

Martin the younger had left an illegitimate son, Frederick, count of Luna, and if the question had arisen a century earlier, before the clergy had obtained so much power, it is probable that his claims would have been preferred. The question was still unsettled on the death of the elder Martin in 1410, with whom ended the male line of the counts of Barcelona. A prolonged civil war seemed inevitable, and for two years the kingdom endured the evils of an interregnum. If the dispute was to be settled by force of arms, the count of Urgel seemed likely to carry all before him, as he had the pretty unanimous support both of the Catalans and of the powerful family of Luna. But his followers, confident in their superiority, allowed themselves to indulge in acts of violence which alienated the more orderly part of the population. The justiciar, Juan de Cerda, who had acted with such impartial firmness in the reign of John I., succeeded in forming a patriotic party which determined to settle the dispute by a legal decision. Jealousy of the De Lunas gave to this party the support of the rival house of Urrea. They succeeded in procuring the appointment of a joint commission of nine members,—three from the cortes of each province. After a careful examination of all the claims, the commissioners decided, on what principle it is difficult to determine, in favour of the infant Ferdinand, who was then acting as regent of Castile for his nephew John II. (1412). As far as ability and merit went, the choice was probably the best that could have been made. By mingled firmness and concession Ferdinand succeeded in restoring order and unity to the kingdom and its dependencies. A revolt headed by the disappointed count of Urgel in the next year was suppressed, and its leader was punished with the confiscation of his territories and perpetual imprisonment.

Thus the house of Trastámara succeeded in obtaining the crown of Aragon as well as that of Castile. Ferdinand I., the first king of the new dynasty, did not live long to wield the sceptre which he had so fortunately acquired. On his death in 1416 the crown passed to his son Alfonso V. (1416-1458). The new prince played little part in Aragonese history, as his attention was almost wholly absorbed in the affairs of Italy. To his inherited possessions of Sicily and Sardinia he added the kingdom of Naples after a seven years' contest with the Angevin claimant, René le Bon of Provence (1435-1442). From this time he never quitted his new kingdom, where his politic rule and his patronage of literature acquired for him the name of "The Magnanimous." During his absence the government of Aragon was entrusted to his brother John, as lieutenant-general. The arbitrary character of this prince, which is so clearly visible in his subsequent history, seems to have been foreseen by his subjects. In order to secure the justiciar from undue influence on the part of the crown, a law was made in 1442 that the office should be held for life, and that its occupant could only be dismissed by the king with the express approval of the cortes. In 1461 this provision was followed up by another law which directed that all complaints against the justiciar should be heard before a commission regularly chosen from the four estates.

The history of John, both as regent for his brother and later as king in his own right, centres round the family quarrels which finally led to a formidable rebellion against him. His first wife was Blanche, widow of Martin of Sicily and heiress of Navarre. This little kingdom, which comprised territory on both sides of the Pyrenees, had been more closely connected with France than with Spain since its separation from Aragon on the death of Alfonso I. (1134). In the 13th century it was united to the French crown by the marriage of Jeanne of Navarre with

the French king, Philip IV., but it again became independent on the death of Louis X. in 1315. His daughter Jeanne was the undoubted heiress of Navarre, and, though she was kept out of her rights by her uncles, Philip V. and Charles IV., she was allowed to succeed after their death. In 1329 she was crowned at Pamplona with her husband, Philip of Evreux. Her son, Charles the Bad (1349-1387), obtained an unenviable notoriety for the part which he played in French history during the troublous period of the English wars. His son, Charles III. (1387-1425), was a peace-loving prince, who devoted more attention to art and literature than to politics. The marriage of his daughter Blanche with John of Aragon brought the mountain-kingdom once more into close connexion with the western peninsula. By her marriage contract, Navarre was to pass on her death to her children and not to her husband, but a later agreement enjoined her son, before assuming the sovereignty, to obtain "the goodwill and approbation of his father." When Blanche died in 1442, John seems to have considered that this later stipulation justified him in retaining the title of king of Navarre, though he entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his son, Charles of Viana. For some time no difficulty was made about this arrangement. But in 1447 John married a second wife, Joanna Henriquez, a descendant of the royal family of Castile, and a few years later he sent Joanna to share the government of Navarre with his son. This appointment, coupled with the arrogant conduct of his stepmother, was regarded as an insult by Charles of Viana, who was not slow to remember that by right he was entitled to the crown. The old parties of Navarre, the Beaumonts and Agramonts, seized the opportunity to renew their feuds,—the former espousing the cause of the prince, the latter that of the queen. Before long the dispute developed into civil war, and John marched into Navarre to assist his wife, who was besieged in Estella by her stepson. At Aybar the hostile forces met in open conflict, but the superior discipline of the royal troops gave them a complete victory, and Charles fell a prisoner into his father's hands (1452). The prince was released after a short imprisonment, but the reconciliation was only a hollow one. The birth of a son to Joanna Henriquez (1452), afterwards famous as Ferdinand the Catholic, was a serious blow to the interests of the elder son. The queen scarcely concealed her desire to secure the succession to her own child, and her influence over her husband was unbounded. Charles found that his defeat had given the supremacy in Navarre to the hostile party, and after a vain attempt to recover his power he went to Naples to appeal to his uncle Alfonso V. But his hopes in this quarter were destroyed by Alfonso's death in 1458. Of his possessions, Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia passed to his brother John II., while Naples, as a private acquisition of his own, was bequeathed to his natural son Ferdinand. The Neapolitan barons, dreading the gloomy and tyrannical character of their new ruler, offered to support Charles of Viana as a candidate for the throne, but he refused to oppose his cousin, and retired to Sicily, where he spent the next two years in seclusion. In 1460 he was induced to return by the solicitations of his father, who seems to have been disquieted by the popularity which the prince had obtained among the Sicilians. The intrigues of Joanna were not long in exciting the old mistrust between father and son, and her hostility towards Charles, was increased by his attempts to obtain the hand of Isabella of Castile, whom she had already fixed upon as a suitable bride for her own son Ferdinand. In 1461 Charles was induced to meet his father at Lerida, and was at once imprisoned. When asked about the cause of this arbitrary proceeding, John

