspect of affairs was more striking. Though disappointed at the ill-success of its imbecile generals in this country, the English cabinet was emboldened, by the victories of Marlborough, to make new and mightier efforts against the Bourbon prince in the south. In June, 15,000 men, under lord Peterborough, were despatched to Spain. This extraordinary man, whose eccentricities even surpassed his genius, was admirably adapted for partisan warfare, or for a separate subordinate command where desperate valour was likely to prove more useful than sober courage. On arriving at Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, who was justly disgusted with the ill-success of his affairs in Portugal. The expedition now proceeded through the straits of Gibraltar, uncertain as to its destination; but the prince of Darmstadt, who, during the last insurrection of the Catalans, had served in that province, persuaded the archduke to advance against Barcelona. He well knew that the indignation of the people against the crown and the Castilians, joined to their desire for recovering their lost independence, — a desire which had subsisted with unimpaired force since the time of Fernando the Catholic, — had multiplied the disaffected, who, though they bore no personal affection towards the archduke, would yet espouse his cause with the view of regaining their ancient liberties, perhaps even their ancient sovereignty.

* The same authorities

When the fleet arrived off the Valencian coast, the same feeling was found to exist in that province. The chiefs disembarked, and were joined by numbers of the disaffected: the garrison of Denia was compelled to surrender, and witness the proclamation of Carlos III. Elated by the appearance of of success, Peterborough proposed a rapid march on Madrid, which was then without troops for its defence, and which must have fallen an easy prey to any attack; but the proposition was wisely over-ruled, as at once rash and impolitic. If the capital could have been gained, the hearts of the Castilians never could; and the warfare, as subsequent experience proved, might have been as easily directed from Burgos, or any other city, as from the Buen Retiro. On arriving before Barcelona, a project equally bold, and one which might have proved equally rash, was formed by him. He saw that the fortifications were in the best state, and well defended; and he knew that an army four times as numerous as the one he commanded would be necessary to form the first line of circumvallation; nor was there any hope of recruiting his troops by desertions from the Catalans, until some instance of decided success had blown the smothered disposition into a flame. In this emergency he resolved to attempt the surprise of the fortress of Montjuich, which overlooks the city, and the possession of which would, if not decide, at least prepare, the surrender of Barcelona. But that fortress, being built on the summit of an abrupt hill, and protected by formidable works, was considered impregnable; and impregnable it would have proved to an open attack. Secrecy being the soul of his enterprise, which he did not communicate even to the archduke, with the view of lulling the garrison into security, he reimbarked his great guns, and announced his intention of sailing for Italy. But, the very night appointed for his departure, he silently moved 1400 men towards the works, acquainted the gallant Darmstadt with his intention; and both heroes, on reaching the foot of the

ramparts, waited until day should dawn. The assault was then vigorously made by about 300 men. According to anticipation, the Spaniards left the upper works to combat so small a band below; they were instantly repulsed, and were pursued through the covered way: the bastion fell into the possession of the assailants. At the same time another party scaled the western part of Montjuich and seized three pieces of ordnance; a resolute garrison was in consequence compelled to remain in the keep, since it could not issue out without being exposed to a murderous fire. To reduce that inner fort, Peterborough sent for a reinforcement of 1000 men, whom he had left about a quarter of a mile from the works: at the same time 900 of the garrison of Barcelona advanced to the relief of their fellow soldiers, and 200 were fortunate enough to enter the keep. Believing that the shouts of the enemy indicated an offer to surrender, the prince of Darmstadt with 300 men hastened to the inner fort; but no sooner did he reach the ditch, than the Spaniards issued forth, took two thirds of his little party prisoners, and forced him to retire precipitately with the rest: in a few seconds a shot laid him lifeless at the feet of Peterborough, who was advancing to learn the reason of the firing. This disaster was followed by an accident that was near proving fatal to this brilliant attempt. Hearing that a body of troops, at least 3000 strong, was advancing from the city to the fort, the earl descended the hill to reconnoitre them: in a few minutes a sudden and inexplicable panic seized the very men who had so bravely won the bastion; they abandoned their posts and fled. Fortunately for their honour, Peterborough, being apprized of their flight, instantly returned, seized the pike of their leader, lord Charlemont, rallied them, and led them back to their position before the Spaniards could take advantage of their absence. The cannon of the English was soon brought to bear on the keep; a shell accidentally falling into the powder magazine, killing the principal officers

while at dinner, hastened its surrender. From this elevation the artillery of the English played with tremendous effect on the ramparts of the city; a breach was made, and a day appointed for the assault. But the governor, Velasco, though among the bravest of the brave, to avoid the horrors attending a storming, offered to capitulate, if in four days the place were not relieved. Even this period was shortened. The success of the allied arms in Germany and the Low Countries; still more, the recent reduction of Montjuich, had increased the number of Austrian partisans, and inspired them with new boldness. Being joined by a desperate band of miquelets, or armed peasants, who had contrived, one by one, to introduce themselves into the place, and by a number of inhabitants whom the severity of the governor had alienated, they rose, demanded Velasco, and threw the city into consternation. The confusion was perceived by Peterborough, who, partly divining the cause, rode hastily to the wicket, demanded and obtained admission, quelled the riot by his personal authority, and enabled Velasco to escape on board an English vessel. On the 23d of October, the archduke solemnly entered, and was proclaimed king of Spain. The example of the capital was followed by the rest of the principality, all the towns of which, except Rosas and Cervera, declared for the Austrian. But it was not confined to Catalonia: it spread first into Valencia, next into Aragon and Murcia, all the places of which, except Jaca, Alicante, and Peniscola, ultimately ranged themselves on the same side.— For the rapidity of such success it is difficult to account. If violated liberty armed in its own defence, if hereditary enmity whetted the dagger against the Castilians and their king, still the clergy, whose influence was always undoubted, were generally for Philip. Besides, the heavy contributions levied by the archduke, and the excesses of his followers,—excesses which are represented as most revolting, as characterised by the most wanton cruelty and insult,—might have been expected to retard his views. But

when men have evils to endure they often look for their removal in change, without very scrupulously enquiring how the change is to produce the desired effect.*

The reduction of Barcelona, and the insurrection of Valencia, could not fail to make a profound impression at Madrid. By this time Philip seems to have attained a salutary conviction, that unless he assumed an activity corresponding to his circumstances, his reign would soon be at an end; he accordingly resolved to take the field in person. Having petitioned Louis for a powerful reinforcement, and withdrawn most of the troops engaged on the frontiers of Portugal,—leaving a handful only under Berwick, who had been again ordered to assume the conduct of the western war,—he proceeded to invest Barcelona, the recovery of which would naturally constrain the submission of Catalonia, and perhaps put an end to the war by the capture of his rival. But, at the outset, both he and his royal grandfather committed an irremediable error; the present important expedition should have been conducted, not by marshal Tessé, who, though certainly an able man†, was too cautious, too timid, for such an enterprise, but by the duke of Berwick, whose talents were equal to any. In the passage through Aragon little care was taken by the royal army to cultivate the good-will of the people: because a lieutenant was murdered in his bed at Guerrea, the incensed soldiers were permitted, not only to plunder the inhabitants, but to massacre the neighbouring peasantry. Philip having reached the army at Alcañiz, 1706.

* San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. vi. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. xxii. cap. v. Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. c. xii. Mahon, c. iv. The English historians gently slide over the atrocities of this war. Though all profess to follow San Felipe, they do not mention the rapes, murders, acts of sacrilege, and robberies committed by the English and their allies, the Catalan miquelets, who were, in fact, a species of banditti. Wives ravished before the eyes of their fettered husbands, daughters before their fathers; even churches turned into brothels, and the altars used as the most convenient places for the consummation of such iniquities, are said to have been common scenes. The Catalans themselves are implicated in them.

† Lord Mahon (p. 106, and 174.) will not allow Tessé to have possessed merit of any description. Both his memoirs and his letters show that he was a sagacious observer; and his military talents were unquestionably not mean. We regret that a work which is, doubtless, the best account yet published of the War of the Succession, should be occasionally marked by rash judgment.

proceeded towards the capital, under the walls of which he was joined by the duke de Noailles; and he had the gratification of seeing the entrance to the harbour blockaded by a fleet of thirty sail. As the regular garrison did not reach 3000, while the assailants were at least ten times that number, the reduction of the place was regarded as inevitable: yet twenty-three days elapsed before the fall of Montjuich, and several more before a breach was made in the walls of the city wide enough to admit the assailants. The tardiness of these operations was owing, first, to the caution of Tessé; next to the harassing attacks of lord Peterborough, who, though too weak to sustain the force of the besiegers, was yet able to harass them by incessant skirmishes; and, in a degree at least, equal to the courageous defence of the inhabitants. Among them Charles found hearts as brave as they were true; even the priests and the women united in the common defence; the former he had gained by his religious zeal, the latter by his chivalrous determination to share the fate of a people who had sacrificed so much in his cause. But resistance grew at length languid, and a day was fixed for the assault: in a few hours Philip was assured that the enemy would be in his power. At this critical moment, when the sun of Charles seemed to be set for ever, a British squadron appeared in sight; the French fleet, with inconceivable cowardice, retired towards Toulon; the English and Dutch landed. Philip was himself now besieged; but, in the silence of night, forsaking his guns, his baggage, and even his wounded, he made a precipitate though reluctant retreat. Knowing that Aragon was rising against him, his only refuge was on the frontiers of France: in his flight he was still harassed by the active Peterborough; but having remained a few days at Perpignan, he precipitately, and without an escort, passed to Pamplona, where he met indeed with professions of attachment, but no real service.—At this time his affairs seemed hopeless. The duke of Marlborough had just triumphed at Ramilies; a French army in Italy had

been almost annihilated; and the war in his own western provinces was no less disastrous than in the eastern. Great as were the abilities of Berwick, his small band could not face the 40,000 enemies before him: he, therefore, retreated; had the mortification to witness the capture of Alcantara, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca, and the approach of the confederates towards Madrid, who had agreed to effect a junction with their allies from the east. To defend that capital with 8000 men, the only remaining force of the monarchy, would have been madness. By his advice the court was removed to Burgos, the ancient capital of Castile. It was high time; for scarcely had Philip left it, than the light troops of Galway and Das Minas appeared in sight, and on the 28th day of June, those chiefs, at the head of 30,000 men, made a triumphant entry into Madrid.*

To ordinary and even to many acute observers the 1706.
Bourbon power seemed for ever fallen in the peninsula. Without forces, without money, a fugitive from his capital, which was occupied by a formidable enemy, his fairest provinces in the power of his rival, Philip was expected to retreat into France. But he had no such intention: adversity called forth powers which had hitherto slumbered within him, and the existence of which had not been suspected, perhaps, even by himself. With a fortitude which would have done honour to a stoic, he bore his sudden, almost overwhelming reverses: with pathetic simplicity he harangued his handful of troops, whom he assured of his unalterable resolution of dying with them in defence of their common country; and, as to the future, he looked forward with a hope which showed that he knew the Spanish character much better than his timid counsellors. Well might he confide in the nobleness of that character. Though on quitting Madrid, a royal decree had

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, au 1706. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, lib. xxii. Mémoires de Tessé, tom. ii. Mémoires de Noailles, tom. iii. Mémoires de Berwick, tom. i. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. i. c. xiv.

authorised all persons, except the few who held office, to remain, scarcely was either he or the queen deserted by a single member of their households; and the grandees,—many, even who were afflicted with sickness or the infirmities of age,—hurried to Burgos; while those who could bear arms hastened to rally round his standard. When the allied troops had entered into Madrid, no shout had been raised in favour of Charles: a mournful silence reigned on every side; and though the archduke had been proclaimed by his generals, and some disaffected nobles nominated his ministers, the ceremony was ominously lifeless.* Madrid was not Spain, and the Spaniards were not Flemings,—facts, of which the allied generals had soon a melancholy experience. In Castile, almost every individual became a soldier. Estremadura furnished and equipped 12,000; in Salamanca, no sooner had the allies left it on the march to the capital, than the inhabitants arose, again proclaimed Philip, and levied a body of troops to cut off all communication between them and Portugal. Those whom sickness or age prevented from drawing the sword, contributed their money to the same end. "The day before yesterday," wrote the princess Orsini, "a priest brought 120 pistoles to the queen, from a village which contained only the same number of houses. He said, 'My flock are ashamed of sending so small a sum; but they wish me to say that there are also 120 hearts faithful even to death.' The good man wept as he spoke, and truly we wept with him!" Well might the king hope: the very women began to predict the favourable termination of the struggle. Toledo, indeed, declared for Charles; but this was a mere temporary impulse, excited by the queen dowager, his uncle, and by cardinal Portocarrero, who, from hatred to the French, was now willing to undo his own great work. Though he blessed the Austrian standard, and caused

* "Fuera de la Corte no se obedecian las ordenes, ni hazia caso de ellas el mas pobre lugarejo; sino forzado de las tropas. Pocos grandes hallo (the general of Charles) en quien mandar; muchos se fueron a sus estados."—*San Felipe*, p. 237.

Te Deum to be chaunted in his venerable cathedral, the tide of the royal fortunes began to turn, and with a rapidity almost unexampled. The rising spirit of the people was not the only cause of this change: the allied generals grew suddenly inactive; the troops in Madrid abandoned themselves to many excesses, which they found more attractive than to the fatigues and dangers of a campaign*, and Charles himself wasted so much time in Barcelona and Aragon, that when he joined his generals at Guadalaxara, he perceived the active Berwick at the head of a greater force than his own. By that able man his communication with Aragon was intercepted; it had been already cut off with Portugal; Andalusia was in arms; so that his only way of escape was to the capital, or into Valencia. But Madrid was waiting the arrival of a detachment from the army of Berwick to throw off his yoke: he therefore commenced his retreat towards that kingdom, and was pursued by the enemy, who caused him great loss. Philip joined in the pursuit as far as the confines of Murcia, witnessed the reduction of Orihuela, Cuenca, and Carthagena, and returned in triumph to Madrid, which received him with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. In punishing the Austrian partisans, he showed becoming forbearance. Cardinal Portocarrero was forgiven in memory of his past services, and the queen dowager was respectfully escorted out of Spain. Thus ended this wonderful campaign, — wonderful alike from its rapid changes, and from the chivalrous fidelity of the Castilians.†

* Had even the inhabitants been attached to Charles, the presence of the Portuguese — such were nearly all the troops under Das Minas — would have changed their loyalty into disgust. "Le entregaron a la embriaguez, la gula y la lascivia las tropas: este consumio mucho el exercito." Another expedient of a most loathsome kind did more mischief; the common women were instructed to visit the tents of the invaders, of whom 6000 were soon taken to the hospitals. "De proposito las mugeres publicas tomaron el empeño de entretener y acabar (si pudiessen) con este exercito: y asi ivan en quadrillas per la noche hasta las tiendas, y introducian un desorden que llevo al altimo peligro a infinitos; porque en los hospitales havia mas de seis mil enfermos, la mayor parte de los quales murieron. Este iniquo y pessimo ardid usaba la lealtad y amor al rey." — *Comentarios*, p. 239.

† El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. vii. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. xxii. cap. vii. Berwick, Mémoires, tom. i. p. 237, &c. Noailles, Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 357, &c. Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. c. xiv. Mahon, War of the Succession, c. v.

1707 to 1710. The tide of success had now set in too strongly to be stemmed by any barrier opposed by the allies. On the plain of Almanza, Das Minas and Galway were signally defeated by the able Berwick. This victory established the throne of Philip: it inspired his adherents with confidence; in the same degree it dispirited his enemies, and it was followed by advantages of still greater moment. While the duke d'Orleans, who arrived with reinforcements from France, led an army into Aragon, Berwick proceeded to reduce the fortresses of Valencia. The capitals of both kingdoms submitted without striking a blow: in the former, the example was imitated by the remaining strong places; in the latter Denia, Xativa, and Alcante resisted, but were ultimately reduced. In punishment of their desperate valour the inhabitants of Xativa were barbarously butchered, the walls were rased to the ground, and when it was subsequently rebuilt, it was not allowed to retain its former name, but received that of San Felipe. But the heaviest of all penalties was the abolition of the ancient fueros, both of Aragon and Valencia, by a royal decree of June 29. 1707. This abolition was effected in virtue of the royal authority, and of the right of conquest: the privileges, says the decree, had been granted at the mere pleasure of the crown, and the same pleasure now revoked them. The pretension was not more iniquitous than it was false. The national privileges had indeed been obtained from the crown, but not as pure acts of grace: they had been accompanied by conditions which had been faithfully observed on the part of the communities: hence there was a covenant between monarch and people, and the former had no more power arbitrarily to revoke the charters, than the latter had to refuse him their allegiance. Whether conquest afforded Philip a right which his office was unable to confer, might give rise to a lengthened discussion. Even if it were allowable in the abstract, its exercise would be reprehensible in a political view. But it did not exist. If the nation had rebelled, had it no reason for dissatis-

faction with the crown? Had not its privileges, from the time of the emperor Charles to the present, been made the sport of ministers? Had not the crown notoriously broken its share of the compact, and thereby freed the subject from obedience? But these considerations had no influence on the Castilians, who looked only at the rebellion, and who, envious of the distinction hitherto possessed by the other kingdoms, were now resolved to reduce them to the same level. The same fate had been decreed against the privileges of Catalonia, the recovery of which now occupied the cares of the French generals. But, before this object could be gained, new and almost unparalleled difficulties had to be encountered. Naples was conquered by the Austrians; and Milan was already in their power. Tortosa made a long and brilliant defence; some reinforcements were received from England; Galway was displaced by Stanhope, an officer of courage and experience; count Stahremberg, the imperial general, arrived with auxiliaries, and the Balearic Isles were reduced by the allies. Yet, though, in addition to these misfortunes, the duke d'Orleans was recalled through the intrigues of the princess Orsini; though, from the reverses of his arms in the Low Countries, Louis intimated that he should be compelled to make whatever terms he could with the allies, if even they insisted on the sacrifice of his grandson; though the finances were in a distressed state; though, in the memorable campaign of 1710, Philip failed against Balaguer, was defeated by Stahremberg at Almenara, still more signally near Saragossa; though he was forced to retreat to his capital, and immediately afterwards to transfer his court from Madrid, which he was again destined to see in the power of his enemies, to Valladolid; still he had the consolation to find that his reverses endeared him to his people, and that Spanish loyalty and honour were not to be shaken. Volunteers, too, again flocked in from all quarters; again were contributions of money and corn sent as free gifts. Add to this that

the victory of La Godiña obtained over the luckless Galway the recovery of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the reduction of some Portuguese fortresses on the Estremadura frontier, had preceded the important campaign of 1710, and had naturally encouraged many to remain firm in their loyalty. The character of Philip was evidently improved by increased adversities; and so great was the attachment borne to him, that when his rival Charles entered the capital (in October) scarcely a "*viva!*" was raised even by the lowest of the mob. The English general candidly confessed that the allies could command no more of the country than where they were actually encamped, and that the nation was against them. Charles was soon disgusted with Madrid: he left it the following month, and was scarcely beyond the gates when he had the mortification to hear the bells merrily ringing for his departure. During their stay, his English allies are said — probably with great truth — to have exasperated the people beyond forgiveness by their continued insults to the established faith, and by lawless rapine. At Toledo, which is under the patronage of Santa Leocadia, these excesses were the greatest: how effectually the saint avenged herself will soon be seen. Again was Philip recalled by the inhabitants of Madrid, who greeted him with their warmest acclamations. But the time was too precious to be wasted; accompanied by the duke de Vendôme, who had arrived from France to take the place of the duke d'Orleans, he hastened in pursuit of the allies. At Brihuega they overtook Stanhope, at the head of 5500 men, chiefly English. In suffering himself to be surprised by a force so much superior, in a town of which the fortifications were few, and these few ruinous, was a fatal error; but he nobly resolved to prolong the defence to the last extremity. Without artillery, with little ammunition, and a scanty supply of provisions, he long held the assailants at bay; no sooner had they entered at the breaches made by their cannon than his desperate valour expelled them,

and caused them to sustain a loss at least double his own. But in the end, when longer resistance was impossible, and when all were threatened to be put to the sword, these brave men capitulated, and were dispersed through Castile. This disaster is represented by the contemporary historian San Felipe as the work of Santa Leocadia, whose city had been dishonoured by such sacrilegious excesses, — excesses committed by these very men. Who, indeed, could reasonably doubt the saint's interference, when it is known that her festival fell on the very day (December 9th) on which Brihuega was reduced? "Let heretics laugh," says the marquis* "at this reflection; the fact, however, is indubitable; Providence has no chances, nor does the divine justice ever sleep." The following morning Stahremberg, who had been requested by Stanhope to advance to the relief of his allies, arrived within sight of the place, and Vendôme prepared to receive him. In the battle which ensued, fortune at first declared for Vendôme; a vigorous charge of the imperial general turned it in favour of the allies; the French duke, with Philip, were preparing to flee, when the reserves, being brought up by the marquis de Valdecañas, and a fierce attack being made on the flank of Stahremberg, it remained with the victors of Stanhope. But the latter, with a valour scarcely ever surpassed, retained possession of the field until night closed the conflict. For this reason, he, as well as Vendôme, claimed the victory; but it is certain that whatever advantage was gained lay with the latter. Before day-break the following morning, he spiked his cannon, and commenced his hasty retreat to Barcelona; nor were his losses during this precipitate march less disastrous than in the field of battle.†

These disasters, at a time when the allied cause was expected to be resistless, the amazing sacrifices of men 1711 to 1713.

* "Estos fueron los que tantos robos y sacrilegios cometieron en Toledo, Cuidad que tiene à Santa Leocadia por protectora, que se vingò de ellos en el mismo dia, nueve de diziembre, en que se celebra su fiesta. De esta reflexion, reirán los herejes; el hecho es cierto, la providencia no tiene acasos ni la divina justicia olvidos." — *Comentarios*, lib. xi. p. 453.

† The same authorities.

and money, which England had so long and so unwisely made, and, above all, the change of queen Anne's ministry, strongly indisposed her people to the continuation of the war. Besides, by the death of the emperor Joseph, in April, 1711, Charles, the last male of his house, succeeded to immense possessions, and would, probably, be invested with the imperial dignity,—an expectation indeed soon verified by the event;—and the union of so many states with the crown of Spain threatened to become no less fatal to the pretended balance of power than even the union of France and Spain. By the new ministry overtures of negotiation were secretly made to the French court, and were eagerly accepted by Louis, who, in artfully affording the prospect of peculiar commercial advantages to the English, could not fail to dispose in his views a people peculiarly alive to such advantages. At length the preliminaries to a separate treaty between France and England were signed; by them the protestant succession was recognised in queen Anne and her successors; the works of Dunkirk were to be rased; Gibraltar, Minorca, St. Christopher's, and the monopoly of the asiento, or supply of slaves for the Spanish colonies, were ceded for a period to the English; they were also secured an establishment on the Rio de la Plata, an exemption from certain duties in the port of Cadiz, and generally the same privileges of trade in Spain as were enjoyed by the French. In the same preliminaries, it was agreed, that early the following year conferences should be opened for a general peace at Utrecht.—During these negotiations, the nature of which was concealed from the world, the war in Catalonia languished, especially after Charles left Barcelona to take possession of his hereditary states. But he promised to return with new reinforcements; and to prove his sincerity, he left his queen to exercise the regency in Catalonia, and his general Stahremberg, with all his disposable forces to prosecute the war. On reaching Milan he was acquainted with his election to the empire. His first object was to counteract the

new policy of England, by drawing closer the bonds which connected him with Holland. But his efforts were unavailing: the conferences were duly opened at Utrecht; England openly seceded from the grand alliance, and orders were sent for the re-embarkation of the English troops in Catalonia. These orders were of necessity obeyed, notwithstanding the indignant representations of the Catalans that they had been drawn into the war by this country, and had done nothing to deserve so shameful an abandonment. The negotiations still continued, though subject to some suspensions. At length Louis, having consented to swear that the two crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head; and Philip having renounced, both for himself and his successors, all claim to the former—engagements which neither considered binding—a general peace was signed, April 11th, 1713, by the ambassadors of all the sovereigns except the emperor. Its provisions, as far as Spain is concerned, were few but momentous. Philip was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies; but Sicily, with the regal title, was ceded to the duke of Savoy; and Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, to the emperor *; Gibraltar, and Minorca, with the commercial advantages before mentioned, to the English; a general amnesty was guaranteed to the Catalans, but without any stipulations for the preservation of their ancient fueros. In case Philip died without issue, the succession was to devolve, not on a prince of the house of France, but on the duke of Savoy.†

By this celebrated peace Spain was stripped of half her 1713
possessions in Europe. For this dismemberment of the monarchy Philip cannot be blamed: Milan and Naples had long been held by the rival house; their recovery was not to be expected; the two Italian islands, Sardinia and Sicily, could no longer be retained; and the Netherlands were for ever lost. The war of the suc-

* In 1720, the king of Sicily exchanged that island for Sardinia.
† Authorities, El Marques de San Felipe, Ortiz, the French Mémoires, Coxe, Mahon, and the general historians of Europe.

cession was now virtually at an end: Charles, disabled by the defection of his allies, had already opened negotiations for withdrawing his troops from Catalonia; and though the inhabitants of the capital were resolved to continue the struggle unaided, it could not be of long continuance. Neither this war, nor the peace which followed it, was honourable to the allies. Its injustice is manifest: it was undertaken to dethrone a monarch whom the Spanish people had chosen, and to whom they adhered with unparalleled fidelity; and to replace him by a prince for whom they entertained no other sentiment than abhorrence: it was, moreover, an insult to the national independence, an odious violation of international law. Nor was it conducted with much honour to the arms of the unprincipled confederates. Their best troops found a grave in the peninsula; their treasures were literally exhausted; while the few advantages gained on the field were exceedingly transient, and soon more than counterbalanced by disasters. If, in this war of the succession, they exhibited great courage, they could not boast of more than one good general, Stahremberg: the rest were brave indeed, but weak or rash. It was signalised by many atrocities, and by incessant insults to the religion of the country, and the morals of the people. Of all the parties in this war, England is by far the most censurable. Hurried into it by hereditary, and in this case absurd, jealousy of France, she conducted it without glory, and ended it with discredit. She forced the Catalans into rebellion, yet she now abandoned them to a cruel and vindictive persecution: however unjust the war in its origin, during its course she had contracted obligations which it was her solemn duty to fulfil. One of these was the maintenance of the brave inhabitants in their ancient privileges: for the sake, indeed, of consistency, a faint representation in their favour was made to Madrid, but without the hope, probably without the wish, of success.

1713 to 1714. When the Catalans knew that the king had resolved to abolish their fueros, and that neither honour nor

justice was to be expected from England; nay, when assured that the emperor himself, who was no match single-handed for France, was compelled to forsake them, instead of bewailing their situation, they manfully resolved to continue in arms against the whole force of the Bourbons. They rejected the proffered amnesty of Philip, unless their privileges were to be declared inviolable. Had the king complied with this condition, he would, doubtless, have attached to his throne, by the strongest of all ties, this brave and independent people; but he appears to have regarded every form of freedom with abhorrence, and to have considered the frequent insurrections as a consequence of their superior rights. A slight acquaintance with the national history would have taught him that they were occasioned by the repeated and unconstitutional usurpations of the crown. The Catalans did not fall without one of the noblest struggles on record. An overwhelming army reduced all their fortresses, except Cardena and the capital; the latter was invested, held for months in a state of blockade, while a formidable artillery played, with few intermissions, on the walls. In the spring of 1714, 20,000 Frenchmen, under Berwick, arrived to reinforce the besiegers; nay, an English squadron was despatched for the same purpose. Nothing could daunt the inhabitants; all who were strong enough flew to arms; even the women and the ecclesiastics, whose patriotism is usually more tranquil, enrolled themselves in the ranks, and fought with desperation. On the death of Anne, whose ministers, had so basely betrayed them, they hoped that justice might be admitted into the cabinet of Britain; but a change of dynasty brought no change in the former despicable policy. Unfortunately they disgraced their cause by many excesses: never was tyranny more complete than that which reigned within the walls of Barcelona. All merely suspected of wishing well to the arms of Philip, all who were supposed to be favourably inclined towards peace; nay, all who did not prefer the rashest to the

most moderate measures, were massacred by a ferocious mob. Where it was dangerous to be silent — where, without fanatical exhortations, no man's head was safe, there might be desperation, even frenzy; but there could be no rational defence, no cool calculations to frustrate the designs of the enemy. 300 ruffians, known by the expressive name of matadores, or killers, the bloody ministers of a self-constituted tribunal, were spread throughout the city, dragging to a summary death their unfortunate victims: even priests were forced from the altar or the pulpit to the scaffold or the gallows. In the mean time Berwick found that his most vigorous attacks were repulsed with loss. In one month, indeed, breaches being made in two bastions, his troops advanced to the assault; but scarcely was a lodgment made, when the assailants were driven precipitately from it. During the following day and night, the assaults were renewed by greater numbers, and with greater fury than before, and both bastions were won: again did the desperate defenders, who had rallied round a black banner, on which was the representation of a death's head, — an intimation that they would neither give nor receive quarter, — in a series of wild, almost superhuman, efforts dislodge them. The losses which Berwick had sustained in these murderous attacks made him more cautious: he ordered his cannon to play on the walls until there were breaches wide enough to admit whole companies abreast. Before the final assault, which was fixed for the morning of September 11th, he proposed a favourable capitulation to the people: his proposal was rejected, because it did not guarantee the preservation of their fueros. Nothing now remained but to make the last awful attempt. Fifty companies of grenadiers advanced; they were supported by forty more; but before they could win the bastion, whole ranks were swept away by grape-shot. Even when this object was gained, the streets were found to be barricaded, and a murderous fire to be sustained from almost every window. Of the desperate valour of the besieged some

idea may be formed, when it is known that in the course of this eventful day the bastion of San Pedro was won and lost eleven times: women and priests advanced to the charge with amazing impetuosity; and such was the havoc which they and their comrades inflicted on the enemy, that in one regiment, long before the close of the struggle, every superior officer had fallen, and an ensign remained with the command. But numbers prevailed: after twelve hours of incessant fighting, the small remnant of Catalans began to give way; a white flag was hoisted, the carnage was suspended, negotiations were opened; but as the deputies still insisted on the inviolability of their ancient rights, they were hastily broken off. During the night, a fire of musketry was maintained from the houses; but in the morning of September 12th, when Berwick, on proceeding to put all to the sword, and burn the city to the ground, when he had ordered several houses to be set on fire, the leaders consented to capitulate. The chief conditions were, that their lives should be spared, and their property respected; that they should surrender both the fortress of Montjuich and Cardona. Twenty-four of the ringleaders were committed to a perpetual imprisonment; a bishop, with 200 of the clergy, were banished to Italy; the inhabitants of Catalonia, below the rank of nobles, were disarmed; and the fueros were rigorously abolished. The king was advised to raze the city to the ground, and erect a monument on its site; but he rejected the proposal with abhorrence. To have annihilated the last vestige of freedom, and reduced the whole kingdom to one uniform level of despotism, was surely enough.*

During these eventful hostilities, the court of Madrid pursued its usual career of intrigue and imbecility. The ascendency of the queen, and, through her, of the princess Orsini, remained uncontrolled, and it continued to 1712 to 1714.

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. xiii. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. xxii. et xxiii. Berwick, Mémoires, tom. ii. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. ii. c. xxii. Mahon, War of the Succession, c. viii. and ix. See also the Histories of England and France, and the general historians of Europe.

be exercised either beneficially or injuriously to the country, according to the nature of the petty or base passions which it was employed to gratify. In return for his renunciation of all future claim to the crown of France, in 1712, Philip forced, rather than persuaded, his council to alter the order of succession in Spain—to introduce a sort of Salic law, by which the most distant male of the family would be called to the inheritance in preference to the nearest female. His object in this change was doubtless to exclude the duke of Savoy and every branch of the rival house, so long as a prince of his own family remained. But the innovation was regarded with discontent: through the ancient law, which called females, in default of direct male issue, to the crown, the monarchy had been formed: through it Catalonia had been united with Aragon, and the latter with Castile; and by it Philip himself had inherited.* The cabals of the princess, who aspired to a small independent sovereignty in the Low Countries, and who in her disappointment opposed every thing which had not served her personal ambition, added to the national dissatisfaction. Even after the death of the queen of Spain, in February, 1714, who left two sons, the infantes Luis and Fernando, her influence remained paramount: during the preceding years she had rendered herself no less necessary to the king than to Maria Theresa; and she was now more so than ever. Perceiving that Philip would not long remain without a queen, it was her aim to provide him with one who would be as flexible to her purposes as the last — one without energy of character, who would take no part in court intrigues, and would leave her an important share in the government. To preserve her present reign, she caused the direction of affairs to be intrusted to her creature, M. Orri, whose attempts to shake the power of the inquisition, to curtail the immunities of the church, rendered both him

* About twelve months ago this innovation was repealed by the present monarch of Spain, whose infant daughter, consequently, remains presumptive heiress to the crown.

and her the objects of orthodox hatred. Her interference in the most important affairs of state made her no less obnoxious to Louis and the French ambassador. But her ascendency was fast hastening to its close; and, with all her penetration, it was hastened by one of far humbler rank, but of superior cunning to herself. At this period the celebrated abate Alberoni appears on the stage of Spanish history: he had entered the country as the agent of the duke of Parma, and had been protected by Vendôme, who had secured him a considerable pension on the see of Valencia: even now the marquis Casali, ambassador of Parma, abandoned to him the chief affairs of his mission. In this capacity he had access to the court, where he soon insinuated himself into the good graces of the princess. Seeing her embarrassment in choosing a wife for the king, he one day proposed Isabel Farnese, daughter of the late, and niece of the present duke of Parma, whom he artfully represented as simple, devout, immured from the world, and exactly fitted to become her instrument. In this proposal he had a double view — both to conciliate the favour of his own court, and to ruin the princess, — for well he knew that Isabel, who was of character totally different from that which he had drawn, could never be ruled. It was silently approved by the favourite; negotiations were secretly opened for the marriage; the papal dispensation — for the future was nearly related to the deceased queen — was procured; and the favourite exulted in the prospect of continued rule, when she discovered the real character of her future mistress. To prevent the execution of the match was her instant resolve; and though the necessary powers had been sent to celebrate the nuptials, she despatched a trusty agent to Parma; but he did not arrive until the morning of the nuptials; and as his purpose was suspected, he was not suffered to enter the city until the ceremony by proxy was concluded. But her confidence did not forsake her: she affected great delight at the marriage, and accompanied the king to

Alcala to await the arrival of the new queen. Leaving the king in that town, whom she was destined to see no more, she proceeded towards Guadalaxara. But Alberoni —who had met his royal mistress at Pamplona, and had been created a count,— had, doubtless, fixed the fate of this favourite — doubtless, too, even with the full connivance of Philip. Scarcely was she introduced to Isabel, when, by order of the latter, she was arrested and hurried towards the frontier, without a moment's time to collect her wardrobe: her escort of fifty dragoons gave her no respite during the whole night, though the snow lay on the ground, and the season was otherwise inclement. At St. Jean de Luz she was set at liberty; her wardrobe, jewels, and money were forwarded to her, and she was permitted to revisit Paris. But even here the vengeance of the new queen pursued her: she was compelled to return to Avignon; from there she passed to Rome, where she ended her days in the household of the unfortunate Stuart. Her fate excited no sympathy; it was rather beheld with satisfaction: but yet it will be regarded by future generations with much interest, as a peculiar illustration of the instability of courts.*

1715 to 1719. The disgrace of the princess Orsini was followed by the removal of Orri and her other creatures from the administration. Like her predecessor Maria Theresa, Isabel succeeded to the most unbounded power over the royal mind, especially after the death of Louis XIV., whom Philip had been accustomed to regard with mingled reverence and fear. That event changed his policy. Next to Louis XV., now a child, he was the heir to the French crown — his renunciation to procure the peace of Utrecht had been esteemed both by himself and his grandfather a farce — and, as such, he might aspire to the regency. It was dexterously seized by the duke d'Orleans, a circumstance which alienated him from the French court. This indisposition was strength-

* Chiefly the same authorities, with the addition of the Life of Cardinal Alberoni, and the Mémoires de St. Simon, tom. v. The life of the cardinal throws the disgrace on him and Philip, and asserts that the queen was but an instrument for effecting it.

ened by the queen, whose measures were irresistible, whose talents were of a higher order than her predecessors, whose power of dissimulation would have been honoured even in Italy, and who aspired to place a son of her own (in 1716 she was delivered of the infante don Carlos) on the throne of France, or at least to procure for one the ducal crowns of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, to the succession of which, in default of heirs male by the reigning dukes, she might look forward with hope. To the attainment of these objects, and the continuation of the Spanish influence in Italy, her whole soul was bent: hence, as she was in reality sovereign of Spain, the policy of the monarchy, during the remainder of her husband's life, was necessarily subservient to her purposes. The favourite and adviser was naturally Alberoni, a priest of commanding abilities, who by base means, — by flattery, dissimulation, and a profound knowledge of human nature, — had risen from the humblest station to be the counsellor of princes. Into the wily and complex policy of these accomplished Italians it is impossible for us to enter, it must be looked for in the general historians of Europe; we can do no more than advert, and briefly advert, to the most prominent results. — Having, by his dexterous intrigues no less than the queen's favour, annihilated the power of the prime minister, the cardinal del Giudice, and obtained the direction of affairs, Alberoni began to exhibit his designs on Italy, which were so injurious to the Austrian domination in that peninsula. They could not be wholly hidden from the imperial court: hence distrust, next ill-will, between Madrid and Vienna. The impolitic and arbitrary arrest of the Spanish ambassador in Italy, by the emperor's order, so irritated Philip, that he resolved on war, even though he knew that a triple alliance had been formed between France, England, and Holland, to preserve the integrity of the treaty of Utrecht. As Spain was sure to stand alone in the conflict, and might probably be opposed to all Europe, Alberoni strongly

disapproved the war, until he saw that by persisting in his fruitless opposition, he should only seal his own disgrace. From that moment he showed great alacrity in preparing for it. With the view of conferring greater lustre on his character and administration — he was now (1717) the acknowledged minister — he compelled the pope to bestow on him the dignity of cardinal. That of grandee, with the bishopric of Malaga, and subsequently the archbishopric of Seville, was added by the Spanish monarch. In August an armament, consisting of twelve ships and 9000 men, left Barcelona, and steered for Sardinia. In about two months the island was subdued. So unjustifiable an aggression without previous declaration of war, deeply mortified the emperor, and alarmed Europe. But this conquest was intended merely as the prelude to others of far higher moment, — the recovery of Sicily and Naples. Preparations on a more extended scale were hastened, and their destination, as in the former case, kept profoundly secret. But it was suspected; and England, as one of the guarantees to the peace of Utrecht, after vainly endeavouring to dispose the Spanish court to a reconciliation with the emperor, equipped an armament to resist the aggressions of that power. In June, 1718, the Spanish fleet, consisting of 23 ships and 30,000 men, again left Barcelona, cast anchor at Cape Solanto, about four leagues from Palermo, and landed the forces. Europe beheld with some alarm this vigorous and unexpected effort of a power which, since the reign of Philip II., had sunk into insignificance. In the apprehension of another war not less fatal than that which had been ended by the peace of Utrecht, France now joined with England and Austria to humble the aspiring views of Alberoni; and the Dutch were drawn into the treaty, which was afterwards known by the name of the quadruple alliance. It was founded on that of Utrecht, but Victor Asmodeus, duke of Savoy, and now king of Sicily, was to surrender that island to the emperor, and to receive Sardinia in exchange: to gratify Philip, the

reversion of Tuscany and Parma was to be entailed on don Carlos, his son by the present queen, and the emperor to renounce all claim to the Spanish throne. But the cardinal disregarded the approaching storm, and refused to recall the forces in Sicily. Palermo and Messina (except the citadel) were speedily occupied; the whole island was preparing to receive the Spanish yoke, when the British fleet, under admiral Byng, arrived off the Sicilian coast. In the action which followed, the Spanish fleet was almost wholly taken or destroyed. In revenge, Alberoni entered into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, and the Tsar Peter, to assist the Stuart in an invasion of Great Britain; but the death of the Swedish hero frustrated his hopes. His next step was to organise a conspiracy, the object of which was to arrest the French regent, the duke d'Orleans, and to proclaim Philip as the guardian of the infant Louis. It was discovered, and war naturally declared against Spain. At the head of 30,000 men, the celebrated Berwick passed the Pyrenees into Biscay, while Philip and the cardinal advanced to oppose; but seeing the superiority of his force, they halted at Pamplona, and had the mortification to learn the reduction of Fuentarabia, San Antonio, and San Sebastian. From Biscay, Berwick retraced his steps across the Pyrenees, traversed Bearne, invaded Catalonia, took Urgel, and, after an ineffectual attempt on Rosas, retired into Rousillon. Undaunted by these reverses, the cardinal fitted out at Cadiz a formidable expedition, which he professed to be directed against Sicily, but which he despatched under the duke of Ormond towards Scotland, to assist in placing James Stuart on the throne of Britain. But a fatality seems to have attended all Spanish armaments against this country. Off Cape Finisterre, the present one was dispersed by a violent storm: two frigates only reached their destination, and the handful of troops they poured on the Scottish coast was soon compelled to surrender. In revenge a British squadron committed great devastations on the coast of

Galicia. — In Sicily, affairs began to assume an appearance equally unfavourable for this enterprising minister. Victor Asmodeus acceded to the quadruple alliance, Austrian troops were poured into the island, and the Spaniards were driven from their plains into the fortified places. Shortly afterwards, Holland also acceded; so that the cardinal beheld the realisation of his fears. — Spain now stood alone against armed Europe. These misfortunes made a deep impression on the mind of Philip, who began to regard his minister with an unfriendly eye. This dissatisfaction was zealously fomented by the allies, who dreaded the aspiring genius of this minister. Into the intrigues for effecting his downfall, agents were easily drawn; as the depository of the royal favours, he had afforded many; his haughtiness had alienated more; and his foreign extraction was disagreeable to all. Though means sufficiently characteristic of a court, even the queen was gained; and the cardinal, in the height of his power and totally unsuspicious of his situation, received a sudden order to leave Madrid in a week, and the Spanish dominions in three. At his departure his errors were forgotten and his genius only remembered by the Spanish nobles, who hastened to do what many of them had scorned to do during his prosperity, — to pay him their respects. At Lerida, on his road to Barcelona, he was overtaken by a royal officer, who ransacked his papers, seized several, but permitted him to continue his journey. Near Barcelona he was plundered by the miquelites; nor was it without difficulty that he could reach Gerona on foot, and by favour of a disguise. He traversed the south of France, embarked at Antibes, landed at Sestri de Levante, with the intention of proceeding to the papal court; but, receiving an order not to enter the territory of the church, he plunged into the Appennines, where he was soon lost to the world. His memory was bitterly persecuted in Spain: attempts were made to procure his degradation from the purple; but he vindicated himself in an elaborate apology, which he contrived to publish, and

which did little honour to Philip and the queen. In twelve months, on the death of Clement XIII., he emerged from his secret retirement, and attended the conclave for the election of a new pope. To appease the Spanish court, he was tried on some frivolous charges, and sentenced to a short seclusion in a monastery; but he was subsequently a great favourite with the Roman see. As with his life in Italy this compendium has no concern, we shall only remark, that while in power he introduced many and most salutary improvements into the internal administration; that he restored to a considerable extent the national prosperity; and that he was beyond all comparison the greatest minister the country had possessed since the famous cardinal Ximenes Cisneros.*

After the removal of the cardinal, Philip acceded, 1720 to 1724. though not without reluctance, to the quadruple alliance. In consequence he renounced all claim to the dismembered provinces of the monarchy, consented to see Sicily transferred to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy: in return, he was acknowledged by his old rival as king of Spain and the Indies; and the reversion of the two Italian principalities was entailed on the issue of his present marriage,—on the condition, however, that they should never be united with the Spanish crown. But these were poor advantages in comparison with the extent of his preparations for the war. Having humbled the Moors of Africa, who had long aimed at the reduction of Ceuta, he demanded Gibraltar, which, in fact, had been verbally promised to him by the duke d'Orleans, as the condition of his acceding to the quadruple alliance. That the duke had acted by the authority of the English government, is indisputable; but the ministry, seeing the opposition of the English people to the restitution of so important a place, were not ashamed to sacrifice the honour of the country, and to evade the

* Storia del Cardenale Alberoni, necnon Vie du Cardinal, &c., passim. El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, tom. ii. under the corresponding years. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. xxiii. cap. 1—7. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. ii. c. 29, 30.

fulfilment of the pledge. This was a subject of endless dispute between the two governments during the remainder of Philip's reign. In revenge, and because he really found that his best dependence was in his own family, in 1721, he contracted a double matrimonial alliance with the hereditary enemy of England: his eldest son Luis was contracted with Louise Isabelle, daughter of the duke d'Orleans, and his daughter Maria Ana, by Isabel Farnese, with the youthful monarch of France. The latter marriage, however, owing to the tender age of the infanta, was never celebrated; and Luis subsequently received the hand of a Polish princess, a daughter of the exiled Stanislas Leczinski. Soon after this marriage, he formed a resolution which filled all Europe with astonishment, that of abdicating the crown in favour of his son, and of retiring to the splendid palace of San Ildefonso, which he had himself founded. The motives for this step may be found in his melancholy temperament, in his religious feeling—a feeling little tempered by sober reason—and in an anxiety to escape from sceptred cares, which had weighed more heavily on him than on any other prince of the age. Nor was he without the ambition of equalling, in this respect, the glory of his predecessor the emperor Charles. But, in this case, how wide the difference between the characters of the two monarchs! The decree of abdication was dated July 10. 1724; and Philip, having solemnly vowed never to resume the crown, retired in a few days to his chosen retreat. But his worldly passions never forsook him: the feeble health of Louis XV. afforded him the prospect of soon succeeding to that splendid inheritance; his hopes were fostered by his queen, who detested Spain, and was detested by it in return; nor did he leave to his son more than a nominal authority. The court of the youthful Luis was filled with his own creatures, who paid more deference to him than to their new monarch; nor was any thing of moment undertaken without his previous sanction. The irregularities of the court afforded him

sufficient pretext for interference. Louise Isabelle, the new queen, was wayward, capricious, and depraved; regardless of Spanish customs, and attached to the follies if not the licentiousness of the French court. To correct her, she was arrested, and confined to the Buen Retiro, but released before the end of the week, on her promise of amendment. Philip was soon disgusted with his exclusion from the exercise of royalty, especially when he learned that the decease of the French king was not so probable an event as he had been led to anticipate; his own son, whose conduct was filial enough in points of minor importance, submitted with impatience to the mandates from San Ildefonso; the new ministry began to devise the removal of the galling restraint, when the death of Luis (who by will declared him successor), by the small-pox, again induced him to claim the sovereignty. But that sovereignty he had solemnly abdicated; the act had been registered by the council of Castile, and sanctioned by his own vow; nor could it easily be revoked. The council, indeed, though disapproving his resumption of the dignity, dared not openly oppose it; but, as he was in a high degree susceptible of religious obligations, hopes were entertained that his vow would prove an inseparable bar to his views. A junto of divines declared that the obligation he had contracted was irrevocable; but suggested that he should assume the regency for his son Fernando, now about eleven years of age. In conformity with this decision, he reluctantly expressed his intention of remaining in a private station; but through the artifices of the queen, who prevailed on the papal legate to absolve him from his vow, he dismissed his unwelcome scruples, and resumed the regal functions in all their extent. It is almost needless to add, that the ministers who had shown any opposition to his return were disgraced.*

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. xiii. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, tom. vii. c. 7—9. St. Simon, Mémoires, tom. viii. Tessé, Mémoires, tom. ii. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. ii. c. 33, 34. The Spanish writers

1725. The restoration of Philip was naturally that of his queen's policy — the establishment by treaty or force, of his son don Carlos in the Italian principalities. This, with other objects, had been urged in the congress of Cambray, assembled to reconcile the jarring interests of the European powers; but each was too intent on its own aggrandisement to plead with vigour the cause of another. Indignant at the evident lukewarmness of England, France, and Holland, in a matter which they themselves had proposed to advocate, he suddenly swerved from his past policy, and despatched an ambassador to Vienna to obtain from the emperor, hitherto his bitter rival, advantages which were not to be expected from the interested delays of the mediators. The person employed in this mission was one of the most extraordinary characters in political life. The baron de Ripperda, a catholic gentleman of Spanish descent, but a native of the Netherlands, of good education, but of no principle, perceiving that his religion was a barrier to his ambition in his native country, embraced the protestant, and was returned a deputy to the states-general. His general talents and his knowledge of commerce was such that he was chosen envoy to Madrid, to settle the commercial differences of the two nations. In this capacity he attracted the notice of the English and imperial ministers, for whom he transacted affairs of equal delicacy and importance, and by whom he was rewarded. His habits of living were extravagant, and in indulging them he was seldom scrupulous as to the means. That he had extraordinary qualities is evident from the notice taken of him by cardinal Alberoni, in whose beneficial reforms he had no slight share; in fact, he was the ready instrument of all who were likely to reward him. Perceiving that both fortune and honours were to be more easily ob-

---

would have us to believe that Philip received the crown with great reluctance. This is improbable, and is flatly contradicted by the French and English diplomatists then at Madrid. So long as a Bourbon is on the throne of Spain, the severe truth need not be expected from the national writers.

tained in the service of Spain than in any other, he resigned his ministry, procured letters of naturalisation, and reverted to his original religion. The first enterprise with which he was intrusted by the catholic sovereign was the establishment and superintendence of a woollen manufactory, which he brought to considerable perfection. Hence he incurred the hostility of the English and the Dutch, who had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of this important branch of manufacture. In Holland his marriage with a heiress had laid the foundation of his future fortunes; in Spain, he became a widower, and by marrying into a noble family, increased his connections and influence. The fall of Alberoni, which was partly owing to his intrigues, and the bold plans he proposed for invigorating the industry and improving the revenues of the kingdom, rendered him a favourite with Philip; with the queen, his bold suggestion to negotiate immediately with the emperor established his credit. Being selected for the difficult mission, in November, 1725, he repaired secretly to Vienna, and actively commenced his conference with the imperial ministers. Early in the following year three treaties were signed. By the first, the investiture of the Italian principalities was ensured to don Carlos; and, in return, Philip abandoned all claim to Naples and Sicily, and consented to be satisfied with the reversion of Sardinia. By the second, to encourage the trade of the Netherlands at the expense of England and Holland, the most favoured privileges ever conferred on the maritime subjects of the emperor and on the Hans Towns. The third was secret, but its articles are said to have referred, among other matters, to the forcible recovery of Gibraltar, and to the restoration of James Stuart to the English throne. In addition, a marriage was, doubtless, negotiated between don Carlos and an archduchess; but it was never concluded. For his services on this occasion, and still more for the magnificent, though impracticable proposals which he had made for the renovation of the Spanish monarchy, the

ambassador was created duke de Ripperda, a grandee of Spain, and, on his return, prime minister. But his elevation turned his head: vain of his success of the royal confidence, and still more of his own talents, which he prodigiously overrated, he is said to have revealed several important secrets to persons who could not fail to profit by the information at the expense of his adopted country. This criminal imprudence created distrust; his inability to realise any of the magnificent promises which he had made showed him in his true colours, — as an unprincipled adventurer, who would not hesitate at any means of advancing his own interests. His foreign policy, especially his measures to curtail the commerce of England and Holland, made these powers his hearty enemies; nor did their ministers hesitate to join in the cabals formed for his ruin. It was at hand. Not six months had elapsed since his accession to office, when, by a royal decree, he was dismissed from his employments, and allowed to retire on a pension. But, fearful of the power of his enemies, he had the imprudence to seek refuge in the hotel of the British ambassador, to whom he was more communicative than became a friend of Spain, and who lost no time in betraying his confidence. The offended monarch demanded his surrender; and when it was faintly refused by Mr. Stanhope, a military force seized him in the ambassador's house, and transferred him to the fortress of Segovia. The base connivance of the British agents with the enemies of the minister may be inferred, both from the treachery of Mr. Stanhope, and from the fact, that though, for form's sake, a protest was made against this violation of international law, no satisfaction was ever seriously demanded for it. Honour was sacrificed to sordid interest, generosity to a Machiavelian policy. During fifteen months, the minister languished in Segovia, and there he would, doubtless, have ended his days without trial, had he not contrived to effect his escape by means of a maid-servant whom he had seduced, and who afterwards accompanied him in

all his extraordinary adventures. He arrived safely in Portugal, embarked at Oporto, remained a short time in England, and proceeded into his native country. Here he was demanded as a state criminal by the Spanish government. In the well-founded fear of being surrendered, he requested an asylum in Russia; but the imminency of his danger increasing, he fled to Morocco, where a renegade had secured him a favourable reception. Whether, as is asserted, during his short stay in Holland, he again embraced the protestant faith, is, perhaps, doubtful, but that at the court of Muley Abdalla, he submitted to circumcision, is probable, even though the relation rests on no other authority than that of his enemies. It is certain that for some years he directed the councils and commanded the armies of the Moorish emperor, after whose dethronement he retired to Istria, where he ended his days in 1737, professing, in his last moments, that he died in the Roman catholic faith.*

The chief remaining transactions of this eventful reign must be related with greater brevity. For some time after the disgrace of Ripperda, Spain adhered to the German alliance; and was alternately friendly or adverse to England, according as the policy of the two courts harmonised or varied. Gibraltar was more than once besieged, but without effect. British armaments frequently appeared off the Spanish coast, but without inflicting much injury. As the emperor was naturally averse again to admit the Spaniards into Italy, and sought for delays, even for evasions, in fulfilling his compact, in 1729 the treaty of Seville, between Spain, England, and France, broke the connection between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The king of France could have no objection to see a Bourbon prince in possession of Parma and Tuscany; the transfer of commercial

1726 to 1736.

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. xiii. This valuable work unfortunately ends in 1725. It is absolutely necessary to correct the misstatements of the French and English writers. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. lib. xxiii. c. x. et xi. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. ii. c. xxxvii. This author carefully conceals whatever would discredit the English government. Memoirs of the Duke de Ripperda, passim. This work contains much truth, but more romance. Few romances, however, exceed the remarkable adventures of Ripperda.

advantages from the emperor's subjects to the English, made George II. no less favourable to the succession of don Carlos in right of his mother, the Spanish queen. But, on the death of Antonio duke of Parma, the emperor seized that principality; and England, satisfied with the gratification of her sordid interests, showed no disposition, until Philip, by threatening to revoke the commercial advantages secured by the treaty of Seville, forced the English king to interfere in behalf of don Carlos. In virtue of his efforts, and the assistance of France, the infanta was soon invested with the actual possession of Parma and Placentia, and declared successor to Tuscany. But the emperor evidently meditated his expulsion, while the queen of Spain was far from satisfied with the recent acquisitions. The alliance of France and Austria, in regard to the succession of a king of Poland; the expulsion of Stanislaus Leczinsky, and the forcible elevation of the elector of Saxony *, favoured her designs. As England evinced a disposition to remain on good terms with the emperor, the Bourbons adhered the more closely to each other; the kings of Spain, France, and Sardinia entered into an alliance against Austria. It was now that doubtful measures and useless treaties were succeeded by active and extended hostilities. While one French army crossed the Rhine, and another passed the Alps, a Spanish army under don Carlos invaded Naples, and conquered it almost without an effort. Sicily was next reduced; and the infante, by order of Philip, was solemnly crowned king of the Two Sicilies. By the treaty of Vienna, in 1735, the emperor, whose arms had been almost uniformly unfortunate, consented to acknowledge don Carlos, and in return he received Parma and Tuscany. The latter condition was highly disagreeable to the Spanish queen — for in these Italian disputes she again was arbitress of the national policy, — but being forsaken by France, she was compelled to submit.†

* See the History of Poland, CAB. CYC.

† Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, tom. vii. lib. xxiv. c. iii. This is the

Omitting the petty intrigues in the cabinet of Madrid, — the rise of one worthless favourite, or the ruin of another — the foreign transactions of the country continued to be sufficiently important. England was soon brought into hostile collision with this monarchy. One reason was, the jealousy entertained of the Bourbon family by the recent acquisition; another, was the opposition thrown in the way of English commerce by the ministers of Philip; a still greater, was the contraband traffic which England resolved to maintain with the American colonies, — a traffic not very honourable to this country, and deeply injurious to Spain. The frequent necessity of conciliating this mercantile nation caused his catholic majesty to smother his indignation at these incessant violations of treaties; and he always deferred to a more favourable time the exaction of satisfaction for the injuries sustained by his revenue, and by the commerce of his people. But such was the naval superiority of the enemy, such the danger of his galleons and merchant vessels, that he was long compelled to dissemble his just resentment. On the other hand, the royal officers in the West Indies, under the pretext of the right of search, made many illegal seizures; and, on all occasions, exhibited indirect hostility to the British trade. But Spain had, doubtless, the greater subject of complaint: her right of search arose from her sovereignty, and had been confirmed by successive treaties; but it was suddenly assailed by the English opposition, which, as in other cases, had, by the most unprincipled exaggerations, the art to interest the nation in the dispute. The fomentation of the public mind drew the ministry, though with evident reluctance, into collision with Spain, — a melancholy, but, alas! far from solitary instance of the influence which faction can exercise over a democratic spirit, in 1737 to 1746.

only Spanish authority now left to us, and from him we must soon part. Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges, p. 243—252. Coxe, History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. c. xi., &c., and Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. ii. ch. xli.

violation of justice, or even of oaths. War was first declared by England; it was followed in Spain: the hostile vessels in the ports of each were confiscated, and powerful armaments fitted out by the one to seize, by the other to defend, the American possessions; while pirates from Biscay harassed the home trade of England. In the wars which followed, the advantage, doubtless, rested with Spain; since the English armament made little impression on the Spanish colonies, while the Spanish privateers made repeated and invaluable captures. These hostilities, alike desultory and inglorious, notwithstanding occasional exhibitions of brilliant though useless valour by the English, continued during the life of Philip, and until the fourth year of his successor's reign; when Spain, in return for the secession of England from the Austrian interests, consented to a renewal of the former commercial regulations.*

1740 to 1745. The death of the emperor Charles VI., the famous competitor of Philip, without male issue, stimulated this monarch, as it did other sovereigns, to acts of spoliation. While Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and France each pursued its advantage, without regard to the succession which each had guaranteed with the deceased emperor, he looked toward Italy in search of an establishment for the infante Felipe, his second son by the present queen. Hence all Europe was engaged in war. In 1741 an army was sent to Italy, a junction effected with the Neapolitans, and the combined forces marched into Lombardy. But several circumstances impeded the success of the Spanish arms. The king of Sardinia joined England and Austria; a superior force expelled Montemar, the Spanish general, from his position; a British squadron compelled the king of Naples to observe neutrality; and the troops of that power were consequently recalled. During the following years the war sometimes raged, but often languished, with various

* The same authorities For an account of this war, see Smollett and the other English historians of the period.

success. Don Felipe headed the army in person; but was more than once compelled to retreat into the French territory; while at sea the superiority generally lay with the British over the combined fleets of France and Spain. At length the Neapolitan king broke his neutrality, and rejoined the Spaniards: this junction enabled don Felipe to resume the offensive with greater prospect of success. In 1745, having collected a force of 60,000 French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, he defeated the Austrians and Sardinians; again penetrated into Lombardy, the whole of which he subdued, except Mantua and the citadel of Milan: but here his good fortune ended. By a treaty with the Prussian king, the empress, early in 1746, was enabled considerably to reform her army in Italy, from which, after some desperate struggles, the Spanish and French troops were expelled. In the pride of success, the imperial general was preparing to invade Naples, to expel don Carlos; but the intervention of England, which had no wish to see even the Austrian power triumphant, forced him to invade Provence. But this invasion had no result; the Austrian army being recalled by a revolution in Genoa. They invested that place: it was relieved by the allies. As usual, the resources of the contending powers being exhausted, all turned their eyes towards peace. In the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Spain was disposed to lay down her arms, by the cession of Parma, Guastalla, and Placentia, to don Philip. It was, however, agreed that, if he ever succeeded to the throne of Naples, the first two should revert to Austria, and the last to the king of Sardinia.*

Before the conclusion of this peace, in July, 1746, an attack of apoplexy hurried Philip to the grave. His character is apparent enough from his actions: indeed, it requires no other illustration. Whatever might be his general weakness, his unconquerable indolence, his subjection to his queens, he had a sincere desire for the 1746.

* Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico (last chapter). Coxe's Memoirs. Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges; with the general historians of Europe.

good of Spain; and in part that desire was fulfilled. Under his rule the country enjoyed more prosperity than it had experienced since the days of Philip II. Nor was he deficient in a taste for literature. He founded the royal library of Madrid, the royal Spanish academy, the academy of history, and the academy of San Fernando, for the encouragement of the fine arts. In private life he was a model for princes: he was almost spotless. His only fault, let us rather say his only misfortune, was his want of capacity for the station he occupied: he would have been an admirable private gentleman, or an exemplary ecclesiastic.*

FERNANDO VI.

1746—1759.

1746 to 1749. FERNANDO VI., second son of the deceased monarch, by Maria Luisa of Savoy, (the fate of the eldest, Luis, has been already related,) was, on his succession, in his thirty-fourth year. Though he did not want natural affection for his step-brothers, he was not to be controlled by the queen-dowager, whose influence was for ever at an end; nor would he sacrifice the best interests of his kingdom to provide Italian sovereignties for the infantes. Hence, as related towards the close of the late reign, he consented to procure peace for his dominions by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. His disposition was averse to war, which, as he clearly saw, had obstructed the career of the national improvement; nor was he so blind as to be ignorant that the blood and treasures of his people had been wasted for French or Austrian rather than Spanish objects. He respected the king of France as the head of his house, but he asserted his resolution not to become the viceroy of that monarch. If to this we add, that he was a prince of

* The same authorities.

honour, of integrity, of strict veracity, we shall have said all that truth will permit in his praise. He had the melancholy temperament, the incapacity, the indolence of his father; nor was he less uxorious. His queen, Maria Teresa Magdalena Barbara, daughter of Joam V., king of Portugal, to whom he had been united in 1729, was a woman of engaging manners and of mild disposition, but avaricious. In the fear of being reduced, in case she survived her husband, to dependence,—a very common fate in Spanish queens,—she rendered some offices venal, and was always eager to receive presents of money from any quarter. The same blemish attached to one of the most influential ministers, the marquis de Ensenada*, a man of low origin, but of ready parts and of profuse expenditure,—an expenditure which could not assuredly be supported by the ordinary emoluments of his office. In the late reign he had been fond of war, merely because it had pleased the queen: in the present, for the same reason, he became the advocate of peace. His colleague, don Josef de Carvajal, a nobleman of illustrious descent and of unquestionable integrity, was in heart equally pacific with his minister, and was an enemy to French interests. The king's confessor, the jesuit Rovago, being a man of ambition, aspired to, and obtained from his easy master, a share in the direction of affairs. But the strangest influence over the destiny of the kingdom was that exercised by a singer, the famous Farinelli, who by his profession had made a fortune in England, and had been attracted to the court of Madrid in the hope that his music would have some effect over the hypochondriac Philip. As Fernando suffered under the same distressing complaint as his father, the services of the singer were no less valuable; and his insinuating manners procured him, in no less a degree, the favour of the queen. In fact, crowned heads did not disdain to cajole one who was an acknowledged channel of

* "En se nada," nothing in himself; a pun on his humble origin.

political communication. By what strange instruments are not mankind governed!*

1750 to 1759. The reign of Fernando exhibits little more than a contest between the British and French agents, in support of the respective policy of their nations: Carvajal took part with the former, Ensenada with the latter. The former, notwithstanding the opposition of the cabinet of Versailles, drew his master into an alliance with Austria and Sardinia for securing their neutrality,—an object which England was eager to promote. On the other hand, France triumphed by opposing the infante Felipe duke of Parma, and Carlos king of Naples, to the policy of their brother. But this virtuous minister (Carvajal) was no slave of England, no blind enemy of France. In the disputes between these powers, though cajoled and flattered, and attempted to be wheedled into the views of each, he observed a dignified neutrality; while his colleague Ensenada acted with all the heat of a partisan. In 1754, his death dejected the English as much as it elated the hopes of the French, since it was considered as decisive of Ensenada's unlimited control; but the party opposed to the Gallic influence succeeded in procuring the nomination to the foreign department of general Wall, an Irishman naturalised in Spain, and attached to England. Soon afterwards, Ensenada himself was disgraced. He had sent, of his own authority, private orders to his subaltern in Mexico to commence an exterminating war on the English settlements bordering on the gulf of that name. A copy of them was procured,—not very honourably,—through the intrigues of the British ambassador. The minister was arrested, and exiled to Granada: the interference of Farinelli saved him from a worse fate; it even procured him a pension. The confessor soon shared his disgrace,—another triumph for the English party. But Fernando continued to observe a wise and dignified neutrality in the European war, occasioned by the rivalry of France

* Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. ch. 49. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal tom. xx. lib. 73. cap. 6. et 7.

and England. Not even the offer of Minorca, which the French conquered from the English, nor that of assisting in the reduction of Gibraltar, could incline the court in favour of the Gallic policy. Equally fruitless was the offer of Gibraltar by the English themselves, as the condition of joining the confederacy against France. But so mild, and just, and virtuous a prince was not long spared to Spain and to Europe. The death of his queen, in 1758, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he would never afterwards attend to either affairs of state or the ordinary enjoyments of life: in twelve months he followed her to the tomb. As he died without issue, he left the crown to his next brother, don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies.

Indolent as were the habits of Fernando, he was a blessing to Spain, not merely from his pacific reign, but from his encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and the arts. But the greatest benefit he procured for his country was the abolition of the grievous abuse of papal patronage. By it the chair of St. Peter had nominated to all benefices which fell vacant during eight months out of the twelve, — thence called apostolical, — and in any month, provided the possessor died in Rome. This monstrous usurpation was independent of expectations, indults, annats, fifteenths, and the other endless sources of papal rapacity. In 1755, the king procured from the pope a concordat, by which the right of nomination, during every month, was reserved to the crown; and the cedulas bancarias, or tributes contracted to be paid by the holder of the benefice to the see of Rome in return for his nomination to it, were suppressed. In return, the pope was to retain the patronage of fifty-two benefices, the profit arising from marriage licences, and the imposition of the cruzado.*

* Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. ch. 58. Laborde, View of Spain, vol. v.

CARLOS III.

1759—1788.

1759. By the treaty of Vienna the two crowns of Naples and Spain were never to be placed on the same head: hence Carlos, on his accession to the latter, was compelled to resign the other in favour of a son. As the eldest, Felipe, was a constant prey to mental imbecility, the second, Carlos, succeeded to the rights of primogeniture, and was declared heir to the Spanish monarchy; while the third, Fernando, was hailed as king of the Two Sicilies. Having appointed a council of regency during the minority of Fernando, Carlos bade adieu to his former subjects, whom his administration had strongly attached to his person, embarked, landed at Barcelona, the inhabitants of which he gratified by the restoration of a few privileges, and proceeded to Madrid. In the ministry he made few changes. He retained general Wall, but suffered Ensenada to return to court; he dismissed the minister of finance, whom he replaced by the marquis de Squillace, an Italian nobleman of considerable experience in that department; and he advised Farinelli to quit the kingdom.*

1760 to 1763. When Carlos ascended the throne, he found France and Great Britain involved in a war which, under the vigorous administration of Mr. Pitt, was highly disastrous to the arms of Louis. The success of the English displeased him: he bore them little good-will; he remembered the obligation to neutrality which in the Italian war they had forced on him; his ears were deafened with the complaints of his people relative to the contraband trade in the West Indies; and he was anxious to procure for his nation a participation in the Newfoundland fishery: nor was he without his fears

* The Abate de Casino, Sicani Reges, p. 252, &c. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. ch. 59. 61.

lest the victors should turn their arms against his richest settlements in the new world. Unable singly to contend with the rulers of the deep, he directed his hopes to the co-operation of France. That power, in the view of repairing its disasters, was no less eager to make common cause with him. The result was an intimate alliance, known by the name of the *family compact*, by which the enemy of either was to be considered the enemy of both; and neither was to make peace without the consent of the other. However secret the articles, they were suspected by Mr. Pitt, who would have anticipated Spain by an immediate declaration of war, and by breaking off the hollow negotiations which, to gain time, France had commenced, had he not been replaced at this juncture by a court favourite, the earl of Bute. The new ministry were made the dupes of the Bourbon courts; the negotiations were artfully prolonged until the arrival of the Spanish treasures from the Indies, and until preparations were made by both countries to carry on the war with vigour. The mask was then dropped, and hostilities invited. However despicable the English ministry, under a sovereign more feeble even than his predecessors, a vigour had been given by Mr. Pitt to every branch of the public service, which in the present war secured the triumph of our arms. In the West Indies, the Havannah, in the East, Manilla, was taken; nor were the allied French and Spanish arms successful in Portugal, which, in punishment of its connection with England, was invaded by 22,000 men, under the marquis de Soria. They could only take Almeida before they were compelled to retire within the Spanish territory. Worse than all other disasters was the state of the finances, which were, in fact, exhausted; while the interruption to trade, occasioned by the present hostilities, rendered it impossible for any minister to rely on new contributions. In this emergency, the two courts turned their eyes towards peace, which was concluded at Paris, February 10. 1763. Omitting the

concessions made by France, Spain purchased the restoration of the conquests which had been made, by the cession of Florida, by the permission to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, and by a renunciation of all claim to the Newfoundland fisheries.*

1763 to 1777. These unfavourable conditions were not likely to remove, however it might be prudent to smother, the irritation of the Spaniards. After the retirement of Mr. Wall, the foreign minister, who was succeeded by the marquis de Grimaldi, a Genoese, and a creature of France, fewer pains were tried to hide the feelings, the intensity of which was heightened by new disputes relating to the India trade, and by the interruption of the Spanish local authorities to the cutting of logwood. The helpless state, however, of the Spanish marine, and the disorder of the finances, induced the successive ministers to avoid, by timely concessions, an open rupture. But such, at length, were the improvements effected in the collection of the revenues, and in the national forces by sea and land; such the results of a wise economy and a better discipline, under the superintendence of conde de Aranda, a man of enterprising genius, that these forces were considerably augmented, and taught to confide in their own strength. What in a still higher degree inspired the Spaniards with courage, was the notorious weakness of the English ephemeral administrations,—administrations which were formed either by royal favour or by the influence of faction. A king who had neither the penetration to discern nor the virtue to reward merit; a ministry intent only on the enriching of its own dependants, or on the mortification of a political party; a nation divided by animosities, the interests of one class clashing with those of another, each striving to grasp all at the expense of the other; an open war between the aristocracy and the populace;—might well embolden the court of Carlos to assume a

* Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. To this author must be added the numerous historians of George III., and the French memoirs.

higher tone of expostulation in regard to the subjects of discontent so frequently mentioned. In short, the British ambassadors at Madrid were no longer treated with even outward respect. The occupation of Corsica by the troops of France, the expulsion of the English from the Falkland Islands, were direct insults to England; but even greater than these would not have produced a war, — so low had this country fallen from the proud eminence she occupied at the death of George II. That Spain was inclined to war, is evident from the whole conduct of its ministers; but the desire was counteracted by the internal embarrassments of France — embarrassments which were silently and surely preparing the way for the tremendous revolution that followed. Carlos had no wish to sustain the contest alone; and he was satisfied with showing England that he no longer feared her. Thus affairs continued, until the conde de Aranda being succeeded by the marquis de Grimaldi, and the latter, in his turn, by the conde de Florida Blanca, when England received another blow through her ally Portugal. The vicinity of the territories held by the two peninsular kingdoms on the river La Plata led to mutual encroachments and disputes. In 1775, Spain suddenly seized the district bordering on the Sacramento; Portugal retaliated by the reduction of several forts on the Rio Grande; an expedition from Cadiz rapidly reduced the isle of Santa Catalina, off the Brazilian coast, and the colony of the Sacramento. These successes; the death of Joseph, king of Portugal; the intrigues to exclude his daughter, in favour of his grandson; the support of the former by Carlos, and her consequent succession, led to an alliance between the two kingdoms, which, by confirming the influence of Spain, in the same degree weakened that of England: in fact, Portugal, the queen-dowager of which was the sister of Carlos, adhered to the family compact. This alliance was accompanied by a treaty of limits which fixed the boundaries of Brazil, Paraguay, and Peru, —

a treaty peculiarly favourable to the views and interests of Spain.*

1778 to 1783. In this fortunate position of affairs, the enterprising Florida Blanca could not fail to watch the course of events, in the resolution of profiting by them. The progress of the misunderstanding between England and her American colonies afforded him an opening for humbling her power, and consequently for extending that of his own country. By entering into an alliance with the rebels, and by an open war with Britain, France at once indulged her hereditary enmity, and secured a friend in the rising states. In such a quarrel the Spanish minister had surely no concern: he could not wish success to the insurgents, since the example would probably extend to the South American colonies, and prove no less disastrous to Spain than to England. Yet, with a policy as blind as it was vindictive, he persuaded Carlos to concur with France in behalf of the revolted colonies. Under the pretext that his mediation —a mediation proposed merely as the forerunner to a rupture—was slighted by Great Britain, Carlos declared war, procured the co-operation of a French fleet, and caused Gibraltar to be closely invested. The situation of England, at this time, was exceedingly critical. By all Europe her ruin was considered at hand. Without an ally; opposed not only to her colonies, but to France and Spain, which were favoured by the secret wishes of Portugal, Morocco, Holland, Russia, and Austria; a prey to intestine commotions; cursed by an imbecile and extravagant court, and by a ministry no less despicable, her prospects were, indeed hopeless. But the native vigour of her defenders, though it could not avert disasters unexampled in her history, and was in most instances lamentably misdirected, at least averted impending ruin. Gibraltar, though garrisoned with no more than a handful of men, exhibited a defence which astonished all Europe; and, though the coasts of Eng-

* The same authorities, with the addition of Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iv., and Da Costa, Historia, tom. iii.

land were frequently insulted by the appearance of a hostile flag, no descent followed. These fleets were not long suffered to exhibit even these ineffectual bravadoes. Having retired to the peninsular ports, one of them was defeated by admiral Rodney, who about the same time had the good fortune to capture a convoy of fifteen sail. But the capture of a British merchant fleet by the enemy; the loss of some settlements in the West Indies and on the banks of the Mississippi, and the conquest of West Florida by Galvez, an enterprising Spanish officer, more than counterbalanced this advantage. These disasters would have been much greater, had not the English cabinet contrived to spread division between the two allied powers. The offer of Gibraltar,— an offer made with any thing but sincerity,— more than once arrested the hostile march of Spain, and led to secret negotiations. When Florida Blanca found, to his mortification, that he had been duped, and pushed the war with new vigour, he could not undo the mischief; he could not recall the preparations which England had made. He had, however, the good fortune to propose the famous armed neutrality, by which the maritime power of Europe endeavoured to annihilate the naval superiority of Britain; and he had the still greater glory of recovering Minorca. Elated by this success, the Bourbon ministers despatched a formidable fleet to expel the English from the West Indies, whilst their allies the Dutch, in concert with Hyder Ali, strove to drive the same enemy from the Carnatic. But the French admiral de Grasse sustained so signal a defeat, that the enterprise, as far as regarded the West Indies, was abandoned. — In the mean time, the blockade of Gibraltar was again converted into a vigorous siege, and a grand assault was made by the celebrated floating batteries, aided by the combined naval powers of France and Spain. But the attack was repelled by general Eliott and his heroic garrison, in such a manner as to cover the allies with shame. The place was relieved; and though the enemy continued before it, they were

too much discouraged to renew a hopeless attempt. To England, however, the war was fatal: the American colonies obtained their independence. Humbled and discouraged, the ministry now made propositions for peace; and negotiations for the purpose were opened at Paris. It was at length concluded, on terms sufficiently humiliating to the British nation. She surrendered the two Floridas, Minorca, Tobago, and Goree on the African coast, consented to be excluded from the greater part of the Gulf of Mexico, and to admit the French to a participation of the Newfoundland fisheries; while, in return for such concessions, she could not obtain the slightest advantage for regulating her trade either with the peninsula or the American colonies.*

1753 to 1788. Advantageous as were the conditions of peace, Carlos, when his resentment towards England was cooled, could not fail to perceive the impolicy of the recent war. He had assisted to establish a republic on the confines of his Mexican empire, and he knew that his own colonies had caught the same fire of independence. In fact, he had soon the mortification to see extensive districts in South America in open insurrection. In Peru, a descendant of the Incas had little difficulty in collecting 60,000 men, with whom he took the field. Had England at this time assisted the colonists, there would have been retribution in the policy: but the retaliation was reserved for our own days. Tupac, the Peruvian leader was defeated and taken prisoner; the insurgents were dispersed. But the discontent, or, we might rather say, the aspiring spirit, of the people was only smothered: they laid down their arms, with the sole view of resuming them at a more favourable opportunity.

The remaining foreign transactions of Carlos may be shortly dismissed. His treaty with the sultan of Constantinople and with the Barbary states freed his subjects from piratical depredations, and procured them

* Authorities: — Coxe; the historians of the reign of George III.; and the French memoirs.

commercial advantages in the Mediterranean superior to those enjoyed by any other European power. In Portugal, where his influence was confirmed by the marriage of his daughter Carlota with the infante Joam, afterwards Joam VI., he procured from the French a share in the commercial advantages which had been hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the English. In an equal degree was the English influence impaired in Holland by the ascendency of the Bourbon courts. That power, under its imbecile monarch, and amid the fury of corrupt contending factions, seemed sunk for ever. At this period,—a period of unutterable disgrace to the rulers of this country*,—Carlos did not fail to renew his demands for the cession of Gibraltar; and, though he found that the people would not consent to a further degradation of the national honour and interests, he wrested from the ministry most of the commercial privileges which during two centuries had been possessed by the British in the West Indies. But as he grew in years he became less favourably disposed towards France, and more willing to cultivate a good understanding with England. Alluding to the unprincipled intrigues and faithless usurpations of the former power, he gradually weaned himself from it, and was wont to declare, that every established government should build a wall of brass to prevent the entrance of French principles.†

The internal administration of Carlos was not less signal than his foreign policy. It exhibits many novelties; of which some were highly beneficial, while others were odious to the people. So long as the efforts of his ministers were confined to the improvement of commerce and agriculture; to cleansing and lighting the streets; to the construction and repairs of the roads; to the re-organisation of the police, and to the 1766.

* "But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now, no nation so low as to do her reverence."—*Lord Chatham.*

† Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. ch. 77, &c. Administration of Florida Blanca (Appendix to Coxe, vol. i.). We are not fond of quoting the English and French historians of the period, who are, without a single exception, either ill-informed or prejudiced.

amplification of the public revenues, they were cheered by the popular approbation; but when flapped hats and long cloaks — those screeners of assassination — were prohibited, a loud outcry was raised against the introduction of foreign customs. A monopoly for the supply of oil and bread to the people of Madrid bore on the lower orders much more sensibly than a change of costume, and called forth loud imprecations against the marquis Squillace, the author of this impolitic innovation. It may, however, be doubted whether any open riot would have followed, had not the populace been excited by the arts of certain unknown intriguers, whose sole object appears to have been the destruction of the ministry. On the evening of Palm Sunday (1766) the mob arose, — evidently in accordance with a preconcerted plan,—and hastened to the house of Squillace, which they attempted to force. Being repulsed by the Walloon guards, they spread throughout the city, breaking the lamps, assassinating the soldiers, and forcing every man they saw to lower the brim of his hat. The following morning the number of rioters had alarmingly increased. The king communicated with them: they demanded the head of Squillace: he appeared at the balcony of his palace; promised that the obnoxious minister should be replaced by a Spaniard; that the decree against flapped hats and long cloaks should be repealed; that the price of oil, bread, soap, and bacon should be reduced, the monopoly destroyed, and the insurgents pardoned. The strangest feature of this scene was exhibited by a friar who acted as the negotiator between the king and the people. With uplifted crucifix he read the articles seriatim. Carlos approved each by a nod, the rioters by a shout of exultation; and, when the convention was ended, the multitude quietly departed. The following morning, however, hearing that the royal family and the ministers had fled to Aranjuez, they assembled in greater numbers than before; swore that the covenant had been broken, and that they would take justice into their own hands. During forty-eight

hours the city was a prey to this lawless mob; who refused the offer of money as an inducement to disperse, and declared that they would never be satisfied without the blood of Squillace. One of the band was despatched to Aranjuez, to insist on the king's return; but Carlos, who was indisposed, wrote to the council of Castile, that the obnoxious minister was already exiled, and that, if the people would quietly disperse, his other promises should be executed with equal fidelity. The message, being proclaimed throughout the city, was received with shouts of applause; the rioters instantly surrendered their arms and drums, shook hands with the soldiers, and departed to their homes.

That this commotion was a political intrigue was no less the conviction of the king than of his ministers; and his suspicions fell on the Jesuits, and on some of his grandees. The latter were too powerful to be punished; but the poor fathers of Jesus, whose lives, at this time, were not merely innocent, but meritorious, were sacrificed to the machinations of their enemies. Some years preceding, on a charge as destitute of foundation, they had been expelled from Portugal: in 1764, their inveterate foe, the duke de Choiseul, minister of Louis XV., had driven them from France; and, in Spain, their possessions were regarded with an avaricious eye by some of the needy courtiers. To effect their downfall, the French minister eagerly joined with the advocates of plunder: and intrigues were adopted which must cover their authors with everlasting infamy. Not only was the public alarm carefully excited by a report of pretended plots, and the public indignation, by slanderous representations of their persons and principles; but, in the name of the chiefs of the order, letters were forged, which involved the most monstrous doctrines and the most criminal designs. A pretended circular from the general of the order, at Rome, to the provincial, calling on him to join with the insurgents; the deposition of perjured witnesses to prove that the recent commotion was chiefly the work of the body, deeply alarmed Carlos,

1766 to 1767.

and drew him into the views of the French cabinet. The decree for their expulsion, addressed to the governors of the provinces, was secretly signed and transmitted; at a given hour of the night their colleges were surrounded by troops; the members of each community were assembled; the decree hastily read to them: a few minutes only was allowed them to collect their breviaries, linen, and a few conveniences; the gates were then closed, and they were hurried, in separate companies, to the carriages which awaited them, conveyed to the coast, and embarked for Italy. With similar precautions, and equal rapidity, were those glaringly unjust orders executed in the capital and in the provinces. The exiles bore their lot with a fortitude which conscious innocence only could inspire. But the cup of their sufferings was not yet full. The governor of Cività Vecchia would not allow them to disembark until the pope's pleasure was known. Clement refused to admit them, under the plea, that, if they were to be expelled from all the countries of Europe, his dominions would be too narrow to contain them. In the mean time, these venerable sufferers were crowded together in the transports, like the vilest convicts: the more aged and infirm perished, as well from the suffocation as from the want of necessaries. During three months were they the sport of the waves, of the tempests, and of passions still more boisterous. At length they were permitted to land in Corsica; were hurried, like so many bales of goods, to the commercial depôts, and there left, without beds or provisions, until the pope granted the few survivors permission to settle in Italy, and until the king of Spain allowed each a pension of about one shilling a day. This odious persecution was not confined to Spain: it raged at the same time in the most distant colonies — in Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, as well as in the Philippine Islands.*

* Sempere, Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole, tom. iii. part. 3. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. ch. 64. and 65. Silva, Deducao Cronologica y Analytica, passim. This

In contemplating the actions, the historian must not overlook the passions, of mankind: still less should he suffer the latter to bias his feelings, and, through them, his judgment. If we divest ourselves of prejudice in weighing the conduct and character of the Jesuits; still more, if we contrast them with those of their persecutors, we cannot shut our eyes to the facts, that their lives were, generally, not merely blameless, but useful; that they were the victims of a systematic conspiracy, more selfish in its object, and more atrocious in its execution, than any which was ever held up to the execration of mankind. With a refinement of cruelty which we should not have expected from the court of Carlos, they were forbidden even to complain, under the penalty of losing the annual pittance assigned them: nay, the Spaniard who presumed to speak or write in their defence was declared guilty of high treason. But these venerable men were resigned to their fate: so far from uttering one word of complaint, they soothed their irritated flocks, whom they calmly exhorted to obey the civil powers. "I cannot conclude the just encomium of these men," says an eye-witness to their expulsion from the Philippine Islands *, "without observing, that, in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might, with little encouragement, have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection. I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to civil authority, but, at the same time, with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic."— But expulsion was not their only misfortune: the abolition of their order was loudly demanded. Clement espoused their cause: in a letter to Carlos, he expatiated on the services they had done to the church; on the injustice of condemning the whole body for the guilt — if guilt there were — of a few; 1767 to 1773.

work (3 vols. Lisboa, 1767) is a violent tirade against the order,—one written to gratify courtiers avarice and revenge. Histoire des Jésuits et des Missionnaires Pères de la Foi, tom. ii. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iv.

* Pagès, Voyages, 1—190. (as quoted by Coxe, vol. iii. 331.)

and conjured the monarch, in the name of the whole church, by his tears and old age, not to condemn them unheard. But such appeals, however pathetic and just, were addressed to the winds: they only excited the king to more frequent and earnest applications for the destruction of the order. Two circumstances favoured his views; first, the excommunication by the pope of the duke of Parma, brother of Carlos, for the very same persecution of the Jesuits as had so recently disgraced the courts of France and Spain. If at such powerful monarchs Clement feared to hurl the thunders of the church, he might, he hoped, with impunity vindicate her rights against a petty prince bordering on his own dominions. But he was deceived: the two Bourbon kings espoused the cause of their weaker brother. Not content with resisting the publication of the bull, they had recourse to temporal arms: the one seized Avignon, the other Benevento. Secondly, during the festival of San Carlos, when the king, according to ancient custom, appeared at the balcony of his palace, the assembled multitude, with one voice, demanded the recall of the Jesuits. How he pacified them, we are not told; but, instead of granting the request, he exiled the archbishop of Toledo, whom he suspected to be the prime author of the petition, and he redoubled his instances at the court of Rome. The aged pontiff, unwilling to comply, yet afraid to refuse, endeavoured, by his briefs, to interest other catholic princes in behalf of his persecuted servants; when his death deprived them of a protector. The elevation of Ganganelli, under the name of Clement XIV., a prelate of extreme moderation, so far as regarded the pretensions of the holy see, and one disposed to sacrifice his own wishes in favour of peace, proved that the intrigues of the two Bourbon monarchs had not been inactive. By the new pope, the brief against the duke of Parma was revoked; and, ultimately, though with exceeding reluctance, the bull of abolition was published. Thus faction triumphed over innocence, and avarice over the interests of the church. It is

almost needless to add, that, in the present, as in the case of the Templars, and, at a later period, in that of the suppressed monasteries in a country nearer home, a very small portion of the possessions so unjustly confiscated was applied to any useful purpose: in Spain, as in England, it found its way into the pockets of a needy sovereign, of courtly minions, or of unprincipled adventurers.*

In most other respects, the internal administration of Carlos was one of unmixed good. The increase of the standing army, a force absolutely necessary, not merely for the national defence, but for the preservation of domestic tranquillity; its improved discipline; a judicious organisation of the police; the restriction of ecclesiastical immunities in such cases as were incompatible with the well-being of the people; the circumscription of the powers of the inquisition; an attempt to colonise the Sierra Morena; the establishment of schools to supply the void left by the expulsion of the Jesuits, signalised the administration of the conde de Aranda. The same reforms were extended or improved by the conde de Florida Blanca, who added others of even superior importance. The encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and the useful arts of life; a radical change in the intercourse of Spain with her colonies; a considerable augmentation in the returns of the mines, in the customs, in every branch of the revenue; the introduction of new manufactures, and the encouragement of such as were already established; the facilitation of intercourse,

* Chiefly the same authorities.

The above attempt — one demanded by the sacred interests of justice — to vindicate a persecuted body of men, will not, perhaps, be read with much satisfaction by the Roman catholics, — the bitterest enemies of the order. A protestant historian need not, surely, be biassed by the wretched squabbles of men who, however they may differ among themselves, are not the less his religious opponents. But his necessary freedom from such bias must make him the best judge of the subject. Whether the order has not been calumniated; whether its members are *always* ambitious, or intolerant, or avaricious, or hypocritical, may soon be learned in the neighbourhood of Stonyhurst. If charity without ostentation, if piety without fanaticism, if virtues which shrink from the public gaze, are estimable among men, then have the excellent members of that establishment deserved some better reward, at the hands of a late ministry, than that extinction which was absurdly made a condition of the emancipation bill.

by means of new roads and canals, between the great marts of Spain; and numerous reforms in the forms of judicial process, and in the responsibility of the judges, were a few of the many benefits conferred by this great minister on his country.

1788. Don Carlos died, at the close of the year 1788, in a good old age. From the vigour of his constitution he would, doubtless, have lived longer, had not his heart been affected by the precarious state of his relations in France, by the loss of his son don Gabriel, of his daughter-in-law doña Maria of Portugal, and of their infant. He was a prince of considerable talents, of excellent intentions, and of blameless morals. In his public character, his best praise is to be found in the fact that, through his ministers, he introduced a degree of prosperity to which his people had been strangers since the days of Philip II. In private life he was unlike most kings. During a long widowhood, his example afforded no encouragement to licentiousness: as he was severe towards himself, he was naturally so towards others. His chief defects were, obstinacy, too great reserve, even with his ministers, and an immoderate addiction to the exercise of hunting. By his queen Amelia, a princess of Saxony, he left issue, 1. Felipe Pascal, excluded through natural imbecility; 2. Carlos his successor, imprisoned and forced to abdicate by Bonaparte; 3. Fernando, king of Naples and Sicily. Four other sons preceded him to the tomb.*

* Sempère, Considérations sur les Causes, &c., tom. ii. Florida Blanca's Defence of his own Admini tration (Appendix to Coxe, vol. i.. Laborde, View of Spain, passim. Coxe, Memoirs, vol. iii. passim.

SECTION II.

THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY.

1521—1788.

CHAP. I.

THE ANCIENT DYNASTY CONTINUED.

JOAM III.