only replied with obscure hints at a conspiracy. But his subjects were not prepared to acquiesce in this unnatural treatment of a prince whom they had learned to love and whom they regarded as their future ruler. The Catalans, always easily moved, rose in arms and marched upon Lerida, and it was only by a hasty retreat that John was able to escape with his court to Saragossa. But the revolt speedily spread from Catalonia to the other provinces, and even to Sicily and Sardinia, while it found supporters in the king of Castile and in the faction of the Beaumonts in Navarre. Surrounded by enemies, John II. found it necessary to yield. He not only released his son, professing that he did so at his wife's request, but appointed him lieutenant-general of Catalonia and promised not to enter that province without the permission of the cortes. But no sooner had Charles of Viana regained his liberty than he died, on September 23, 1461; and the circumstances led ready credence to be given to the suspicion that he had been poisoned during his captivity.

The crown of Navarre now devolved by right upon Charles's elder sister Blanche, who had been married to and afterwards repudiated by Henry IV. of Castile. But she had incurred her father's enmity by the support which she had given to her brother; and John II. was not unwilling to curry favour with France by securing Navarre to his second daughter Eleanor of Foix, whose son Gaston had married a sister of Louis XI. The unfortunate Blanche was committed to the guardianship of her younger sister, and after two years of imprisonment in the castle of Orthez she died of poison. But Eleanor reaped little advantage from the crime which all historians impute to her. Her father retained the crown of Navarre till his death, and she only survived him a few weeks. She was succeeded by her grandson Francis Phoebus, but he only lived for four years, and his sister and heiress Catherine brought the crown of Navarre by her marriage to the French house of D'Albret, from which it was wrested by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1512. This third union with Aragon proved permanent, although the district north of the Pyrenees was subsequently annexed to France.

Meanwhile the troubles of John II. were by no means removed by his son's death. In Aragon the young Ferdinand was acknowledged as heir, and was then sent with his mother to Catalonia to receive the oath of allegiance from that province. But the Catalans rose again in rebellion, and besieged Joanna and her son in the fortress of Gerona. As John II. was unable to advance through the revolted province to his wife's relief, he purchased the assistance of Louis XI. by a promise of 200,000 gold crowns, as security for which he pledged the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne (1462). The Catalans replied to this alliance by throwing off their allegiance to John and proclaiming a republic. As, however, Gerona was relieved by the French, and the royal troops succeeded in reducing several of the chief towns, they determined to appeal for foreign aid. The crown was offered first to Henry IV. of Castile and then to the constable of Portugal, who was descended from the old counts of Barcelona. On the death of the latter in 1466 the rebels turned to the traditional rivals of the house of Aragon, and offered the crown to René le Bon, the head of the Angevin house. René, whose life had been spent in putting forward claims which he had never been able to enforce, accepted the offer and sent his chivalrous son John of Calabria to assist the Catalans (1467). John II.'s fortunes were now at their nadir. He had lost his eyesight, and the death of his wife in 1468 deprived him of the companion and adviser who had for years directed and inspired his policy. John of Calabria, whose enterprise was secretly encouraged by the treacherous king of France, was steadily regaining