1521—1557.

JOAM, the eldest son of the deceased dom Manuel*, was in his twentieth year when he ascended the throne. 1521. At this time Portugal was held to be in the zenith of her power. Her boundless empire in the east and west; her African possessions, which, though unproductive themselves, were admirably adapted for the protection and extension of commerce; her internal wealth; seemed to secure her future happiness no less than her glory. But, to a closer observer, she was evidently beginning to decline. Her former domination was more splendid than solid. The enormous expense of supporting the princes of the royal house, — a heavy and cumbrous establishment, adapted, not for a small state, like Portugal, but for an immense empire; the alarming multiplication of the nobility and clergy, who must of necessity be supported at the public expense; and, above all, the

* See Vol. III. p. 298—324.

introduction of a degree of luxury unknown in any other part of Europe, were signs of a decline as rapid as inevitable.*

The long reign of this prince exhibits little beyond interminable contests in India and Africa. If even their detail were not inconsistent with the limits of a brief compendium, they would be perused with little interest by an English reader. They can be noticed in so far only as they affect the general state of the monarchy.

1521 to 1557. 1. ASIA. On the accession of Joam, the viceroyalty of the Indies was in the hands of Dom Duarte de Meneses.† In Ormus, the inhabitants, at the instigation of the minister Xaref, and with the permission of the king Terunca, rose against the Portuguese, massacred a considerable number, and besieged the rest in the citadel, which they had been impoliticly permitted to erect.‡ Coutinho, the governor, despatched a vessel to Goa, the seat of the Indian government, for reinforcements; but, before any could arrive, Xaref lost so many men, both in an unsuccessful attempt on the fortress, and by a vigorous sortie of the garrison, that he was compelled to retire with the king to a neighbouring island. There, finding that Terunca, who had been unwillingly drawn into the war, was disposed to renew a good understanding with the strangers, he caused that unfortunate prince to be strangled. Instead of punishing this man for thus murdering a faithful ally, the avaricious viceroy, for a large sum of money, conferred on him the government of Ormus. The same rapacity characterised the Portuguese governors in Cochin, at Calicut, in Malacca, the Moluccas, and wherever else their detestable sway extended. To restore the national honour, in 1524, the king despatched the aged Vasco de Gama, the celebrated discoverer of the Hindu peninsula.§ But scarcely had this great man reached Cochin, and applied his vigorous hand to the correction of abuses,

* Læmos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. xii. lib. 43. cap. 1. et 2.
† Vol. III. p. 211. ‡ Ibid. p. 308. § Ibid. p. 298.

when death surprised him. He was succeeded by Henrique de Menezes, brother of Duarte, whose wisdom, valour, and love of justice made him the dread alike of the hostile natives and of his licentious soldiers. But after a brilliant victory over the king of Calicut, an inveterate enemy of the Europeans, he breathed his last at Cananore, so poor — and this is the greatest praise that can be given him — that he left not money sufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral. A few months before his death he resolved to forsake the fortress of Calicut, which experience had shown would always be exposed to the attacks of the zamorin, and transfer the settlement to Diu, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, and in the empire of Guzerat; and his successor, don Pedro Mascarenhas, prepared to carry the resolve into execution. But Diu was strong by nature, and greatly fortified by art; nor would the king of Cambay, one of the most powerful sovereigns of western India, fail to succour it. Hence bribery was employed instead of force: but accident suspended the execution of the enterprise. The disputes of Mascarenhas with Sampeyo, who succeeded him, and the perpetual jealousies of the inferior officers, were deeply injurious to the interests of the empire in the East; they could, however, combine where plunder was to be gained; and in such expeditions they exhibited a valour worthy of a better cause. In 1529, Sampeyo was superseded by Nuno da Cunha, who took Ormus in his way, and who sent Xaref in chains to Lisbon. On arriving at Goa, his first acts were so many preparations for the siege of Diu, the possession of which he perceived to be necessary for the security of the Portuguese settlements. So great was the force he brought against it, that it surrendered without a shot; nor could the subsequent, however frequent and desperate, efforts of the Mohammedan king recover it. In 1537, a formidable fleet was despatched from the Red Sea, under the pacha Soliman, admiral of the Sublime Porte, to co-operate with the king of Cambay, and to expel the Christians

from these seas. On his approach, the Portuguese, who amounted to no more than 700, threw themselves into the citadel, while the governor Silveira secretly sent a brig to acquaint the viceroy with the danger which threatened that important post. In the assaults which followed, by a force, so we are gravely informed, at least forty times numerically superior to the garrison, the defenders exhibited a heroism worthy of all praise. Disappointed at so desperate a resistance, Soliman sent an ambassador to the king of Calicut, whom he invited to accept the protection of the sultan, and to join him in exterminating the infidel dogs. The word *protection* roused the wrath of the proud zamorin. "Tell thy master," was the reply, "that the sovereigns of Calicut need no protection, but are the protectors of other kings; that they never receive presents, but give them." In the mean time Da Cunha had been superseded by dom Garcia de Noronha, who hastened in person to the relief of Diu, but who found the siege raised, after immense loss on the part of Soliman. — The next nobleman who held the delegated authority of Joam was dom Estevan de Gama, a son of the celebrated Vasco, whose administration was as vigorous as it was splendid. He founded a college at Goa for the education of noble Hindoos; he defended the emperor of Abyssinia against the Turks; and he exterminated most of the corsairs who infested the Indian seas. His successor, Alfonso de Sousa, by whom he was replaced in 1542, was accompanied by San Francisco de Xavier, the great apostle of the Indies, the friend of Ignacio de Loyola, and the chief instrument for the establishment of the order of Jesus. The labours of this missionary were almost superhuman, and were not without effect: on one occasion, at least, his prayers were believed to have procured a great victory for his countrymen. In the year of his arrival the islands of Japan were first approached by the Europeans; but the jealousy or prudence of the inhabitants preserved them from the intercourse of these suspicious strangers. That such

strangers were entitled to be viewed with distrust was soon experienced by the inhabitants of the Moluccas. They had gained possession of two princes, sons of the late king of Ternate, whom, at length, they liberated with the view of reigning through a royal dependent. The eldest was restored by the governor Fonseca to the throne; but in a few weeks the same governor replaced him by the younger brother. A new governor arrived—such was the fear lest the Portuguese officers should aim at independence, that they never were long suffered to remain in one post,—who, on some frivolous pretext arrested the king, and sent him to Goa. The viceroy, unable to prove any charge against him, honourably dismissed him, but he died on his return. There was still remaining a bastard brother of these puppets of royalty; him the governor, Ataide, raised to the throne. His mother, a native of Java, by religion a Mohammedan, endeavoured to dissuade him from retaining the dignity, foreseeing that the same or a similar fate would be reserved for him as had already proved fatal to his brothers. Incensed at this discovery of their views, a band of Portuguese soldiers hastened to the palace, and in sight of her son threw her from a high window: she was killed by the fall. Throughout these islands the inhabitants retaliated by massacring all of the same nation on whom they could lay hands; but most, according to custom, fled into the citadel of Ternate, where they could safely defy their pursuers. This relation would alone be sufficient to characterise the conduct of the Portuguese, who, under the pretence of commerce, obtaining from the incautious natives permission to build a citadel, uniformly perpetrated the same atrocities. Their odious domination was founded in hypocrisy, was cemented by violence and blood, was crowned with rapacity and insolence. Sousa was succeeded by dom Joam de Castro, under whom the garrison of Diu again obtained immortal fame by the defence of that place against a formidable army of Mohammedans. The place was at length relieved by the

viceroy in person, who, not content with this advantage, assailed with about 5000 men the vast force of the enemy, and obtained a signal victory. But great as was, beyond all question, the valour of the Christians, posterity will not believe that, while the loss of the natives was many thousands, theirs was only 100 individuals. The same exaggeration is to be found in all the relations of all the wars of Portugal with the mis-believers. But whatever might be the relative power of the two hostile parties, or their respective loss, this victory inspired the princes of Hindostan with fear. — Passing over two intermediate viceroys, one of whom, however (Cabral), obtained some advantage over the zamorin, the government of Alfonso de Noronha is chiefly remarkable for the revolt of the Moluccas. The cause, as may be readily supposed, was the unscrupulous behaviour of the Portuguese officers, and the indignation of the king, the horrid fate of whose mother was continually present to his eyes. Those who had embraced Christianity broke the images, and overthrew the altars which they had been taught to venerate. Their revolt would, probably, have been successful, had not a dreadful famine, and afterwards a still more dreadful earthquake, carried off some thousands of their number, and inclined the rest to consider these disasters as chastisements of their apostasy. The avarice of Noronha, who, on one occasion, threw the father of a Cingalese king into prison because he was refused 12,000 ducats, — a sum which he demanded without the shadow of a reason, and in the wantonness of power, — increased the number of the discontented. Joam was sufficiently inclined to punish the guilt of his servants; but his immense distance from the scene, and the misrepresentations of the interested, neutralised his desire of justice. The last viceroy during his reign was dom Francisco Barreto, under whom the Moluccas again revolted. The governor at Ternate, Duarte de Saa, a fierce bigot and a sanguinary monster, treated the royal family with ex-

treme severity. On one occasion, resolving to remove the king by poison, he caused the liquor in which the drug was mixed to be presented; but the intended victim, by means we are told of a peculiar stone, detected the deleterious nature of the beverage, and refused to drink it. With the resolution of destroying so faithless a race, his subjects rose against the Portuguese, massacred all on whom they could seize, but were, as usual, defied by the garrison, were subsequently vanquished in a general engagement, and forced to resume the yoke.*

2. AFRICA. During these transactions in the East, Morocco continued to be the sanguinary theatre of the worst human passions. On the one hand the Portuguese were eager to extend their possessions; on the other, the xerifs, exulting in their successful ambition †, were not less so to free the country from so troublesome an enemy. From the accession of the new dynasty, the affairs of the Portuguese began to decline. Indicative of the ambitious schemes which they had formed, the xerifs assumed the title of emperors of Africa: the elder, Hamed, remaining at Morocco; the younger, Mohammed, occupying the more western provinces. To the king of Fez this assumption was not less odious than it was to the Portuguese themselves: to repress their rising power, that prince led a formidable army to the banks of the Gadalebi, where he was signally defeated. About the same time the governor of Saphin, irritated at the insulting demonstration of the Moors before that place, imprudently left the walls, and attacked them; his defeat confirmed the domination of the imperial brothers. The recovery of Santa Cruz, a town at Cape Aguer, encouraged Hamed, the elder, to attempt the reduction of Saphin; but, as usual, he

1523 to 1557.

* Barros, Asia (in several volumes, under the proper dates). Vasconcellos, Aacenphalæosis, seu summa Capita Actorum Regum Lusitaniæ (in regno Johannis III.). Antonio de Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. i. La Clède, Histoire Générale de Portugal, tom. iv. et v. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xii.—xiv. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. ii. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, par Hermilly, tom. ix.

† Vol. III. p. 322.

failed. His brother, who had fixed his residence at Tarudante*, had brought from Santa Cruz several Christian captives, among whom was the governor, Monroi, with two children, a son and a daughter. The beauty of doña Mencia made a deep impression on the xerif, who, at length, prevailed on her, not only to enter his harem, but to abjure her religion. The passion of this barbarian is represented as intense and lasting. After her premature death,— an event supposed to have been produced by the jealousy of his other wives, whom he had neglected, — he refused to admit consolation, and during four months immured himself from the world. In the superstitious notion that the dead sometimes wander around their sepulchres, he caused the most delicious viands to be placed on her tomb; and there he often repaired himself, to lament her fate. From this melancholy abstraction he was roused by an unexpected invasion of his brother Hamed, who, after a second unsuccessful attempt on Saphin, hoped to add Sus and Tarudante to the empire of Morocco. The latter was defeated and taken prisoner; but his eldest son, who had been in the capital, armed for his liberation, and, to strengthen the expedition, courted the alliance of the Portuguese. Alarmed at the junction, the victor dismissed his brother without ransom, on the condition that mutual wrongs should be forgotten, and their arms united to oppose the common enemy of both. But Hamed was too ambitious to submit to a division of the empire. Unmindful of his brother's generosity, in 1543 he assembled another army, invaded Tarudante, and was again defeated. On this second occasion, Mohammed was resolved to derive every possible advantage from his success. He marched on Morocco, which he occupied without resistance. From the triumph of his arms, the xerif turned to a melancholy indulgence of his passion. Hearing that Monroi, the

* See Vol. III. p. 322.

father of his lost mistress, was in the dungeons of Morocco, he called that unfortunate cavalier before him. "Christian, I loved thy daughter, and her death has left me miserable: neither victory nor glory can console me; my only consolation is an opportunity of serving her father. Depart, and when in thine own country, sometimes think of a monarch so devoted to thy child!" This prince had certainly elevated qualities, a distinction the more honourable in a Moor. Though his brother Hamed armed Muley, king of Fez, against him, he again pardoned him, but exiled him to the government of a fortified town. In a subsequent action, which Muley had the imprudence to seek, the monarch of Fez was defeated, and deprived of his possessions. Lord of Morocco, Sus, Fez, Tarudante, Tremecen, and other regions, his ambition was not yet satisfied. As his domestic disputes were ended, he again turned his arms against his natural enemies; but, if the historians of Portugal are to be credited, with little effect. That on one occasion the xerif, with 4000 horse, was signally defeated by a Portuguese noble with 140, is gravely asserted: victories equally improbable, we may add equally impossible, occur at every step in the Portuguese relations concerning the wars of their countrymen with the misbelievers. But what we are told could not be effected by valour was done by fortune. Considering the war which he had to support in India, and his want of troops, Joam took the extraordinary resolution of dismantling four of his African's fortresses, Arzilla, Saphin, Azamor, Alcazar-Seguer, and of abandoning the ruins to the enemy. This resolution was carried into effect; but that this was owing as much to the arms of the xerif as to the motives will be admitted by every reader except a Portuguese. As Mohammed grew in years he abstained from the field, and left the conduct of the desultory and indecisive operations to his generals, — operations which do not assuredly deserve to be recorded. We can only observe, that in the last year of Joam's reign he was assassinated

by the governor of Algiers, and was succeeded by his son, Muley Abdallah.*

1521 to 1557. Of dom Joam's administration in Portugal, the national historians seldom speak; their attention is almost wholly occupied by affairs in India and Africa. He it was who introduced the inquisition into Portugal. The cause which led to this odious innovation is said to have been the daring impiety of a heretic, who, one day, entered a church during mass, and snatched the consecrated host from the hands of the priest. To keep the Jews, Moors, and other enemies of the Roman catholic religion in the respect due to it, the king called in the assistance of that terrible tribunal. Its introduction was strongly opposed by the people, who, however, bent before his inflexibility. The next instance of his anxiety for the interests of religion was his attachment to the Jesuits, who at this time glowed with all the intensity of a first zeal. He employed them as his missionaries throughout his vast colonial empire, and nobly did they justify his choice. With their lives in their hands, these men of God traversed regions previously unknown, plunged into inhospitable deserts to teach the heathen the way to heaven, exhibited an activity in their mission unexampled since the days of the primitive apostles: patient under suffering, meek under persecution, they submitted without a murmur to privations, bonds, and death. Their virtues appeared to double advantage, when contrasted with the worldly pursuits, or exceptionable lives, of too many among the secular and regular orders of the same church. In fact, the licentiousness of the latter had arrived at such a pitch, that Joam found it necessary to reform them. To this end he created three new bishoprics, elevated the see of Evora into a metropolis, and charged the new prelates to watch over the conduct of the monastic houses. With no less care did he provide for the administration of justice; he im-

* Authorities:—Vasconcellos, Ferreras, Herrera, La Clède, Lemos, Silva, &c.

proved alike the tribunals and the laws; but, as clemency was the basis of his character, those laws were deprived of their ancient severity. No less anxious to promote internal intercourse, he repaired the roads, constructed new ones, and even restored the celebrated aqueduct of Sertorius.

This prince died in 1557. By his queen, Catherina, 1557
sister of the emperor Charles V., he had several male children, of whom none emerged from their infancy except Joam. Nor did that infante survive the father. In 1553 he received the hand of Juana, daughter of the emperor; but he died in the third month of his marriage, leaving the princess pregnant of a son, afterwards the unfortunate dom Sebastian. Of this king's daughters one only arrived at mature years, Maria, whom he married to her cousin, Philip II. of Spain. Of his brothers one only, the cardinal Henrique, whom he had vainly endeavoured to place in the chair of St. Peter, survived him. As his sister Isabel was the mother of the Spanish monarch, the connection between the royal families of the two kingdoms was, as we shall soon see, fatal to the independence of Portugal. In enumerating the scions of this house, we must not omit Luis duke de Beja, a brother of Joam, who died in 1555. This prince fell passionately in love with a female of humble birth: the issue of this connection was a son, afterwards the famous prior of Crato. That, as some pretend, he was privately married to the lady, is highly improbable, and rests on no other authority than the assertion of those who, in the civil troubles, espoused the cause of the son, and consequently wished him to be considered legitimate.*

* Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente; necnon Sandoval, Historia de Carlos V. (sub propriis annis). Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in regno Johannis III.). Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. i. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. ix. La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. iv. et v. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xii.—xiv. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iii.

SEBASTIAN.

1557—1578.

1557 to 1568. As Sebastian, on the death of his grandfather, was only three years of age, the regency, in conformity with the will of the late king, was vested in the widowed queen, Catherina of Austria. In a few years, however, being disgusted with the intrigues of cardinal Henrique, who aspired to the direction of affairs, she resigned it in his favour. Both governed with moderation, and not without success, an empire on which the sun never set.

From infancy the young king showed that the love of arms would be his ruling passion. His tutors appear to have been no less anxious to imbue his mind with hatred of the Moors, the progress of whose successes had filled them with apprehension. The union of four states, — Sus, Morocco, Fez, and Tremecen — under the same sceptre, was scarcely more fatal than the successive relinquishment by the late king of four mportant fortresses, Arzilla, Alcazar-Seguer, Saphin, and Azamor. The treacherous assassination, indeed, of the xerif by the governor of Algiers, in the last year of Joam's reign, had induced the Portuguese to hope that under a less enterprising prince they should regain their former influence. The hope was vain. The eldest son, Muley Abdalla, who, in the dread of being supplanted by his uncle and seven cousins, had put all the eight to death, showed a disposition to improve the advantages which had been gained. In 1562, he collected a formidable army, which he intrusted to his eldest son, Muley Hamet, who furiously assailed Mazagan, a fortress on the Atlantic, almost within sight

of his capital. In their usual spirit,—a spirit so wildly extravagant as to scorn probabilities, and often to set possibilities at defiance*,—the Portuguese historians represent the number of the assailants at about 160,000†, while that of the garrison did not exceed a few hundreds. Of course, this vast host, though led by the vassal king of Dara, a brother of the emperor, and encouraged by the example of Muley Hamet, was discomfited by the miraculous valour of the besieged.‡ The assailants, however, returned in greater numbers, and with greater fury, than before§, but were repulsed with equal slaughter.|| In 1565 an attempt equally unsuccessful was made on Tangier. Still the Portuguese empire in Africa was so fallen from its former splendour,—three fortresses only, Mazagan, Ceuta, and Tangier, remaining to Sebastian,—that we need not be surprised at the immoderate anxiety betrayed by the young monarch to restore, if possible to amplify it, far beyond its original extent. The exaggerated relations every day poured into his ear of Lusitanian valour, convinced him that no attempt, however vast, would exceed his means. There were, unfortunately, courtiers enough to profit by the marked predilection of their sovereign: if the sober judging,—if all who loved their country,—ventured to condemn the project of an African war, there were too many who, regarding their own interests only, or anxious to mortify a rival by espousing what was evidently so agreeable to the royal

* The same exaggeration is employed in regard to India as to Africa; the enemy is generally made to exceed the Christians a hundred-fold.

† "Dos muros se via coberto o campo com 37.000 cavallos, et tanta infantaria que affirmavaõ se naõ podia contar; mas que era opinion constante exceder o numero de 120,000 homens."—*Lemos.*

‡ "Naõ saõ explicaveis os assombros de heroismo obrados, por D. Diego Manoel e por seu cunhado Pedro Vas de Veiga—e outros homens, que seudo assumpto verdadeiro da historia, elles parece que so' tem lugar nos fingimentos da fabula."—*Lemos*, xv. 165. Of course.

§ "Montaraõ os Mouros a brecha com impeto *infernal*."—Ibid. 173.

|| The Jews justly accounted that victory miraculous where each slew his man; but all victories sink into insignificance when compared with the Portuguese. The enemy lost 25,000, the Portuguese—40 individuals! Supposing the number of the besieged to have been 800, each must have killed about 30, and wounded at least as many!

will, did all in their power to confirm the growing resolution.*

1568 to 1574. From the moment Sebastian reached his fourteenth year, the period of his majority, all his thoughts evidently tended to the African war. But though spoiled by the favourites around him, this weak and giddy youth could not for some years remove the obstacles which the wisdom of his ministers placed in the way of his ruin. This time he spent in drilling some citizens of the capital, and thereby exercising, on a mimic scale, the art to which he had consecrated his life. In 1574, in opposition to the prayers of his counsellors, and amidst the lamentations of all who wished well to his person, he suddenly and rashly departed for the African coast; not, indeed, with the view of warfare, but of examining the country, and of acquiring a knowledge that might be useful in his meditated exploits. That such a voyage would be attended with danger, even though he was accompanied by about 1500 men, was apparent. He landed at Tangier, and began to hunt amidst the African mountains, with as much sense of security as if he were following the chase in the vicinity of Cintra. Irritated at his audacity, the Moors collected in considerable numbers, and assailed the royal escort; but after a struggle, in which the king exhibited all the rashness of his courage, and in which he incurred great risk, they were repelled. The facility with which this success was obtained only made him the more eager to pursue the great enterprise he had so long meditated. Another cause gave now a stimulus to his ardour. Morocco was a prey to divisions, which had already proved disastrous to the Moors, and were likely to continue the fruitful source of troubles. Muley Abdalla had been succeeded by his son, Muley Hamet, in opposition to the order of succession established by the two xerifs, who agreed that in their respective dominions the sons should succeed

* Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in regno Sebastiani). Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. i. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xv.

in the order of their birth, to the exclusion of the grandsons. Hence, on the death of Abdalla, the crown should have devolved, not on Muley Hamet, but on Abdelmumen, the next brother of Abdalla. Knowing that his life was in danger, Abdelmumen, accompanied by his younger brothers, Abdelmelic and Hamet, had fled to Tremecen and Algiers. They were pursued by assassins, and Abdelmumen fell in the mosque of the former city. Muley Moluc Abdelmelic fled to Algiers, and implored the succour of the Spanish king, whom he proposed to acknowledge as his liege lord, in the event of his gaining what he considered his rightful inheritance. But Philip was too prudent to plunge his kingdom into a war for the sake of a barbarian, who would soon have forgotten the promise. From the grand signior, however, whom he visited, this prince obtained 3000 men, with permission to raise as many as he could. With this small force he returned, increased it by the levies raised during his absence by his brother Hamet, and boldly marched on Fez. He was met by Muley Hamet, whom he defeated, pursued, and finally expelled from Morocco: he was in consequence hailed as emperor by a people more prone than any other to revolution. It was now Muley Hamet's turn to solicit the Christian princes for aid. Philip turned a deaf ear to him, as he had before done to Abdelmelic; but he was more fortunate with Sebastian, who readily promised to replace him on the throne.*

But though the civil dissensions of Morocco thus confirmed the Portuguese king in his long-cherished resolution, even he felt that the undertaking was one of magnitude, and demanded preparations. His coffers were empty; his disposable force was insignificant; his kingdom was exhausted, both of money and of troops, by the continued wars in India and Africa. By a prudent man these circumstances would have been con- 1575 to 1577

* Authorities; — Vasconcellos, Herrera, Geronimo di Franchi Contestaggio, Ferreras, La Clède, Silva, Lemos, and many others.

sidered insurmountable obstacles to the meditated enterprise; but though they were displayed in their true light by ministers who had grown old in public affairs, they had little effect on this unreflecting prince. He laid new and oppressive imposts on his people, and caused troops to be levied in Italy and the Low Countries: but the money thus raised was inadequate to the occasion; nor would the foreign mercenaries move from their country, without receiving a considerable sum by way of advance. The preparations, however, alarmed Muley Moluc, who offered him any part in Mauritania as the condition of his abandoning the exile Muley Hamet, — an offer which he indignantly rejected. That he aspired to the possession of the whole empire, — nay, that, in his wild imagination he indulged the prospect of subduing all northern Africa, and of planting his victorious banners on the towers of Constantinople, — is seriously asserted by the historians of the times. But as his resources were so limited, he turned his eyes towards his uncle, the catholic king, whose co-operation he solicited, and with whom he obtained an interview at Guadalupe. The behaviour of Philip on this occasion is highly honourable to his character. He received Sebastian with uncommon respect, waved points of precedence, showed an affectionate interest in the circumstances and prospects of the young enthusiast, to whom he even promised his daughter, doña Clara Eugenia. He strongly disapproved of the African war; alleged the most convincing reasons for abandoning it, — reasons drawn alike from the character of the Moors, the sterility of the mountains, the magnitude of the expense, the probability that Turkey would arm in behalf of Muley Moluc; and in case Sebastian fell, the disputes that must inevitably arise concerning the succession; — and when he saw that his nephew was fully bent on the undertaking, he earnestly and pathetically entreated him not to conduct it in person, but confide it to his generals. As the enterprise was one of peril, and as, in the event of the madman's death, Philip would be a

claimant of the Portuguese monarchy, his conduct in this respect is the more honourable: yet such is the force of national prejudice, or of party malice, that his very virtues have been blackened, his best motives wilfully misrepresented.* When he found his kinsman's mind too obstinate to be swayed by reason, he gave a reluctant consent to furnish 5000 men and fifty vessels for the expedition; but even this was attended with the condition that Sebastian would not venture into the interior of the country. In the hope that the dreaded expedition might yet be abandoned, he sent one of his most experienced officers into Africa, to examine the positions and nature of the country, ordering him to return by way of Lisbon, and acquaint the king with the observations he had made. The mission was faithfully executed: but neither the representations of experience, nor the letters of the catholic king, had the slightest effect on this prince, who, according to the well-known saying of the sage, seemed in a doomed state, — blinded that he might be destroyed.† With equal failure did the clergy and nobles of Portugal implore this infatuated, moon-struck youth, to abandon, or at least to suspend, his purpose, until the nation were better prepared to second his endeavours. It was hoped that the refusal of Philip, — now more deeply involved in the Flemish war ‡, — to furnish the contingent which had been stipulated, would have more effect than an appeal either to prudence, or to compassion for his people. On such a result Philip had evidently calculated; but when he found this last argument as ineffectual as the rest, he despatched 2000 men to aid in the defence of Sebastian.

* La Clède will allow no virtue to Philip, who, he pretends — assuredly without the shadow of a foundation — suddenly approved the enterprise, in the diabolical view of hastening the destruction of his nephew, and profiting by the catastrophe. "Philippe avait fait, de son côté, ses réflexions: autant qu'il s'étoit d'abord opposé à l'entreprise que le roi de Portugal méditoit, autant il montra de désir que l'on l'exécutât. Sébastien étoit jeune, téméraire, sans enfans: il pourroit périr, et alors le Portugal pouvait être réuni à la Castille." — Tom. v. p. 170. This is a base and malignant calumny.

† "Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat."

‡ See page 46, &c. of the present volume.

The obstinacy of the latter was confirmed by the arrival of 3000 men from the prince of Orange, and of 600 Italians, who were on their way to join the discontented Irish, and who were easily persuaded to divert their arms against the Moors, — a people *almost* as odious as the heretics of England.*

1578. The preparations being at length completed, and the cardinal Henrique vested with the regency, in June, 1578, the armament put to sea. It consisted of 9000 Portuguese, — all that could be raised; — 2000 Spaniards, 3000 Germans, and the Italians before mentioned; in all about 15,000 men, with twelve pieces of artillery, embarked in fifty-five vessels. With a force so inadequate to the objects of the expedition, no sane mind would ever have embarked. The soldiers were wiser than their chief; they felt as if they were proceeding to certain destruction: there was no merriment, no confidence in their own courage; but a melancholy resignation appeared on the countenances of all. Never, indeed, was armament more fatally misdirected. Though the disembarkation was effected early in July, between Arzilla and Tangier, Sebastian had yet to plan the operations of the campaign. Here he lost fifteen days, a time which not only greatly diminished his stock of provisions, but enabled the enemy to perfect their preparations for defence. It was at length resolved that the campaign should be opened by the siege of Larache, a fortress about five leagues distant from Arzilla; but whether the men should proceed by land or by sea, gave rise to new consultations. As the horsemen of Muley Moluc were hovering about the outskirts of the Christians, — as the weather was oppressive, the country sandy, and the march fatiguing, — circumstances which had been fore-

* Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. ii. Geronimo di Franchi Contestaggio, Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Castiglia, lib. i. Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in reg. Seb.). Faria y Sousa, Epitome de los Historias Portuguezas, part. iii. La Clède, Histoire Générale, vol. v. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvi. et xvii. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. x. (in reg. Philip II.). Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iii. To these may be added Cabrera, Herrera, and the other historians of Philip II.

seen by the prudent Philip, — common sense demanded that the armament should proceed by sea. Of this opinion were the most experienced Portuguese: it was supported with energy by Muley Hamet, who with 300 Moors had joined his ally, and whose opinion, on such a subject was entitled to most implicit deference. But the rash prince declared that to reimbark in presence of the enemy would be a mark of cowardice, and would injure the final success of the cause. There were not wanting flatterers to approve the royal sentiment; and the journey by land was resolved. Unfortunately, there was no able general in the army of the Portuguese; the best officers were in India; and though no people could be more brave than the proud chivalry who were present, not one was capable of conducting an army. Among the foreign auxiliaries were two able generals; but Portuguese pride could not stoop to receive lessons from them. Just before the troops began to march, general Aldaña arrived with letters from the duke of Alva. In them that able captain expressed the alarm which he had felt lest the Portuguese should venture from the coast, and how agreeably that alarm had been dissipated by the assurance that their efforts were to be confined to the reduction of Larache. He advised the king to remain satisfied with that advantage. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the army commenced its march, without discipline or zeal, and proceeded so slowly, that five days had elapsed before it arrived on the banks of the Luk, within sight of the army of Moluc.*

Though on the arrival of his enemies, Muley Moluc was in the last stage of a lingering and fatal disease, he had prepared with activity for their reception. Having ordered his brother, the governor of Fez, to join him, he advanced towards Alcazar-quibir, and about six miles from that place he became so much exhausted that he 1578.

* Authorities: — Herrera, Historia de Portugal; Geronimo di Franchi Contestaggio, Dell' Unione; Faria y Sousa, Epitome; Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis; La Clède, Histoire Générale; Ferreras, Histoire Générale; Lemos, Historia Geral; Silva, Historia de Portugal; with the biographers of Philip II.

could not sit on horseback. There his brother joined him, and increased his force to about 48,000 *; exclusive of some Arabs, who arrived only for plunder. As he distrusted many of his followers, he caused proclamations to be made, that all who wished to join his rival, had his full permission to leave the camp unmolested. With the view of affording them the opportunity of escape, he selected 3000 whom he considered the most disaffected, and despatched them to reconnoitre the Christian camp: but, though they had actually entertained the design of forsaking him, they were so gratified with what they regarded as a proof of his confidence, in being selected for so honourable a service, that all remained faithful. His first aim was to oppose the passage of the Christians over the river, in the way to Larache; and with this view he posted his troops at the only ford in the neighbourhood. It was for some time doubtful whether the two armies would come to an action. The Portuguese vainly sought for another ford; and when the river was ascertained to be too deep for the infantry, much more the artillery, to pass it, a council of war was summoned to deliberate on what was best to be done. All felt that their position was one of imminent peril; in fact, of desperation. In another day their provisions would be exhausted: they could not, therefore, return to Arzilla, nor could they reach Larache without taking a circuitous route, and being constantly exposed to the enemy's assaults. In such circumstances, owing to the most deplorable imbecility on the part of the king, the only hope of escape lay in victory. But Muley Hamet, who, from the disorganised state of the army, its insubordination, its want of

* The numbers are apparently very accurately given by a contemporary historian,—not, of course, a Portuguese. There were 3000 Andalusians, who had recently been expelled from that province (see the reign of Philip II.); 25,000 Moorish cavalry; 1000 archers on horseback, and 3000 on foot. These constituted the only force on which Muley Moluc could depend. There were, besides, 10,000 horse and 5000 infantry; but these were adventurers, whose only object was plunder.

In their usual manner, the Portuguese historians represent the enemy's force at 150,000.

zeal, and, above all, from the imbecility of its leaders, perceived that the advantage must of necessity rest with the Moors, advised a retreat, at all risks, or a resolute effort to gain Larache; and, when he found that the obstinacy of the king was not to be shaken, urged that the action should not commence until four o'clock in the afternoon. In this case, he observed, the army would, if defeated, be soon able to escape under cover of darkness. But the presumptuous youth despised every suggestion of prudence; and the contest was resolved early the following day. In the certainty that the Christians, through want of provisions, would soon be at his mercy, the Moorish monarch had hoped to avoid useless bloodshed, by delaying the battle: but he felt that his last hour was rapidly approaching; he had no confidence in the talents of his brother; he trembled for the fidelity of a considerable portion of his army; and he knew that his authority alone could ensure obedience, his ability alone the hope of victory. He called his brother to his tent; confided to him the command of the cavalry; exhorted him to do his duty manfully, since he was about to struggle rather for himself than for a prince who had not many hours to live; and ended by vowing to the prophet, that, if he exhibited any lack of courage or conduct, his head should assuredly fall. This able barbarian was then placed in a litter, and carried among his troops, whom he ranged in order of battle.*

The 4th of August will ever be the most memorable 1578.
of days in the annals of Portugal.† Both princes having

* Geronimo di Contestaggio, Dell' Unione, lib. ii. Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. i. La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. v. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvii. lib. 60. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, liv. x. 322. Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in reg. Seb.). Faria y Sousa, Epitome, part iii. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iii To these must be added Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente, Cabrera, and the other biographers of Philip.

† That Santa Teresa of Jesus was favoured with a vision, distinctly representing the catastrophe of the Portuguese, what faithful Lusitanian ever doubted? The saint could not avoid shedding tears of agony at the loss of so many Christian lives, when the Highest desired her to be comforted, as He had summoned his sanctified people to glory. Still more portentous is the apparition of dom Manoel de Meneses, bishop of Coimbra, who fought in the battle, to cardinal Henrique, then retired to Alcobaça. That doughty churchman appeared, just as the battle was lost, covered with blood, dust,

addressed their troops, Sebastian from his horse, Muley Moluc from his litter, the artillery of both armies began to play; but, as that of the Moors was both more numerous and better served, Sebastian gave orders for the charge. At first the Christian cavalry, unable to withstand the impetuous onset of the Moors, fell back; the fugitives were rallied by the duke de Aveiro and the king, who arrested the fury of the assault. Seeing the Moorish cavalry begin to stagger, Sebastian placed himself at the head of his infantry, and in a vigorous charge forced the enemy to fall back on their artillery. At this moment, the dying Muley Moluc, fearful of the result, ascended a horse, drew a sabre, and was advancing into the midst of the struggle, when his faithful servants seized the bridle, his legs, his right hand, and earnestly urged him to dismount. He insisted; they were no less resolute, and in the excitement of the moment he threatened to cut them down, unless they relinquished their hold. But, to a dying frame, that excitement was immediately fatal: he swooned, fell from his horse, was replaced in his litter, when, laying his finger on his lips in sign of secrecy, he breathed his last. In compliance with his order, the event was carefully concealed from his troops, and his confidential officers continued to ride to the door of his litter, as if to receive his instructions.* In the mean time, the Moors had been effectually rallied; and the Portuguese infantry — the main stay of the army — was at length broken. For some time, however, a vigorous defence, even when the lines were destroyed, was maintained by the heroic valour of Sebastian, who rallied all that he could approach, and opposed a firm rampart to the impetuosity of the Moorish horse. Once he charged

---

and sweat, and said to the cardinal, "In regard to this world, every thing is lost; in regard to the other, every thing is gained!"

Many other portents are related of this fatal expedition; the two just noticed are a sample.

* Three Portuguese renegades are said to have assumed the arms and dress of Moluc, and in three different parts of the field to have led on the Moors to the attack.

his pursuers with such desperation that he laid 2000 low. But the contest was unequal. In other parts of the field the Christians no longer offered a resistance. Two horses had already fallen under him, and the third was exhausted. His companions, anxious to save his person, had been cut down at his side. The few who survived earnestly entreated him to surrender; but he haughtily refused, observing, that a king should prefer death to captivity, and again plunged into the thickest of the fight. From this moment great uncertainty hangs over his fate One, and by far the most probable account, says, that he was taken prisoner by the Moors, who began to dispute about the possession of so rich a prize; and that, to prevent great bloodshed among themselves, one of the generals killed him. Another writer merely mentions his death by the hands of his captors; but Faria y Sousa affirms that he was seen by two Portuguese, after the action was over, on the bank of the river, alone and unmolested by pursuers, as if endeavouring to find a passage. That he fell on the field, is confirmed by the enquiries of the succeeding day. Such of the Portuguese chivalry as survived, being brought into the presence of Muley Hamet, the brother and successor of Muley Moluc, thought that Sebastian yet lived; but this was contradicted by dom Nuño Mascarenhas, a body servant of the late king. He asserted, that he had never for a moment forsaken his master, who had been put to death before his eyes by the Moors. The prisoners obtained permission to search for the corpse. Accompanied by a detachment of Moors, they hastened to the place indicated by Mascarenhas, and there they found a body, which, though naked, Resende, a valet of Sebastian, instantly declared to be that of his master. It was conveyed to the tent of the Moorish king, when it was again recognised by dom Duarte de Meneses, and by other nobles. The tears which they shed on this occasion are proof that they at least believed the body before them to be the mortal relics of their king.

The body was carefully preserved by Muley Hamet, until it was subsequently delivered to the ambassadors of the king of Spain, and by them transferred into Portugal.*

578. Never was victory more signal than that of Alcazar-Seguer. Of the Portuguese force which had left Lisbon, fifty individuals only returned; the rest were dead or in captivity, and with them the chivalry of the kingdom. Eighty of the nobles, through the good offices of Philip, were subsequently ransomed for 400,000 cruzados. Had dom Antonio de Portugal, the prior of Crato, been among the number, he would have found more difficulty in escaping; but being captured by a Moor, and taken to a neighbouring village, he had address enough to hide his real quality, and to obtain his deliverance for 2000 cruzados. This battle was fatal to more kings than two. Muley Hamet, seeing the total ruin of his allies, fled from the field, and was drowned while attempting to pass a river. His body was brought to the new king of Morocco, who caused the skin to be flayed, and to be stuffed with straw,—an expedient characteristic at once of the barbarity and proneness to revolt of this people,—and exhibited it in this state to the inhabitants of the towns through which the victors passed. By this expedient the new king guarded against the ambition of any impostor who might feel disposed to assume the name and character of the deceased prince. In Portugal, the same ocular demonstration of Sebastian's fate could not be obtained. The uncertainty which hung over his disappearance was converted into a doubt of the catastrophe; and this doubt was still further improved into a report that he was still alive. Several nobles, and among them the prior of Crato, always affected to believe that

* Geronimo di Contestaggio, Dell' Unione, lib. ii. Herreras, Historia de Portugal, lib. i. Faria y Sousa, Epitome, part. iii. Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in regn. Seb.). Cabrera, Historia de Felipe II.; necnon Vanderhammen, Don Felipe (sub propriis annis). La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. v. liv. 19.; necnon Ferreras, par Hermilly, tom. x. part. xv. Silva, Historia de Portugal; necnon Lemos, Historia Geral (sub propriis annis); cum multis aliis.

he had survived the dreadful slaughter of that day. As the public mind was taught to expect the possibility at least of his re-appearance, impostors in such an age, and at such a crisis of affairs, would scarcely fail to personate him,— with what success will soon be related.*

On the character of this prince, after the preceding relation, it is needless to dwell. Without judgment or power of reflection; the tool of interested flatterers; unacquainted alike with war, with human nature, or the world; misled by the lying miracles recorded of Portuguese valour — one Portuguese being affirmed as a sufficient match for 100 Moors; — confiding in his natural courage, which knew not fear, because it had never been coversant with danger; and taught to believe that to the valour of his people all things must yield, he persisted in the wildest schemes of conquest ever devised by disordered brain. The obstinacy with which he adhered to his resolution, in opposition to representations the most forcible and pathetic; the lamentable imbecility which he displayed alike in the preparation and execution of his purpose, prove that his only virtue was courage. Had there been some superior power to confine the moon-struck prince in the same apartments with his cousin, don Carlos of Spain, well would it have been for unhappy Portugal.†

HENRIQUE.

1578—1580.

For some time the nation, unwilling to believe that Sebastian had perished, regarded Henrique merely as regent; but on the arrival of the royal body, and on the confirmation of the catastrophe by every Portuguese who 1578.

* By the populace of the kingdom, Sebastian is believed to be yet alive, concealed, like Roderic the Goth, or our own Arthur, in some hermit's cell, or, perhaps, in some enchanted castle, until the time of his re-appearance arrives, when he is to restore the glory of his nation. During the aggressions of Bonaparte on the kingdom, his arrival was expected with much anxiety.

† The same authorities. See page 79. of the present volume.

arrived from Africa, the cardinal, the last surviving male of the ancient house, was solemnly crowned. On his accession he exhibited a petty resentment against those who had intrigued to his prejudice during the preceding reign: some he degraded, others he merely exiled from court. In other respects he was an estimable man, but an indifferent prince. Devout, just, moderate in his views, actuated by the best intentions, he was an excellent ecclesiastic; but his bounded capacity, his meekness of character, his subjection to the arts of his courtiers, rendered his administration of little use to his country. His short reign has nothing to distinguish it beyond the intrigues of candidates for the throne, which, as he was in his sixty-seventh year, broken down by infirmities, and evidently on the verge of the tomb, could not fail to be soon vacant. It was hoped that the nomination of a heir during his life, and the recognition of one by the states of the kingdom, would avert the troubles inseparable from a disputed succession. At first, indeed, he was advised to marry; and application was actually made to the pope for the necessary bull of secularisation; but Philip of Spain, who had so close an interest in the affair, frustrated his views at the pontifical court, and compelled him to abandon them.*

The candidates for the throne of Henrique were,— 1. Antonio, prior of Crato, who affirmed that his father Luis, brother of Joam III., was married to his mother, and that he was consequently legitimate. Knowing that, however loud or impudent his tone, his bare word would scarcely be admitted as evidence in so momentous an affair, he did not scruple to suborn witnesses to depose to it as a fact. 2. Joam, duke of Braganza, in right of his mother Catherina, a younger daughter of the infante dom Duarte, the youngest son of Manoel. 3. Rainucci, prince of Parma, whose mother, Maria,

* Geronimo di Contestaggio, Dell' Unione, lib. ii. iii. Antonio de Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. ii. Vasconcellos, Anacephalæosis (in regno Henrici), La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. v. Ferreras, Hist. Gén. tom. x. Faria y Sousa, Epitome, part. iii. Leiros, Historia Geral, tom xvii. To these must be added Vanderhammen, Herrera, Cabrera, and the other historians of Philip II.

was the eldest daughter of dom Duarte. 4. Manuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, sprung from Beatrix, a younger daughter of king Manuel. 5. Philip, king of Spain, whose claim was twofold: his mother, Isabel, being eldest daughter of Manuel, and his first queen, Maria, eldest daughter of Joam III.* From this genealogy nothing can be more clear than that, if the claim were to be decided by consanguinity alone, Philip's was by far the most powerful; but by the laws of Lamego†, the princess who accepted a foreign husband was *ipso facto* excluded from the throne. Hence, according to the strict letter of the constitution, Isabel and Beatrix, the daughters of Manuel, and Maria, the daughter of Duarte, had, by their marriages with the emperor Charles, the duke of Savoy, and the prince of Parma, renounced all claim to the succession: hence, too, by their exclusion, Joam was the true heir. Besides, — and Philip was probably aware of the fact — the law of exclusion, in its very origin, had been expressly aimed at the probability of a union with Castile. Its promulgators foresaw that matrimonial alliances would often connect the two royal houses; and they could not be ignorant that, if the same prince ever became heir to the two crowns, the less must be absorbed in the greater — the independence of Portugal must be at an end. But, as observed on a former occasion ‡, conventional forms must yield to necessity. We have before seen, how, on the marriage of Beatrix, daughter and sole child of Fernando, with Juan I. of Castile, the states of the kingdom agreed to recognise the issue of that marriage as their future sovereign §; and how, on the death of her father, she being yet without issue, she was actually proclaimed in Lisbon and other places. But such was the hatred of the Portuguese to the Castilians, —hatred now, as then, deep, cordial, and everlasting, —

* See the Table at the commencement of the volume:— "Chief Claimants of the Portuguese Succession."

† Vol. IV. p. 190, 191.

‡ Ibid. p. 191.

§ Vol. II. p. 236.; Vol. III. p. 224.; Vol. IV. p. 191.

that they preferred the bastard, grand master of Avis, to that princess.*

1579 to 1580. Though Philip well knew the antipathy borne to him by the populace, — though he was convinced that they would even prefer the bastard Antonio to him, — he also knew that now, as on the occasion to which we have just referred, a considerable number of the more powerful nobility, and still more of the clergy, were in favour of the legitimate order of succession. He, therefore, despatched his emissaries, doubtless not empty-handed, to insist, both with king and nobles, on the sanctity of his rights. The first step of Henrique, in a position at once so difficult and delicate, was to convoke the states of the monarchy, in which he proposed that the choice of a successor should be left to five nobles and prelates, whom he would select from fifteen nominated by themselves. As Philip was well aware that most of them would be selected by the third estate, the deputies of the people, who to a man were opposed to him, he made every corner of Spain resound with the noise of his warlike preparations. In the mean time, his ambassadors served his views at the Portuguese court: they procured the dismissal from Lisbon of the two native candidates — the duke of Braganza and the prior de Crato, whose intrigues were to be dreaded. The latter was ordered to produce the alleged proofs of his legitimacy, which the cardinal king soon pronounced to be forgeries. But the impostor was not to be thus silenced. By the advice of the papal nuncio, he excepted, on canonical grounds, to the judgment of Henrique, and procured another brief which charged the archbishop of Lisbon with the conduct of the process, and reserved the final decision to the holy see. Incensed at this contempt of his authority, the cardinal king, who had never been the friend, became the enemy, of the prior. With more violence than we should have expected to see in a man whose principles and conduct had always been distinguished for moderation, he declared dom Antonio a rebel, degraded him from his rank as a noble, and or-

* Vol. II. p. 257.; Vol. III. p. 228.

dered him within fifteen days to leave the kingdom. The prior fled into Castile; thus putting it in the power of Philip to secure the most active, the least principled, and the most dangerous of the competitors: but that monarch had too much sense of justice to derive advantage from his misfortune. He did not long remain in Castile: he returned into Portugal, collected troops, cultivated the attachment of the populace, and sent messengers to solicit the support of the French and English courts. As both were at this moment more than usually hostile to Philip, and as both would at any time have opposed the union of the two crowns, they readily promised him both money and troops. But in his cooler moments, when he reflected on the power of his able rival, and on the nullity of his claims, he showed a disposition to enter into terms of accommodation with Philip: he even solicited an interview with the Spanish ambassador; but his demands were too exorbitant to be received: an annual pension of 300,000 ducats, the regency of Portugal during life, and a considerable estate for his son, were among the number. Should the duke of Braganza, with whom the same monarch was negotiating, and whose pretensions no less than influence were far superior to his, make equal stipulations, the whole kingdom would not have been sufficient to satisfy them. In the mean time, the five commissioners were appointed; and an oath was exacted from the nobles, deputies, and native candidates, to abide by their decision. When, in January, 1580, the three estates were re-assembled at Almerin, there was so much jealousy among them — the deputies pretending that with them alone rested the designation of a successor, — and the delays interposed were so serious, that Henrique, who felt his end approaching, after consulting with the commissioners, declared the number of candidates reduced to two, the duke of Braganza and the king of Spain. He is said, probably with justice, to have been personally favourable to the claims of the former; but that his dying bed was beset by the creatures of the latter,

who would not allow him to declare for the duke. However this be, one of his last acts was to confirm the powers of the commissioners, whom the states, in the event of his death, had sworn to obey as regents, and to whom alone was confided this momentous decision. Besides the university of Evora, he founded several religious houses, reformed more, and, as the inquisitor-general, he extended alike the authority and establishments of the holy office.*

INTERREGNUM.

580. On the death of Henrique, the regents, of whom three were believed to be in the interests of Philip, were naturally opposed by the deputies, of whom all were in favour of dom Antonio. Confiding in the number of his partisans, the latter forgot his oath to abide by the judgment of the regents, and hastened to Lisbon, to make a violent effort for the vacant crown. He there called on the magistrates to receive him as king; but they advised him to remove from that capital, asserting that they would recognise no man who had not the suffrages of the regents. But though their firmness thus baffled his views, he repaired to Santarem, whither the deputies of the third estate had retired from Almerin. With them was his only hope: he espoused their monstrous pretension, that with them alone rested the nomination of a successor; and he caused Fernando de Piña, rector of the place, who endeavoured to repress his violence, to be assassinated. The instrument of this deed, Suarez, a servant of the prior's, was arrested, condemned to be hanged, and led away to the place of execution: but the inferior clergy, with upraised crucifix, joined by the populace, proceeded to the spot, to impede the exercise

* Geronimo di Contestaggio, Dell' Unione, lib. iii. et iv. Antonio de Herrera, Historia de Portugal, lib. ii. These are full and excellent authorities in the period under consideration. Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente; necnon Cabrera, Historia de Felipe (sub propriis annis). La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. v. Ferreras, Hist. Gen. tom. x. Faria y Sousa, Epitome; necnon Silva, Historia de Portugal (sub propriis annis). Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvii. lib. lxi.; cum aliis.

of justice. Such was the contention between the ministers of the law and the ministers of religion, that they began to fight at the foot of the gallows, and in the struggle the gallows was thrown down. But the alcalde retained possession of the culprit, whom at length he hanged from the projecting beam of a neighbouring house.—In the mean time, Philip, who had ordered his army to meet at Badajos, and had placed the celebrated duke of Alva at its head, loudly proclaimed his resolution to vindicate his rights by the sword. To the request of the regents that he would disband it, he replied, that he did not recognise their authority, and that he would hold them responsible for the bloodshed which might follow. In June, having solemnly declared war against Portugal, with about 24,000 men he passed the frontier, and immediately received the submission of Elvas, and some minor places in the vicinity. This success did not damp the hopes of dom Antonio. With the view of imitating the conduct of the grand master of Avis, afterwards Joam I.*,—a prince whom, in many respects, he strongly resembled,—he invited the inhabitants of the towns bordering on Santarem to meet him in that capital, to consult with him on the means of their common defence. When assembled, he requested them to recognise him as governor of the kingdom; but one of his creatures suddenly exclaiming "Real, real, por el rei dom Antonio!"—the customary acclamation of a new monarch—the mob caught the impulse, and hailed him as king. From Santarem he repaired to Lisbon,—the regents fleeing at his approach,—and was there, in like manner, proclaimed by his partisans. At Setubal, the regents found the current of popular feeling so strong, that in a few days they precipitately fled into the Algarves: indeed, they had scarcely issued from the gates, when both soldiers and people proclaimed dom Antonio. At Lisbon, where the usurper soon formed an administration, they were declared rebels, and a party of cavalry sent in pursuit of them.†

* See Vol. III. p. 233. † The same authorities.

1580. This intelligence quickened the operations of the duke of Alva, to whom Philip, who remained at Badajos, intrusted the conduct of the war. Villaviciosa, Villabuin, Estremos, Montemor, Evora-Monte, Arroyolos, Vimiero, and many other places, were either finally reduced, or they voluntarily submitted to him. The duke of Braganza, perceiving how the fortune of the war was likely to run, convinced that there was no prospect of success for *him*, and naturally preferring submission to a powerful monarch before the rule of a less honourable rival, hastened to make his peace with the Castilian. As a considerable party had hitherto advocated his claim, this step greatly smoothed the path of the invaders. Many nobles flocked to their standard; Alcazar do Sal received them, and, after some hesitation, even Setubal followed the example. But Otan, a fortress outside the walls of Setubal, resisted: it was speedily assailed, not only by land forces, but by a naval armament under the marquis de Santa Cruz, who, in his voyage, had constrained several places on the coast to declare for the catholic king. After a vigorous defence it surrendered, and so did Palmela. Leaving a garrison in these important conquests, the Castilian general embarked his forces; disembarked at Belem, and took possession of Cascaes. But the citadel of the latter place had the temerity to resist; and its defenders were treated with great severity by the implacable victor, who, throughout this campaign, exhibited, at seventy two, all the vigour and cruelty of his former years: the chiefs were pitilessly executed, the rest condemned to the galleys. Cintra, Colares, and San Joam de Gueras did not long arrest his progress. But the grand object of his operations was the reduction of Lisbon, towards which he advanced. The town of Belem was soon forced to capitulate: dom Antonio, who showed no want either of courage or ability, was assailed in his entrenchments, was defeated with severe loss, and forced to retreat on Coimbra. Lisbon was summoned. To crown the triumph of the victors, both that capital

and the Portuguese fleet fell into their hands; and by the inhabitants Philip was solemnly proclaimed king of Portugal.*

PHILIP I. †

1580—1598.

THE submission of the capital and most of the great cities of the kingdom was not sufficient for the duke of Alva. He knew that dom Antonio was still at the head of 12,000 men, actively endeavouring to increase the number; and he despatched don Sancho de Avila in pursuit of him. The inhabitants of Coimbra, terrified at the severity with which the suburbs of Lisbon had been treated for opposing the arms of the victor, instantly admitted the Castilians, and swore homage to Philip; but the prior had retired to Aveiro. Even here he could not hope for continued safety; and he proceeded towards Oporto, the authorities of which had shown some zeal in his behalf, and even intimated that his presence alone was wanting to secure their steadfast attachment. But his expulsion from Lisbon, the defection of Coimbra and Aveiro, and the almost universal submission to the Castilian king, soon changed their sentiments. They offered the keys of their city to the duke, and, when Antonio arrived, they refused to admit him; but some of his partisans opened the gates, and enabled him to wreak his vengeance on his more obnoxious enemies. The excesses which he committed in that city disgusted even them. Not satisfied with plundering some of the richest merchants and ecclesiastics, he exacted a heavy contribution from all, as the price of refraining from universal pillage. — In the mean time, don Sancho advanced, without opposition, to Villa-Nova, which is separated from Oporto by the Duero. That broad and deep river was not to be passed without boats, 1580 to 1581.

* Authorities: — Geronimo di Contestaggio, Antonio de Herrera, Cabrera, La Clède, Faria y Sousa, Vanderhammen, Ferreras, Lemos, Silva and many others, under the year 1580.

† The Second of Spain.

which the prior had had the precaution to remove: not one was to be found on the southern bank. In this emergency, he sent one of his officers, with eighteen men, three leagues along the banks of the river, in search of the straggling boats in which the countrymen were accustomed to pass: but such was the ill-will borne to the Castilians, that even the poorest would not have consented to sell him a single bark. The officer, however, devised an expedient not less ingenious than it was reprehensible. Perceiving that, opposite to Carboera, there was a large boat, manned by three Portuguese, he placed his soldiers in ambush, and directed them to hasten to the river on hearing the discharge of a pistol. He and one of his bravest followers next threw aside their uniform, and clothed themselves in the most miserable attire: barefooted and bareheaded, both advanced to the brink, and, in the Portuguese language, besought the three bargemen to have pity on their countrymen, who had been stripped, and were now pursued by the Spaniards. The offer of a large reward brought the boat to the southern bank: both leaped into it, the pistol was fired, and the soldiers in ambush were instantly on the spot. It is some satisfaction to read that no injury was done to these poor dupes beyond the seizure of the vessel. The soldiers could now visit both banks; and they soon seized about twenty barks: but, even with these, the passage could not fail to be hazardous in the face of the enemy; yet it was effected with little loss; and the Portuguese drawn up to oppose it were easily dispersed. Under the walls of the city, however, dom Antonio marshalled 9000 men, resolved to make a final stand for this last of his possessions: but his men were chiefly raw levies, who scarcely waited for the charge. They fled within the walls; the pursuers were also admitted, and the banner of Philip was hoisted on the towers. Amidst the hurry and confusion of the scene, dom Antonio escaped to Viana do Minho, where he embarked; but so tempestuous was the weather, that he was compelled to land. His destruction seemed certain:

a large sum had been offered, by royal proclamation, to whomsoever should take him dead or alive; and a strong body of cavalry was in pursuit of him. In this critical situation, his presence of mind never forsook him: he assumed a mariner's dress, and mixed with the lowest of the people. Those who were in the secret preserved an exemplary fidelity. The magistrates were summoned to deliver him, and were threatened with utter destruction if they refused. They pretended that he had embarked, that he was on his voyage to France; yet he certainly remained some months longer in the country: and, with the view of strengthening the zeal of his adherents, he wandered, in disguise, from one town to another, until they procured the means of his escape into France.*

While the adventurous prior was thus cast from the pinnacle of empire, and constrained to seek for a precarious safety by flight, Philip, who had been confined by sickness, and delayed by the death of his queen (Anna) at Badajoz, hastened at length to take personal possession of a kingdom which his able general had conquered for him. He felt that it was both his duty and his interest to conciliate his new subjects; and he resolved, with this view, to lay aside his natural sternness of manner, and refuse no reasonable boon that should be demanded. Having given orders for preserving the strictest discipline among his troops, he convoked the states at Tomar, where he swore to observe the laws, customs, usages, and privileges of the kingdom: but in the amnesty which he published on the occasion, he displeased the Portuguese by excepting dom Antonio and fifty-two other persons; and the duke and duchess of Braganza, by refusing to comply with their extravagant demands. From Tomar he proceeded to Lisbon, where he was received with much outward respect, with much inward reluctance. He was, however, acknowledged, not only

1580 to 1583.

* Vanderhammen, Don Felipe. Cabrera, Historia, &c. (sub propriis annis). Geronimo di Contestaggio, Dell' Unione, lib. v.—vii. Herrera, Histoire de Portugal, lib. ii. La Clède, Histoire, tom. v. liv. xx. Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. x. Faria y Sousa, Epitome, parte iii. Anonymous, Historia Lusitanica, tom. ii. Silva, Historia; et Lemos, Historia Geral (sub propriis annis).

by the whole kingdom, but by the Indies and the three African fortresses. The Azores alone were disaffected to his sway: some of the islands refused to acknowledge him, defeated his general Valdes, and acquainted dom Antonio, who was then in France, with their disposition and success. That prince, with some money and troops furnished by the queens of France and England, repaired to those islands to strengthen the force of his partisans. On the other hand, the marquis of Santa Cruz sailed with a few ships to establish the power of Philip in the Angra, and the other places which now refused to submit. In a naval engagement, this active officer easily triumphed over the French and English adventurers (chiefly the former), of whom more than 3000 fell; but he stained his laurels by the execution of his prisoners. The conduct of the prior, which was equally characterised by rapacity, violence, and lust, was more advantageous to Philip than even this victory. And when he returned, in the hope of obtaining new supplies, his excesses were equalled by those of Manuel de Silva, to whom he confided the government of Tercera. Though he obtained some supplies, he dared not return to the islands: they were again visited by the marquis de Santa Cruz, who at length, by exterminating the audacious robbers, reduced them to obedience.*

1583. But though the monarch was recognised by both the mother-country and her colonies; though he conferred many privileges on his new subjects, greater, assuredly, than were ever possessed by the Castilians; though he considerably diminished his resources by grants to such as had espoused his pretensions; though every place, from the highest to the lowest, was filled by natives alone; though he was as affable to all as his natural disposition would allow, and was not guilty of a single arbitrary act; he soon found that he was not, and could never be, a favourite in Portugal. In fact, the discontent was so great, that, instead of withdrawing, he was compelled to augment, the Castilian troops in the fortresses;

* The same authorities.

a measure which, however necessary, was regarded with bitter dissatisfaction. After about two years' residence in the country he prepared to return into Castile; a circumstance that more than any other wounded the national pride. The Portuguese had always been accustomed to a resident monarch; they now murmured at the sway of a viceroy. To remind them that Spain was a kingdom as well as their own, and had an equal claim at least to the presence of a sovereign, would have been vain; they were unreasonable enough to expect that Spain should be united with their own country,—that a great monarchy should become dependent on a province. Philip paid little regard to the clamour: having caused his son to be proclaimed his successor, and invested his nephew, the cardinal archduke Albert, with the regency, he proceeded to the Escurial.*

During the next few years Portugal had nothing to do with the foreign or domestic policy of Philip. Governed with great moderation by the archduke, enjoying internal peace, an extended commerce, and a high degree of prosperity, she might have been happy — happier than she had ever been under her native monarchs — could hereditary enmity have been forgotten, and national pride sacrificed to interest. The exiled Antonio was made aware of the existing discontent: he had many wellwishers, and not a few spies in the country, who constantly communicated with him. After the second defeat of his armament in the Azores, he abode at the French court, with the hope of obtaining increased supplies for an invasion of Portugal; but as the civil wars which raged in the former country were likely to prove interminable, he passed over into England to renew his intrigues with the earl of Essex. He arrived at a favourable time, just after the destruction of the Spanish armada †, when the resentment of the English was at

1583 to 1589.

* Authorities: — Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente; Cabrera, Historia; Herrera, Historia del Portugal; Geronimo di Franchi Contestaggio, Dell' Unione; Faria y Sousa, Epitome; La Clède, Histoire *Générale*; Ferreras, Hist. Gén.; Silva, Historia; Lemos, Historia Geral: all under the proper date.

† See page 58, &c. of the present volume.

the highest pitch, and they were longing for revenge. At first, however, Elizabeth, with her usual prudence, disapproved of the project of a Portuguese invasion; but, with her usual weakness, wherever the tender passion was concerned, she was persuaded by the favourite earl to enter into an alliance with the exile, and to equip an armament for placing him on the throne.* Nothing can better exhibit the unprincipled impostor than certain conditions of that alliance. He engaged to subjugate Portugal in one week from the disembarkation of the troops; to pay Elizabeth an immense sum for the expenses of the armament, and a considerable annual tribute in token of her sovereignty; to receive English garrisons, at his own expense, into the principal maritime fortresses; and that, on his arrival at Lisbon, he would abandon that city to a twelve days' pillage.† In conformity with another article of the treaty, — a treaty not over honourable to Elizabeth herself, since she grasped at advantages which generosity, or even justice, would have scorned, — 20,000 men were embarked at Plymouth in 120 vessels, the whole commanded by Drake and Norris. The success of this expedition corresponded with its flagitious design. After an unsuccessful attempt on Coruña, the armament cast anchor at Peniche, and disembarked the troops who marched to Torres Vedras, where they proclaimed dom Antonio, and continued their route towards the capital. But the peasantry, instead of joining his standard, fled at his approach, some to increase the force of the archduke: scarcely a Portuguese, high or low, came over to his party. As the English general approached the

* It is somewhat singular that so able a queen should have placed her *affections* — her esteem and confidence are widely different things — on none but the weak, the profligate, the vainglorious: such, undoubtedly, were the earls of Leicester and Essex. Her character has been egregiously overrated by our own historians. As usual, that given by Hume is drawn wholly from imagination.

† Herrera and the Portuguese historians add another article, more infamous and unaccountable than all the rest, — that the best bishoprics and benefices should be bestowed on Englishmen! The Portuguese, we fear, would have gained little by exchanging Philip for Elizabeth, Albert for dom Antonio.

suburbs, the monks, the women, and most of the inhabitants, retired within the city. Still there were, doubtless, many who wished well to the cause of the adventurer, not from affection to him, but through hatred of the Spaniards; the majority, however, remained neutral. The ill success of the English, who repeatedly assailed the outworks, stifled the intrigues of the disaffected; and a vigorous sortie decided the fate of the expedition. The English general, who throughout exhibited strange imbecility, retreated; he was pursued; many of his followers were cut off; with the rest he sought refuge in the tower of Cascaes, which the cowardly governor surrendered to him. Here, considering the want of provisions, and the deception which had been practised on him by dom Antonio, who had persuaded him that the moment a hostile standard were raised it would be joined by all true Portuguese, he wisely resolved to return home. This was fortunately the last time Portugal was cursed with the prior's presence. Deserted by his nearest friends, neglected by the sovereigns, his former allies, in 1595 he ended his unprincipled life in merited obscurity and indigence.*

But though Philip was thus rid of a formidable 158
enemy, he had others who were actuated by even a superior spirit of imposture, and who might have occasioned him some trouble. We have before alluded to a strange impression among the vulgar, that Sebastian yet lived. Such an impression, in such an age and country, could not fail to produce impostors. The first, who appeared in 1585, was a native of Alcazova, — a man of low extraction, and of still lower morals. In his youth he had been admitted as lay-brother into the house of Nossa Senhora do Carmel, but had been expelled for misconduct. At a subsequent period, however, he procured re-admission; but as his habits were not found to

* Vanderhammen, Don Felipe el Prudente, et Cabrera, Historia, &c. (sub propriis annis). Faria y Sousa, Epitome, parte iii. Anonymous, Historia Lusitanica, tom. ii. La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. v. liv. xxi. Ferreras, Hist. Gén. tom. x. Silva, Historia, tom. iii. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvii. liv. lxiii.

be improved, he was again driven into the world. If his vices were thus discovered and punished in a community, he might hope to conceal them in the obscurity of a hermitage; and he accordingly repaired to one in the vicinity of Albuquerque. As no man knew better how to assume the disguise of sanctity, he was soon visited by devotees, whose alms supplied him not only with the necessaries but the comforts of life. A handsome widow — a devotee of course — was seldom absent from the society of this holy sage of thirty. Besides, he touched the guitar with some skill: the young of both sexes flocked to hear him; the musical amateurs to join in the harmony; so that the hoar rocks around resounded, not with prayer or praise, but with the dance and the song. This was not all: resolved that the light of his manifold virtues should not wholly be concealed, he frequently accompanied his companions to Peñamaçor, and joined, sometimes in the public concerts, and sometimes in a serenade under the window of some noted beauty of the place. This conduct naturally scandalised the faithful; and the alcalde was preparing to lay hands on this frolicsome sage, when the widow, providing him with a suitable dress and a horse, enabled him to effect his escape. Whether, however, he still yearned towards the widow, or was convinced that in no other place could credulity produce him so rich a harvest, he soon returned to the same scenes; not, indeed, as a hermit, but as a mysterious devotee, self-doomed to the severest austerities. He does not appear to have been recognised by his former acquaintance, whom, indeed, he sedulously shunned, retiring to solitary places, but not wholly from the sight and hearing of men. His prayers, his sighs, his ejaculations, and, above all, the frequent use — probably, the seeming use — of the discipline, caused him to be regarded as a portent. Whether he bore any resemblance to Sebastian, we are not informed; but a suspicion began to be formed that he was that unfortunate prince. It was confirmed by his artful manners, and by the con-

trivances of two accomplices, who mixed among the people, and averred that the stranger must be Sebastian. The credulous multitude swallowed the absurdity; the affair was noised abroad; it reached Lisbon, whence an order was despatched for his arrest; and he was escorted by 100 horse to the prison of that city. Though he was condemned to death, the sentence — very wisely — was not put into execution. He was condemned to labour in the galleys, where all who had the curiosity might visit him, and be convinced, by their own eyes, that he was not Sebastian.*

The failure of this imposter did not deter another 1585
from the same hazardous experiment. There was a stone-cutter's son, Alvares by name, a native of the Azores, who, having passed some months in the monastery of the Holy Cross, on the heights of Cintra, left that community, and, like the youth of Alcazova, retired to a hermitage. He chose that of St. John, which lay on the borders of the sea, about two miles from Ericeira, and in which he passed two years, to the edification of the devout. At this time he does not appear to have meditated the personation of Sebastian: when, from his frequent self-inflictions, and from his extraordinary habits, he was suspected to be that prince, and even addressed as such, he replied, that he was a stone-mason's son of Terceira. But the more he affirmed this truth, the less was he believed: he was evidently fulfilling a rigorous penitence, to atone for the misfortunes which he had brought on his people; and, like Roderic the Goth, he had doubtless renounced for ever all human grandeur. Most probably he bore some resemblance to the king, since a labourer in the mountains, a perfect stranger to him, no sooner saw him, than he declared that he was the identical Sebastian. Perceiving that opposition was useless, Alvares consented to be treated as a king: he was soon joined by hundreds of

* La Clède, Histoire Générale de Portugal, tom. v. Ferreras by Hermilly, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, tom. x. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvii.

the peasantry, whom he allowed to kiss his hand with much affectation of condescension. This man was bolder than the Carmelite lay-brother. He appointed the officers of his household; and despatched letters, sealed with the royal arms, throughout the kingdom, commanding his loyal subjects to join him in restoring independence and happiness to their degraded but beloved country. The cardinal regent ordered a corregidor to advance into the mountains, and to arrest this new disturber of the public tranquillity; but on the magistrate's approach, all fled into the inaccessible fastnesses, and set their pursuers at defiance. Leaving at Ericeira the alcalde of Torres Vedras to obtain possession of the impostor dead or alive, the magistrate returned to Lisbon; but he had scarcely left the mountains, when Alvares, with 700 followers, descended from their strongholds, entered Ericeira, and arrested the alcalde, with the other ministers of justice. The next step of this audacious rebel was to write to the cardinal regent, whom he ordered to quit the palace and the kingdom. Seeing that this ostentatious display produced no effect, he resolved on more effectual measures, — to march on Torres Vedras, to release the criminals, with their united force to seize Cintra, and afterwards to advance against the capital. On the way, his plebeian general threw their prisoners, the alcalde and notary of Torres Vedras, from a high cliff into the sea; the house of another servant of the government was surpised, and its master put to death. To end these excesses, the corregidor Fonseca, with eighty horsemen, again advanced into the hills. He knew that so small a force could not effect his object; but he also knew that a greater would drive the rebels into their fastnesses; and he had ordered some companies to repair in silence to a village in the rear, and aid him in case of need. He was here opposed by 200, whom he easily routed; and being joined by some reinforcements, he obtained a signal advantage over the main body. Still the greater number fled into

the retreats; and it required equal skill and courage to reduce them. At length the hermit was taken, was brought to Lisbon, paraded through the streets on the back of an ass, exposed to the jeers of the populace, and publicly hung.*

It might have been expected that the failure of these 1594.
two attempts would have had some effect even on imposture and credulity; but a third Sebastian appeared, and, strange to say, in Spain, under the very eyes of Philip. There was an Augustinian monk, by name Miguel dos Santos, who had been a chaplain of Sebastian, confessor to dom Antonio, and who was now confessor to the nunnery of Madrigal. Here he met with Gabriel de Spinosa, a native of Toledo, whom he had known in Portugal, and of whose intelligence, boldness, and dexterity he had seen frequent proofs. As this man really bore a resemblance to king Sebastian, he persuaded him, though not without difficulty, secretly to personate that monarch. His object, however, was to serve dom Antonio, not this adventurer, who might be induced, on reaching the throne, to abdicate in favour of the absent prior, or who, at least, might be removed by assassination, when the power of Philip was once broken. In that nunnery was a niece of Philip, doña Ana of Austria, who had taken the veil. To this princess he introduced Spinosa, whom he represented as the unfortunate Sebastian. The adventurer, though of humble origin, was far from vulgar in his language and manners. As a soldier he had mixed with the world; his address was superior to his condition; and he had little difficulty in convincing the simple nun that he was the Lusitanian monarch. How, indeed, could she distrust the positive affirmation of father Miguel, his own chaplain, who had so long and intimately known him? She made him valuable presents; gave him her jewels; very probably she wished to give him one day her hand; for the wily priest had assured her that a dispensation

* Authorities: — Ferreras, Hist. Gen. tom. x. La Clède, Hist. Gén. tom. v.. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xvii.

for her vows might easily be procured. But this change in the appearance and dress of Spinosa, the arrival of cavaliers from Portugal, the frequent passage of couriers between the two kingdoms, surprised the inhabitants of Madrigal, who would probably have enquired more narrowly into his resources, had he not soon departed for Valladolid, to sell some jewels, preparatory to the execution of a grand scheme. There his imprudence ruined him. Though strictly secret as to his name, condition, and character, and always eager to avoid the prying eye of curiosity, he formed a criminal acquaintance with a low woman, who, seeing that he had a number of jewels, and suspecting that he had stolen them, reported him to the magistrate. He was arrested and examined; but nothing sufficient to implicate him would have been elicited, had not a messenger with letters from father Miguel and the nun been intercepted. They were of so strange a tenor that the magistrate sent them to the king, who ordered him to keep Spinosa in safe custody, and to proceed to Madrigal, to arrest both the confessor and the princess. As the two last belonged to an ecclesiastical tribunal, they were examined by a commissary of the holy office, a deputy of the papal legate. The nun was evidently a dupe, the priest pretended to be the same; but some days afterwards, being put to the torture, he confessed all. The same means extorted a similar confession from Spinosa, who was hung and quartered. The priest was degraded, delivered over to the secular arm, and suspended from the public gallows at Madrid. Doña Ana, in consideration of her birth, was condemned to perpetual seclusion in another convent.*

1594 to 1598. The remaining actions of Philip must be sought in the history of Spain.† Four years before his death, on the removal of the cardinal regent to the archiepiscopal

* The same authorities. A fourth impostor is mentioned, said to have been more famous than all the rest, by birth supposed to be an Italian; who, after a long confinement in Naples, was transferred to Spain, where he ended his days in a prison. The relation, however, rests on evidence so apocryphal, that we doubt whether such a man ever existed.

† See the first chapter of this volume.

see of Toledo, the government of Portugal was intrusted to a commission of five, at the end of whom was the archbishop of Lisbon. In 1598, he breathed his last.

PHILIP II.*

1598—1621.

PHILIP III.†

1621—1640.

Of the former of these princes, we have only to say, that in the course of his reign he *once* visited his Portuguese subjects. On this occasion the hungry and ambitious chivalry expected much from his liberality; but, except a few, all were disappointed. None but such as showed a zealous attachment to Spain—none but such as approved the measures emanating from Madrid, however contrary to the interests or prejudices of the natives—could hope to share in the royal favour. Nor, after the first enthusiasm of his reception was past, did the populace admire their king: if he did not treat them with studied insult,—a charge levelled at him by the Portuguese historians,—he exhibited so great a predilection towards his hereditary subjects, that he could not fail mortally to offend a people who would not even have been satisfied with an equal share of his attention. Yet many of them are just enough to blame the weakness, rather than the ill-will, of Philip: they contend, that the truth was kept from him; that every art was taken to confirm his dislike to them as a nation; that the Castilian nobles behaved with intolerable haughtiness to their own; that, in every thing, a studied contrast was drawn between the two classes of subjects; that taxes were imposed without the consent of the cortes, and strangers 1598 to 1621.

* The Third of Spain. † The Fourth of Spain.

nominated to the most important offices—both violations of the compact signed at Tomar by the first Philip;—and that revenues, appropriated to objects exclusively Portuguese, nay, in some cases, such as were attached to religious foundations, were diverted into the treasury of Madrid. How much of truth may be contained in these accusations would be vain to enquire: that they are exaggerated may safely be admitted; yet exaggeration proves that abuses existed, however party colouring may have affected their description.*

1621 to 1640. If the Portuguese had so much reason to complain of the government of the second Philip, that of his son and successor was, doubtless, still more onerous, more insulting: a good one, like that of Philip I., would have been hated; a bad one would naturally add to the existing mass of discontent. That the weak, the profligate, and the unprincipled conde duke de Olivares could direct the affairs of this kingdom with advantage either to it or to his royal master, will not be expected by any one who has perused the account of his administration in Spain. He not only aggravated the abuses of his predecessors, but added greatly to their number. That he had resolved to reduce the kingdom to the condition of a province; to destroy its regalities, its independent jurisdiction, its separate legislature, may, however, be doubted; but there can be no doubt, that, by forced loans, by intolerable taxes, and by using the native soldiers to foreign wars, he wished to break the proud spirit of the people—to make them the mere slaves of his will. Finding themselves ground to the very earth by exactions, their complaints disregarded, their persons insulted, their prosperity at an end, we need not wonder that they began to meditate an escape from their yoke. They turned their eyes towards the duke of Braganza, the next heir in the order of succession. Too discerning not to perceive the rising sentiment, and too sagacious to show that he perceived it, that ambitious noble adopted a line of conduct which

* La Clède, Historia de Portugal, tom. vii. Lemos, Histoire Geral, tom. xviii. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, tom. vi. Silva, Historia, tom. iii.

could not fail to forward his views. To the world he appeared absorbed by hunting, feasting, and other diversions; yet his emissaries were at work in every part of the kingdom, fanning the flame of discontent, and teaching the people to regard him as one able, at least, to effect their deliverance. Owing to their representations, but in a still greater degree to the rapacity of the revenue collectors, open insurrections appeared at Lisbon, at Braga, and, above all, at Evora, and were not quelled without much difficulty and some bloodshed. Though pressed, the duke was too wise to declare himself at this moment: he knew that his combinations were not formed; that the chief nobility were yet to be gained; that the all-powerful voice of the clergy could not yet be commanded; and that a mere popular ebullition, unconnected with mature plans and simultaneous operations with the other arms of the state, would be worse than useless: he therefore determined to await the silent but resistless course of events. The sequel soon justified his policy. The chief nobles, prelates, cavalleros, and clergy were suddenly summoned to Madrid. What could be the object in this mysterious, unexpected, and unparalleled mandate? Conjecture was vain: to disobey it would be dangerous; and a magnificent display of retinues immediately filled the road from Lisbon to the Spanish capital. What passed at the conference between the ministers and this deputation will never be known; but that some extraordinary concession was required from them may easily be believed. That their consent was demanded to the incorporation of the Portuguese with the Spanish cortes, or that a certain number of deputies from the three estates should be summoned at the same time with those of Castile; in other words, that the kingdom should be for ever degraded to the rank of a province, is loudly affirmed by the Portuguese. In the absence of all evidence, we can only say, that the surmise is improbable. Another account, with far greater show of reason, informs us, that the only thing demanded was an extraordinary gratuity, to support the wars in foreign

countries, and to quell the disturbances which were evidently about to burst forth in Catalonia. But it may be asked, Why not apply to the cortes of the kingdom? Had such application been made, it would assuredly have been fruitless. In the last meeting, the deputies of the third estate had shown a disposition so untractable, that nothing was to be expected from them. It was hoped, that the nobles, the gentry, and the clergy alone, especially when at Madrid instead of Lisbon, would be more yielding to the royal will; but even this hypothesis involves as practical a violation of the constitution, as if the cortes of Portugal had been summoned to meet with those of Castile. The nobles probably returned the answer attributed to them,—that, in an affair of such moment, they could do nothing without the sanction of a legitimate meeting of the cortes in their own country. But another reason for this extraordinary mandate may be assigned, more plausible than either. The court could not be ignorant of the disposition of the people towards the duke of Braganza, nor, perhaps, with his intrigues. His arrest might be resolved on: and, as it could not be effected in Portugal, where his connections were so numerous and powerful, he must be inveigled to Madrid. This supposition is confirmed by three facts: he had evaded compliance when summoned alone to the capital; he was not present now; and the subsequent endeavours of the minister to draw him to Madrid were as earnest as they were ineffectual. Disappointed in his views, Olivares now proceeded more boldly: he ordered all the disposable troops in Portugal to march into Catalonia, and the duke of Braganza to place himself at their head. But the war of Catalonia was not a national object: it concerned the Castilians only; and the nobles murmured at expending their blood and treasure in such a dispute. Besides, what death-blows might not be aimed at Lusitanian liberty when her defenders and councillors were far away? Both nobles and people resolved to disobey the mandate; but, lest an open refusal should subject them to instant invasion,

they merely demanded a short delay, until their preparations were matured.*

In the mean time the duke of Braganza was pur- 164(
suing his end with persevering art: knowing how suspicious was the Spanish court, how jealously every action was watched, he plunged more deeply into his favourite amusements, and asserted, that when the troops were ready to march, he should not be wanting at his post. So well did he counterfeit his part, that many of the conpirators, believing that he had neither ambition nor compassion for his countrymen, declared their intention of soliciting his brother, prince Duarte, to head them. Though his emissaries were busily occupied, it is certain that he himself was not eager to risk his own person. If the conspiracy succeeded, he was willing enough to reap the advantage; if it failed, he wished to avoid implication in it. At length, when obedience or open refusal to the orders of the court was imperative, the conspirators hastened to Lisbon, and began their meetings in the gardens of Antonio de Almada. Their numbers increased; yet so artfully were their proceedings conducted, that they escaped the notice of the duchess of Mantua, the vice-queen. It was agreed, that one of their body should be deputed to the duke, to know whether he would accept and defend the crown without delay. His consent was obtained, and a day appointed for the insurrection. As their chief dependence, when the hour of execution arrived, must rest in the people, all who had any influence over them, — the leading citizens and clergy, — were gained; and, through them, dark but significant hints were spread of an approaching change. At length the memorable day (December the 1st) dawned, and found the conspirators, who were admirably organised, prepared for the struggle. A pistol was fired near the entrance of the palace, and in a moment two numerous bands, both well armed, entered by dif-

* Authorities: — La Clède, Lemos, Ortiz, and Silva.

ferent portals, and fell on the Castilian and Swiss guards, while the simultaneous rallying cry of "Live our king Joam IV.!" sufficiently indicated the design of the assault. One of the bands was led by a sturdy priest, whose left hand held a crucifix, but whose right mowed down the guards in a style very little inferior to that of the doughty bishop of Ceuta on the plains of Tangier.* The guard being overpowered, the conspirators rushed towards the apartments of the vice-queen. Meeting an officer of the household, they shouted "Joam IV.!" he raised the cry of "Philip for ever!" and was instantly laid dead at their feet. They next turned into the apartments of the secretary Vasconcellos, a man peculiarly obnoxious, both as the creature of Olivares, and from his own haughtiness. His lifeless body being thrown from the window, to be dragged through the streets by the populace, they entered the apartments of the duchess. Though they accosted her with outward respect, she prepared to leave the room, but they detained her; she threatened to call on the soldiers, on the people, on the whole city, to protect her authority and that of the catholic king; and the archbishop of Braga, who stood by her side, loaded them with several opprobrious epithets. The churchman being forced from the chamber, and the duchess menaced with a fall from the window if she hesitated to do as she was commanded, an order, signed by her, was sent to the governor of the fortress to surrender it into the hands of the conspirators. In like manner she was constrained to sign similar orders to the commandants of other forts in the vicinity of the capital. The conspirators were now joined by thousands of the populace; the cry of "Viva el rei Joam IV.!" became universal; a council of regency was formed, at the head of which was the archbishop of Lisbon; orders were sent into the provinces to proclaim the new king without delay;

* Vol. III. p. 251.

they were every where executed with the most hearty good will; Joam was triumphantly escorted to the capital; and the sceptre of Spain was for ever broken by the election of the house of Braganza.*

Historic Glance at the Colonies of Portugal during the late Reigns.

Unwilling to interrupt the narrative of domestic transactions, from the accession of Sebastian to that of Joam IV., we have reserved to the present place a hasty glance at the chief events which, during that period, occurred in the colonies.

I. India.—Though the prosperity of the Portuguese empire in India was evidently on the decline, the viceroys were sometimes good men, and the inferior governors always brave: hence its ruin was gradual. Under Constantine de Braganza, successor of Barreto, Daman, a city belonging to the king of Cambay, was added to the empire, and the island of Ternaté was re-conquered; the king of Cananor, and the zamorin of Calicut were humbled; the Abyssinians were protected against the Turks; some acquisitions were made in Ceylon; and the petty princes of Malabar, ever prone to hostilities, were defeated. Under the same governor, Goa was elevated into an archbishopric, and two suffragans were sent to aid him in the important office — the means, alas! were, too often, sword and faggot — of converting the heathen. His successor, Francisco de Continho, was averse to war, yet he was constrained to draw the sword against one of the nine kings of Ceylon, nor did he draw it in vain. Joam de Mendoza, who was next invested with the vice-regal dignity, was of a more warlike genius: he defeated the forces of the zamorin; and, though he did not extend, he vigorously defended, the possessions of his country. The administration of don Luis de Ataide was signalised by the defeat of the com- 1557 to 1640.

* The same authorities.

bined Hindu princes, who laid siege to Goa; and by other successes, splendid, indeed, so far as regarded the valour of the Portuguese, the disproportion of their force with that of the enemy, and the signal discomfiture of the latter, but of no advantage beyond the fame of victory. On the recall of this valiant noble, the government of the eastern empire was divided into three: — The chief, called *par excellence*, the government of India, comprised the maritime regions from cape Guadafar, on the coast of Ethiopia, to the island of Ceylon; the second, that of Monomotapa, comprehended the African coasts, from that region to Congo; the third, that of Malacca, extended from Pegu to China. The second of these governments was of no long continuance; the first was still acknowledged as the viceroyalty. Ataide was a second time appointed to the dignity; and such was the lustre of his administration, that the golden days of the Albuquerques seemed for a moment to be revived. But the rapacity of the governor of Malacca lost the Moluccas, except one settlement on the island of Tidon. Under the conde de Santa Cruz several successful expeditions were sent against the Mahommedan corsairs who infested the African and Indian coasts. But it is impossible to mention, much more to detail, the interminable wars which were undertaken by succeeding viceroys; they have been made the subject of many volumes, and cannot be compressed into half a dozen pages. We shall observe, by way of summary, that the marquis almost uniformly triumphed over his enemies; that his immediate successors gallantly defended the settlements; that under Francisco de Gama the Dutch first appeared in the Indian seas, and were expelled by him; that they soon returned, and inflicted considerable injury on the trading establishments; that the English soon resolved to share in the lucrative traffic of these regions; that the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, contended for the exclusive possession of that traffic; that the latter people formed settlements, both in the eastern continent of India and among the islands; that, as *their* power

increased, that of the Portuguese diminished; that the Portuguese were frequently defeated by the Dutch, who expelled them from Ceylon; that they regained possession of some settlements on the coasts, but not of their ancient influence; that in most of their subsequent actions they had the disadvantage, — the influence of the English and the Dutch every day increasing in these seas; that they were expelled from Ormuz by the Persians; that even Goa itself was insulted by the exploits of the Dutch. In short, on the accession of Joam IV. the Portuguese settlements in the East were reduced to half their former number; and those which remained were in great peril.*

II. AFRICA. — In Mauritania, the possessions of the Portuguese continued to be confined to the three fortresses which remained from the time of Joam III.; nor were those then molested. For some time, indeed, Tangier refused to acknowledge Joam, and adhered to Philip as the rightful sovereign of Portugal, no less than of Spain: but it was surprised by a resolute body of troops, headed by one of Joam's officers. In this region, which from the time of Joam I. had been the constant theatre of war between the Christians and Mahommedans, uninterrupted tranquillity reigned from the disaster of Sebastian. Nor, on other parts of the African coast, was there much change during the period before us. The Portuguese continued to have settlements, rather for trade than dominion, in Guinea, Angola, Congo, Monomotapa, Madagascar, and Mozambique. Yet even here the Dutch showed their adventurous spirit: in 1638 they rapidly reduced Fort St. George on the coast of Guinea; and the English were ready enough to profit by the example. 1580 to 1640.

III. AMERICA. — The discovery of Brazil has been already related: we may add that settlements con-

* La Clède, Histoire Générale de Portugal, tom. v.—vii. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xv.—xviii. Silva, Historia, tom. iii. Da Casta, Historia, tom. iii. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico de la Historia de España, tom. vi.

tinued to be formed on the coast from the reign of Manuel to that of Henrique. Into this, as well as the other possessions of the Portuguese, the Christian religion was introduced; but though the original missionaries, and still more the jesuits, laboured with great zeal to disseminate it, such were the obstacles opposed by the views of the inhabitants, that little good was effected. If many submitted to baptism, they soon reverted to their former idolatry: they showed little inclination for a religion which places restraints on human passions; and they often made destructive inroads on the new colonies. If any men could have effected permanent good in these regions, it must have been the fathers of Jesus. They learned the language of the people, whom they also taught their own; they condescended to instruct the children; they bore with stupidity, with pride, with insults; they wisely accommodated their lessons to the understandings of the people, whose attention they directed — not to the dark doctrines so frequent in the holy writings, but to intelligible duties — to simple prayer, to works of mercy, to innocence of life. But though they penetrated into the vast solitudes; though they supported hunger, and thirst, and fatigue, with superhuman patience; though they often slept on the humid grouud, while wandering from tribe to tribe; though amidst deadly serpents and wild beasts, and men still more savage, their success was very partial, scarcely ever enduring. Nor was the temporal state of the Portuguese dominions without its disasters. Here, as every where else, the Dutch contended for a share of the commerce; and here, too, as in India and Africa, that contention was ruinous to the original settlers. In 1624, an armament, under Willekens, anchored off the Brazilian coast, with the intention of engrossing the whole advantage of trade by expelling the Portuguese. He assailed the capital, San Salvador, with such fury, that it was compelled to surrender; and the viceroy — it was the seat of government for the province — was sent a prisoner to Holland. This

intelligence spread great consternation. To recover that important settlement, the Portuguese, though oppressed by the yoke of Spain, made a surprising effort: — they fitted out twenty-six vessels, carrying some thousands of men, — an effort the more laudable, when we consider the interminable wars they were compelled to maintain in India. San Salvador was speedily recovered. But the merchants of Holland were not discouraged: they equipped new armaments, which inflicted great injury on the commerce of the Portuguese. In fact, their ships covered the deep from China to the West Indies; and, next to the hope of gain, their greatest stimulus was hatred to that declining people. The district of Pernambuco soon acknowledged the sway of the republic; to regain it, another armament left the ports of the peninsula. This expedition was disastrous: in two successive engagements it was almost annihilated by the Dutch, and the remnant with difficulty reached Portugal. A second, though on a larger scale, was equally unsuccessful; so that the enemy added Tamaraca to their other conquests. Masters of above 100 leagues of territory, they aspired to the possession of all Brazil. A fleet for this purpose left the Texel, in 1636, under the command of count Maurice of Nassau. In the first action he triumphed over a Portuguese general; he next reduced Porto Calvo, and three other fortresses. A second victory was followed by the submission of other places; by offers of alliance from the natives, and by the conquest of all Paraiba; but he failed in an attack on San Salvador. In the following campaign (that of 1638), both parties having received reinforcements, contended in the open field: the combined forces of Spain and Portugal yielded before the energy of the republic. In short, half the settlements were in the power of count Maurice, when news arrived of the accession of Joam IV.*

* Authorities: — La Clède, Lemos, Silva, Ortiz, &c.