much of the ground which had been lost by the Catalans before his arrival. But the old king, whose sight was restored by a surgical operation, fought on with a dogged obstinacy worthy of a better cause. The death of the duke of Calabria in 1469 deprived his opponents of their leader, and from this moment their ultimate defeat was inevitable. The fall of Barcelona (1472) completed the reduction of Catalonia. But John did not venture to abuse the victory which he had so hardly won. He granted a general amnesty, and took a solemn oath to respect the constitution and liberties of the conquered province. The only notable event of the remaining years of John II.'s reign was an attempt to recover Roussillon and Cerdagne. But Louis XI. kept a firm hold by arms upon the provinces which his diplomacy had won, and they were only restored to Aragon in 1493 when Charles VIII. ceded them to Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1479 the death of John II., at the ripe age of eighty-two, transferred the crown to his son Ferdinand, who ten years before had concluded his marriage with Isabella of Castile.

Literature.—Lafuente, *Historia General de España*; Ortiz, *Compendio General de la Historia de España*; Mariana, *Historia General de España*; Lembke, Schäfer, and Schirmacher, *Geschichte von Spanien* (down to 1295); Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (to 1110); Desormeaux, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne*. For the constitutional history the chief books of reference are—for Castile, Marina, *Teoría de las Cortes*, and Sempère, *Histoire des Cortes d'Espagne*, and for Aragon, Blancas, *Comentarii Rerum Aragonensium*; but a fair summary of their conclusions may be found in chapter iv. of Hallam's *Middle Ages* and in the introduction to Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*. The history of the Castilian cortes has been recently elucidated by Don Manuel Colmeiro in his *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Leon y de Castilla* (Madrid, 1883). The chief mediæval chroniclers may be found, though not well edited, in Florez, *España Sagrada*, and Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*. (R. L.)

SECTION IV.—MODERN HISTORY.

The history of Spain as a united state dates from the union of Castile and Aragon by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand. The marriage took place in 1469, before the accession of either sovereign. In 1474 the crown of Castile was claimed by Isabella on the death of her brother Henry IV., whose daughter Joanna was universally believed to be illegitimate. It was contended by the partisans of Ferdinand that female succession was prohibited in Castile, and that he was entitled to the crown as the nearest male heir after his father. Ultimately the question was settled in Isabella's favour, and she obtained the most important rights of sovereignty, though the government was carried on in their joint names. It is possible that Ferdinand would have refused to accept this arrangement, if concerted action had not been necessary to oppose the party which espoused the cause of Joanna. A number of the Castilian nobles, headed by the marquis of Villena, dreaded the danger to the privileges of their order that might arise from the establishment of a strong government. They found an ally in Alfonso V. of Portugal, who was Joanna's uncle by the mother's side, and who cherished the design of obtaining the Castilian throne by a marriage with his niece. In 1476 the confederates were routed in the battle of Toro, and Alfonso departed to France with the chimerical plan of seeking assistance from Louis XI. The treaty of St. Jean de Luz between France and Castile in 1478 ruined these hopes, and in the next year Alfonso was compelled, by the treaty of Lisbon, to abandon the cause of his niece. This terminated the war of succession in Castile; and Joanna, known from her reputed father as La Beltranche, retired into a convent. A few months before the treaty of Lisbon the death of John II. (January 20, 1479) gave to Ferdinand the succession to Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia. Navarre, which had been brought

to John II. by his first wife, passed to his daughter by that marriage, Eleanor, countess of Foix. Two provinces of the Aragonese crown, Roussillon and Cerdagne, had been pledged by John to Louis XI. of France, and were still retained by that monarch. The union of Castile and Aragon effected in 1479 was merely a personal union. Each province retained its own institutions and its own laws, and each would have resented the idea of absorption in the other.

The first care of the two sovereigns was to reform the system of government, especially in Castile, where the recent civil wars had given rise to serious disorders. One of their chief objects was to depress the nobles, whose privileges, acquired during the long struggle against the Moors, were inconsistent with a strong centralized government. In accordance with true policy and with the spirit of the age Ferdinand and Isabella sought to counterbalance the nobles by relying upon the burgher class. The *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, which was organized in 1476, was a popular confederation of the whole kingdom for police and judicial purposes. Its affairs were managed by local courts,—from which appeals could be made to a supreme tribunal,—and by a general junta composed of deputies from all cities, which was convened once a year. A body of 2000 cavalry was at the disposal of the association, and a special code of laws for its guidance was compiled in 1485. The institution was completely successful in maintaining order and in diminishing the independence of the local jurisdiction of the great nobles. About the same time the lavish grants from the royal domain, which had enriched the nobles at the expense of the crown, were revoked, the central judicial courts were made more efficient by the introduction of trained lawyers, and steps were taken to codify the numerous laws that had been made since the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X. The grandmasterships of the great orders of St Iago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, which conferred powers too great to be entrusted to a subject, were on successive vacancies secured to the crown. Trade was encouraged by protective measures, by the breaking down of the barriers between Castile and Aragon, by a strict reform of the currency, and by the commutation for a fixed impost of the detested *alcavala*, a tax of one-tenth upon all sales and transfers of property.