The progress and decline of the Portuguese colonial empire would, if treated at length, be an interesting subject of contemplation. The successive acquisition of the islands on the western coast of Africa; of Congo, Angola, and Guinea: of Sofa, Mozambique, and Melinda on the eastern; of Calicut, Cochin, Ormuz, Cananor, Chaul, Bazain, Daman, and the whole maritime coast of Malabar; of the vast regions of Brazil; of Ceylon, Malacca, and the Moluccas, exclusive of settlements, purely commercial, in other parts; repeated triumphs over the most powerful princes of the east, — Persians, Turks, Arabs, Hindoos; the monarchs of Bengal, Aracan, Pegu, and Siam, — all, too, performed by a handful of adventurers, — must strike the mind with astonishment. On the accession of Joam, the following acknowledged his sceptre: — half of Brazil; the islands and settlements of western Africa, with the fortresses of Mauritania, Monbaza, and Mozambique; the cities of Diu, Daman, Bazain; the district of Chaul; the fortresses of Onor, Bracalor, Mangalor, Cananor, Cangranor; the fortresses and towns of Cochin, Coulam, Negapatam, Meliapoor; a part of Ceylon; some settlements in Malacca; Tidon, in the Moluccas; Macaõ, in China, and some other places of minor importance: the rest were recovered by the original owners, or in possession of the Dutch, English, and Spaniards. We shall soon see in how precarious a state were most of even these.*

* Founded on the authorities so frequently quoted.

CHAP. II.

HOUSE OF BRAGANZA.

1640—1788.

JOAM IV.

1640—1656.

JOAM was not so sanguine as to expect that, whatever might be the embarrassments of the Spaniards, and however unanimous his own subjects in his defence, his post would not prove one of difficulty, perhaps of danger. Hence, immediately after his coronation,—a ceremony performed with great splendour a few days succeeding his proclamation,—and after the convocation of the states, in which his title was acknowledged, and his son Theodosio declared his heir, he began vigorously to prepare for the inevitable contest. His first step was to send ambassadors to foreign courts, to procure his recognition. By France, England*, Sweden, and the States-General, these ambassadors were readily received: Denmark favoured the views of Joam, but, for fear of the German emperor, would not openly receive one: the pope resolved, as usual, to temporise; yet he leaned more than became either his station or character to the court of Spain: he withheld the necessary bulls of episcopal confirmation during many years; nor was an ambassador received from Lisbon. But these missions produced no advantage: though promises of assistance were made by France, then at war with Spain,—by England and Holland, which were frequently so,—the new monarch found that his chief dependence must rest on 1640 to 1641.

* In two years afterwards, a close commercial treaty between England and Portugal was signed in London by their ambassadors, and ratified by Charles I. and Joam.

the valour of his own people. He introduced a better discipline into his army; he fortified Lisbon; he strengthened his fortresses on the Spanish frontier, those especially in Alemtejo; he called on the nation to rally round the throne, and the call was heard.*

1641 to 1655. As the Spanish troops were occupied in Catalonia, Philip could bring no great force to bear on his revolted subjects; nor did Joam, for the same reason, judge a great army necessary in any one place. But he maintained several respectable bodies of troops towards the Galician and Estramaduran frontiers. His object was defence, not aggression, though the impatience of his soldiers often led them to retaliate on the Spaniards by predatory invasions into the neighbouring territory. The hostilities on both sides were disgraced by the most horrid excesses,—excesses which we might, perhaps, have expected between the savage tribes of an African desert, but which must cover Christian warriors with everlasting execration. We cannot dwell on hostilities perpetually recurring, and, during the life of Joam, uniformly indecisive: they commenced in 1641, and continued, with intermissions, to the last year of that prince. Let it be sufficient to observe, that, in general, they were in favour of the Portuguese, who reduced several of the secondary fortresses on the Spanish border. Thus, instead of recovering a revolted kingdom, Philip could not completely defend his own. The advantages of the Portuguese would have been much greater had their generals acted in concert; but difference of opinion, and, still more, jealousy of each other, often occasioned the loss of a campaign. There was no supreme chief of the army whom all would have been disposed to obey; for though the king sometimes appeared on the frontier it was rather for ostentation than for war. He had not the ability — we suspect he had not the courage — to face the enemy in person. In the lamentable weakness of the Spanish cabinet, and the no less lamentable state of

* The same authorities.

the national resources, nothing is more certain than that, if he had placed himself at the head of 40,000 men, he might have penetrated to Madrid, and dictated whatever terms of peace he pleased.*

Though Joam thus tranquilly ascended, and without difficulty maintained himself on, the throne, it was not to be expected that every one would approve the revolution, or that Spain had no partisans. Not a few of the nobility beheld with envy this elevation of a house which, except its original base derivation from royalty†, and, subsequently, a matrimonial connection with it, had no one claim to the distinction. Others regretted the dissolution of the union with the sister kingdom: they saw that nature — they knew that interest — demanded the subjection of the whole peninsula to the same sceptre. An equal, perhaps superior, number were gained by the gold of Castile. In the very first year of this monarch's reign a conspiracy was organised, by the restless archbishop of Braga, for restoring the crown to Philip. But the correspondence with the court of Madrid was detected; the lay conspirators were arrested, condemned, beheaded, or quartered; the primate, with two other bishops and an inferior ecclesiastic, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The archbishop died in a few months afterwards; — whether naturally may be reasonably doubted. Enraged at the failure and, still more, at the ill success of the war, the Spanish ministers, we are told, resolved to remove Joam by assassination. The instrument selected for this atrocious end was Domingos Leite, a native of Lisbon; a fellow of low condition, and, as may easily be supposed, of still lower habits. Seeing that, in a city where excesses are far from uncommon, *his* made him an outcast of society, he fled to Madrid, attracted the notice of the ministry, and proposed, or consented, to perpetrate the

1641 to 1647.

* La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. vii. liv. 27. et 28. Ortiz, Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. 20, &c. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xviii. liv. 66. cap. 5—9; liv. 67. cap. 2—10; tom. xix. liv. 68. cap. 2—5.

† See Vol. III. p. 263.

crime. Under the pretext of punishing the infidelity of his wife, whom he had left at Lisbon, he engaged a countryman, Manuel Rocco, to accompany him, and favour his flight. On reaching the capital, he commenced his diabolical preparations. He learned that, on a great festival, the king and the whole court were to follow the holy sacrament, in public procession, to the cathedral; and he hired two contiguous houses in a narrow street, through which the procession must unavoidably pass: as there was a communication between the two, and as one of them had a back way into a neighbouring street, he hoped that, when the fatal shot was fired, he should be able to escape. On the morning of the day which he pretended to have selected for the death of his faithless wife, he placed his friend, with two horses, at the convent of Nossa Senhora da Gracia, desiring him to await his return. But though he hastened to his post, and saw the king approach, he could not consummate his crime: he was troubled alike by the pomp of the spectacle, and the majesty of the intended victim; and the procession was past before his self-possession was restored. He repaired to the convent, and told his friend that the opportunity of vindicating his offended honour had failed; that his wife had taken alarm, and fled; that he would return to Madrid, but, ere long, he would revisit Lisbon, to execute his long-cherished resolve. Rocco did not enquire into the particulars, and both hastened to the Spanish capital. The ministers, we are told, were inexpressibly mortified at the failure of their hopes; but, by the promise of still higher rewards, they prevailed on him again to retrace his steps to his native city. As before, he was accompanied by Rocco, who seeing that he was unusually dejected,— a proof that the better principle was struggling within him, — enquired the reason. He had the weakness to acquaint his companion with the secret. The latter exhorted him to execute his commission with courage, promised his zealous co-operation, and — betrayed him to

the court. He was speedily arrested, tortured, and, on his self-condemnation, put to death.*

While these affairs were passing in Portugal, hostilities were frequent in America, Africa, and the East. 1642 to 1656

I. Though Holland furnished Joam with a body of troops to resist the invasion of the Spaniards, they were by no means disposed to forego the advantages which they were acquiring in other parts, — least of all in Brazil. Under the pretext that they had commenced hostilities originally, not against the Portuguese, but against Philip; and that, after preparations so expensive, they could not afford to lay down their arms, they resolved to pursue their ambitious designs in the New World. On the accession of Joam, as before observed, they were in possession of one half of Brazil. But the inhabitants of Pernambuco, of whom the most considerable, in point of influence, were of Portuguese extraction, were easily induced to rise against the heretical strangers. In the first two actions the Dutch were defeated; immediately afterwards a number were surprised in a fort, and, with their general, compelled to surrender. These successes were followed by the recovery of several minor fortresses. Though considerable reinforcements were received by the Dutch, and though scarcely any arrived from Portugal, — for Joam, who would have preferred the loss of every colony rather than his crown, was not willing to allow a single company to leave the frontiers of Castile, — the inhabitants continued the warfare with extraordinary spirit, against a power three times superior to their own. They reduced fort after fort, and gained battle after battle, until, in 1654, they expelled the enemy from the last possession which the republic held in those vast regions.

II. Commensurate with these hostilities were others on the western coast of Africa, especially in Angola, and in the island of St. Thomas, where the Dutch, by force or stratagem, obtained settlements. By su-

* La Clède, Hist. Gén. tom. vi. liv. xxvii. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom xviii. c. 9.

perior intelligence, and by indefatigable industry, these enterprising strangers soon engrossed the trade of the country, and extended their territory so as to alarm both the local governors and the court of Lisbon. An armament was equipped from Rio Janeiro, and both the island and the fortresses in Angola were recovered.

III. But if the arms of Joam were thus successful in Brazil and Africa, in India they met with many reverses. In several engagements the Dutch had the advantage; and, in 1655, they succeeded in wholly expelling the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon.*

656. Joam died in 1656. His eldest son, prince Theodosio, — of whose rising talents he had shown a mean jealousy, whose enterprises he had thwarted, and whom he would not allow to interfere in public affairs, — preceded him to the tomb. Three other children survived him: — 1. Catherine, married to Charles II. king of England; 2. the infante Alfonso, who, by the death of Theodosio, was heir to the monarchy; 3. the infante Pedro, who, as we shall soon perceive, succeeded Alfonso.†

ALFONSO VI.

1656—1667.

656. As on the death of Joam the new king was only in his thirteenth year, and as from the earliest infancy he had exhibited no proofs of understanding, but a waywardness which would have adorned a savage, the queen mother was intrusted with the regency, not only until he should attain his majority, but until the states of the kingdom should pronounce him competent to govern. The ceremony, however, of his coronation was performed with due splendour.

* Authorities: — La Clède, Lemos, Ortiz, and Silva.
† The same authorities.

The administration of this princess — a lady of the house of Gusman, her father being the eighth duke of Medina-Sidonia — was distinguished for prudence and spirit. As a Castilian, she was at first obnoxious to the people, who suspected that she must have a leaning toward her own country; but the vigour with which she prepared for war, and the perseverance with which she conducted it, prove that the suspicion was injurious. We cannot advert to the interminable and trifling events which followed, where the combat of a few hundreds is described with as much minuteness as if whole nations had been embattled on each side; where the destruction of a hundred enemies is hailed with as much exultation as if the force of Attila had been annihilated; and where the reduction of an obscure fort by some obscure colonel is related with as much triumph as the conquest of an empire. The whole campaign was disgraced by the most deplorable imbecility, on the part both of the Portuguese and the Spanish leaders, until the count de Schomberg and don Juan of Austria were opposed to each other. One day the Portuguese generals erred through rashness, another through excess of prudence, or downright cowardice; now an attempt was made on the almost impregnable bulwarks of Badajoz, now the Portuguese had not spirit to invest a fortress with mouldering walls and garrisoned by sixty men. In all these hostile transactions nothing is more evident than that they were entire strangers to the art of war— that they had neither discipline nor science. Had not the Spaniards been nearly as bad, Alemtejo at least, if not Tras os Montes, must soon have acknowledged the catholic king. In 1659, they were defeated before Elvas, which they had long and vainly besieged; but their mortification was somewhat diminished by the reduction of Moncao, in the province Entre Douro e Minho. After the peace of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, when Catalonia was pacified, and the Spanish troops * were at liberty to turn their undivided

1656 to 1666.

* See page 96. of the present volume.

force against Portugal, no doubt was entertained that this country would be subdued. But the queen regent did not neglect to strengthen the national cause by alliances. Some French, Dutch, and English adventurers under Schomberg, were obtained; the infanta Catherina, with the fortress of Tangier and a large sum of money, were given to Charles II. as the condition of his alliance, and for the aid of some English regiments. These auxiliary forces, fortunately for themselves, were placed under that gallant and able general: had they been confided to a Portuguese, they would speedily have disappeared in detail, without the acquisition of a single hamlet. But he sustained so much opposition, so much jealousy and ill-will from the chiefs associated with him, that he could not prevent don Juan from obtaining some rapid successes. Among them was the conquest of Evora. But this advantage was soon neutralised by a signal victory attained over the Castilians; it was still further improved by the recovery of Evora:—both monuments of Schomberg's ability and of English valour. To repare these disasters, don Juan collected a superior force, and advanced to the frontiers; but he effected nothing. In fact, he seems to have been as much embarrassed by his imbecile coadjutors as Schomberg himself: he complained, and was deprived of the command, which was bestowed on the marquis de Caracene.* This change was fortunate for Portugal; for the new general was so signally defeated at Villaviciosa, that it may be said to have secured the independence of that kingdom. This was the last noted exploit during the reign of Alfonso.†

1657 to 1664. During these hostilities the court of Lisbon exhibited strange scenes. The depraved tastes, the low and profligate habits, the headstrong perversity of the king, daily acquired strength, and afforded a melancholy

*See page 97. of the present volume.

† Ortiz, Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. xx., &c. La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. vi. liv. 31—33. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xix. liv. 69. et 70.; et tom. xx. liv. 70. et 71. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iii. Da Costa, Historia, tom. iii. § 8. Vertot (Révolutions de Portugal) does not deserve the honour of being cited.

prospect to the nation. He associated with the lowest of the people; he introduced them into his palace; or accompanied them in nocturnal expeditions, undertaken as much for bloodshed as for mere mischief. His band of young companions became the terror of the capital. By his caprices several youths are said to have been tortured to death; and young girls to have suffered a still worse fate: all his diversions partook of his savage and capricious character. So long as he confined them to boxing in the ring, to wrestling, or to breaking the windows by night, the citizens, however scandalised at such conduct, did not much complain; but when their daughters were seduced, or their sons ill-used, by the royal satellites, even they began to think that a king might do wrong. When they saw him enter houses of ill-fame, nay, worse, when common prostitutes were brought to the palace, which was thereby converted into a brothel, their indignation yielded to contempt. More than once had the queen and her ministers — they cannot be called *his* — forcibly removed from him a whole host of liars, flatterers, drunkards, and knaves; but he soon recalled them, or hastened to join them in their favourite diversions. Once the council of state, headed by the duke de Cadaval, summoned courage enough to expostulate with him on the danger to which he exposed his person and kingdom; besought him to forsake his savage amusements, in which blood was sure to flow, sometimes to the loss of life; and represented to him, with force and pathos, the effects of so extraordinary an example. He listened with a careless air, and refused to promise any thing. The influence of the queen was no less ineffectual. At length the indignant nobles, at her instigation, forcibly seized two brothers, the vilest and most dangerous of his satellites, and sent them away to Brazil; but other creatures were found to supply their place. The latter were even more dangerous than their predecessors. They persuaded him that his mother wished to keep him, throughout life, in a state of pupillage; and that she was labouring to place the crown

on the head of his younger brother, the infante Pedro. Hence the jealousy — we might add, the hatred — with which he regarded both: if he durst not exhibit it towards the former, he could, at least, heap every species of insult and caprice on the latter. With all his stupidity, the royal brute felt that he was a king; he knew that the time of his majority was long past; he insisted on being invested with the regal authority in all its extent; and, after a struggle between him and his mother, he forced her, in June, 1662, to resign the regency. The removal of so salutary a rein on his excesses could not fail to make things worse. The licentious youths with whom he surrounded himself disgusted by their conduct the oldest servants of the crown, and forced them to retreat from their public offices. His own extravagances increased. His satellites paraded the streets, or scoured the highways, night and day; they not unfrequently returned with plunder, oftener still with their swords stained with blood. In fact, there was no species of excess which they hesitated to commit, if by so doing they could either gratify the barbarous taste of their master, or enrich themselves; for the tribunals of justice were silent. We are told that he even charged the people in a public procession; that he instigated the assassination of some obnoxious nobles; that, to show his contempt of a comet which was believed to be the forerunner of some great change, he fired a pistol at it, loading it, at the same time, with the lowest terms of scurrility. Much of this may be exaggerated; but, if one tenth of the things related of him be true, he should long ago have been consigned to some monastery. It was hoped that, if a wife were procured him, he would, at least, refrain from some excesses; and one was found in mademoiselle d'Aumale, daughter of the duke de Nemours. But he treated his beautiful queen with open neglect; he disregarded alike her entreaties, her tears, and her remonstrances; nor did the death of his mother make the slightest change in his conduct.*

* The same authorities.

But the strangest part of these transactions remains to be told. That the queen-mother had resigned her authority with reluctance, is certain; that she had entertained thoughts of procuring the transfer of the sceptre from Alfonso to Pedro, is confirmed by the general tenour of her actions. It is no less true, that Pedro aspired to supplant his brother; that he intrigued with the nobles and prelates for that end; and that, by the outward decorum of his conduct, by a scrupulous regard to the decencies of his station, he laboured to make the contrast between himself and the king too marked to be overlooked. Equally certain it is, that no one observed this contrast more narrowly than the youthful queen, who soon formed a suspicious connection with the infante. That their plans for the future were soon arranged, is evident enough from the sequel. When Pedro's plans were matured, when he had interested a considerable party in his behalf, he sought an open rupture — and he had causes enough — with the king. In October, 1667, a furious mob, which had been gained by his emissaries, conducted him to the palace, insisting that justice should be done him on his enemies. The paltry spirit which Alfonso displayed on this occasion completed his degradation in the eyes of the populace, who began loudly to exclaim that the country must have a new king. To the same intrigues was owing a resolution for assembling the states, ostensibly for the correction of internal abuses, in reality, to change the government. But, before the day of convocation arrived, the revolution was effected. On the 21st of November, the queen hastily left the palace, and retired to the convent of St. Francis. Her pretext was the ill-usage she hourly received from Alfonso — usage which was, doubtless, undeserved, but which she artfully exaggerated. The true reason for so extraordinary a step appeared in a letter which she immediately wrote to the king, and in which, after adverting to her domestic sorrows, she surprised the public by saying, that her marriage was, from its origin, null; that it had never

1666 to 1667

been consummated; that she was, consequently, mistress of her own actions; and that she would return to France without delay.

The perusal of this extraordinary letter filled Alfonso with indignant wonder. He hastened to the convent, and on being refused admission, he ordered the gates to be broken; but his brother arriving with an escort, persuaded or compelled him to depart. No sooner was he retired, than the infante had a long interview with her. The subject of their conversation appeared, from a letter to the chapter of Lisbon, which contained the same charge of impotence against the king, which asserted that her conscience (!) would no longer allow her to conceal so important a fact; and which ended by demanding immediate redress. The following morning proved that the interview had been well employed by the infante. One of his creatures, accompanied by a select body of men, proceeded to the palace, and demanded to see the king, who had not yet risen. On being refused, he forced his way into the royal bedchamber, upbraided the bewildered monarch with his vices and impotence, and advised him to make a virtue of necessity,—to resign the crown in favour of his brother. The counsellors of state, who had all been gained, and who in their turn had gained the authorities and people of Lisbon, renewed the menace, and forced him to sign an act of renunciation. He was then arrested, and sentenced to perpetual confinement, but with permission to enjoy the comforts of life. In conclusion, Pedro was proclaimed regent; and, in that character, was recognised by an assembly of the states. By his creatures, the same states were persuaded to petition the queen, who no longer showed any inclination to leave the kingdom, that she would accept the hand of so deserving a prince. She required no solicitation: she had already despatched a confidential messenger to her uncle the cardinal Vendôme, the papal legate, for a brief, authorising a second marriage; and the cardinal, anxious that his family should contain a queen, expe-

dited it without delay. Irregular as was this proceeding, the supple ecclesiastics of Lisbon sanctioned the marriage, which was celebrated in haste, lest a papal inhibition should arrive, and blast the fruit of so many intrigues. Subsequently, an application was made to the pope, to confirm the dispensation of the cardinal; and Clement, who saw that the mischief was done, admitted the allegation of impotence, and despatched the brief of confirmation.*

Thus concluded one of the most extraordinary scenes 1668
that has ever been exhibited to the eyes of mankind, — extraordinary alike for affrontery and duplicity. However the constitution of Alfonso might have been impaired by debauchery, he was not impotent. No one labouring under such a disability would have been at the trouble either of visiting the public stews, or of introducing women of loose morals into the palace. But, without insisting on this presumptive evidence, we are positively informed that Alfonso had one child at least by his favourite mistress. If the *debitum conjugale* had never been paid, why should a circumstance so important to the kingdom be concealed during sixteen months? Why should it be mentioned, for the first time, when Pedro was ready to usurp the crown? The whole proceeding is explicable enough. The queen felt that she was neglected; she admired the infante, and was gained by him as an accessory to the long meditated plot of dethroning the king: she had little repugnance to a scheme which would at once secure the continuance of her dignity, and furnish her with a more welcome husband,—which would gratify her ambition and her passion. The same motives — the acquisition of a throne and a beautiful wife — would have no less influence with the infante. This hypothesis explains the obstinacy with which Pedro, some months prior to the revolution, refused another princess of France, whom the ambassador of Por-

* La Clède, Histoire Générale, tom. viii. liv. 33. Ortiz, Historia de España, tom. vi. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xx. lib. 71. cap. 4—7. Silva, Historia, tom. iv. Da Costa, Historia, tom. iii. § 8.

tugal had selected for him, and whom both Alfonso and the royal council had urged him to marry. The means adopted by these paramours were even more daring, more indicative of the contempt with which they regarded public opinion, than the end itself. No proof was adduced, or pretended to be adduced, of the alleged impediment, — the only one which in fact the canons of the Roman catholic church would recognise as an *impedimentum dirimens*, — it rested on no other basis than the asseveration of the party most interested in the promotion of the suit. Had the parties lived in a private sphere, no canonists in Europe would have granted a divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, much more have dissolved the *vinculum matrimonii*; but power and interest will deride the most solemn obligations. The whole transaction must cover with everlasting shame the memory of both Pedro and the queen. As for the cardinal and the pope, it may be said that they were probably misled by the deceptions of the interested.*

1668 to 683. Before this iniquitous consummation of ambition and lust, Pedro had the glory of ending the long dispute with Spain. Both nations were exhausted by their past exertions, and both naturally inclined for peace. It was concluded at Lisbon, under the mediation of Charles II., king of England. By it all conquests made by either party were restored, and the subjects of each nation admitted to the privileges enjoyed by the most favoured people. The arms of Portugal were immediately erased from the escutcheon of the Spanish monarchy. This was almost the only transaction of moment in which the regent was engaged, from his marriage to the death of Alfonso. There was, indeed, a conspiracy formed to restore that prince; but it was easily detected, and its authors punished. That unfortunate monarch was first

* The slavish historians of Portugal — the most slavish and the least discerning in the whole range of historic literature — carefully refrain from doubting the impotency of Alfonso; and praise, in high terms, the prudence, virtue, and patriotism of the two princes. As, in Portugal, a king may be most pious with half a dozen bastards, or if stained with half a dozen murders, we need make no further reflections on the subject.

removed to the Azores; and when, from the continuance of peace, both external and internal, no fear could be entertained of a commotion, he was transferred to the palace of Cintra, where, in 1683, he ended his days. The same year was fatal to the queen, who left no other issue than a daughter, the infanta Isabel.*

PEDRO II.

1683—1707.

On the death of Alfonso, the coronation of the new king was celebrated with the usual "pomp and circumstance." His reign, like his regency, was passed in profound peace, and, consequently, furnishes no materials for history, until the celebrated war of the Spanish succession, following the demise of Carlos II., called him into the field. The motives which induced him to take part with the allies against Philip V. have been already explained†, and the chief events of the war have been related.‡ In the midst of these hostilities, Pedro breathed his last.§ 1683 to 1706.

During the reigns of Alfonso and Pedro, the affairs of India continually declined. The Dutch, the most persevering enemies that ever assailed the Portuguese empire in the East, not satisfied with the richest settlements in Malacca and in the India islands, prepared to expel the subjects of his most faithful majesty from the continent. The latter were insulted, sometimes defeated, within sight of Goa. Their own disputes were as fatal as the valour of the enemy: not unfrequently the local governors took up arms against one another, heedless alike of their own glory and of the prosperity of the colonies, so that they could gratify their worst passions. In 1659, the Dutch laid siege to Cochin; 1658 to 1706.

* Authorities:—La Clède, Lemos, Ortiz, and Silva.
† See page 122. of the present volume.
‡ Ibid. p. 125, &c. § The same authorities.

and though the season, rather than the courage of the defenders, compelled them to raise it, their arms were generally triumphant; while on those of the Portuguese success seldom shone. In 1660, they blockaded the bar of Goa, thereby preventing the annual sailing of merchandise for Lisbon. In the following year, they took the fortress of Coulam, and invested Bracalor; while their Mohammedan allies pillaged Bazain. Bombay was delivered to the English. In 1665, Diu was plundered by the Mohammedans, 3000 of the inhabitants being led into hopeless captivity, the rest put to the sword. Finally, Cochin was reduced by the king of Travancore, and the Portuguese empire in India was confined to Goa, Diu, and a few commercial settlements on the coast of Malabar and in the islands. The African and Brazilian possessions continued unimpaired.

By his second queen, a princess of Bavaria, Pedro had several children, most of whom, however, died either in infancy or without issue. He was succeeded by the infante Joam, born in 1688.*

JOAM V.

1706—1750.

1706 to 1750. If we except the war of the succession, into which the new king entered with as much zeal as his predecessor, and the chief events of which have been already related, there is nothing in his reign to interest an English reader. The history of Portugal, from the peace of Utrecht to the French revolution, is singularly barren of events. Since the country was engaged in no foreign wars, and exhibits nothing novel in its internal government, the historian has little more to do than to record the ac-

* La Clède, Histoire Générale de Portugal, tom. viii. Silva, Historia, tom iv. Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xx. liv. 73. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, tom. vii.

cession and death of Joam. Once, indeed, a serious misunderstanding embroiled the court with that of Castile, and threatened hostilities. In this condition, unable to cope alone with her formidable rival, Portugal renewed her alliances with the other European powers, and called on the assistance of England, which was readily afforded; but the address of the Portuguese ambassador at Paris turned aside the gathering storm. During the tranquillity of a long reign, Joam cultivated with zeal and success the good will of foreign courts, and afforded increased prosperity to commerce. From his foundation of the royal academy of history, and from the reforms which he introduced into the system of collegiate education, we may also infer his attachment to letters. In the first years of its existence, this academy displayed an honourable activity; but the benefits which it has since bestowed on literature have been "few and far between." "The intellectual operations of Portuguese academicians," says a native writer of our days, with more candour than we should have expected from him, "but too much resemble the other establishments of the country — brilliant in their origin, but seldom so in the end." Joam was no less attached to religion: he founded the magnificent church and convent of Mafra, and procured from the pope a golden bull, by which Lisbon was created a patriarchal see. By the patriarch dispensations for matrimonial impediments, and other ends, were granted, without the delay or the expense of an application to Rome; and appeals were decided in the last resort. His views went, doubtless, farther: that he contemplated a separation from the see of Rome in regard to temporals and discipline, is evident; and such a result would have followed, had not the pope hastened to pacify him by timely concessions. Another honourable proof alike of his superiority to a miserable superstition, and of his attachment to justice, is to be found in the gratifying fact, that he allowed advocates to the prisoners of the inquisition. If to this we add, that he gave new vigour to the civil tribunals, we shall have exhausted the

few materials of his policy furnished us by the national historians. His reign was prosperous and happy, even when allowance is made for a famine, which, in 1734, afflicted the central provinces, and for an earthquake, which did much damage in Algarve.

1750. During the last eight years of his life, Joam was the victim of disease, which he is said to have borne with becoming fortitude. He died in July, 1750. His character is drawn in the brightest colours by the bombastic writers of his nation: he is represented as the most pious of sovereigns — as the David and Josias of Portugal — as "a man after God's own heart" — as glowing with all the ardour of a seraphic devotion — as sublime by his several virtues. How such piety, such virtues, may consort with adultery and fornication, — for this "adorable king" left three bastard children, of whom one became inquisitor-general, another archbishop of Braga, — we leave for Portuguese casuists to decide.

By his queen, Mariana of Austria, Joam had a numerous issue; but three children only survived him — Maria, queen of Spain, his successor, José, and the infante dom Pedro.*

JOSE.

1750—1777.

1750 to 1755. THE most remarkable event in the reign of this prince is the celebrated earthquake, which, in November, 1755, laid so great a portion of Lisbon in ruins. That fearful disaster has been so often and so minutely described, that the details need not be repeated here. We may observe, that its severity was aggravated by a conflagration, — the work possibly of some incendiaries, who wished to profit still further by the general confusion, — which raged with terrific violence; that about thirty churches, and many thousands of houses, were ruined;

* Lemos, Historia Geral, tom. xx. liv. 73. Silva, Historia, tom. iv.

and that the loss of life cannot be estimated, even by the most moderate calculation, below twenty thousand persons. In this awful visitation, the royal family were fortunate enough to escape; but the Spanish ambassador, with many other persons of distinction, both foreign and native, were buried amidst the ruins. The promptitude with which England despatched money, clothing, and provisions for the relief of the sufferers, should be, though it is not, remembered by the nation, with unfailing gratitude.* This generosity was the more honourable, as the English government had little reason to be satisfied with the king, who, from the commencement of his reign, had interposed whatever obstacles he could devise to the trade with this country; who had evaded all such provisions of preceding treaties as were favourable to British interests, and had evidently designed the annihilation of the intercourse which through so many ages had subsisted between the two nations. The same humanity was exhibited by the government of Spain; and, if the Spanish writers are to be credited, with the same sickening result.†

Scarcely had the alarm caused by this fatal visitation of heaven subsided, when the kingdom was agitated by a conspiracy against the life of the monarch. By whose instigation, or with what view it was formed, it would be vain to enquire; the whole affair has been wrapped in dark, probably, in studied mystery. One party threw the blame on certain ecclesiastics, who were incensed at the reform instituted by dom José; another, on the creatures of Spain, who were eager to reunite the two countries under the same sceptre; a third, on the jesuits, who are represented as indignant at the restriction of their ancient privileges; others agreed to throw it on a prince of the family. It is certain that 1757 to 1759.

* "They received the relief, but cursed the heretical hands which afforded it!" A modern historian of Portugal has laboured to prove, that, in the relief thus promptly afforded, the English government was actuated by no other views than such as were purely selfish,—by a regard for English subjects at Lisbon, and by the hope of future commercial advantages.

† Baretti's Letters from Spain and Portugal, vol. i. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iv. Da Costa, Historia, tom. iii. sect. 9.

the duke of Aveiro, the conde de Atougia, with three nobles, and one lady of the house of Tavora, were executed on a public scaffold. It is no less true that the jesuits were implicated in the treason, — on what foundation we are not informed; that soon afterwards their possessions were seized, and their expulsion decreed by the crown; in fact, every possible calamity, even the earthquake, was ascribed to the poor fathers of Jesus. This, and some other causes, led to frequent and acrimonious disputes with the populace: on one occasion all the servants of the pope were expelled from Portugal; all Portuguese in the States of the Church were recalled; and all intercourse between the two courts religiously prohibited for some years.*

1760 to 1763. José had soon need of assistance from an ally whom he had neglected. To an authoritative mandate that he would take part with the courts of France and Spain against England†, he returned a refusal, both because he had no wish to engage his subjects in a war alien to their interests, and because he had too much pride to submit to dictation. Had he, indeed, as was demanded by the Bourbon kings, consented to receive a Spanish garrison into his principal fortresses, — a demand made under the pretence that they would thereby be more effectually defended against the probable attempts of the English, — his kingdom would have again become a province of the catholic monarchy. It was alike his duty and his interest to observe a strict neutrality; and when he asserted his resolution to that effect, war was declared against him by Carlos, and Spanish troops were removed towards the frontier. In this emergency he naturally solicited the aid of England, and was immediately furnished with troops, arms, ammunition, and money. In the opening of the campaign, success attended the arms of the invaders: they took Miranda,

* The same authorities. It must not, however, be concealed, that some of the jesuits were more ambitious of royal favour than of discharging their pastoral duties. But these were few: why should the whole body suffer for *their* misconduct? Plunder was the only reason.

† See pages 169—172. of the present volume.

Braganza, and Almeida. Here their triumphs ceased. As the Portuguese had not one good general, the count de Lippe, at the instancee of the English government, arrived from Germany, and assumed the command. In his operations he was well assisted by general Burgoyne, and they had soon the glory of freeing the Portuguese soil from the Bourbon army. As before related in the reign of Carlos III., the two courts, hopeless of success, and afraid of greater disasters, solicited and obtained peace. Throughout this campaign, José had reason to lament the deplorable state of his troops: they had neither organisation nor discipline. When assembled, they had no confidence in themselves, and were consequently ready enough to flee or to surrender. On the conclusion of hostilities, he retained the count de Lippe, with some British officers, to reform his army; nor were their exertions in vain.*

The remainder of his reign was employed by this king in promoting the industry and improving the condition of his people. The duties which he laid on the introduction of British manufactures, and which amounted almost to an exclusion, were intended to encourage his own artisans: but, in so doing, he overlooked the obvious fact, that he increased, to the great bulk of his subjects, the price of certain articles far beyond their real value; he sacrificed the interests of the many to those of a few. In his encouragement of agriculture, of the fisheries, and of the trade with his own colonies, he was more enlightened and more successful; nor were his labours to improve the police and judicial administration without effect. What, in such a country, we should still less have expected, he founded schools in the great towns, and improved the system of study in all the faculties taught in the university of Coimbra: Aristotle was forsaken for Bacon, scholastic subtleties for sound ratiocination. A much nobler monument of his, 1763 to 1777.

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. iii. Silva, Historia de Portugal, tom. iv. Also the historians of George III., and page 169. of the present volume.

was a decree by which the grandsons of slaves, and all who should be born after the same date, were declared free: though the benefit was restricted to Portugal alone, it was an amazing stride in the career of improvement. Nor were these the only advantages he procured for his people, whose gratitude he won by other means, less striking, indeed, but not less valuable. It is some gratification to add, that his reforms were fully appreciated by them; and that, towards the close of his life, they erected a bronze statue in his honour. In short, he was the best monarch Portugal could boast since the days of Philip I.

1777. José died in 1777. By his queen, a daughter of Philip V. king of Spain, he had issue four daughters. This circumstance was a striking illustration of the mischiefs resulting from the ancient law, which declared that if any princess accepted a foreign husband, she forfeited all right to the throne. In the hope of succession, he was, therefore, compelled to provide his eldest daughter with a husband at home; and as a connection with the nobility would have been below his royal dignity, and odious to such houses as were excluded, he married her to his own brother, the infante dom Pedro. These incestuous connections are, unfortunately, far from rare in the modern history of Portugal. As before related, some intrigues were used to exclude the daughter — the first female sovereign the country possessed, — but they were detected, and the chief actors exiled from court.*

MARIA.

1777—1789.

1777. When this princess ascended the throne, she was in her forty-third year. Her reign, which extended into the

* Authorities: — Silva and Da Costa. See page 171. of the present volume.

nineteenth century, is the opening of a new era; of a new system of policy; of new and unexampled relations; —in short, of the French revolution. The changes produced in the kingdom by that astounding portent; the humiliation to which it was subjected by the republicans; its invasion by them; the expulsion of the royal family, and their triumphant return, after a war for ever memorable in the annals of mankind,— are events too momentous, too complicated, too comprehensive, to be noticed in a work of which the limits have been already exceeded. Hence, as in the case of Spain, our narrative must close with the commencement of so extraordinary a period.

If the abilities of this queen were of no high order, she was actuated by good intentions; and her administration, though feeble, was beneficial. If her foreign policy was imprudent; if she was forced into the family compact by her powerful neighbours of Spain and France*; if, through her aunt, the queen-dowager, a treaty of limits was negotiated with the former power prejudicial to her interests †, in her internal administration she is entitled to respect. She imitated, with success, the example of her father, in giving a new impulse to arts, manufactures, and commerce, to the administration of justice, and to the reformation of the religious orders. She founded the academy of sciences, and cleared the cloisters of Coimbra from most of the cobwebs which the late king had suffered to remain. A far greater boon was the introduction into the convents of the friars of a compulsory course of education, embracing useful literature, philosophy, and the sciences. Unfortunately, however, her excellent designs were, to a considerable extent, thwarted by the opposition of that most idle, most profligate, and most ignorant portion of the religious communities,—a class who have practised more knavery, and, by their example, corrupted more morals, than all the world besides. Without principle or regularity of conduct, consisting of the dregs of 1777 to 1790.

* See page 171. † Ibid.

society, assuming the habit merely to escape a life of drudgery, suffered to prowl wherever they please, using the mask of religion to extort money from the weak, to seduce the wives and daughters of such as offered them hospitality,—they are, and have ever been, a curse to every nation which harbours them.* Still the royal innovation did secure, in a positive sense, much good. The foundation of several charitable institutions—one, in particular, for the education and support of orphans, or of children whose parents were too poor to maintain them — does no less honour to her memory. Nor must we omit to say, that she introduced some salutary laws, of which one — the abolition of imprisonment for debt — might raise a blush on statesmen that would be thought both humane and enlightened.†

790. After thirteen years' reign, the queen began to exhibit manifest proofs of incapacity, — the result of bodily infirmities; and her eldest surviving son, dom Joam, afterwards Joam VI., was intrusted with the government. But for some years it was conducted in her name, nor was the prince declared regent until 1800.

* Let us hope that these filthy gentry will soon be expelled from every Roman catholic country. In Spain they are utterly detested, especially by the clergy.

† Da Costa, Historia do Reynado da Raynha D. Maria. When will an English minister abolish the feudal—we beg pardon, we libel the age of chivalry—the *barbarian* custom of imprisonment for debt? When will misfortune cease to be confounded with crime? If a debtor has not the money to satisfy the claims against him, will imprisonment enrich him? If he have, why not compel him to be honest? Why not seize it?

SECTION III.

GLANCE AT THE DECLINE OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY UNDER THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, AND ITS RESTORATION UNDER THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.*

At the close of each of the preceding books, we have paused in the narrative to review the political, civil, and religious state of the peninsula during each of the great periods into which this compendium is divided. How gladly, at the close of the present book, we should enter into similar enquiries,—enquiries which embrace the most valuable results of human experience, —can be known only to ourselves. But as, to do them justice, they would occupy a whole volume, and as we have already exceeded the limits assigned us, we must reluctantly confine ourselves to a few observations on the general condition of the monarchy, with the causes that led to it, in the various reigns from the first to the third Carlos.

1. *The House of Austria.*

Under the emperor the condition of Spain was more splendid, perhaps also more prosperous, than in any prior or subsequent reign. Though he was engaged in so many wars, the people do not appear to have been overburdened in supporting them: the treasures of the New World, and the ordinary contributions, were generally sufficient for the purpose. The circulation of so much wealth, and the vast markets opened for Spanish

* In the following few pages we restrict our observations to the *Spanish* monarchy. We do not for a moment hesitate to confess, that we are very imperfectly acquainted with the institutions of Portugal. If, as is reported, Dr. Southey is now occupied on a history of that country, we may confidently expect all the information that can be given on such a subject.

productions in the Americas, gave a new impulse to the national industry. Hence labour was in constant demand, and adequately remunerated. But the happiness even of this bright period had its drawbacks. 1. The nobles held a power over the people, which, though not recognised by the new jurisprudence, was founded on the Wisigothic code, and was consecrated by immemorial custom. If we may believe the histories of the period, and the representations of the cortes, it was often exercised with violence, with rapacity, with injustice. To counteract their influence by royal decrees would have been a vain attempt; the object could be attained only by arms; and it was, doubtless, with this view, that cardinal Ximenes Cisneros published his celebrated military ordinance, by which every commune was not only empowered, but commanded, to maintain armed men, both horse and foot, in numbers proportioned to its population.* But the expense with the communities, who were evidently not aware of the design, more than counterbalanced the proposed advantage of national defence. Their discontent was artfully fomented by the nobles, who were at no loss to apprehend the cardinal's view; and who, by exaggerated representations of the burdens which this innovation would entail on them, and of the tyranny which dictated such a measure without the sanction of the cortes, roused them to open resistance. The wars which followed must have operated in a most baneful degree on the national prosperity, — and they were no less useless than baneful. They did not shake the power of the aristocracy, while they confirmed that of the crown. 2. The dissatisfaction of the third estate was still further increased by the fact, that on them alone rested the burden of the public contribution. Both the nobles and the clergy, the former in virtue of their seignorial rights, the latter of their immunities, were exempted from direct taxes. Though this unjust dis-

* See page 4. of the present volume.

tinction would operate with less severity in a season of general prosperity, it would be oppressive to many, and its odious partiality could not fail to be condemned by all who suffered by it. 3. Generally as the means of comfort might be diffused throughout the community, Spain had few native capitalists. The nobles seemed to live by traffic: the labourers, artisans, mechanics, were too poor to purchase their native produce or manufactures, and dispose of it to the foreign merchant; and there was no middle class to serve as a connecting link between the two. Yet such a link was indispensable, and it was supplied by foreign enterprise. English, French, Dutch, Germans, Italians, hastened to profit by the absurd pride of one class, and the poverty of another: they absorbed the chief gain; they amassed considerable, in some cases princely fortunes, which they afterwards expended, not in Spain, but in their own countries. In 1542, the cortes of Valladolid complained that strangers possessed so alarming a monopoly, and that, by their advances of money, not only on the future produce of the soil, but on the revenues of even ecclesiastical benefices, they had the supreme control over the public wealth. 4. The ignorance of the government as to the true sources of national prosperity is another of the causes which led to its decline. That native manufactures were not encouraged is sufficiently notorious from the fact, that while they were subject to many duties on their introduction into other countries of Europe, — duties which almost amounted to an exclusion, — those of foreigners were admitted into the peninsula either without any or with very light ones: hence there was no such thing as reciprocity, and the advantages of traffic must inevitably remain with more cunning nations. Still, as before observed, the New World opened a boundless market to Spanish productions of every species, so that the mischiefs of this deplorable policy were not much felt, however their tendency might be perceived, in the present reign. 5. Though American money was freely diffused throughout the

community, its abundance had the inevitable effect of impairing its value, and that to an extent unexampled in any other country. This fact is sufficiently proved by the rapid increase in the price of provisions and other necessaries, which, from 1480 to 1530, had quintupled. Gold could not always be thus abundant; and when it ceased to be so, what would be the condition of the people? To suppose that the value of necessaries would at once decline in proportion as money disappeared, would be to suppose what is invariably contradicted by all human experience. 6. So long as money retained its ancient value, the fine of a few maravedis — and in the fourth volume of this compendium we have seen that the most ordinary punishments were pecuniary mulcts — would always operate as a preventive of crime; but when it was reduced to one fifth, those mulcts, which ought to have been quintupled, remained at the same standard.* Hence fines lost their rigour, and crimes naturally became more frequent. 7. The acquisition of land by the church would not be felt as an evil during the supremacy of the ancient system, when military service and the ordinary contributions were as much required from ecclesiastics as from laymen. But when the new jurisprudence superseded the other; when churchmen could no longer serve the state either by contributions or in person; when, too, the property which had been granted for such service could neither be alienated nor sold, when the possessions of the church increased in an alarming degree, in the same degree diminished the resources of the state. Hence the monarchs of Castile and Leon found it necessary to issue prohibitions against the alienation of lands to ecclesiastical purposes; and no man who entered the cloister, or served at the altar, was permitted to take with him more than a fifth even of his movable property. But human opinions are more powerful than laws. Piety

* Quintupled, we mean, in half a century. But the evil went farther back; the pecuniary mulcts of the *thirteenth* century were those of the *sixteenth*, when the difference in the value of money was as 10 to 1.

struggled against policy, and conquered. The evil was, indeed, partially checked, but enough of it subsisted to injure the interests of the state. 8. Under the ancient system, majorats were unknown: lands, on the death of the holder, reverted to the crown; entails with primogenital rights were not in force until the thirteenth century, when Alonso el Sabio, in his code of the Partidas, sanctioned their use. It is, indeed, true, that, long before the time of that legislator, children could inherit: but the father had full control over his property; he could divide it among them, or bequeath it even to the youngest; or he could sell it, and divide the proceeds of the sale in whatever proportion he pleased. But noble families, afraid of being reduced, in the course, perhaps, of a single generation, to comparative poverty—of their names and characters being lost among men—anxiously turned their attention to inalienations in their first-born sons; or, in default of them, in their collateral kindred. Few men would have their memory to expire: all have a natural wish that their names, fortunes, and influence should be transmitted; and as it could not be thus transmitted by many—as property may be divided and subdivided until it is lost—the interest of several sons was sacrificed to that of one,—the eldest. Hence, when lands became inalienable in the representative of a family, there arose a species of mortmain, as much as in the church. In one respect, indeed, there was an essential difference: the property thus transmitted was still liable to the exigencies of the state. But in others it was scarcely less injurious. When allowed to change possessions, by sale or contract, the alcavala, or duty exacted whenever it passed from one owner to another, contributed greatly to the replenishing of the royal coffers; so that the revenue must seriously have suffered by the innovation. As the possessor ceased to be the proprietor, and was confined to the usufruct, unless his heir happened to be a favourite son, he was not very anxious to incur the expense of improvements, the advantage of which he could not

live long enough to enjoy, and which might, perhaps, pass to a disobedient child, or to a stranger. Hence, in many instances, the land was inadequately cultivated. 9. The disputes of Carlos with the popes was another of the causes of the national decline. Incensed at his attempts to check ecclesiastical abuses, and apprehensive of his aspiring to universal empire, they formed league after league against him; compelling him to waste on foreign objects the treasures which should have been applied to the amelioration of Spain. But this was not the worst evil. In these disputes many of the clergy, and some of the nobles, took part with the holy see, while others as zealously espoused the side of the king. The former soon learned to consider their obligations to the head of the church as superior to those which they owed to that of the state: hence the collisions of interests and opinions, by which patriotism and the social bond were weakened. That Carlos should wish to subject ecclesiastics to direct taxation will surely surprise no one, when we consider the solid benefits which they derived from the community, and the few temporal ones which they returned. While the nobles and the third estate were contributing, by their substance or in person, to the wants of the state, churchmen, says the famous duke of Alva, lived perfectly at their ease, either in monasteries or in their glebe houses: they possessed revenues so immense as absolutely to absorb the royal patrimony. "We must cut," continued that enlightened man, "at the very trunk and root of the tree. Let your majesty consider that churchmen possess a rental of 2,000,000 of ducats, in lordships, baronies, or seignorial fiefs*; that they have their vassals and subjects; that this advantage is possessed, not merely by bishops and chapters, but by priests, and even monks; while your imperial majesty has scarcely an inch of ground wherewith to reward the multitude of faithful captains who expend their substance and their blood for your service and glory." — "Let these churchmen be deprived of

* This was exclusive of tithes, dues, and offerings.

their fiefs and baronies, which, in your majesty's hands, would be sufficient not merely to oppose but to annihilate the enemies of the church." Let us not, however, shut our eyes to the fact, that, if the ecclesiastic domains had been vested in the crown, they would have been seldom conferred as rewards of merit; they would, in a majority of cases, have been made to enrich worthless courtiers.* 10. The privileges and wealth of the church could not fail to multiply the number of its ministers and priests to an extent far beyond the necessity of the demand. The rich were anxious to educate their sons for a state which held out such powerful inducements to temporal ambition; even the poorest, — and, to the honour of the Roman catholic church be it spoken, the priesthood, as well as the monastic profession, has ever been open to the very lowest classes, — while earning their own bread by the sweat of their brow, had the satisfaction to know that in the church they could secure for their sons the comforts of life. But this multiplication of the religious orders was most baneful: it abstracted from the number of productive hands; it added to the burdens of the community; it deprived the country of so many defenders.†

The commencement of the reign of Philip II. exhibits the same generally prosperous state of things as that of his father. Some of the causes which we assigned of Spanish decline were, indeed, in full operation, but their influence was not yet felt, and the mischief of others was counterbalanced by accidental circumstances. This great monarch — for such he really

* In England, how much of the money placed in the hands of the king, for the purpose of rewarding services or encouraging merit, has been appropriated to that purpose? An inspection of the names to which sign-manual pensions have been granted ought to raise a blush — if such people ever do blush — on the faces of kings and ministers. Such faces, it is to be feared, are cast in bronze.

† Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Invicto Emperador Carlos V., necnon Ochoa de la Salde, La Carolea Inchiridion, passim. Los Autos de las Cortes de Valladolid, anno 1542. Alfonso el Sabio, Las Siete Partidas, part ii. tit. 13. Leti, Vita di Carlo V. part v. lib. i. Sempère, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne, chap. 25. et 26. Idem, Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole, tom. i. chap. 20. et 21.

was—had a judgment much more solid, much less liable to be misled, than the emperor; and for some years he consulted the welfare of his people with perseverance and success. The acquisition of Portugal and of the Philippine Islands augmented his resources, and consequently his power. But, if his policy in regard to the conquered kingdom was humane and enlightened, he overlooked some obvious considerations. Had he fixed his court permanently at Lisbon, he would have secured Portugal for ever. That city, too, was far better fitted to be the capital of a great kingdom than the inland town of Madrid: situated near the sea, commanding the best facilities for communication with the colonies of the east and west, and for general traffic, it surely deserved the preference over a place which is almost inaccessible, which lies in the midst of a sterile plain, and has not one navigable river within its reach. The disaffection of the Portuguese might in time have been removed by appointing them to offices in Castile, and by locating Castilians in the great towns of the western kingdom. But if the monarch overlooked these considerations, his conduct for some years proved that he understood the duties of his situation. Having created three officers,—a chronicler and historian of Castile, and a cosmographer of the Indies,—he diligently endeavoured to procure even the minutest details relating to the resources and statistics of his dominions. He commanded that the local authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, should furnish returns of the population, rents, produce, &c. of their respective jurisdictions. The result of these enquiries has probably perished,—if we except the ecclesiastical and civil portion, of which, fortunately, we have an abstract. From this return it appears, that in *all* the dominions of Philip,—in Milan, Parma, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Portugal, as well as in Spain, in the vast colonial empire both of Spain and of Portugal,—the number of archbishoprics was 58, of bishoprics 684, of abbeys 11,400, of chap-

ters 936, of parishes 127,000, of religious hospitals 7000, of religious orders and confraternities (friars, &c.) 23,000, of monasteries 46,000, of nunneries 13,500, of secular priests 312,000, of monks 400,000, of friars and other ecclesiastics 200,000.* The civil functionaries nominated by the king amounted to 80,083, the viceroys and inferior authorities to 367,000. Prodigious as these numbers, — those of the ecclesiastics especially, — may appear, they will not be deemed so outrageous when we consider that the sceptre of Philip extended over, perhaps, 100,000,000 of human beings. At this time the state of the peninsular population was one of comparative comfort. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce flourished to an extent even greater than in the best period of the emperor's reign. At Toledo, Segovia, and in the district of La Mancha, the number of hands occupied in woollens and silks was 127,823, and Seville had 30,000. The monarch was

* Within the last few weeks, most of the newspapers have represented the above numbers of ecclesiastics as confined to *Spain alone*, and as subsisting in that kingdom at *the present day!* Was this through ignorance or design? To rectify errors so monstrous, we give the archbishoprics and their suffragans.

1. Archbishopric of Toledo.

Suffragan bishops: — Carthagena, Segovia, Jaen, Siguenza, Osma, Cordova, Cuença, Valladolid.

2. Archbishopric of Tarragona.

Suffragans: — Barcelona, Tortosa, Lerida, Gerona, Vique, Urgel, Salsona.

3. Archbishopric of Seville.

Suffragans: — Malaga, Cadiz, Canaries, Ceuta.

4. Archbishopric of Santiago.

Suffragans: — Avila, Astorga, Badajoz, Salamanca, Coria, Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Plasencia, Lugo, Orense, Tuy, Mondonedo.

5. Archbishopric of Saragossa.

Suffragans: — Huesca, Tarrazona, Jaca, Balbastro, Albaracin, Teruel.

6. Archbishopric of Valencia.

Suffragans: — Segorve, Orihueia, Mallorca.

7. Archbishopric of Granada.

Suffragans: — Almeria, Guadix.

8. Archbishopric of Burgos.

Suffragans: — Palencia, Pamplona, Calahorra, Santander.

We may add, that the average valuation of each bishopric will be about 2500*l.* per annum. There is the same inequality there as here; the richest see (Carthagena) being worth 8000*l.* per annum; the poorest (Salsona) little more than 600*l.*

We may also add, that Portugal has three archbishoprics, one patriarch, and ten suffragan sees.

enlightened enough to perceive, and patriotic enough to pursue, the interests of his people: nor was he less the friend of science. It must have been at no little expense that the eminent Herrera traversed the most interesting regions of the New World, to collect whatever was curious or valuable in natural history. But these vast resources were unfortunately wasted by Philip; and his own policy destroyed the very foundations on which they rested. 1. His persecution of the Flemings and Dutch led to the revolt of these important provinces,—a revolt which, though he expended 150,000,000 of ducats, he vainly attempted to repress. The insurgents did more than waste the treasures and blood of his people by their successful resistance: they captured his vessels, and fitted out ships of their own, to injure his commerce in the east and west. 2. The war with England was no less disastrous. Omitting the loss of the invincible armada, the English admirals captured his fleets, both in the West Indies and on the west of the peninsula; insulted and sometimes sacked his towns. 3. The treasures sent to support the catholic league of France, and the wars in other quarters,—all undertaken as much for the interests of religion as of ambition,—exhausted the remaining resources of Philip. 4. The subjugation of the Moriscos in the kingdom of Granada—a war no less religious in this monarch's view than the preceding—had a worse effect than the impoverishment of the finances: it was followed by the banishment of many productive subjects to the African coast. 5. The proceedings of the inquisition, which were often directed against the most useful of the people,—Mohammedans, Jews, and heretics,—would exercise an influence more fatal than is generally ascribed to them. If to these causes of decline we add that those enumerated in the preceding reign were also at work, we shall have no difficulty in believing that, towards the close of Philip's life, not only the treasury, but the nation, must have been impoverished. From a review of all, it is certain that his misfortunes and disasters

arose from his attachment to the established faith. But what gratitude did he experience from the popes for so lavish an expenditure of blood and treasure? Never ceasing hostility open or concealed; now a *cessatio à divinis*, now an armed league of the Italian princes with France, now by opposing endless obstacles to the exercise of the royal prerogative in the temporalities of the church, and even in the civil jurisdiction. Many, we might say numberless, cases arose in which the royal clashed with the ecclesiastical tribunals. As the judges in the latter were mere canonists, and taught to believe that the spiritual was superior to the temporal power; they were ready enough to take cognizance of affairs which nothing less than the ingenuity of sophistry could possibly have shown to be connected with their functions. It was their constant object to break down the barrier which separated the two jurisdictions, and to claim the whole province as their own. Complaints to this effect were continually made by the cortes, and were sure to be favourably received by a crown no less jealous of its own rights than proud of the reputation of orthodoxy. However, the royal tribunals often assumed the cognizance of causes which were pending in those of the church, forbade appeals against their decision to be carried to Rome, and prevented the publication of such bulls as were evidently aimed at the authority then exercised. Sometimes heavy fines were denounced against the ecclesiastical judges, who, in certain suits, decided in the last resort, or prevented an appeal to the council of the king. It was not to be expected that papal usurpation would yield, even to the catholic king. To see his bulls forcibly submitted to a royal council before they could obtain the necessary *exæquatur*, filled each succeeding pope with indignant wonder. Every Maunday Thursday, the bull, *In Cœnâ Domini*, which, on former occasions, had only been hurled at the heads of heretics, pirates, forgers, and other criminals, was amplified so as to embrace the obnoxious pretensions of kings, and was solemnly issued from the consistory. Of course

its publication was resisted; and in the disputes which followed,—the nuncio insisting on its reception, the council on its return to the holy father,—that high functionary was more than once compelled to leave the kingdom; his office being closed, and, for a time, all communication being suspended with the see of Rome. On this occasion the popes were prudent enough to temporise: they saw that no good could be obtained by open opposition; and they deferred to a more favourable opportunity the vindication of claims which they were resolved never to abandon. These divisions, between the spiritual and temporal authority, invevitably weakened the kingdom.*

The reign of Philip III., surnamed, from his piety, the Good, was the golden age of churchmen. Though religious foundations were already too numerous, great additions were made to them; and in those which already existed, new altars or chancels were erected. Thus, the duke of Lerma founded seven monasteries and two collegiate churches: thus, also, the diocese of Calahorra numbered 18,000 chaplains, Seville 14,000. How uselessly the ministers of religion were multiplied, will appear still more clearly from the fact, that the cathedral of Seville alone had 100, when half a dozen would assuredly have been sufficient for the public offices of devotion. Let us hope that the profuse expenditure necessarily attending such an army of ecclesiastics was not in vain; that Davila does not exceed the truth, when he informs us, that the love of God and moral reformation were never so apparent; that the sacraments were never so well frequented. Such a state of things is the more delightful to contemplate, when we consider that the temporal affairs of the nation were never before in so deplorable a condition. 1. The independence of the Netherlands was wrung from the crown. 2. The Moriscos, — the most active, the most

* Cabrera, Historia de Felipe II., lib. iv. v. vii. xii. xiii. &c. Leta, Vita di Philippo II., passim. Los Autos de las Cortes de Coruña, anno 1520. — de Toledo, anno 1525. — de Madrid, anno 1528, &c. Henriquez, De Clu-vibus Ecclesiæ, cap. 13. Sempère, Histoire des Cortès, chap. 26. Idem, Considérations, &c. tom. i.

enterprising, and the most useful portion of the people, —were banished, to the irreparable detriment of the national resources. 3. As the productive classes decreased, so did the native capitalists, until the remaining traffic was almost wholly in the hands of strangers; and so also, in a corresponding degree, the royal revenues, which scarcely reached 14,000,000 ducats, that is, about half the amount at the commencement of the second Philip's reign. But that, amidst all this public calamity, some men could prosper, is evident from the fact, that though the duke of Lerma erected and endowed so many religious foundations, he contrived to increase his annual rent-roll from 30,000 to 250,000 ducats. In a degree still more baneful, increased the revenues of the church in every direction, and the number of professed religious, to the serious injury of a population already inadequate for the purposes of agriculture. Still justice demands the admission, that this increase of church property was not without its good. In all ages, ecclesiastical bodies have proved the most indulgent landlords; their tenants and peasantry appear now, as they have always appeared, far better furnished with the comforts of life, than those who acknowledge some unfeeling, perhaps some extravagant, and for that reason inexorable, lay-landlord. Of a fact so honourable to the sacerdotal character, few men have had more opportunities of judging than the author of this compendium.*

Under Philip IV., the condition of Spain still declined, and with increasing rapidity. In the beginning of his reign, the conde duke of Olivares, his minister, attempted, as before related †, some reforms; but they were reforms which merely produced an artificial augmentation of the royal revenue, and left untouched the evils of the country. It would be useless to detail mea-

* Davila, Grandezas de Madrid, cap. i. Caro, Antiquedades de Sevilla, lib. ii. Cespedes, Historia de Felipe III., passim. Sempère, Histoire des Cortès, chap. 31. Idem, Considérations, tom. ii. chap. 1. Moncada, Restauracion Politica de España (Varios Discursos).

† See page 91.

sures which could have produced no permanent good; which could not have restored vitality to a lifeless frame; and which were abandoned almost as soon as proposed. Of that augmentation the chief sources were, an arbitrary and mischievous alteration in the value of the current coin; a reduction of the interest on the national debt; and an oppressive addition to the weight of taxation, especially of the alcavala on the sales of butcher's meat, wine, oil, and vinegar. There is little pleasure in adverting to the disasters of this profligate and imbecile reign; the philanthropic mind can never contemplate wretchedness, in whatever country it may appear, without melancholy; nor the nostrums of ministerial empirics without detestation;— and no country on earth has been more cursed by these evils than Spain. As monuments of his administration, the weak and flagitious Olivares was doomed to see the trade of Toledo ruined, with the decay of one third of its population; that of Segovia, Burgos, and La Mancha, reduced to one tenth its former magnitude. Medina del Campo, which could formerly boast of 5000 families, possessed, if not of affluence, at least of comforts, was now reduced to 500 sunk in poverty. In the archbishopric of Granada, 400 towns, villages, and hamlets, were reduced to 260; and the bishopric of Avila lost 65 baptismal fonts. In Seville, formerly the most opulent and flourishing city of Spain, the number of rich manufacturers is said to have decreased to one twentieth, and the population to less than one half. The Catalan insurrection, and the declaration of independence by Portugal; the interminable wars to which both events led; the loss of Rousillon, Conflans, a part of Cerdaña, and of Jamaica; the annihilation of Spanish trade in the Indies by the Dutch; the reverses of the Spanish arms in Italy and the Low Countries,— were not likely to console the people for the mischiefs of a ruinous administration, and of universal bankruptcy. As usual, the secular clergy and the religious orders increased in an inverse ratio to the decline of

population and of wealth. That such should be the case cannot excite surprise: the world afforded no prospect of comfort, no means even of obtaining a livelihood; and he might justly be esteemed happy, who could take refuge in a cloister. Yet, such retreat from the world partook more of prudence than even of piety, and it was dictated by any thing but patriotism; it threw an intolerable burden on those who remained. In 1626, the cortes of Madrid remonstrated in strong terms against the increasing number of ecclesiastics, and the rapid augmentation of their territorial substance. In those of 1636, the king, in return for a donation, promised that no more religious foundations should be erected during the six following years; but the promise was not observed — perhaps the observation exceeded the royal powers. By reviving the decretals, by establishing the inquisition, by ages of deference towards the pretensions of the papal see, the catholic kings had forged for themselves fetters which nothing less than a national convulsion could break. Besides, the church had nearly all the talent on its side; he who wrote in defence of its immunities was sure to be rewarded; while the advocate of the royal prerogative was no less sure to see his work in the next *Index Librorum prohibitorum.**

Still descending in the scale of degradation, we come to the reign of Carlos II. Under him the walls of all the fortresses, says the marquis de San Felipe, were crumbling into ruins; even the breaches made in those of Barcelona, during the Catalan rebellion, continued open: at Rosas and Cadiz there was no garrison, and no guns mounted. In the ports of Biscay and Galicia, the great arsenals for the navy, the very art of constructing vessels had fallen into oblivion: the arsenals and magazines were empty; the fleet, if we except a few merchantmen trading to the Indies, consisted of

* Los Autos de las Cortes de Madrid, anno 1626. Idem, anno 1636. Sempère, Histoire des Cortès, chap. 31. Idem, Considérations, tom. ii. chap. 2. Moncada, Restauracion Politica de España (Varios Discursos). Ortiz, Historia de España, tom. vi. lib. 20.

six rotten frigates at anchor in the harbour of Carthagena; seven, in addition, were furnished by Genoa. The army was not much superior to the marine; no more than 20,000 men could be numbered, and of these not half were fit for service. The public revenues, at the close of the reign, probably reached 400,000*l.* sterling. The chief cause of these evils, as the bishop of Salsona well observed, lay in the adherence of the government to ancient forms and usages, even when experience had demonstrated not only their utter inapplicability to modern circumstances, but the positive ruin that must follow their observance. Such was the condition to which the Austrian princes had reduced this once mighty monarchy. To crown all, the last of these sovereigns thought himself bewitched, and submitted to the exorcisms of his confessor with as much gravity as he would have bared his arm to a barber.* It was, indeed, time to change the dynasty; another such reign, and society must have been dissolved.†

2. *The House of Bourbon.*

Notwithstanding the severe wars in which, during fourteen years, Philip V. was involved, and which, under his immediate predecessors, would, beyond doubt, have completed the ruin — and the hopeless ruin — of the monarchy, he gave to Spain a degree of positive prosperity unknown since the reign of the second Philip. By reducing the interest on the debts of the crown from five to three per cent.; by revoking the profuse grants of territories and revenues made by his predecessors; by creating efficient officers, whom he made responsible for the collection of the duties and contributions; and by abolishing useless — which are always the most expensive — places; by introducing a

* See page 110.

† El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, lib. i. Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico, tom. vi. lib. 21. Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings, vol. i. Introduction. Sempère, Histoire des Cortès, chap. 3.; necnon Considérations, tom. ii. chap. 3.

vigorous system into the general administration; by a new impulse given to trade and manufactures,—his ministers increased his revenues sixfold. All Europe was astonished to see that in eighteen years* he could muster a fleet not inferior to the famous armada which had failed against Britain. Nor, as observed in the history of his reign†, was he inattentive to literature, which he restored to a degree beyond any we could have supposed possible, considering the utter degradation in which it had lain from the time of Philip III. Omitting all minor names, in history Ferreras, in general literature and philosophy Feyjoo, in ecclesiastical antiquities Florez, — three of the most learned names in the whole range of modern letters, — prove that the impulse given to intellectual pursuits was one of power. The first is the most minute and the most accurate historian any country has ever produced. The second taught the Spaniards to *think*, and to despise antiquated prejudices; in fact — and what other man can claim an equal share of praise? — he changed the character of the nation. The third, who also flourished under the following reign, has done more, not merely for the ecclesiastical antiquities, but for the general history of the country, than any other man since the days of Morales. Nor, however devout, was Philip more disposed than the Austrian sovereigns to suffer the monstrous pretensions of the holy see. When, in 1709, Clement XI. acknowledged his rival as king of Naples and lord of Milan, he was indignant enough to order the nuncio to quit the kingdom. During this rupture the bishops exercised a jurisdiction almost independent of Rome; nor would a papal bull be received, which was not gratuitously issued, and free from obnoxious assumptions. But the chief difference between the two dynasties was the severity with which the public writers now assailed the ecclesiastical immunities. The most hardy of them was don Melchior Macanaz, royal procurator, who proposed to the council of Castile some salutary

* See page 150. † Ibid. p. 164.

reforms, with the abolition of several abuses, which, however great in themselves, had been so consecrated by time, that a daring hand only would attempt to remove them. While under the consideration of the council, they were reported to the inquisition, and, in an edict emanating from that body, were immediately condemned as rash, scandalous, and heretical. This edict the cardinal del Giudice, inquisitor general, affixed to the gates of his palace. Incensed at his temerity, the king not only degraded him from his dignity as grand inquisitor, but ordered the holy office to quash all proceedings against Macanaz, and to revoke the condemnation. In 1737, he concluded á concordat with Clement XII., which, though it did not go far enough, was much more favourable to the kingdom than the preceding state of things. By the second chapter, the privilege of asylum was taken from highway robbers and assassins; high treason, which had always been exempted from the rights of sanctuary, was extended to those who should conspire to deprive the king of his domains; and the provisions of the bull, *In supremo justitiæ solio*, which had been issued against ecclesiastical delinquents, were made to embrace other criminals who had hitherto enjoyed impunity under the ample shield of the church. We have seen how, by the Wisigothic code *, sanctuary could be claimed even by the worst criminals, who, however, were always surrendered to justice on the condition that their lives should be spared; but, during the middle ages, assassins, adulterers, traitors, and highway robbers were excepted, both by the Fuero Real and the Siete Partidas. That such criminals, says Alfonso el Sabio, should be protected by the church, which is the house of God, would be most unreasonable, since it would be in direct contradiction to our Saviour's words, who would have his house to be a house of prayer, not a den of thieves. Philip should have insisted on the utter abolition of sanctuary, which, though it was doubtless useful in a barbarous state of society, was

* See Vol. I. p. 199.

now, when the empire of the laws was more powerful than ever had been brute force, a direct incentive to crime. All that he effected was a diminution alike of the number of privileged criminals and of the places of sanctuary: they were still outrageously numerous: not merely the shrines of saints, but any church,—nay, even hermitages and rural chapels, provided the holy sacrament were contained in or contiguous to them,—still possessed the immunity. In the same concordat, the pope, though he refused to allow the estates of ecclesiastics acquired from the accession of Philip to be subjected to the same contributions as those of laymen, consented that none thenceforward acquired should pass into mortmain, but that all should be made available to the necessities of the state. By another article, the nomination of coadjutors to prebends, with the right of possession on the death of the incumbent, was modified: coadjutors might indeed continue to be appointed, but not without testimonials from the bishop that they were eminently qualified. Yet this abuse was very partially cured: both bishops and chapters granted *literæ testimoniales* with blind facility; and the pope, who received so much for every bull of confirmation or induction, was not very ready to discourage it. A custom still more umbrageous to the crown, which naturally grasped at the extension of its ecclesiastical patronage, was the privilege assumed by the papal see of direct nomination to innumerable benefices. In vain did Philip apply for its abolition, or even modification; but he had the satisfaction of instituting a controversy between the advocates of papal and of royal patronage, and of witnessing the triumph of the latter. Yet justice must compel us to own that lay patronage—that especially of the crown—is an evil. The pope was both more likely to know the qualifications of the candidates, and, from his distance, less liable to be biassed by an improper influence. But the chief glories of Philip's administration concern his civil government—the knowledge and application of the internal resources. He

instituted a commission to enquire into the population, the agriculture, the manufactures, and trade of each district; but some causes—probably his own laziness—prevented the termination of its labours.*

Soon after the accession of Fernando VI., this commission was renewed, and its operations conducted to a close. Some of the details which it laid before the royal council are highly interesting, as exhibiting the relative possessions of the lay and clerical orders. From a summary of facts, it appears, that the secular state held 61,196,166 measures of land; the church, 12,209,053: that the revenues arising from the former were 817,232,098 reals; of the latter, 161,392,700: that the house rental of lay proprietors was 252,086,009; of the clerical, including tithes, first fruits, &c., 164,154,498; the former derived from cattle a return of 29,006,238, the latter of 2,933,277; to the former, manufactures and commerce yielded 531,921,798 reals; to the latter, 12,321,440. Hence the whole annual income of the former was 1,630,296,143 reals; of the latter, 340,801,915. The absorption of one fifth by an order which could contribute nothing to the community, but, on the contrary, derived its support from the other, was a lamentable state of things. In England, where the whole ecclesiastical revenues do not yield three millions, while the returns from land, manufactures, commerce, funded property, &c. certainly return two hundred and fifty millions, we are sufficiently inclined to join in condemnation of the enormous wealth of the church; what should we say to the proportion, not of one eightieth, but of one fifth? From the data furnished by the report, Fernando perceived that several branches of public revenue might be, and ought to be, rendered immensely more productive. So long, however, as they were in the hands of farmers and jobbers, the interests of the nation must suffer for the aggrandisement of a

* El Marques de San Felipe, Comentarios, passim. Coxe, Memoirs, vols. i. and ii. Ortiz, Compendio, tom. vii. Alonso el Sabio, Las Siete Partidas, part ii. tit. ii. lex 5. Ustariz, Teoria y Pratica de Comercio y de Marina (variis locis). Sempère, Considérations, tom ii. partie 3.

few; and he wisely confided the collection to royal intendants. By this means the duty on tobacco alone was quadrupled. This king was not satisfied with mere financial reforms: that he was no less an encourager of literature and science appears from the voyage of Ulloa to the New World; from the royal commission appointed to examine into the archives of the kingdom; from the foundation of an academy for the fine arts; from the rewards bestowed even on foreigners, as in the case of our countryman, Bowles; and from numerous rewards assigned to his literary subjects. Nor was he less jealous of the influence which his prerogatives gave him over the church: with Benedict XIV., in 1752, he arranged another concordat, far more favourable to the rights of the crown than the preceding one of 1737. As it has been noticed in the reign of Fernando I.*, we shall only add, that, of two thousand benefices formerly filled by the holy see, fifty-two only were left at its disposal; that the evil of coadjutors was destroyed; and that the revenues of the vacant bishoprics were declared to belong to the king. It was not, however, to be expected that Benedict would gratuitously surrender claims which had long enriched his treasury; and, accordingly, we find that his acquiescence was purchased by three several sums, amounting to about 1,200,000 crowns. Still this concordat was a great benefit: it removed the vexatious disputes which had so long divided two great parties; it ended what, if not simony, was virtually as bad; and it prevented the continual passage of money to Rome.†

Under Carlos III., the progress of national prosperity was still more rapid. To some of his improvements allusion as already been made.‡ We may add, that the foundation in numerous districts of economical societies, to watch over the industry of the neighbourhood, was

* See page 167.

† Authorities, chiefly those last quoted. The excellent work of Ustariz contains some interesting calculations relating to the revenues and expenditure of the kingdom, not any where else to be found.

‡ See pages 175. and 181. of the present volume.

of the utmost advantage, since their reports could enlighten the government, and procure, whenever wanted, an advance of money on a very moderate interest, or on none at all, — payment of the principal being guaranteed by the most substantial inhabitants of the place. From the accession of Philip V. to the close of this monarch's reign, the population was very nearly doubled, and the revenues increased twentyfold! These are stupendous results, and prove, beyond cavil, the good effects of the Bourbon government. The ministers of Carlos could boast that during his reign the revenues of the Indies had been increased from 5,000,000 to above 12,000,000 crowns; that from 1778 to 1785 the trade with the colonies had been tripled; that while in 1751 the navy consisted of only eighteen ships of the line and fifteen smaller craft, it could now number seventy-four, besides two hundred frigates, brigs, and transports; and that the army had increased in proportion. In literature the improvement was not less remarkable. A bibliotheca of the writers of this reign has been been formed by Sempère, and certainly few countries and few times can exhibit a list so numerous and so splendid. But he failed in banishing the peripatetic philosophy from Salamanca, the professors of which regarded the names of Bacon, Newton, Gassendi, and Descartes with horror. In ecclesiastical discipline, much as had been effected by his predecessors, Carlos improved on them. In 1761, when the inquisitor general, in concert with the papal nuncio, issued a brief, without the previous authority of the council, against a religious work just published, he ordered that functionary to revoke the instrument. At first the inquisitor refused, and was exiled from court; but he soon submitted, and obtained the royal favour. On this subject of papal censorship the council of Castile drew up a report, in which they showed that it was often exercised in a loose and careless manner, in direct opposition to the salutary bull of Benedict XIV., *Solicita et provida*. In conclusion, it was decreed that no bull, brief, rescript,

or letter, on any subject whatever, should be issued, until it had been delivered by the nuncio into the royal hands, and approved by king or council; that no edict should be issued by nuncio or inquisitor without the same authorisation; and no book condemned, without its previous examination according to a prescribed form. Some of the more violent clergy censured what they called this persecution of the church; but they were soon silenced. When a canonist of Valladolid had the boldness to mention, in public theses, the most obnoxious points of ecclesiastical immunities, these theses were laid before the royal council, were read, and censured by the college of advocates at Madrid. In vindication of the kingly prerogative, the canonist, and all who held the same ancient tenets, were publicly reprimanded; the agitation of questions in any way detrimental to that prerogative was prohibited under severe penalties, and an oath was thenceforward to be exacted from every graduate, that he would neither advance nor defend any position involving these obnoxious doctrines. In this reign, the inquisition, the severity of which had been gradually mitigated from the time of Carlos II., ceased to inspire much terror. Under Philip V., 3000 persons had been burned, imprisoned for life, or sent to the galleys; under Fernando VI., the number decreased to ten burnt, and 170 condemned to other penalties; under the present Carlos, four individuals only suffered the awful penalty, and fifty only were otherwise punished,—and these, not so much for opinions as for criminal acts.*

Of Spain it may be truly said, that the internal resources are immense. The soil, the climate, the ports, the people,—every thing offers a foundation for her future greatness. And great she will be,—probably at no distant day. All who know her children,—their

* Authorities:—Ustariz, Teoria; Laborde, View of Spain; Beawes, Spain and Portugal; Burgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne; Coxe, Memoirs; Sempère, Considérations; Los Autos Acordados, &c., of the Novissima Recopilacion; Llorente, Historia Critica de la Inquisicion; with many others.

chivalrous qualities, their pride, their scorn of sordid views, their sense of honour, their intellectual attainments, their inflexible virtues,—*must* take a lively interest in their situation and prospects. With powers bounded by precedent, or by conscience alone—powers which, in other hands, might have proved fatal to the community—the kings of Spain have seldom been tyrants. Her nobility and gentry are not more distinguished for illustrious descent, than for unsullied honour and boundless generosity. Her ecclesiastics—always excepting the friars, the most useless and profligate of mankind—her secular priests especially, are so far from being ignorant, that they would honourably sustain a comparison with the clergy of the established church of England; and so far from being slaves, that they have generally been among the foremost defenders of popular rights; in fact, no church has a nobler body. Her citizens, nay, even her rustics, are distinguished for intelligence, for an honest hereditary pride, for the virtues of hospitality, of simplicity, of sincerity, in a degree too unexampled by other nations.

To the prosperity of such a people, it is impossible to be indifferent. They contain, within themselves, resources sufficient to ensure their future fortunes. Let but these resources be well directed, and a Spaniard will be a prouder title than ever it was in the time of the first Carlos. With such sentiments, and with hopes strong as his wishes, their honest, unbiassed, however inadequate historian, bids them adieu.

INDEX.

A.

ABDALLA ben Xamri, i. 271. Anecdote of, 272.

Abdalla, secretary to Mohammed I., i. 276.

Abdalla, king of Spain, his reign troubled by revolts headed by his sons, i. 278. Anecdote of, 279. His character and death, 280.

Abdalla Muslema ben Alaftes, sovereign of Badajoz, acknowledged head of all the confederated governors of Algarve and Lusitania, ii. 2.

Abdalla ben Zagut, wali of Malaga, ii. 10.

Abdalla ben Yassim, ii. 11. Founds the sect of the Almoravides, and subdues the whole country of Darah; his death, 12.

Abdalla ben Balkin, king of Granada, ii. 19.

Abdalla ben Hermusqui, ii. 31.

Abdalla Abu Mohammed, ii. 48. His death, 49.

Abdalla el Zagal proclaimed king of Granada, i. 109. Resigns his crown and kingdom to Fernando of Castile, 114.

Abdelasis, son of Muza, i. 169. Appointed to the government of Spain, 173. Execution of, 176.

Abdelmelic ben Meruan, i. 155.

Abdelmelic ben Cotan, i. 233. Death of, 235.

Abdelmelic, governor of Seville, i. 248.

Abdelmelic, son of Almansor, his victories in Africa; receives the dignity of Emir of Almagreb, i. 297. Appointed to the post of hagib on the death of his father, 299. His death, 300.

Abdelmelic, son of Mohammed, king of Cordova, ii. 5. His death, 6.

Abdelmelic, surnamed Amad Dola, proclaimed king of Saragossa, ii. 23. Enters into an alliance with Alfonso I. of Aragon, 24.

Abdelmumen, ii. 31. Invested with the dignity of iman, 33. Succeeds Mohammed ben Abdalla in his title and power, 34. Enters Oran in triumph, 35. Takes Tremecen by assault, and massacres the inhabitants, 36. Proclaimed sovereign of all Mohammedan Spain, 37. His death, 38.

Abderahman ben Abdalla, invested with the government of Spain; deposed by Ambisa ben Johim, who causes himself to be nominated in his stead, i. 227. Again invested with the viceregal dignity, 229. His death, 230.

Abderahman, son of Octa, i. 236. Elected king of Spain, 245. Received by the people with enthusiasm, 246. Defeats Yussef and Samiel in three successive battles, 247. Rebellion and foreign invasion during his reign, 250. His death and character, 259.

Abderahman II. of Spain, i. 268. Passes a law defining the right of succession, 269. His death and character, 271. Anecdote of, 272.

Abderahman III. of Spain, i. 281. Assembles a select military force of 40,000 men to exterminate the rebels who had so long distracted the kingdom, 282. Compels the whole of eastern Spain to submit to him, 283. His conflict with the soldan of Egypt, 285. His contests with the Christians, 286. His death and character, 288. His reign the most brilliant period of the Spanish Arabs, 290.

Abderahman IV. of Spain, i. 307.

Abderahman V. of Spain, i. 307. His death, 308.

Aben Dylnun, king of Toledo, ii. 5. Deposes and exiles his son-in-law the king of Valencia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king, 6.
Aben Yussef, king of Morocco, ii. 68.
Aben Cosai, governor of Algarve, ii. 36.
Aben Ferag, v. 64.
Aben Humeya, v. 65. Tyranny of, 72. Negotiates with Philip II. for the release of his father and brother, 74. Murder of, 76.
Abraham Algerbi, ii. 111.
Abu Abdalla Mohammed celebrated for his voluminous collection of the Koran; dignified with the title of doctor of Spain, iv. 29.
Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Hud forms the design of rescuing Spain from the Almohades, and of founding for himself a new kingdom, ii. 50. Proclaimed king of the Mussulmans in Spain, 51. His death, 52.
Abu Abdalla usurps the throne of his father, ii. 107. Is dethroned, and Abdalla el Zagal proclaimed king, 109. His unsuccessful wars with the Christians, 110. Makes vain endeavours to regain the good will of his people, 115. Salutes Fernando as his liege lord, and retires from Granada, 118. His death, and close of the Moorish rule in Spain, 119.
Abu Amer, v. 78.
Abu Bekir ben Omar, emir of Lamtuna, ii. 12.
Abu Bekir, wali of Suz, ii. 29.
Abu Giafar, king of Saragossa, ii. 18. Forms an alliance with Yussef ben Taxfin, 21. Defeated and slain by the Christians under Alfonso I. of Aragon, 23.
Abu Giafar ben Nassin, cadi of Cordova, iv. 30.
Abu Hamid Algazali, ii. 25.
Abu Hamifa al Noman Ebn Thabet, a native of Corfu, founder of the Mohammedan sect called Hanefits, iv. 20.
Abu Hashem, founder of the sect called Hashemites, iv. 23.
Abu Cassem, ii. 234.
Abu Mohammed Abdalla, author of a work entitled "Stella Lucida," iv. 30.
Abu Mohammed al Baxis, ii. 31.
Abu Said Khalaph ben Abilcassem, celebrated for his great learning and knowledge of the Mohammedan law, iv. 29.
Abul Melic Abdelwahid, ii. 48.
Abulwahid Hixem ben Abdalla, chief cadi of Cordova, author of a treatise on forensic pleading and the decision of causes, iv. 30.
Abul Walid ben Abdalla, iv. 37.
Adalid, the, iv. 59. Mistakes respecting the dignity of this office, 60.
Adrian, the emperor, i. 67.
Adrian, dean of Louvain, v. 2. Elevated to the dignity of cardinal, 9. Regency of, 23. Invested with the pontifical crown, 29.
Adrian, Blaise de Talleyrand, v. 114.
Æmilianus, president of Hither Spain, i. 78.
Afranius, i. 59.
Agilan, king of the Goths, i. 113. His death, 114.
Ahmed ben Alhassan, his adventures and death, iv. 37.
Ahmed Ebu Hanbal, iv. 21.
Ahmed Ebu Hayet, iv. 23.
Aix-la Chapelle, peace of, v. 163.
Alaric, king of the Goths, i. 107.
Albaqui, the Morisco general, v. 76. Assassination of, 77.
Alberoni, cardinal, v. 148. Administration of, 149. Disgrace of, 152.
Albert, archduke, his marriage with Isabel, daughter of Philip II., v. 58.
Albert, cardinal regent of Portugal, v. 219.
Albigenses, iv. 307. Their character, and zeal for religion, 308.
Albuquerque, ii. 209.
Alcazar Seguer, battle of, v. 203—206.
Alcazora, impostor of, v. 221.
Aldana, general, v. 201.
Aldrete, Count, ii. 131.
Aledran, an officer of great valour, intrusted with the government of Barcelona and Gothic Gaul, iii. 65.
Alexander IV., pope, ii. 184.
Alfaqueque, the, iv. 65.
Alfonso I. of Leon, surnamed the Catholic, ii. 125. His victories, and zeal for religion, 125. His death, 126.
Alfonso II., surnamed the Chaste, ii. 130.
Alfonso III., ii. 132. Erects Navarre into an hereditary fief, 133. His victories over the Mohammedans, 134. Abdicates the throne in favour of his son, 135. His death, 136.

Alfonso IV., ii. 138.
Alfonso V. endeavours to repair the disasters occasioned by the hostile inroads of the Arabs, ii. 148. His death, 149.
Alfonso VI., ii. 156. Defeat and exile of, by Sancho II. of Castile, 157. On the death of Sancho, takes possession of Leon and Castile, 158. Divides dominions, 159. His death, 160.
Alfonso VII., ii. 161.
Alfonso VIII., usually styled the emperor, ii. 165. His transactions with the king of Navarre and Aragon; assumes the imperial title, 166. His successes over the Mohammedans, 167. His death, 167.
Alfonso IX. accompanies Alfonso III. of Castile in an expedition against the Africans, 171. Contracts a close alliance with Sancho I. of Portugal, whose daughter he marries, 172. His second marriage with Berengaria, daughter of the king of Castile, 173. His death, 180.
Alfonso X., king of Leon and Castile, ii. 183. His transactions with the English king Henry III., respecting Gascony, 184. Aspires to the imperial dignity, 185. Unpopularity of, 186. His weak character, 187. Makes vain endeavours to procure a reconciliation with the rebels, 188. Makes a visit to pope Gregory respecting his pretensions to the empire, 189. Troubles occasioned by the disputed laws of succession, 189. Commands the murder of his brother Fadrique, 190. Assembles his adherents in Seville, and in a solemn act disinherits his son Don Sancho, 191. Institutes the Infantes de la Cerda as his heirs, ii. 192. His death and character, 193.
Alfonso XI., ii. 201. Troubles during his minority, 202. Assumes the reins of sovereignty, 203. His marriage with Maria, princess of Portugal, 204. Internal troubles during his reign; his amours with Leonora de Guzman, 205. His death, 206.
Alfonso I., king of Aragon and Navarre, iii. 83. His marriage with Urraca, daughter of Alfonso of Leon and Castile, 84. His successes over the Mohammedans, 85. He prepares for another campaign, 86. His defeat, death, and character, 87.
Alfonso II., ii. 90. Re-unites the lordship of Provence to Aragon; his death, 91.
Alfonso III. dethrones his uncle the king of Majorca, iii. 116. Internal factions during his reign, 117. His conferences with Edward I. of England; his unmanly desertion of the Sicilians, 118. His death, 119.
Alfonso IV. makes ineffectual attempts to reduce the Sardinians; his domestic dissensions, iii. 126. His death, 127.
Alfonso V., iii. 157. His firmness, 158. His treaty with Joanna, queen of Naples, 159. Proceeds to Naples; is received with extraordinary honour by the queen, 160. Returns to Spain, 161. Again interferes with the affairs of Naples; forbids his subjects all manner of intercourse with the see of Rome, 162. Is made prisoner by the league, 163. His release and subsequent exploits over his enemies, whom he humbles, 164. His death and character, 165.
Alfonso I. of Portugal, his successes over the Moors, iii. 182. He recovers Santarem and Lisbon, 183. Continued successes of, 184. His wars with the Christians and Moors, 185. His death and character, 186. His reputed sanctity, 187.
Alfonso II., iii. 190. His transactions with the Mohammedans, 191. His disputes with the church, 192. His death, 193.
Alfonso III., iii. 196. His conquests in the Algarve, and his treaty with the Castilian king, 197. His character, 198. His death, 200.
Alfonso IV., surnamed the Brave, iii. 205. His neglect of public business, and the expostulations of his ministers, 206. His transactions with Castile, and his first dissatisfaction with that power, 207. Assists in the campaigns against the Mohammedans of Spain and Africa, 209. His death and character, 213.
Alfonso V., regency of the queen-mother during his minority, iii. 257. He reaches his majority, 262. He decrees the death of his uncle don Pedro, 264. Fits out an armament for the African coast, 269. Takes Alcazar Seguer, 270. Makes an unsuccessful attack upon Tangier, 271.