The increased prosperity of the country is well illustrated by the steady rise of the revenue. "In 1474, the year of Isabella's accession, the ordinary rents of the Castilian crown amounted to 885,000 reals; in 1477 to 2,390,078; in 1482, after the resumption of the royal grants, to 12,711,591; and finally, in 1504, when the acquisition of Granada and the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom had encouraged the free expansion of all its resources, to 26,283,334, or thirty times the amount received at her accession. All this was derived from the customary established taxes, without the imposition of a single new one" (Prescott, ii. 575). No attack was made upon the liberties of the subjects; the cortes of Castile were frequently convened; the same towns were called upon to send deputies; and the only innovation was the frequent neglect to summon the nobles. The numerous *pragmaticas*, or royal ordinances, were mostly limited to administrative matters or to the interpretation of the law. The credit for the domestic administration rests mainly with Isabella. Ferdinand busied himself more with military and diplomatic affairs, and comparatively few innovations were made in Aragon. The *Hermandad* was introduced, and in some other points the example of Castile was followed. But the advanced constitutional liberties of Aragon were uncongenial to Ferdinand. He summoned the cortes as rarely as possible; and when that assembly

met he spared no pains to influence its composition and its decisions. The centralizing tendencies of the reign were carried still further in both provinces in the later period when Ximenes, who became archbishop of Toledo in 1495, exercised the chief influence. Five councils were entrusted with the administration of affairs:—the "royal council," the chief court of justice; the "council of the supreme" for ecclesiastical business; the "council of the orders" for the great military fraternities; the "council of Aragon" for the management of that kingdom and of Naples; and the "council of the Indies" for the great discoveries of Columbus and his companions.

The political unity of Spain was to be based upon its religious unity. Both Ferdinand and Isabella were imbued with that stern spirit of orthodoxy with which the Spaniards were inspired by their long crusade against the infidel. No institution of their reign was so important as the Inquisition, which was authorized by a bull of Sixtus IV. in 1478, and constituted for the two kingdoms in 1483 under the presidency of Torquemada. Its extension to Aragon was bitterly protested against by the liberty-loving people, but was forced upon them by the iron will of Ferdinand. The activity of the Holy Office was at first directed against the Jews, whose obstinate adherence to their faith in spite of persecution was punished by an edict for their expulsion in 1492. Their departure deprived Spain of many industrious inhabitants; but its importance has been much exaggerated by authors who have failed to notice that it was followed, not by the decline of Spain, but by the period of its greatest prosperity. In spite of their orthodoxy, however, Ferdinand and Isabella were by no means slavish adherents of the papacy. The claim of the popes to appoint to important benefices was strenuously resisted, and the chief control of ecclesiastical affairs was successfully vindicated for the crown.

The steady extension of the royal power in Spain was due in no small degree, as Machiavelli has pointed out, to the constant succession of enterprises in which the attention of the nobles was absorbed. These enterprises may be summarized under three heads:—(1) the union of the Peninsula; (2) the extension of colonial empire; and (3) the acquisition of foreign territories.

(1) Under the first head the most important achievement was the final extinction of the Moorish power in Spain. The war which began in 1481 was carried on in a desultory manner for ten years, and was completed in 1492 by the conquest of Granada. The Moors, who had fought with the courage of despair, received very lenient terms from their conquerors. They were secured in the free exercise of their religion, and were allowed to retain their own laws, customs, and language. In some points, such as the trade with Africa, they obtained privileges which were not even shared by the Castilians. But the spirit of proselytism was too strong in Spain to allow this treaty to be observed. The measures taken by Ximenes to bring about the conversion of the Moors provoked a revolt in 1500, which was put down with great severity. They were compelled to choose between conversion or banishment, and, although most of them accepted the former alternative, the *Moriscoes*, as they were now called, found themselves henceforward in the hopeless position of a proscribed and hated minority. In 1493 Ferdinand extorted from the fears and hopes of Charles VIII. of France the restoration of Roussillon and Cerdagne by the treaty of Barcelona. In 1512, after Isabella's death, he annexed Navarre. The whole Peninsula was now united, with the exception of Portugal, and steps had been taken for the acquisition of that kingdom by marriage. Isabella, Ferdinand's eldest daughter, was married to Alfonso, the son and heir of

Union of
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insula.