His success in Africa, 272. His transactions with the Castilians, 273. Visits Louis XI. of France, 274. His death and character, 275.
Alfonso VI., king of Portugal, v. 244. Depravity of, 245. 247. Deposition of, 250. Death of, 253.
Alfonso de Vivero, ii. 255.
Alfonso de Quintanilla, ii. 270.
Alfonso, Henrique, son of Dinis, king of Portugal, iii. 205.
Alfonso de Payva, iii. 287.
Alfonso de Albuquerque, viceroy of India, iii. 305.; his administration, 307. Successes of, 308. His death and character, 309.
Alfonso el Sabio, author of the "Cronica General de España," iv. 202.
Alfonso de Melo, iv. 207.
Alfonso de Cordova, v. 81.
Alhaitam ben Obeid, i. 228.
Alhakem, succeeds his father Hixem as king of Spain, i. 262. Internal troubles during his reign, 266. His death, 267.
Alhakem II., of Spain, his reign; the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain, i. 291. His character and death, 292.
Alham ben Abderahman, i. 226.
Ali ben Hamad, i. 304. Proclaimed king of Mohammedan Spain, 305. His death, 306.
Ali ben Yussef, king of Cordova, his unsuccessful hostilities against the Christians, ii. 23. Compelled to retreat before the army of Leon and Castile, 24. Orders Mohammed ben Abdalla to be arrested, 28. Returns to Spain, 29. Defeated a fourth time by the Almohades, followers of Mohammed ben Abdalla, 30. Defeats the Almohades at the siege of Morocco, 31. His death, 35.
Al Jahea, iv. 23.
Al Jobbain, the founder of the sect called the Jobbians, iv. 23.
Allucius, a Spanish prince, in alliance with Carthage, i. 36.
Almeida, fortress of, v. 169.
Almamon Abu Ali, proclaimed king of Mauritania and Spain, ii. 49. His cruelty; he abrogates the laws of the Mehedi, 50.
Almenera, Marquis de, murder of, v. 85.
Almogaveres, the, iv. 63.
Almondhir, king of Spain, i. 277. His death, 278.
Al Mozdar, iv. 24.
Al Raxid, son of Mohammed, king of Seville and Cordova, ii. 10.
Alsama ben Melic, i. 226.
Alva, Duke of, v. 51. Conquers Portugal, v. 214. Advice of, to the emperor, 269.
Alvares, the impostor, v. 223.
Alvaro de Luna, ii. 245. Obtains the dignity of constable of Castile, 248. Exile and restoration of, 249. His arrest and execution, 256. His character, 257.
Alvaro Nuñez de Lara, appointed regent during the minority of Enrique I. of Castile; his character, ii. 176.
Alvaro Gonsalves, iii. 214.
Alvaro Paez, iv. 318.
Alva, the Duke of, v. 51.
Alxaman, General, i. 226.
Amalaric, the first Gothic king who established his court in Spain, i. 109. His marriage with Clotilda, daughter of Clovis, 110. His death, 111.
Ambisa ben Johim, viceroy of Spain, i. 227. His death, 228.
Amer ben Aman, i. 239.
Ana of Austria, nun, her credulity, v. 225. And punishment, 226.
André de Foix, advances with a formidable army for the invasion of Navarre, v. 28. Is defeated and taken prisoner, 29.
Annibal succeeds Asdrubal in the government of the Carthaginian provinces, i. 27. His character, 28. Musters his forces for the invasion of Italy, 29.
Antistius, i. 63.
Antoninus Pius, prosperity of the peninsula during his reign, i. 68.
Antonio de Luna, iii. 151.
Antonio Andreas, iv. 261.
Antonio Perez, v. 83.
Antonio, prior de Crato, v. 206. Candidate for the throne of Portugal, 208. Forgery of, 210. Activity of, 211. Violence of, 212. Is hailed king at Santarem, 213. Retreats to Coimbra, 214. Is defeated at Oporto, 216. Escapes to France, 217. Alliance of, with Elizabeth of England, 219. Invades Portugal, 220. His failure and subsequent death, 221.
Aragon, fabulous history of the kingdom of, iii. 78. Its limited dimensions, and probable dependence on the Asturian king; government, and laws of, iv. 176. Fabulous optimism of the ancient constitution of, 179. Privileges of the nobles, and oppression of the serfs, 183.

Aranda, Conde de, minister of Spain, v. 170, 171. 180.
Arcos, the duke of, v. 98.
Aremberg, count, v. 52.
Argimund, governor of Carpetania, i. 130.
Arnaldus Villanovus, iv. 260.
Arnaud de Villeneuve, iv. 315.
Arsilla, siege of, iii. 315.
Asdrubal succeeds Hamilcar in the government of the Carthaginian provinces, i. 25. His administration, 26. Assassinated by a slave whose master he had put to death, 27.
Asdrubal, the Punic general-in-chief, defeated by the Scipios in three successive engagements, i. 31. Procures two reinforcements from Carthage, and succeeds in detaching the Celtiberians from the cause of Rome, 32.
Ashari, the founder of the sect called the Asharians, iv. 24. His dispute with Al Jobbia, 25.
Asturians, the, i. 11. Their manner of life, 12.
Atace, king of the Alans, i. 99.
Ataide, Luis de, viceroy, v. 233.
Ataulphus, the Gothic king, i. 99. Establishes the seat of his kingdom at Narbonne; marries his imperial captive, Placidia; his death, 100.
Athalaric, the successor of Theodoric, i. 109.
Athanagild, a Gothic noble, raised to the throne on the death of Agilan, i. 114. His death, 116.
Athanagild, the successor of Theodomir, i. 178.
Atougia, Conde de, conspirator, v. 258.
Attila, king of the Huns, i. 104.
Augurius, martyrdom of, i. 79.
Augustus, the emperor, i. 63. Prosperity of Spain during his reign, 64. Confers on several towns the privileges of Romans, 65.
Aumale, Mademoiselle d', queen of Portugal, v. 248. Intrigue of, with Pedro, 249. Divorce of, from her husband, 250. Marriage of, with Pedro, 251.
Aurelio, his obscure reign, ii. 127.
Aurelio and Sabigoto, martyrdom of, 299.
Ayub ben Habib, viceroy of Spain; his mild government, i. 255. Deposed by Omar, ii. 226.
Aveiro, Duke de, conspirator, v. 208.
Azores, islands of, refuse to acknowledge Philip II.; reduction of, v. 248.

B.

Baleg ben Bakir, i. 235.
Balthasar, Gerard, v. 56.
Barcelona, the only independent sovereignty of Catalonia, iii. 57. Siege of; foundation of the lordships of, 59.
Barretto, viceroy, v. 188.
Bartholomeo Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope, iii. 291.
Bashar, iv. 24.
Baza, the siege of, ii. 113.
Beatrice de Guzman, her marriage with Alfonso II. of Portugal, ii. 186.
Belisarius, i. 180.
Beltran de la Cueva, count of Ledesma, ii. 260.
Benedict XIII., Pope, iv. 270.
Bera, first count of Barcelona, iii. 59. His administration characterised by rapacity and cruelty, 60. Deposition of, 61.
Berengaria, the princess, appointed regent during the minority of Enrique I. of Castile, ii. 176. On the death of Enrique, transfers her right to the crown of Castile to her son Fernando, 177. Her interview with Teresa, widow of Alfonso king of Leon, 181.
Berengaria, daughter of Sancho V. of Navarre, her marriage with Richard I. of England, iii. 21.
Berengario I., count of Barcelona, iii. 72.
Bermudo I. of Leon, after a short reign, resigns the throne to Alfonso, ii. 129.
Bermudo II., his reign distracted by domestic rebellion and foreign invasion, ii. 146. His character and death, 147.
Bermudo III., his dominions invaded by Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, ii. 149. His death and character, 150.
Bernardo del Carpio, his fabulous exploits, and existence, ii. 131.
Bernardo, second count of Barcelona, iii. 61. His intrigues in France, 62. His reprehensible policy and violent death by the hands of the French king, 63.
Bernard Atto, count of Beziers, iii. 74.
Bernard de Sclot, iv. 207.
Bernard, the first archbishop of Toledo, invested with the primacy of all Spain by Urban II., iv. 272.
Bertram de la Cueva, the Spanish general, v. 29.

Bertrand du Guesclin, ii. 219. His perfidy, 229.
Berwick, the Duke of, v. 124. His operations in Portugal, 125.
Blanche de Bourbon, her marriage with Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, ii. 209. Confined by her husband in the fortress of Arevala, 210. Transferred to Toledo, and lodged in the alcazar of that city, 211. Her tragical death, 213.
Blanche and Juan I. proclaimed sovereigns of Navarre, iii. 40. Death of Blanche, 41.
Blanche, wife of Enrique of Castile, iii. 48. Her violent imprisonment and mysterious fate, 49.
Boniface, the African prefect, i. 103.
Boniface VIII., Pope, iii. 120.
Bonnivet, Admiral, v. 29.
Borello, count of Barcelona, iii. 70.
Braga, archbishop of, v. 232. Conspiracy and death of, 241.
Braganza, Constantine de, viceroy, v. 133.
Braganza, the Duke of, iii. 278. His treasonable conduct, 279. His trial, 280. His execution and character, 281.
Brancaleon, Doria, iii. 148.
Brazil, state of, v. 236. Wars of, 237. Hostilities in, 243.
Brunichilda, wife of Sigebert, king of Metz, i. 115.
Buckingham, the Duke of, v. 92.

C.

Cæpio, the successor of Pompeius in the government of Further Spain, i. 45.
Cæsar visits Spain as quæstor, i. 59. Defeats the Pompeians, and causes his authority to be acknowledged throughout the peninsula, 60. Appoints Cassius and Lepidus over the two great provinces, and returns to Rome, 61.
Caleb of Toledo, ii. 136.
Calib ben Omar, i. 275.
Caligula, his reign, i. 66.
Callaici, the, distinguished for their maritime superiority over all other nations of Spain, i. 15. Religion of the, 16.
Cantabres, i. 12. Manners and customs of the, 13.
Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomeo Diaz, in 1487, iii. 291.
Caracena, Marquis of, v. 246.
Cardona, the Duke of, v. 94.
Carlos, the Archduke, v. 1. Proclaimed king of Castile, 2. Appoints Cardinal Cisneros regent, 3. Perceives the necessity of his presence in Spain, 6. Convokes the states at Valladolid to swear allegiance to him, 8. Elected to the imperial throne of Germany, vacant by the death of his grandfather Maximilian, 9. Discontent of the Spaniards, 10. Receives a deputation at Barcelona; allows the trades to remain in arms, only exhorting them to do nothing without the consent of the governor, 12. His imprudent concessions to the people, 13. Flight of, to Tordesillas, 14. Refuses to see the Toledan deputies until they reach Santiago; opens the states in the convent of San Fransisco, 15. Transfers the states to Corunna, and embarks for England to concert with Henry VIII. the means of humbling the French king, 16. Increasing violence of his Spanish subjects, 21. He writes to all the revolted communities, calling on them to obey the laws, and to restore tranquillity, promising to return the moment his pressing affairs would allow him, 23. Associates the constable and admiral of Castile in the regency with Adrian, 24. Returns to Spain, 29. His clemency to his revolted subjects, 30. Abdicates his Italian possessions in favour of his son Philip, 32. Meditates the abdication of the empire, 33. Assembles the states of the Netherlands at Brussels, and resigns the sovereignty of the Low Countries into the hands of his son, 34. Resigns the crown of Spain and all the dominions dependent on it, 35. Retires into the monastery of St. Justus, and despatches an instrument of resignation of the imperial crown, 35. His manner of life in his retirement, 36. His bigotry, 37. His death, 39. His character, 40.
Carlos II. of Spain, v. 100. His death and character, 110.
Carlos, son of Philip II., v. 79. Insanity of, 80. His death, 82.
Carlos, king of Naples, v. 163. Proceeds to Spain, 167.
Carlos III., king of Spain, arrival of, v. 168. Joins in the war against England, 169. 173. Ad-

ministration of, 175. Expels the Jesuits, 178. Death and character of, 182.
Carlota, Princess, v. 175.
Carmona, siege of, ii. 57.
Carthage, growing prosperity of, under the government of Asdrubal, i. 26.
Carthaginians, the, triumph over both the natives and the Phœnicians, and possess themselves of Cadiz, i. 24.
Carvajal, Josef de, minister of Spain, v. 165.
Cassius appointed by Cæsar lieutenant-governor of Further Spain; his rapacity and tyranny, i. 61.
Castro, Joam de, viceroy, v. 187.
Castro, Xeris, iv. 100.
Catalina, daughter of Juan II. of Castile, ii. 246. Her marriage with Enrique, infante of Aragon, 247.
Catherina, Queen of Portugal, v. 194.
Catherina, Infanta, married to Charles II., king of England, v. 246.
Catherine, queen of Navarre, iii. 53. Her death, 55.
Celestine III., Pope, ii. 172.
Celtiberia, its ancient boundaries, i. 19.
Celtiberians, their character and habits, i. 20.
Celts, the, their origin wrapped in impenetrable darkness, i. 1.
Charlemagne invades Spain, i. 253. Retreat of, 255.
Charlemont, Lord, v. 129.
Charles V. of France, ii. 219.
Charles VII. of France, ii. 253.
Charles VIII. of France, ii. 269.
Charles II. of Navarre, surnamed le Mauvais, or the Bad, iii. 32. His alliance with Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 33. Is made prisoner by the king of France, 34. His intrigues in France, 35. Returns to Navarre; renews his alliance with Pedro the Cruel, 36. His correspondence with the English monarch, 37. His death, 38.
Charles III., surnamed the Noble, obtains some of his hereditary domains in France, iii. 39. His pacific reign and death, 40.
Charles, prince of Viana, iii. 41. Raises the standard of revolt in Navarre against his grandfather Juan I., iii. 42. Defeated, imprisoned, and released, 43. Defeated a second time, and compelled to take refuge in France, 44. Returns to Spain, 45. His death, 47.
Charles the Bald, of France, iii. 62. Puts to death with his own hands Bernardo, second count of Barcelona, 64.
Charles, prince of Wales, v. 92.
Charles, archduke of Austria, rival of Philip V., v. 108. 111. 127. 130. 132. 138. 142. Death of, 162.
Charles II. of England, v. 246.
Childebert, king of the Franks, i. 110.
Chilperic, king of Soissons, i. 114.
Chindaswind, king of the Goths, i. 135.
Chintila, king of the Goths, i. 134.
Choiseul, Duke of, v. 177.
Christian Spain, state of, iv. 43. Extent of the various kingdoms of, 44. Progressive extent of territory in, 45. The government of, absolute when elective, and when hereditary, 47. Titles, honours, and power of the sovereigns of, 48. Dignitaries of the palace and kingdom, 50. Qualifications and ceremonies of knighthood, 53. The military dignitaries elective, 55. Mutual obligations of lords and vassals, 56. Legal formalities, 67. Legal tribunals, 69. Various laws and codes of, 71. Administration of the law in, 76. Judges and judicial responsibility, 77. Regulations respecting the parties in civil suits, 78. Criminal prosecutions, 81. Crimes and punishments, 82. Gradations of both, according to the rank of the culprit and sufferer, 83. Character of the Wisigothic code, 95. Its insufficiency in an altered state of society and manners, 96. Progress and wants of society, 97. Establishment of poblaciones, 99. Hostilities between the new colonists and the feudal aristocracy, 100. State of the municipal corporations, and character of their fueros, 101. Privileges of the members, 105. Unwritten laws of the Spaniards, 106. Forms of compurgations, 107. Various ordeals, 109. Insufficiency of the Fueros, 119. The celebrated code Siete Partidas introduced by Alfonso, successor of San Fernando, 121. Analysis of this code, 122. Character of the Siete Partidas, 150. Object of the royal legislation, 151. Origin of popular representation in, 152. History of the Castilian consti-

tution, 155. Confederation of Valladolid, 157. Temporary success of the confederation, 160. The royal authority strengthened, 161. Ultramontane jurisprudence introduced into the tribunals of, 162. Detestable policy of Enrique; creation of the Audienza Real, 163. Formation of a second council, 164. Triumph of the municipal towns under the reign of Juan I.; and during the minority of Enrique III., 165. Defective state of popular representation, 166. Decline of the third estate, 168. Decline of the cortes, 169. Policy of Fernando and Isabel, 173. Government and laws of Catalonia and Aragon, 176. Character of the codes of Aragon and Valencia, 178. Fabulous optimism of the ancient constitution of Aragon, 179. State of society in Aragon, 182. Privileges of the nobles, and oppressions of the serfs, 183. The laws and government of Navarre the same in substance as those of Aragon, 188. Constitution of Portugal, 189. Progress of literature in, 196. General state of the arts and sciences in, 259. State of the church, and of religion, 263. Jurisdiction of the pope, 265. Papal pretensions, 267. Ecclesiastical tribunals, 279. History of the Wisigothic liturgy, denominated the Muzarabic divine office, 280. Monastic rules observed in, 285. Origin and history of the order of Mercy for the redemption of Christian captives, 286.

Christopher Columbus discovers the New World, ii. 279. His disputes with Portugal respecting the right of discovery and conquest, 280.

Christovao Falcao, iv. 257.

Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II. v., 198.

Claudius, his tyrannical reign, i. 66.

Claudius, bishop of Turin, iv. 306.

Clement VI., Pope, iii. 137.

Clement VII., Pope, ii. 239.

Clement XIII., Pope, v. 153. 179. Favours the Jesuits, 180.

Clement XIV., Pope, abolishes the order, v. 180.

Clotilda, daughter of Clovis, her marriage with Amalaric, king of the Goths, i. 110.

Clovis, king of the Franks, i. 107.

Cnæus Scipio, i. 30. Lands at Ampurias, in Catalonia, with 10,000 infantry, and 7000 horse, defeats Hanno, the Carthaginian general, with heavy loss, i. 31. Is vanquished and slain by Asdrubal and Mago, 33.

Congou discovered by Jayme Cam, iii. 287.

Constans, the son of Constantine the Great, passes over the Pyrenees, to gain over the natives of the peninsula against Honorius, i. 98.

Constantine the Great, i. 69. Raises England and the Gauls against Honorius, 98.

Constantius, the general of Honorius, makes peace with Wallia, the Gothic king, i. 101.

Cordova, the siege of, i. 163.

Coutinho, Francisco de, viceroy, v. 233.

D.

Da Cunha, Nuno, viceroy, v. 185.

Dagobert, king of France, i. 133.

Darmstadt, prince of, v. 126. Killed at the siege of Montjuich, 129.

Diego Perez, iv. 100.

Diego Lopez de Haro, ii. 196.

Diego Lopez Pacheco, iii. 214.

Diego, Duke of Viseo, iii. 282. His death, 284.

Diego Lopez ben Aboo, v. 63.

Diego de Bojas, v. 72.

Diego Alguazil, v. 75.

Dinis I. of Portugal, effects a reconciliation with the church, iii. 200. His transactions with Castile, 201. Rebellion of his son, 202. His character, and death, 204.

Dioclesian, the Roman emperor, during his reign the fires of persecution blazed with the greatest fury throughout the peninsula, i. 90.

Diu, fortress of, v. 185. 187.

Domitian, the Roman emperor, i. 67.

Dos Santos, Miguel, v. 225, 226.

Drake, Sir Francis, v. 58. 220.

Duarte, his disastrous reign, iii. 247. His death and character, 256.

Duarte de Menez, governor of Alcazar, his heroism, iii. 270.

E.

Edward III. of England, ii. 219.

Edward, the Black Prince, undertakes to restore Pedro the Cruel to his throne, ii. 222. Passes the Pyrenees, 223. Crosses Navarre, and penetrates into Castile, 224. His victory over Enrique, and

consequent restoration of Pedro, 225. Returns to Guienne, and refuses to take any further interest in Pedro's affairs, 226.
Egica, king of the Goths, i. 147. His death, 149.
Egilona, the widow of Roderic, given by the Meridans as an hostage to Muza, i. 167.
Egmont, Count, v. 49. His execution, 52.
Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. of England; her marriage with Alfonso III. of Castile, ii. 170.
Elipando, bishop of Toledo, iv. 305.
Elliot, General, i. 173.
Elvira, Doña, abbess of the convent of San Salvador, ii. 142.
Elizabeth, queen of England, v. 53. Sends 6000 men under the earl of Leicester, to assist William prince of Orange in the war with Philip II. of Spain, 57. Assists the prior de Creto, 220.
England, disputes of, with the ministers of Philip, v. 161. War with, 162.
Enrique I. of Castile, ii. 175. Troubles of the kingdom during his minority, 176. His death, 177.
Enrique II., his wars with Portugal, ii. 231. His struggles with the partisans of Pedro the Cruel, 233. His death and character, 234.
Enrique III., surnamed the Infirm, ii. 241. Troubles of the kingdom during his minority, 242. His death, 243.
Enrique IV., surnamed the Impotent, ii. 257. Dissensions in his kingdom and palace, 258. His transactions with his rebellious subjects, 260. Resolves to risk a battle with the rebels; meets them near Olmeda, where, after a fierce but indecisive battle, both armies left the field, each boasting of victory, 263. His death, 266.
Enrique, infante of Aragon, ii. 245. His lawless violence, 246. His marriage with the princess Catalina, 247.
Ensenada, Marquis of, minister of Spain, v. 165, 166.
Ermenberga, daughter of Svileni, king of the Goths, i. 130.
Ermenigild, son of Leovigild, king of the Goths; his marriage with the princess Ingunda, i. 117. Abjures Arianism, and embraces the Catholic religion, 118. Besieged in his residence at Seville by his father, 119. Exiled to Valencia, thenceforward to live as a private individual; his second revolt, 120. Taken prisoner, and thrown into the dungeons of a prison in Tarragona, 121. His execution, 122.
Ermesinda, Doña, sister to Sancho III. of Navarre, iii. 16.
Ernest, archduke of Austria, v. 58.
Ervigius succeeds to the Gothic throne on the abdication of Wamba, i. 145.
Essex, Earl of, gained by Antonia, v. 219.
Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, i. 227. Advances at the head of his combined Franks, Belgians, and Germans, and defeats the Saracens at Tours, 232.
Eugene, Prince, v. 118.
Eugenius IV., Pope, iii. 164.
Eulalia, martyrdom of, i. 84.
Eulogius, martyrdom of, i. 79.
Euric, king of the Goths, concludes a peace with the Roman emperor, by which he was confirmed in the possessions of his new conquests, i. 106. His death, 107.
Eustace de Beaumarchais, seneschal of Toulouse, iii. 29.
Evoli, the Princess of, v. 83.
Evora, city of, elevated into a metropolis, v. 192.

F.

Fabius, i. 59.
Fadrique, grand master of Santiago, murdered by order of his brother Pedro the Cruel, ii. 215.
Falkland Islands, v. 170.
Fandilo, a monk of Tabanos, martyrdom of, iv. 300.
Faria y Sousa, statement of, v 205.
Farinelli, the famous singer, v. 165, 166. 168.
Favila, duke of Biscay, i. 152.
Favila, son and successor of Pelayo, his short reign, and tragical death, ii. 124.
Felipe, Infante, v. 162, 163.
Felix V., Pope, iii. 164.
Felix de Valois, iv. 286.
Felix and Liliosa, iv. 298. Martyrdom of, 299.
Felix, bishop of Urgel, iv. 195. Heresy of, 305.
Ferag ben Ferag, v. 62.
Ferai, the Duke of, v. 82.
Ferdinand Magellan, his name immortalised in the annals of maritime discovery, iii. 312. His famous expedition to Africa, 313

Fernando I. of Castile, ii. 151. His triumphs over his brother, don Garcia, 152. He makes war on the Mohammedan possessions in Lusitania, 153. Carries his hostile irruptions into Valencia and Andalusia, 154. His piety and death, 155.
Fernando II., ii. 168. Death of, 171.
Fernando III., ii. 178. His disputes with his father, the king of Leon, 179. His conquests over the Moors, 180. Succeeds to the crown of Leon, 181. His death, 182. His character, 183. Canonised by pope Clement X., 183.
Fernando IV., his reign one continued succession of disasters, ii. 196. His marriage with Constanza, daughter of Dionis, king of Portugal, 198. His death, 200.
Fernando V. and Isabel, proclaimed joint sovereigns of Castile and Leon, ii. 267. Civil wars during their reign, 269. Ferdinand succeeds to the throne of Aragon, 270. Their zeal for the administration of justice, 271. Establishment of the inquisition, 272. Promulgates a decree in which all Jews who refused to embrace Christianity were ordered to be expelled the kingdom, 273. Assembles his counsellors and prelates at Granada, to deliberate on the proper means of converting or expelling the Moors, 275. Appears in person with a formidable power in the revolted provinces, which immediately submit, 277. Issues an irrevocable decree of expulsion against every obstinate follower of the Arabian prophet; his enlightened policy, 278. Final subjugation of the Mohammedans, and union of Aragon to Leon and Castile, 279. Domestic sorrows of, 281. Death and character of Isabel, 282. Fernando fills the regency during the minority of Charles, 283. His second marriage with Germaine de Foix, 285. Resigns the regency and retires to his hereditary dominions, 287. His second administration, 288. He invades Navarre, 289. His death and character, 290.
Fernando VI., king of Spain; policy of, v. 164. Uxoriousness of, 165. Death and character of, 166.
Fernando I. of Aragon, his administration distinguished for its internal wisdom, and its triumph over the Mohammedans, iii. 155. His transactions in Sicily, 156. His death, 157.
Fernando II. of Aragon, iii. 170. Forms a league with the pope for the expulsion of the French from Italy, 171. Agrees to divide the country with France, 173.
Fernando I. of Portugal, iii. 218. His disputes with Castile, 219. His imprudent marriage, 221. Act and character of the new queen, 222. His death, 227.
Fernando Perez de Castro, ii. 211.
Fernando Perez de Guzman, iv. 205.
Fernando de Talavera, metropolitan of Granada, ii. 275. His character, 276.
Fernando Sanchez de Tovar, chancellor of Castile, iv. 203.
Fernando, infante of Portugal, commands an expedition against the Moors, iii. 249. Makes an unsuccessful assault upon Tangier, 250. Offers himself as an hostage to the Moors, 252. His ill-usage by the Moors, 254. His resignation, death, and reputed sanctity, 255.
Fernando Davalos, v. 15.
Fernando de Valor, elected king of Granada by the name of Mohammed Aben Humeya, v. 64.
Fernando el Zagal, v. 71.
Flavio d'Osisino, duke of Bracciana, v. 114.
Florida, cession of, v. 170. 174.
Florida Blanca, Conde of, minister of Spain, v. 171—173. 181.
Foix, Cardinal de, ii. 250.
Foliseca, General, v. 20.
Fonseca, governor of Ternete, v. 187.
Fonseca, corregidor, v. 224.
Francisco Phœbus, accession of, to the throne of Navarre, iii. 52. Death of, 53.
Francisco Ximenes Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, ii. 275. His theological and poetical works, iv. 318. His administration during the minority of Carlos I., v. 3. His death and character, 7.
Francisco Almeida, viceroy of India, iii. 304.
Francisco Coutinho de Borba, governor of Arsilla, iii. 292.
Francis I. of France, v. 9.
Francisco de Castilla, marquis of Valladarias, captain-general of Andalusia, v. 120.

Frederic, brother of Jayme II. of Aragon, proclaimed king of Majorca, iii. 120.
Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, i. 77. Martyrdom of, 79.
Fruela I., his stern character, ii. 126. Assassination of, 127.
Fruela II., ii. 138.

G.

Gabriel, Infante, v. 181.
Galla, the prætor, i. 39. His unheard of cruelties to the Spaniards, 40.
Galba, governor of Tarragona, i. 66.
Gama, Vasco de, viceroy, v. 184—186.
Gama, Estevan de, v. 186.
Gama, Francisco de, v. 234.
Garcia I. of Navarre, iii. 8.
Garcia II., surnamed El Trembloso, his exploits and death, iii. 12.
Garcia III., his death and character, iii. 15.
Garcia IV., iii. 18. His exploits and death, 19.
Garcia de Toledo, v. 81.
Gehwar ben Mohammed, sovereign of Cordova, ii. 3. His wise government, 4.
Gelmirez, archbishop of Santiago, iv. 267.
Gensaleic procures the elective crown of the Wisigoths, i. 108.
Genoa, revolution in, v. 163.
George II. of England, v. 160.
Gibraltar, fortress of, v. 167. Besieged, 172.
Giraldo the Dauntless, iii. 184.
Giudice, Cardinal del, v. 149.
Gonsalo de Cordova, iii. 171.
Gonsalo de Berceo, the oldest Castilian poet, iv. 214. Character of his writings, 215. Extracts from his works, 216.
Gonsalo de Valcazar, a schoolboy of Uxijar, martyrdom of, v. 69.
Gonsalo Senez, a famous bandit chief, v. 78. Assassinates Muley Abdalla, the Morisco king, 79.
Gontram, king of the Franks, i. 129.
Gosvinda, wife of Chilperic, king of Soissons, murdered by order of her husband, i. 114.
Gosvinda, wife of Leovigild, king of the Goths, i. 117.
Goths, i. 157.
Granada, capitulation of, ii. 117.
Granville, Cardinal, v. 48.
Gratian, the Emperor, i. 95.
Greeks, the, stimulated by the successful example of the Phœnicians, pursue the same advantages, i. 22.
Gregory VII., Pope, iv. 185.
Gregory X., Pope, ii. 185.
Grimaldi, Marquis of, v. 170, 171.
Guastalla, duchy of, ceded to don Felipe, v. 163.
Guido de Terrena, iv. 318.
Guillermo I., count of Cerdaña, iv. 278.
Gundemar, king of the Goths, i. 131.
Gunderic, king of the Vandals, i. 99.
Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, v. 92.

H.

Habib ben Abi Obeida, i. 175.
Hakem Ebn Haschen, the famous impostor, surnamed Al Makanna, or the Veiled, iv. 28.
Hamed, xerif of Morocco, v. 189, 190.
Hampden, Abu Hodeil, founder of the sect called the Hodeilians, iv. 23.
Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, i. 24. His death, 25.
Hanno, the Carthaginian general, i. 31. Taken prisoner by Scipio Africanus, 37.
Harcourt, the Duke, v. 118.
Havannah, taken by the English, v. 169.
Haxem ben Abdelasis, wali of Jaen, i. 277.
Henri, Count, the government of Portugal conferred on, iii. 177. His administration and death, 178.
Henrique, Cardinal, v. 193. Regent, 200. King, 207. Conduct of, in regard to the succession, 208. 210, 211. Death of, 212.
Henry VIII. of England, ii. 281.
Hercules, i. 2.
Hermeric, king of the Suevi, i. 99.
Hilderic, Count, i. 137.
Hixem, surnamed the Just and Good, proclaimed king of Spain on the death of his father, Abderahman, i. 260. Proclaims the algihed or holy war, 261. His death, 262.
Hixem II. confined in an obscure fortress by the usurper Mohammed, i. 301. Restoration of, 303. Deposed a second time, 304.
Hixem III., i. 309. His death; and decline of Mohammedan power in Spain, i. 310.

Hixem ben Ahmed, iv. 30.
Hodeira ben Abdalla, i. 228.
Honduras, bay of, v. 170.
Honorius, the Roman emperor, i. 98. Cedes to Ataulphus, the Gothic king, the fertile provinces of Southern Gaul and the peninsula, 100.
Honorius III., Pope, iv. 310.
Horn, Count, v. 49. Execution of, 52.
Hostilius, the Roman consul, i. 47.
Howard, Lord, v. 60.
Hugh de Calverley, ii. 220.
Hugo Candido, iv. 281.
Hugo de Moncada, v. 5.
Husam ben Dhizar, i. 236.
Hyder Ali, v. 173.

I.

Iberians, the earliest inhabitants of Spain, i. 1. Extensive territory of, 17. Their character, 18.
Ibrahim Abu Ishac, king of Morocco, his capital taken, and himself put to death by Abdelmumen, ii. 36.
Ibrahim al Nodham, founder of the sect called the Nodhamites, iv. 23.
Ibrahim ben Abdelwaha, iv. 30.
Idalcan, governor of Goa, iii. 307.
Idatius, bishop of Galicia, i. 216.
Illiberis, the council of, i. 91.
Iñes de Castro, iii. 210. Her tragical fate, 212.
Iñes de Carvajal, her heroism, v. 19.
Infantado, the Duke of, v. 106.
Ingunda, Princess, her marriage with Ermenigild, i. 117.
Iñigo Ortiz de Zuniga, governor of Xeres, refuses to become the executioner of Blanche de Bourbon, ii. 218.
Innocent III., Pope, proclaims a crusade to Spain, ii. 44.
Innocent IV., Pope, ii. 173.
Inquisition, the, established in Spain by Fernando and Isabel, ii. 272.
Invincible Armada, destruction of the, v. 61.
Isaac, a monk of Tabanos, iv. 292. Martyrdom of, 293.
Isabel, queen of Castile, ii. 264. Her marriage with Fernando, king of Sicily, 265. Her death and character, 282.
Isabel, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, her marriage with the archduke Albert, v. 58.
Isabel de Melgar, martyrdom of, v. 69.
Isabel Farnese, her marriage with Philip V. of Spain, v. 147.
Isidorus Pacensis, iii. 4.
Ismail ben Ferag proclaims the aljihed or holy war, ii. 77. His wars with the Christians, 78. His injustice to one of his officers, and consequent assassination, 78.
Ismail, usurpation and death of, ii. 91.

J.

Jayme I. of Aragon, surnamed El Conquistador, or the Conqueror, iii. 97. Troubles of the kingdom during his minority, 98. His marriage with the infanta Leonora, 99. Convokes the states at Barcelona, 100. His conquests in Valencia, 103. He perseveres in his career of spoliation, and incorporates a considerable number of towns and fortresses with his kingdom, 104. Issues a mandate for the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia, 105. His second marriage with Yolanda, a Hungarian princess, 106. His death and character, 108.
Jayme II. of Aragon, iii. 119. Joins the league against the Sicilians, but after some partial successes returns home, 121. Resigns all claims to the important province of Murcia, 122. Collects troops, and marches to reduce the Templars to obedience, 124. His death, 125.
Jayme Cam discovers Congo, iii. 287. His interview with the natives, 288.
Jean Orri, administration of, v. 117.
Jeanne I. of Navarre, iii. 28. Internal troubles of the kingdom during her minority, 29. Her death, 30.
Jeanne II., iii. 31. Her death, 32.
Jesuits of Spain, suspected, v. 177. Expelled from Spain; sufferings of, 178. Vindication of, 179. Suppression of, 180.
Jesuits of Portugal, v. 192.
Jews, persecutions of the, i. 209.; ii. 273.
Joam I. of Portugal, iii. 234. His transactions with Castile, 235. Makes preparations for war against the Moors, 239. Internal administration of, 244. The era of Cæsar abolished, and

the Christian mode of computation adopted during his reign, 247.
Joam II., iii. 276. Kills with his own hands the duke of Vise, 284. Founds a fort on the coast of Guinea, for the purpose of maintaining a permanent commercial intercourse with the natives, 285. Forms an alliance with the king of Congo, 288. Progress of Christianity during his reign, 289. His hostilities with the Moors of Fez, 291. His domestic calamities, 293. His death and character, 295.
Joam III., king of Portugal, accession of, v. 183. Abandons four African fortresses, 191. Administration of, 192. Death of, 193.
Joam, duke of Braganza, v. 208—214.
Joam (grandson of the above) strives for the Portuguese crown, v. 228. 231. He is proclaimed at Lisbon, 233.
Joam IV., accession of, v. 239. Wars of, with Castile, 240. Conspiracy against him, 241. Projected assassination of, 242. Death of, 244.
Joam V., king of Portugal, v. 254. Reforms of, 255. Death of, 256.
Joam Fernando Andiero, iii. 224.
Joam Alfonso Aveiro discovers the kingdom of Benin, iii. 287.
Jomail ben Zeyan, an Andalusian chief, rescues Valencia from the Almohades, and proclaims himself independent sovereign, ii. 51.
Joanna, queen of Naples, iii. 159. Her characteristic fickleness, 160. Plans the assassination of Alfonso V. of Aragon, 161.
Joannis Biclacensis, iii. 4.
John, abbot of Valclara, i. 216.
John X., Pope, iv. 281.
José, king of Portugal, v. 257. Conspiracy against, 258. Policy of, 259. Death of, 260.
Juan I. of Castile, his transactions with Portugal, ii. 235. His marriage with a Portuguese princess, 236. His transactions with the duke of Lancaster, 238. His death, 240.
Juan II., ii. 244. His weak character, 245. Confers the dignity of constable of Castile on his favourite Alvaro de Luna, 248. Internal troubles during his reign, 252. His death, 257.
Juan, Don, of Austria, bastard son of Philip IV., v. 245, &c.
Juan, infante of Aragon, murder of, ii. 216.
Juan Perez de Robeldo, ii. 218.
Juan Pacheco, ii. 254.
Juan I. of Navarre, iii. 40. Embarks for Sicily, to prevail on his brother Alfonso of Aragon to aid him against the Castilians, 41 His dissensions with his son, 42. Charged with procuring the death of his son, 47. His death, 51.
Juan I. of Aragon, his quarrels with his stepmother Sibilla, iii. 145. Civil wars during his reign, 146. His death, 147.
Juan II., his transactions with the rebellious Catalans and with France, iii. 166. Applies to his nephew Fernando, king of Naples, for aid, 168. Internal troubles of the kingdom during his reign, 169. His death, 170.
Juan Nuñez de Villasan, iv. 204.
Juan Egidio, a Franciscan of Zamora, extract from his poem "De Jesu et Maria," iv. 210.
Juan Lorenzo, priest of Astorga, his great book, entitled "Poema de Alexandro," iv. 229. Analysis of its contents, 230. Extracts from his writings, 235.
Juan Ruiz, archpriest of Hita, character of his writings, iv. 245. Extracts from his poetry, 246.
Juan Ballisteros, iv. 318.
Juan Llorente, v. 12.
Juan de Padilla, v. 15.
Juan de Escovedo, assassination of v. 83.
Juan of Austria, v. 100. Intrigues of, 101. Appointed prime minister of Carlos II., 104. His administration and death, 105.
Juana de Castro, ii. 210.
Juana and Philip I. of Castile and Leon, ii. 286. Death of Philip, and childish grief of Juana, 287.
Julian de Matha, iv. 286.
Julius Nepos, the Roman emperor, i. 106.

L.

Lælius, the Roman prætor, i. 44.
Lampegia, daughter of Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, her marriage with Othman ben Abi Neza, i. 230.
La Mancha, trade of, v. 272.
Larache, fortress of, v. 201—203.
Leite, Domingos, engages to assassinate Joam IV., v. 241. He is betrayed and executed, 242.
Leonora de Guzman, ii. 205. Her death, 207.

Leonora, countess de Foix, proclaimed sovereign of Navarre, iii. 52.
Leonora, daughter of Alfonso VIII. of Castile, her marriage with Jayme I. of Aragon, iii. 98.
Leonora, wife of Fernando I. of Portugal, iii. 221. Her acts and character, iii. 223. Appointed regent for her daughter, the queen of Castile, whom the nation refuses to acknowledge, 228. Deprived of the regency, 259. Her intrigues to regain her lost power, 260. Her fickle conduct, and ultimate retirement, 261. Her death, 262.
Leopold, the Emperor, v. 11.
Leovigild, king of the Goths, his successful wars against the imperialists and rebels, i. 116. Establishes peace in his dominions, from the straits of Gibraltar to the mountains of Biscay, 117. His indignation at his son abjuring Arianism and embracing the Catholic religion, 118. Gives orders for the execution of his son, 122. His death, 125.
Lepidus appointed by Cæsar to the government of Hither Spain, i. 61.
Lerma, Duke of, v. 87. Administration of, 88. Disgrace of, 89.
Liber Indicum or Fuero Juzgo, its origin and formation, iv. 71. Authority of this celebrated code, 72. Its division into books, 74. Analysis of, 75.
Lippe, Count de, general in Portugal, v. 259.
Lisbon, earthquake of, v. 257.
Lombardy, invaded, v. 163.
Lope Dias de Haro, ii. 194.
Lope Soares, viceroy of India, iii. 309. His incapacity, and consequent want of success, 310.
Louis, duke of Aquitaine, i. 263.
Louis XI. of France, iii. 48.
Louis XIII. of France, proclaimed count of Barcelona, v. 94.
Louis XIV. of France, his marriage with Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, v. 96.
Louis XV. of France, v. 148.
Louis of Nassau, v. 52.
Louise de Bourbon, v. 107.
Lucas, bishop of Tuy, iv. 200. Composes a treatise against the Albigenses, 315.
Lucius Martius exhorts the Roman soldiers to revenge the death of the Scipios, i. 33.
Lucullus, the Roman consul, penetrates into the heart of Lusitania, i. 39. His unheard of cruelties to the Spaniards, 40.
Luis, duke de Baja, v. 193.

M.

Maad ben Ismail, soldan of Egypt, i. 285.
Madrid, royal library of, founded; academy of, v. 164.
Mago, the Carthaginian general, taken prisoner by Scipio Africanus, i. 36.
Maintenon, Madame de, v. 114.
Malaga, siege and fall of, ii. 111.
Malec Ebn Ans, iv. 21.
Manilla taken by the English, v. 169.
Mansveldt, Count, v. 58.
Mantua, Duchess of, vicequeen, v. 231.
Manuel, successor of Joam II. of Portugal, resolves to pursue the maritime enterprises of his great predecessor, iii. 298. Prepares a fleet of thirteen vessels under the direction of Pedro Alvares Cabral, for a second voyage to the East, 300. Equips a more formidable expedition for the Indies, 301. Enters into alliance with the king of Malacca, 305. His authority recognised in the city of Saphin, 313. His death and character, 322.
Marck, Count de la, v. 54.
Marcus Aurelius, the Roman emperor, i. 68.
Margarita, duchess of Parma, intrusted by Philip II. with the regency of the Netherlands, during his absence in Spain, v. 48.
Margarita, queen of Hungary, v. 100.
Maria Anna, queen of Philip IV. of Spain; v. 100. Administration of, 103.
Maria, daughter and heiress of the count de Montpensier, iii. 92.
Maria de Padilla, ii. 209. Death of, 218.
Maria and Flora, iv. 295. Martyrdom of, 296.
Maria Pacheco, v. 17. Her heroic character, 26.
Maria, queen of Portugal, v. 216. Administration of, 262. Death of, 263.
Maria Teresa Magdalene Barbara, queen of Spain, v. 165.
Maria Teresa of Spain, her marriage with Louis XIV. of France, v. 96.
Marsin, the Count de, v. 118.

Martin V., Pope, ii. 72.
Martin Lopez, governor of Carmona, ii. 233.
Martin I. of Aragon, proceeds to Sardinia and Corsica, with a view of restoring tranquillity to those islands, iii. 147. Convokes his prelates, barons, and deputies at Saragossa, and causes his son, the Sicilian king, to be acknowledged his successor, 148. His death, 150.
Martin Vieyra, iii. 151.
Mary, queen of England, wife of Philip II. of Spain, v. 45.
Mascarenhas, Nuño, v. 205.
Mascarenhas, Pedro, v. 185.
Masdeu, i. 3.
Matthias, Archduke, v. 55.
Mauregato usurps the throne of his nephew, Alfonso I. of Castile, ii. 123. His death, 129.
Maurice, prince of Orange, v. 56.
Maximus, the Roman emperor, i. 95.
Maximus, bishop of Saragossa, i. 216.
Mazarin, cardinal, v. 95.
Mazarin, siege of, v. 195.
Medina Sidonia, duke of, intrusted by Philip II. with the command of the Invincible Armada, v. 59.
Mendoza, Joam de, viceroy, v. 233.
Mencia, Doña, beloved by the xerif, v. 190, 191.
Meneses, Duerte de, v. 184. 205.
Meneses, Henrique de, v. 185.
Metellus, the Roman consul, i. 45. Puts his legions in motion to crush the aspiring rebel Sertorius, 55.
Mezedi, the wali of Granada, defeated and slain by Philip I. of Aragon, ii. 24.
Michael Palæologus, emperor of Constantinople, ii. 110.
Migecio, the presbyter, iv. 305. Heresy of, 306.
Miguel de Rojas, iv. 72.
Minorca, island of, v. 167. 173, 174.
Mir, king of the Suevi, i. 119.
Miro, count of Barcelona, iii. 69.
Mohammed I. of Spain, 272. His character, 276. His death, 277.
Mohammed ben Abdalla appointed regent during the minority of Hixem II., i. 292. His wars with the Christians, 293. His death, 298. His character, 299.
Mohammed ben Ismail, wali of Seville, i. 309. Aspires to the government of all Mohammedan Spain, ii. 2. His death, 4.
Mohammed Almoateded, king of Seville and Cordova, ii. 4. Resolves to implore the aid of Yussef ben Taxfin against Alfonso VI., 10. His fall and death, 20.
Mohammed, xerif of Morocco, v. 189—191.
Mohammed Ebin Edris al Shafei, iv. 21.
Mohammed ben Abdalla, a fanatic or heretic, ii. 25. Preaches against the wickedness of the African chiefs; compelled to leave Morocco, 26. Retreats to Tinmal in the province of Suz; preaches the coming of the great Mehedi, 28. Assumes the high title of Mehedi, and proclaims himself the founder of a new people, 29. Fortifies the strong position of Tinmal, 30. Resolves to renew the war on the chief of the Almoravides, and reduce the capital of Morocco, 31. Confides the command of his armies to Abdelmumen, 32. His death, 33.
Mohammed Abu Abdalla, his immense preparations for the invasion of Christian Spain, ii. 43. Lays siege to Salvatierra, 44. Defeated by the Christians in the battle of Navas de Tolosa, 47. His death, 48.
Mohammed I. ben Alhamar of Granada, ii. 54. Does homage to the Christian king, 56. Summoned to the camp of Fernando, with a body of 5000, horse to aid in the meditated conquest of Seville, 57. Makes an irruption into the territories of Castile; is signally defeated near Alcala Real by Alfonso, 64. Signs a treaty of peace with Alfonso, 65. His transactions with the rebels, 66. His death, 67.
Mohammed II., his accession, ii. 67. Visits the Christian court at Seville, and renews the alliance with Alfonso, from whom he receives knighthood, 68. Enters into alliance with Aben Yussef of Morocco, 69. Sues for and obtains peace from Alfonso, 70. Encourages literature and arts, and renders Granada the favourite abode of the Muses, and the most cultivated city of Spain, 71. His death, 73.
Mohammed III. (Abu Abdalla), labours in vain for the welfare of his people, ii. 74. Compelled to resign his crown in favour of his brother, 75.
Mohammed IV., his character, ii. 79. Opens a campaign against

the Christians, 80. Assassination of, 81.
Mohammed V., ii. 89. Compelled by conspiracy to seek safety by flight; visits Fez, and obtains aid, 90. Is restored to his throne, 93. His death, 94.
Mohammed VI., ii. 95. His death, 96.
Mohammed (Muley) VII., his character, ii. 97. Is dethroned by his cousin Mohammed VIII.; restored by the Africans, 98. Dethroned and restored a second time, 100. His singular destiny, and final disappearance from the stage of life, 101.
Mohammed VIII. usurps the throne of Mohammed VII., ii. 98. Is dethroned and beheaded, 99.
Mohammed IX. (ben Osmin), ii. 101. His civil wars, 102. His last sanguinary act, and sudden disappearance, 103.
Mohammed X. (ben Ismail), ii. 103. His unsuccessful wars, and death, 104.
Mohammed Anconi, his character, iii. 305.
Mohammed ben Omar, iv. 37. His adventures and death, 38.
Mohammedan Spain, iv. 1. Kingdoms of, their extent and changes, 2. The government of, absolute and hereditary, 3. Chief dignitaries of, 4. The law of the Moslems founded on their religion; their faith and practice, 5. The six objects of their faith, 6. The four points of their practice, 15. Laws and civil institutions of the Koran, 17. The religion of the Mohammedans divided into two grand classes, the orthodox and the heterodox, 20. Flourishing state of literature in, 30. Mechanical arts and manufactures carried to considerable perfection, 42.
Mondejar, the Marquis of, v. 63.
Monroi, father of doña Mencia, v. 190.
Montellano, Conde de, v. 123.
Montemar, General, v. 162.
Morocco, the siege of, v. 70.
Mugneiz el Rumi, i. 163.
Muley Abdalla, v. 76. His wars with Philip II. of Spain, 77. Assassination of, 79.
Muley, king of Fez, v. 191.
Muley Abdalla, king of Morocco, v. 192. 194. 196.
Muley Hamet, Prince, v. 194. King, 196. Dethroned, 197. Drowned, 206.
Muley, son of Muley Moluc, v. 205.
Muley Moluc (Abdelmelic) dethrones his nephew, v. 197. Prepares to meet Sebastian, king of Portugal, 201. Wonderful courage, and death of, 204.
Muley Ali Abul Hassan, ii. 104. Troubles of his kingdom and harem, 105. His wars with the Christians, 106. Rebellion of his son, who is made king under the name of Abu Abdalla, 107. Civil war in consequence, 108. Both excluded, and Abdalla el Zagal proclaimed king, 109.
Muña Elvira, princess of Castile, iii. 13.
Murcia, fall of, i. 179.
Muza ben Nozeir, the emir, intrusted with the command of the troops destined to finish the subjugation of the western provinces in Africa, i. 155. His envy and duplicity, 162. Arrives in Spain, 165. Lays siege to Seville and several other cities, 166. Invests Merida, 167. Advances to Toledo; deprives Tarik of his command, 168. Ordered by the caliph to restore Tarik to the command, 171. Commanded by the caliph to appear before his throne at Damascus, 173. Disgraced and punished, 175. His affliction on hearing of the execution of his sons, 177.
Muza ben Zeyed, wali of Saragossa, i. 273.

N.

Nassis Abu Abdalla, ii. 75. His disastrous reign, 76.
Nassau, Maurice de, v. 237.
Navarre, its early history and origin wrapt in great obscurity, iii. 1. Various hypotheses concerning the origin of the kingdom of, 2. Governed by a French viceroy, 29. Becomes a province of France, 30. Again obtains a separate sovereign, 31. Distracted by rival factions, 42 Invaded by Fernando of Castile, and annexed to his kingdom, 55.
Navas de Tolosa, battle of, ii. 47.
Nebuchadnezzar, i. 2.
Nepotiano, Count, ii. 131.
Nero, the Emperor, i. 66.
Nerva, the Emperor, i. 67.
Nicholas Rossel, i. 141.
Nitard, Father, a German Jesuit, v. 100. Confessor to queen Maria Anna of Spain, 101. Raised to the dignity of cardinal, 102.

Noah, i. 2.
Noailles, the Duke de, v. 107.
Noronha, Garcia de, viceroy, v. 186.
Noronha, Alfonso de, 188.
Norris, General, v. 220, 221.
Numantia, the siege of, i. 49.
Nunilo and Alodia, martyrdom of, iv. 294.
Nuño, Fernandez, ii. 134
Nuño, Alvares Pereiro, great constable of Portugal, iii. 235.

O.

Obeidala, the first caliph of the Fatimites, i. 283.
Ocba ben Alegag, i. 233. Death of, 234.
Octavius, the Roman emperor, i. 62.
Odoacer the Mercenary, king of Italy, i. 107.
Olivares, Conde of, hated by the Portuguese, v. 228. 230.
Olivares, the Conde de, v. 91. Administration of, in Spain, 92. Exile of, 97.
Olmeda, the battle of, ii. 253.
Omar ben Haffs, a bandit chief, i. 273.
Omar, king of Badajoz, ii. 15. Assassination of, 21.
Omer ben Ali, iv. 30.
Oppas placed on the episcopal throne of Toledo conjointly with Sindered, i. 152.
Order of Mercy for the redemption of Christian captives, institution of, iv. 286.
Ordoño I., his victories over the Arabs, ii. 132.
Ordoño II., ii. 136. His death, 138.
Ordoño III., ii. 140. His death, 141.
Ormond, the Duke of, v. 120.
Orsini, Princess de, v. 113. Her influence at the Spanish court, 122. Disgrace and banishment of, 148.
Ormus, city of, v. 184.
Orosius the historian, i. 116.
Osiris, i. 2.
Otgar, fabulous exploits of, ii. 57.
Othman ben Ali Neza, i. 228. His marriage with Lampegia, daughter of Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, 230. His death, 231.
Ourique, the battle of, iii. 181.

P.

Parma ceded to don Felipe, v. 163.
Parma, Duke of, excommunicated, v. 180.
Paul, Duke, a Greek noble, i. 137. Prevails on the Goths to proclaim him king; his letter to Wamba, 138. Retires to Nesmer, 139. Taken prisoner by Wamba, and condemned to a religious confinement within the walls of Toledo, 142.
Pedro the Cruel, commands the murder of Garcilassa de la Vega, the adelantada of Castile, ii. 207. Proceeds to Ciudad Rodrigo, to confer on the interests of the two kingdoms with his grandfather, the king of Portugal, 208. His connection with Maria de Padilla; his marriage with Blanche de Bourbon, 209. Confines his queen in the fortress of Arevalo; becomes enamoured of Juana de Castro, 210. Assembles his states at Burgos; procures supplies for carrying on war, 212. Takes Toledo by force of arms; transfers his queen to the fortress of Siguenza, 213. Orders the murder of his brother Fadrique, 215. Murders don Juan, infante of Aragon, 216. His continued murders, 217. Assembles the cortes at Seville; attempts to persuade them that his children by Maria de Padilla are legitimate, 218. His alliance with Edward III. and the Black Prince, 219. Makes no attempt to defend his tottering kingdom, 220. Leaves Seville by way of Portugal; passes into Galicia, 221. Murders the archbishop of Santiago, and embarks for Bayonne to join the Black Prince, 222. Restored to his kingdom by the Black Prince, 225. Resumes his cruel habits, and disgusts his subjects, 226. His kingdom again invaded by Enrique, 227. Throws himself into the fortress of Montiel, 228. Betrayed by Du Guesclin, and slain, 230. His character, 231.
Pedro I. of Aragon and Navarre, iii. 82. His death, 83.
Pedro II., his disputes with for mother, iii. 91. Embarks the Rome to be crowned by the pope; his base submission to the Roman see, 92. His marriage with Maria, daughter and heiress of Montpelier, 93. His wars with the Moors, 94. His transactions with Simon de Montford and the Albigenses of France,

95. His last campaign, and death, 96.
Pedro III., his transactions with his rebellious barons, iii. 109. Solicited to claim the crown of Sicily, 110. Prepares to assert his claim, 111. His designs favoured by chance, 112. Lands at Trepani; hastens to Palermo, where he is joyfully proclaimed king of Sicily, 113. Opposition of pope Martin to his title, 114. His death, 115.
Pedro IV., his disputes with his stepmother, iii. 127. His duplicity, 128. Faction, and discontent of his barons, 129. His marriage, 130. Continued insolence and discontent of the barons, 131. Hastens to Barcelona, to crush in person the rebellion, 132. Seized by the inhabitants of Murviedro, and transferred to Valencia, as a place of greater security, 132. His intrepidity, and ultimate triumph, 133. His transactions with Enrique, count of Trastamara, 135. His duplicity and violence towards his kinsman, the king of Majorca, whom he dethrones, 157. Declares the whole of Roussillon for ever united with Aragon, 138. Enters into alliance with the republic of Venice, 140. Returns to his dominions, 141. His policy with regard to Sicily, 142. His death and character, 143.
Pedro I. of Portugal, iii. 214. His internal administration, 216. His whimsical regard for justice, 217. His death and character, 218.
Pedro II., king of Portugal, v. 253. Death of, 254.
Pedro, Infante, husband of queen Maria, his niece, v. 261.
Pedro, infante of Portugal, v. 244. 248, 249. Regent, 250. King, 253.
Pedro Sanchez de Monteagudo, iii. 28.
Pedro d'Arbues, chief inquisitor, murder of, iii. 175.
Pedro Coelo, iii. 114.
Pedro de Menezes, governor of Ceuta, iii. 239. His heroic defence of Ceuta against the African Moors, iii. 240.
Pedro da Covilhan, iii. 287.
Pedro Alvares Cabral, iii. 300.
Pedro Lopez de Ayala, iv. 214.
Pedro of Compostella, analysis of his poem entitled "De Consolatione Rationis," iv. 214.
Pedro Giron, duke of Osana, viceroy of Naples, v. 91.
Pelayo, reign, victories, and death of, ii. 122.
Peninsula, political, civil, and religious state of, under the Goths, i. 180. Political, civil, and religious state of, during the domination of the Mohammedans, iv. 1. State of the church and religion in, 263. Jurisdiction of the pope, 265.
Perfecto, a priest of Cordova, iv. 291. Martyrdom of, 292.
Perpenna, lieutenant, i. 55. Forms a conspiracy against the life of Sartorius, i. 57. Made prisoner by Pompey, and put to death, 58.
Peterborough, Lord, sent to Spain with 15,000 men to aid the allied armies of England and Spain, v. 127.
Petreius, i. 59.
Petronilla succeeds to the throne of Aragon on the death of her father, Ramiro II., iii. 89. Resigns her regal title to her son Alfonso, 90.
Philibert, Manuel, duke of Savoy, v. 209.
Philip II. of Spain, v. 41. His wars with the Turks, 43. His wars with France, 45. Creates a new tribunal in the Netherlands with powers similar to those of the ancient inquisition, 47. Murmurs of the people, 50. Forms a new tribunal, called the Council of Tumults, to take cognisance of the late disorders, 51. Resigns the government of the Netherlands to his daughter Isabel and her husband the archduke Albert, 58. Prepares a mighty armament against England, called the Invincible Armada, 59. His transactions with Portugal, 62. Domestic history of Spain under this monarch; revolt of the Moriscos, 63. His death and character, 86. Interview of, with Sebastian, 198. Claims the Portuguese succession, 209—211. His army invades Portugal, 213. Proclaimed king of that country, 215. Policy of, 218. Death of, 227.
Philip III., v. 87. His death and character, 90. Unpopular in Portugal, 227.
Philip IV., v. 91. His wars with France, 94. His death and character, 99. Revolt of Portugal in his reign, 228.
Philip V., v. 111. His marriage with a princess of Savoy, 113. Opens the states of Catalonia,

114. Passes into Italy, leaving the queen regent during his absence, 115. Hastens from Naples to Milan, to oppose in person the imperial general, prince Eugene, 118. Returns to Spain, 123. Accompanies the combined armies of France and Spain to Portugal, 124. Resolves to take the field in person; proceeds to invest Barcelona, 131. Successes and reverses of, 132. His fortitude, 133. Returns to Madrid, where he is received with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy by the people, 135. Meets with more reverses; transfers his court from Madrid to Valladolid, 137. Recalled by the inhabitants of Madrid, who greet him with the warmest acclamations, 138. Acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies by the treaty of the peace of Utrecht, 141. Alters the order of succession in Spain by the introduction of the Salic law, 146. His second marriage with Isabel Farnese, 147. Abdicates the throne in favour of his son, and retires to the palace of San Ildefonso, 154. Prevails on the papal legate to absolve him from his vows; and resumes his regal functions in all their extent, 155. Death and character of, 163.

Philip de Marnix, v. 49.

Phocians, the, found at towns on the coast of Catalonia, i. 23.

Phœnicians, the, early history of, i. 21. Their similarity in language and manners to the Carthaginians, i. 21. They implore the assistance of the Carthaginians against the Syrians, 23.

Pietro de Mora, cardinal, iii. 97.

Pitt, Mr., v. 168, 169.

Placentia, ceded to don Felipe, v. 163.

Placidia, her marriage with Ataulphus, king of the Goths, i. 100.

Plautius, the prætor of Farther Spain, i. 43.

Pliny the naturalist, i. 67.

Pompeius Rufus, the Roman consul, makes peace with Viriatus, i. 45.

Pompey, despatched by the Roman republic to the aid of Metellus Pius, i. 55. Prosecutes his successes from Andalusia to the Pyrenees, 58. Reverses of, 61. Death of, 62.

Popilius, sent by the Roman senate to invest Numantia, i. 47.

Portocarrero, cardinal, archbishop of Toledo, v. 109. Administration of, 116.

Portugal, constitution of, v. 189. Laws of, 190.

Priscillian, heresy of, i. 94. Execution of, 95.

Ptolemy, i. 14.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, i. 31. Routed and slain by Mago, and his army almost exterminated, 33.

Publius Dacianus, the president, i. 81.

Q.

Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman consul, despatched at the head of 17,000 men against Viriatus, i. 44.

Quintus Sertorius, his character as given by Sallust, i. 52. Obtains the command of the Lusitanian forces; arrives in Lusitania; grants to the people a government exactly similar to that of Rome, 53. Founds a university in Huesca, which was constituted the metropolis of Celtiberia; hailed as the regenerator of Spain, 54. His astonishing success awakens the jealousy of Sylla, 55. Assassination of, 57.

R.

Rainucci, prince of Parma, v. 208.

Ramiro I., his short but eventful reign, ii. 131.

Ramiro II., ii. 138. Resigns his crown to his eldest son, Ordoño, 139. Assumes the penitential garb, and passes the remainder of his days in retirement, 140.

Ramiro III., ii. 142. Troubles of the kingdom during his minority, 143. His death, 144.

Ramiro I. of Aragon, iii. 80. His short reign, and tragical death, 81.

Ramiro II., iii. 88. Resigns the crown to his daughter Petronilla, and retires to a cloister, 89.

Raymundo I., count of Barcelona, iii. 71. His death, 72.

Raymundo II., his vigorous and fortunate administration, iii. 72.

Raymundo III., iii. 73. His tragical death, 74.

Raymundo IV., iii. 74. His transactions in France, 75. His death, 77.

Raymundo V., iii. 77. His mar-

riage with the heiress of Aragon, and administration of that kingdom, 78.
Raymundo Montaner, iv. 207.
Raymundo Lully, character and versatility of his writings, iv. 316. His death and character, 317.
Recared, despatched into Gaul to oppose the Franks, i. 124. Expels the invaders from Gothic Gaul, 125. Unanimously acknowledged king of the Goths, 126. His prudent measures for reclaiming his subjects from heresy, 127. His death, 128.
Recared II., king of the Goths, i. 132.
Receswind, king of the Goths, i. 135. Death of, 136.
Remismund, king of the Suevi, i. 105.
Rescnde, valet of Sebastian, v. 205.
Richard I. of England, his marriage with Berengaria, daughter of Sancho V. of Navarre, iii. 21.
Richelieu, cardinal, v. 95.
Richiarius, king of the Suevi, made prisoner by Theodoric I., i. 105.
Richilan, king of the Suevi, i. 104.
Ripperda, baron de, v. 156. Administration of, in Spain, 157. Disgrace of, 158. His death, 159.
Roderic, the last of the Goths, i. 153. Advances at the head of 90,000 men against the Moors, 160. His defeat, and death, 161.
Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, ii. 185.
Rodrigo of Toledo, the celebrated historian, ii. 44.
Rodrigo Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, iv. 200. His zeal for learning; his death, 201.
Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, the historian, iv. 205.
Rodrigo de Tordesillas, v. 17. Murder of, 18.
Rodrigo Calderon, v. 87.
Roger de Lauria, admiral of Aragon, iii. 116.
Ronquillo the alçade, v. 19.
Rocco, Manuel, accomplice of Leite, v. 242.
Rodney, admiral, v. 173.
Roupinho, dom Fuas, heroism of, iii. 186. Miraculous legend concerning him, 187.
Rovago the jesuit, v. 165, 166.
Ruy Lopez de Avalos, constable of Castile, ii. 245.
Ruy Gonsalez de Clavijo, iv. 204.
Ryswick, the peace of, v. 107.

S.

Sacramento, colony of, v. 171.
St. Augustine, i. 216.
St. Benedicta, i 215.
St. Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, i. 214.
St. Eulogio, iv. 291. Martyrdom of, 303.
St. Felix, i. 214.
St. Francis de Borgia, v. 38.
St. Ildefonso, i. 219.
St. Isidore, the greatest historian of his time, and the greatest luminary of the Wisigothic church; his writings, i. 217.
St. Jerome, i. 216.
St. Leander, i. 217.
St. Millan, i. 214.
St. Prudentius, i. 214.
St. Salvianus, i. 222.
St. Vincent, i. 81. His energetic and eloquent vindication of the unity of God and the divinity of Christ, before Dacian, the minister of Diocleslan, 82. Martyrdom of, 83.
Sala ben Sala, the Moorish governor of Ceuta, iii. 238.
Salomon, count of Barcelona, iii. 67. Assassination of, 68.
Saluquia and Brafama, their tragical fate, iii. 192.
Samail ben Hatim, i. 237.
Sampayo, viceroy of India, v. 185.
Sampiro, bishop of Astorga, iv. 199.
Sancho el Mayor, the first king of Castile, ii. 150.
Sancho II., ii. 156. Assassination of, 157.
Sancho III., ii. 168. His death, 169.
Sancho IV. ii. 193. Internal troubles of his kingdom, 194. His death, 196.
Sancho I., of Navarre, iii. 9. His subsequent conquests, and retirement into the monastery of San Salvador de Leyre, 10. His death and character, 11.
Sancho II., surnamed el Mayor, Confusion of Kings, iii. 12. The most powerful prince of his age and country, 13. His division of his states, 14. His death, 15.
Sancho III., iii. 16. His peaceful reign, and tragical death, 17.
Sancho IV., being also king of Aragon, his exploits must be looked for in the history of that country, iii. 17.
Sancho V., iii. 20. His alliance with Richard I. of England, 21. His death, 22.

Lucas, Bishop of Tuy. 1. *Chronicon Mundi*; 2. *De Alterâ Vitâ, Fideique controversis adversus Albigenses*; 3. *Vita Sancti Isidori Hispalensis.*

Vidal Canellas, Bishop of Huesca. (An eminent Jurist.)

Juan de Dios. (Commentator of Canon Law.)

Gonsalo de Berceo, a Priest of San Millan. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora.*

Juan Lorenzo, Priest of Astorga. *Poema de Alexandro.*

Pedro Fernandez, a Monk of Galicia. *Vita Sancti P. Dominici.*

Pedro de Amerio, a Catalan. *De Differentiâ Ætatum, &c.*

Alvaro de Lurio y Mendoza, a Knight of Calatrava. *Institutes of the Order of Montesa.*

San Raymundo de Peñafort, a Catalan Dominican. *Summa Raymundina* (a collection of aphorisms and other religious sentiments), *with other works.*

Jayme I., King of Aragon. *Poetry — Morals — his own Biography.*

Abuzeit, King of Valencia, a Convert from Islam: supposed to have written *De Historiâ Animalium.*

Ximenes, Presbyter of Daroco, is said to have composed *De Restoratione Hispaniæ.*

Fray Muño de Zamora, of the Order of Preachers. *Regulæ Fratrum et Sororum, &c.*

Pedro Juan (afterwards John XXI.). *Thesaurus Pauperum, and other works.*

Pedro de España (Petrus Hispanus): supposed to have been two of the name, who left behind several theological and philosophical Treatises.

Alfonso el Sabio, King of Leon and Castile. (Poet, Mathematician, Historian, Jurist.)

Dinis, King of Portugal. (Poet.)

Guillermo de Berguedan. (A Troubadour.) *Songs.*

Roldano, Maestro. *On the Game of Dice.*

Raymundo Martinez, of the Order of Preachers. *Pugio Fidei.*

Garcias, a Castilian Jurist. *Comments on the Decretals.*

Bernardo de Selot, Catalan. *Chronicas o' Conquestas de Catalunya, &c.*

Poncio Carbonello, a Franciscan. *Commentary on the Scriptures.*

Gofre de Louisa, Archdeacon of Toledo, is said to have continued the History of the Archbishop Rodrigo.

Sancho the Brave, King of Castile. *Liber Documentorum, &c.*

Juan, Deacon of Madrid. *Vita Sancti Isidori Agricolæ.*

Arnaldo Poncio, of the Order of Mercy. *Some moral Treatises.*

Pedro Paschal, Martyr. *Some controversial works against Infidels.*

Alfonso de Paredes, Physician of Fernando IV. *Theatro de la Nobleza de las Casas.*

In the Fourteenth Century.

Vasco Lobeiro, a Portuguese, said to be the Author of *Amadis de Gaula.*

Juan Ægidio of Zamora, of the Friars Minor. *Archivum Scripturarum, with many other works.*

Gonsalvo de Valboa, General of the Friars Minor. *De Præceptis Eminentibus Regulæ, &c.*

Arnaldo Villanueva. (Natural Philosopher.) *Wrote on various subjects.*

Pedro de Perpignan, a Carmelite Monk. *In Psalmos omnes Davidis, with other works.*

Ramon Ros, a Catalan. *Poems and Spiritual Legends.*

El Maestro Pedro de Compostella. *De Consolatione Rationis.*

Raymundo Lully, Martyr. (Divine, Natural, and Moral Philosopher; Logician; Jurist: a Universal Genius.)

Mossen Jordi, Mossen Febrer, } (Valencian Troubadours.)

Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita. *Various Poems.*

Antonio Andreas, a Franciscan. (Philosopher.)

Fray Carmel, of the Order of Mercy. *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum.*

Raymundo Montaner. *Biographer of Jayme I.*

Ximeno Pedro de Salanova. (An eminent Jurist.)

Gofredo de Biure, Archdeacon of Tarragona. (Also a Jurist.)

Raymundo Alberto, General of the Order of Mercy. *Wrote on Divinity and Morals.*

Jayme de Mont-Jui, a Catalan. (A Jurist.)

Alfonso de Burgos, a convert from Judaism. *De Bellis Domini.*

Pedro Marsilio, Monk of San Juan de la Peña. *On the early History of Aragon.*

Juan el Converso, a convert from Judaism. *De Concordia Legum.*

Ansias March, a Valencian. (A Troubadour.)

Alfonso Buen-hombre, a Dominican Friar. *Wrote against the Jews.*

Guido de Terrena, a Carmelite. (A Philosopher and Divine.)

Juan de Clara-Valle. (Carmelite. A Divine.)

Jayme, Guillermo } de Valle-Sicca. (Jurists.)

Pedro, Count of Barcelos. *Nubiliario.*

Juan Manuel, Infante of Castile. (Historian, Poet, Fabulist, &c.)

Nicolao Rossel, Cardinal. *Romanorum Pontificum Gesta, &c.*

Guillermo Præposito, a Catalan. (A Jurist.)

Ægidio Canillo de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. *Ecclesiastical Constitutions.*

Alfonso de Vargas, Archbishop of Seville. *Commentaries on Aristotle.*

Juan de Cardalhaco, Archbishop of Braga. *Liber Regalis.*

Juan Ballasteros, Francisco de Bucho, Bernardo Oller, } Carmelites. (Theologians.)

Fernando Sanchez de Tovar. *Historian of the Castilian Kings.*

Juan Nunez de Villasan. *Chronicle of Alfonso XI.*

Alfonso Pecho, of Guadalaxara. *On the Revelation of St. Bridget.*

Dinis de Murcia, Order of St. Jerome. (Theologian.)

Martin Alfonso de Melro, a Portuguese. *History of his own Times.*

Gombaldo de Uligia, a Catalan. *De Vitis Sanctorum, &c.*

Francisco Martinez, a Carmelite. *De Conceptione S. Mariæ, &c.*

Philip Ribot, a Catalan Carmelite. *Biography of his Order.*

Pedro IV., King of Aragon. *History of his own Times.*

Juan de Castro, a Castilian Noble. Supposed to have written a *Life of Pedro the Cruel.*

Francisco Ximenes, a Friar Minor. (Moralist and Divine.)

Juan de Monzon, Dominican. *Dogmatic Theology, &c.*

In the Fifteenth Century. *

Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Chancellor of Castile. *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla, &c.*

Rodrigo Gonsalez de Clavijo. *Historia del Gran Tamerlan.*

Fernando Nunez de Cuenza. *Chronicle of Enrique III.*

Jayme de Calicio, a Catalan. *An eminent Commentator on Jurisprudence.*

Vicente Arias, Archdeacon of Toledo. (A Jurist.)

Antonio Tajal, a Catalan. *On Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

San Vicente Ferrer, a Valencian. *Epistles, Sermons, works on Ascetic Devotion.*

Benito, a Dominican. *On Dogmatic Theology.*

Clemente Sanchez, Archdeacon of Valderas. (A Jurist.)

Fernando de Pazos, of the Order of Mercy. *De Primatu Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*

Pedro de Luna, Cardinal. *Various works on Divinity, &c.*

Berengario de Montrava, Canon of Urgel. *Lumen Constitutionum, &c.*

Gutierrez Diego de Gomez. *Historia del Conde de Buelna.*

Alfonso Chirino, Physician to Juan II. *Menor Daño de Medicina.*

Sancho Puerta, Preaching Friar. *Sermons, &c.*

Raymundo Sebonde. *Liber de Homine, &c.*

Lope de Olmedo, of the Order of St. Jerome. *Flores S. Patris Hieronymi, &c.*

Enrique de Aragon, Marquis of Villena. (Poet, &c.)

Juan de Palomar, Archdeacon of Barcelona. *Wrote against the Hussites.*

Juan de Segovia. (An eminent Theologian.)

Juan de Casa-nueva. *De Potestate Papæ, &c.*

Pablo de Sancta Maria, Bishop of Burgos. (Theologian and Historical Abbreviator.)

Alvaro Garcias de Sancta Maria. *Chronicle of Juan II.*

Alfonso de Alfama, a Portuguese Carmelite. *De Ordinis sive Progressu.*

Duarte, King of Portugal. *De Bono Regimine Justitiæ, &c.*

Tomas Mieres, a Catalan. (Writer on Jurisprudence.)

Juan Frances, of Barcelona. (Historian.)

Pedro, Infante of Portugal. *Verses.*

Gonsalvo Garcias de Sancta Maria. *History of the Aragonese Kings, &c.*

Jayme Marquilles, a Catalan. *Wrote on the Usages of Catalonia.*

Fernando Lopez, a Portuguese. *Cronica do Rey Don Joaõ I., &c.*

Juan Rodriguez del Padron. *Songs.*

Alvaro de Luna, Constable of Castile. *Claras Mugeres.*

Alfonso Martinez Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera. *Compendio Breve.*

Fernando Gomez de Ciudad Real. *Historian of Juan II.*

Juan Alfonso de Baena. *Compiler, and partly author, of the Songs in the old Cancionero.*

---

* We cannot notice the obscure theological controversialists of this century, — of whom many were partisans of the rival popes.

Alfonso Tostado, Bishop of Avila. *A learned Commentator on the Scriptures.*

Alfonso de Carthagena, Bishop of Burgos. *Anacephalæosis Regum Hispanorum, &c.*

Juan de Mena. (A celebrated Poet.)

Jayme de San Juan, a Catalan. *Vita S. Raymundi de Penyafort.*

Fernando Perez de Guzman. *Cronica del Rey Juan II.; Varias Poesias, &c.*

Bernardo de Montesa. (Theological Commentator.)

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana. *Proverbios, &c.*

Alfonso de Espina, Friar Minor. *Fortalitium Fidei; Sermons, &c.*

Juan Martorell, Valencia. *Tirant lo Blanch.*

Charles, Prince of Viana. *History of Navarre, &c.*

Juan de Mello, a Portuguese Cardinal. (Jurist, Theologian.)

Juan de Torquemada. *Summa Ecclesiastica, &c., with many other theological works.*

Alfonso de Oropesa, Order of St. Jerome. *Lumen ad Revelationem Gentium, &c.*

Lope de Barrientos, Bishop of Avila. (A miscellaneous Writer.)

Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo. (Historian and Theologian.)

Pedro de Cixar, of Aragon. *Historia Ordinis Mercenariorum, &c.*

Martin Alfonso à Cordova, Augustinian Monk. *On Dogmatic Theology.*

Francisco de Toledo, Bishop. (Theologian.)

Pedro de Osma, Canon of Salamanca. (Theologian and Metaphysician.)

Gomez Eannes de Zurara. *Chronicler of Portugal.*

Mateo de Pisano.
Ruy de Pina.
Diego de Valera. } Also *Chroniclers of Portugal.*

Pedro Garcias, a Valencian. *On Mystical and Dogmatic Theology.*

Alfonso de la Torre. *Vision deleytable de la Felosofia, &c.*

Jayme Perez de Valencia. (Theologian.)

Alfonso de Palencia. *Decades Rerum Hispanarum, &c.*

Alfonso Diaz à Montalvo. (An eminent Jurist.) *Commentator of Fuero Real de España, &c.*

Juan Lopez de Segovia. *De Libertate Ecclesiastica, &c.*

Fernando de Ribera. (Poet, Historian.)

Juan Alfonso de Benevente. *Scholastic Theology.*

Pedro Nuñez de Osma. *Sumario de los Reyes de Castilla.*

Alfonso de Soto. (An eminent Jurist.)

With many others, of minor note, for whom we have not room.

Sancho VI., enters into alliance with the kings of Castile and Leon against the Moors, iii. 22. His death, 23.
Sancho I. of Aragon, iii. 80. His victories over the Mohammedans, and election to the throne of Navarre, 81. His death, 82.
Sancho, count of Roussillon, his administration during the minority of Jayme I. of Aragon, iii. 97.
Sancho I. of Portugal, iii. 188. His transactions with the Moors and Alfonso of Castile, 189. Recovers several important towns from the Moors, 193. His domestic administration, 194. His disputes with the clergy, and consequent deposition by the council of Lyons, iii. 195.
Sancho II., iii. 196.
San Domingo de Guzman, iv. 309.
San Felipe, Marquis of, v. 115.
Santa Catalina, island of, v. 171.
Santa Columba, iv. 300. Martyrdom of, 302.
Santa Cruz, Marquis of, reduces the Azores, v. 218.
Santa Cruz, conde of, viceroy, v. 234.
Saturius the hermit, i. 214.
Schomberg, duke de, v. 124.
Schomberg, count de, v. 245.
Scipio Africanus, i. 34. Lands in Spain with a considerable armament, 35. Invests Carthagena; his clemency to his captives, 36. Penetrates into Bætica; breaks the power of the enemy by a decisive victory over Asdrubal, 37.
Scipio Æmilianus, appointed by the Roman republic to the command of the legion destined to contend with the Numantians, i. 48. Raises the siege of Numantia, 49. His cruelty to the inhabitants, 50.
Sebastian of Salamanca, iii. 4.
Sebastian, prince, v. 193.
Sebastian, king, v. 194. His love of arms, 194, 195. Lands in Africa, 196. His interview with Philip, 198. Invades Africa, 200. Marches against Muley Moluc, 201. Defeated and slain, 204. Character of, 207.
Segovia, trade of, v. 272.
Seniofredo, count of Barcelona, iii. 69. Death of, 70.
Seville, siege and conquest of, ii. 59.
Seville, trade of, v. 272.
Sextus Pompeius, i. 62.
Sierra Morena, v. 181.
Siete Partidas, the celebrated code introduced into Spain by Alfonso, successor of San Fernando, iv. 121. Analysis of, 122. Character of, 150. Object of the royal legislator, 151.
Sigebert, king of Metz, i. 114.
Sigeric, king of the Goths, i. 100.
Silo, his obscure reign and death, ii. 128.
Silveira, viceroy, v. 186.
Simon de Montford heads a crusade against the Albigenses of France, iii. 94.
Sisebert, king of the Goths, i. 131. Death of, 132.
Sisenand, a Gothic noble, raised to the throne on the death of Swintila, i. 133. Death of, 134.
Soliman, pacha, v. 185, 186.
Sousa, Alfonso de, viceroy, v. 186.
Spinosa, Gabriel de, impostor, v. 225.
Squillace, marquis of, v. 168. 176.
Stahremberg, count, v. 137.
Stanislaus Leczinsky, king of Poland, v. 160.
Suleyman, the caliph of Egypt, i. 174.
Suleyman, cadi of Merida, i. 279.
Swintila, the first Gothic monarch of all Spain, i. 132. His character, and deposition, 133.
Sylla, usurpation of, i. 52.
Syr ben Abi Bekir, ii. 17.

T.

Tarifa, the battle of, ii. 85.
Tarik ben Zeyad, lieutenant, i. 158. His successful wars with the Christians, 167.
Tarudante, valley of, v. 190.
Tavora, house of, conspires, v. 258.
Taxfin ben Ali succeeds his father in the government of Granada, ii. 32. His reverses, and tragical death, 35.
Teresa, widow of Alfonso, king of Leon, renounces, in the name of her daughter, all right to the crown of Leon, ii. 181.
Teresa, widow of Count Henri of Portugal; her administration, iii. 178.
Ternate, royal family of, their unhappy fate, v. 187.
Terunca, king of Ormuz, v. 184.
Tessé, marshal, v. 131.
Thalaba ben Salema, i. 235.
Thamama, iv. 24.
Theodofred, duke of Cordova, i. 152.
Theodomir, governor of Andalusia, i. 159. Acknowledged by the

Goths as the successor of Roderic, 163. His stratagem to defend Orihuela against the Arabs, 171.
Theodored, king of the Goths, i. 103. His death, 104.
Theodoric I., king of the Goths, i. 104. His reign diversified by alternate successes and disasters, 105. Assassinated by his brother Enric, in his capital of Toulouse, 106.
Theodoric II., i. 109.
Theodosio, prince of Portugal, v. 239.
Theodosius the Great, i. 70.
Theodulfo, the first Latin poet of Spain, iv. 209.
Theudis, king of the Goths, i. 111. His death, 112.
Theudisel, king of the Goths, i. 113.
Thibault I., of Navarre, iii. 23. Assumes the cross, and proceeds to Syria, 24. His return; his quarrel with the bishop of Pampelona, 26. His death, 27.
Thibault II., joins the crusade of St. Louis; visits Tunis, and dies at Trapani, iii. 27.
Thorismund, king of the Goths, i. 104.
Thueba el Ameli, i. 237.
Tiberius, the Roman emperor, i. 66.
Timur ben Balkin, king of Malaga, ii. 19.
Titus, the Roman emperor, i. 67.
Tobago, island of, v. 174.
Toledo, the council of, i. 91.
Toledo, fall of, after a siege of three years, ii. 8.
Toledo, trade of, v. 272.
Tomar, states of, v. 217.
Tomas de Torquemada, a dominican friar, the first churchman who filled the high dignity of grand inquisitor, ii. 272.
Tomas Aniello, a Neapolitan fisherman, generally known as Massaniello, v. 98. Assassination of, 99.
Toulouse, the battle of, i. 221.
Trajan, the first stranger invested with the imperial diadem; flourishing state of the peninsula under his reign, i. 67.
Tubal, i. 2.
Tulga, king of the Goths, i. 135.
Tupac, descendant of the incas, v. 174.
Tyrians, the, i. 22.

U.

Urban VI., pope, ii. 234.
Urraca, daughter of Alfonso of Leon and Castile, her marriage with Alfonso I. of Aragon and Navarre, ii. 84.
Urraca, daughter and successor of Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castile, ii. 160. Quarrels with her husband, Alfonso VII., ii. 161. Her marriage dissolved by the pope, 162. Her death, and criminal conduct, 164.
Utrecht, the peace of, signed April 11th, 1713, v. 141.

V.

Valadata, princess, iv. 37.
Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, i. 81.
Vasconcellos, murder of, v. 232.
Vascones, their warlike spirit, i. 14.
Vasco de Gama, undertakes the first voyage to India, iii. 298. His transactions with African and Hindoo princes, 292. His second voyage to India; perfidy of the Hindoo king, 301. His cruel retaliation, 302.
Velasco, governor of Montjuich, v. 130.
Velos, the Marquis de los, v. 73.
Vespasian, the Roman emperor, i. 67.
Victor Asmodeus, duke of Savoy, v. 150.
Villena, marquis of, ii. 260.
Viriatus, the most wonderful in the ancient history of Spain, i. 40. His character, 41. His successes over the Romans, 43. Concludes a peace with the Roman consul, Pompeius, i. 45. Treacherously murdered by three of his officers while sleeping in his tent, 46.
Vitellius, the prætor, i. 42.

W.

Wall, general, minister of Spain, v. 166. 168. 170.
Wallia, king of the Goths, his first expedition against the Romans, i. 100. His fleet destroyed by a violent tempest, 101. Concludes a peace with the Romans; his death, 102.
Wamba, king of the Goths, i. 136. Issues a decree banishing all Jews who refused to be baptized,

137. Proceeds to reduce the northern mountaineers, 138. Successes of, 139.
Wasel, Ebn Ata, iv. 22.
Wifredo, I., count of Barcelona, iii. 66.
Wifredo II., count of Barcelona, iii. 68. His death, 69.
Wilhelm, iii. 64.
William, prince of Orange, v. 48. Recognised in an assembly of the Dutch states, held at Dort, as their governor, 54. Assassination of, 56.
William Longsword, 183.
Willikens, General, v. 236.
Wisigothic government, form of, i. 181. Church monastic institutions, 211.
Witeric, king of the Goths, i. 130.
Witiza, king of the Goths, i. 149. His character, 150.
Wittimer, duke, i. 139.

X.

Xaref, minister at Ormuz, v. 184, 185.
Xavier, St. Francisco de, apostle of the Indies, v. 186.

Y.

Yacut ben Yussef, ii. 40. His triumph over the Christians on the plains of Alarcon, 41. Death of, 43.
Yahia ben Zulema, i. 228.
Yahia ben Edris VIII., sovereign of Fez, i. 283.
Yahia Alhadia, king of Toledo, ii. 7.
Yahia ben Ibrahim, ii. 11.
Yahia ben Alnasis, ii. 51.
Yahia ben Tafut, his honourable fidelity to his ally the governor of Saphis, iii. 317.
Yolanda, an Hungarian princess, her marriage with Jayme I. of Aragon, iii. 106.
Yussef el Fehri, i. 239. Compelled to enter on a ruinous civil war, i. 240. His death, 248.
Yussef ben Taxfin, the celebrated African conqueror, ii. 10. His person and character, 13. His marriage with Zainab, the beautiful sister of Abu Bekir, 14. Transfers the seat of his government to Morocco, 14. Resolves on defending Mohammedan Spain against the Christians, 16. Defeats Alfonso VI. on the plains of Zalaca, 17. Proclaims the Aliged, or holy war, 18. Forms an alliance with Abu Giafer, king of Saragossa, against the Christians, 21.
Yussef Abu Yacut, ii. 38. Acknowledged emperor by all Mohammedan Spain, 39. Invades Portugal, and is killed before Santarem, 40.
Yussef Abul Hegiag, ii. 81. His zeal for justice, 82. Calls on the Africans to assist him against the Christians, 83. Defeated in the battle of Tarifa by Alfonso, 85. His death, character, and zeal for religion, 87.
Yussef Abu Abdalla, ii. 94. Death of, 95.
Yussef III., ii. 97.
Yussef ben Alhamer, ii. 99.

Z.

Zainab, sister of Abu Bekir, her marriage with Yussef ben Taxfin the first, emperor of the Almoravides, ii. 14.
Zamora, the battle of, ii. 134.
Zayd Aben Kesadi, i. 163.
Zeid ben Cassim, i. 274.
Zeilan, king of Mequinez, iii. 314.
Zeyad ben Nabaak, i. 176.
Zeyad ben Zeyad, i. 229.
Zonaria, Jewish impostor of Syria, proclaims himself the long expected Messiah, i. 228.
Zoraya, the sultana, ii. 105.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

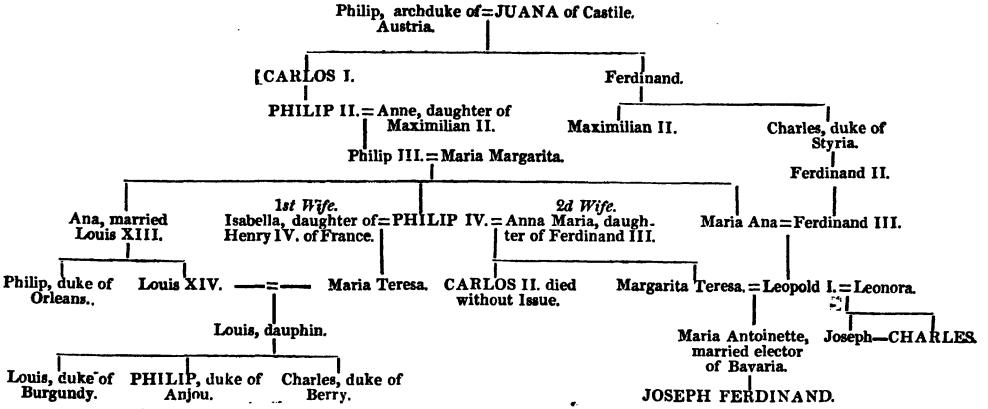
SPANISH SOVEREIGNS.

	Reigned.
I. Austrian.	
Carlos I.	1516—1556.
Philip II.	1556—1598.
Philip III.	1598—1621.
Philip IV.	1621—1665.
Carlos II.	1665—1700.
II. Bourbon.	
Philip V.	1700—1746.
Fernando VI.	1746—1759.
Carlos III.	1759—1788.

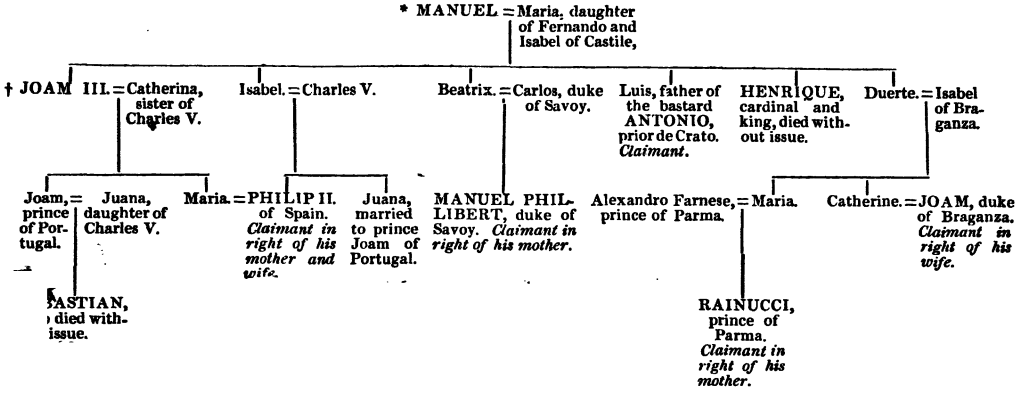
PORTUGUESE SOVEREIGNS.

I. Of the Ancient Dynasty.	
Joam III.	1521—1557.
Sebastian	1557—1578.
Henrique	1578—1580.
Philip I. (II. of Spain)	1580—1598.
Philip II. (III. of Spain)	1598—1621.
Philip III. (IV. of Spain)	1621—1640.
II. House of Braganza.	
Joam IV.	1640—1656.
Alfonso VI.	1656—1683.
Pedro II.	1683—1707.
Joam V.	1707—1750.
José	1750—1777.
Maria	1770, &c.

CLAIMANTS OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.



CHIEF CLAIMANTS OF THE PORTUGUESE SUCCESSION.



---

wife of Manuel was Isabel, eldest daughter of the catholic sovereigns (see vol. ii. p. 281.), who died in childbed, and was soon r infant son. By Maria, his sister-in-law, and his second queen, he had three other children, besides those enumerated in this died without issue.

. had also other children, but as they all died without issue, and before him, they need not be enumerated.

THE

CABINET OF HISTORY.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.
M.R.I.A. F.R.A.S. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY MEN.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND JOHN TAYLOR,
UPPER GOWER STREET.
1833.