John II. of Portugal. After the death of that prince his widow married Emanuel, who succeeded to the Portuguese crown in 1495. Isabella herself died in giving birth to a son, but the connexion was still maintained by the marriage of Emanuel to her younger sister Mary. The fruits of this persistent policy were not reaped, however, till the reign of Philip II.

(2) Maritime discovery was the task of the age, a task forced upon it by the Turkish occupation of the Levant, which had closed the old commercial routes to the East. The foremost pioneers in the work were the Portuguese and Spaniards, whose efforts brought them into rivalry with each other. The treaty of Lisbon in 1479 secured the western coast of Africa to Portugal, but enabled Spain to complete the annexation of the Canaries. The Spaniards now turned further westwards, and a wholly new problem was created by Columbus's discovery of the West Indies in 1492. His voyage had been undertaken under the patronage of Isabella, and the new territories were regarded as pertaining to Castile. To solve any difficulties that might arise, a bull was obtained from Alexander VI. in 1493, which granted to Spain all discoveries west of an imaginary line drawn 100 leagues to the west of the Azores and the Cape Verd Islands. As this arrangement excited Portuguese discontent, it was modified by a treaty at Tordesillas in 1494, which removed the boundary line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands. This modification had important results for the Portuguese, as giving them their subsequent claim to Brazil. In the meanwhile Spain redoubled its exertions. In 1498 Columbus landed on the continent of South America, and in a few years the whole western coast was explored by subsequent adventurers. In 1512 Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, and in the next year Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Darien and gazed for the first time upon the Pacific. No exertions were spared by the Government to encourage settlement in its new territories; but the regulations of colonial trade, and especially the provision that it should pass through the single port of Seville, were conceived in a narrow and selfish spirit which prevented the full development of their resources.

(3) The foreign affairs of the reign, which were almost wholly connected with Italy, were conducted by Ferdinand on behalf of Aragon, just as the extension of the colonies was directed for the benefit of Castile. Charles VIII.'s invasion of Naples, which was ruled by an illegitimate branch of the house of Aragon, was undertaken in the full belief that the support or at least the neutrality of Spain was secured by the treaty of Barcelona. But Ferdinand, jealous of the rapid success of the French, seized the first pretext to disregard the treaty, and became a member of the league which was formed at Venice in 1495 against Charles. His troops, under the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, took a prominent part in restoring Ferdinand II. to the Neapolitan throne. With the accession of Louis XII. came a great change in Ferdinand's policy, and he determined to advance the claim to Naples which he himself possessed as the legitimate head of the Aragonese house. By the treaty of Granada in 1500 Naples was to be divided between France and Spain, and the reigning king Frederick could make no resistance to such overwhelming forces. But a quarrel naturally arose about the terms of the partition, and by 1504 Gonsalvo de Cordova succeeded in expelling the French from Naples, which was henceforth annexed to the crown of Aragon.

In 1504 the unity of Spain was interrupted for a time by the death of Isabella. The successive deaths of the infant John (1497), of Isabella of Portugal (1498), and of her infant son Miguel (1500) had left the succession in Castile to the second daughter, Joanna; she was

married to the archduke Philip, son of Maximilian I., and ruler, through his mother Mary of Burgundy, of the Netherlands and France-Comté. Unfortunately Joanna, who was the mother of two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, had already given signs of that insanity which was to cloud the whole of her subsequent career. Philip, who had visited Spain in 1502, had then excited the distrust of his wife's parents, and Isabella by her will left the regency in Castile to her husband until the majority of their grandson Charles. But Ferdinand, in spite of his brilliant successes, was not popular among the Castilian nobles, who seized the opportunity to support the more natural claims of Philip to govern on behalf of his wife. Ferdinand showed his disgust by actions which threatened to undo all the previous objects of his policy. He concluded a treaty with Louis XII. in 1505, by which he undertook to marry the French king's niece, Germaine de Foix. To her Louis resigned his claims upon Naples, but in case of her death without issue his share in the kingdom by the treaty of Granada was to revert to France. Thus Ferdinand was willing to gratify his spite and to perpetuate the division between Aragon and Castile, under the penalty of forfeiting his recent conquests in Italy. His second marriage was concluded in March 1506, and two months later he resigned the regency in Castile to Philip, and soon afterwards sailed to Naples.

But the division of the Peninsula was not destined to last long. On September 25 Philip died at the age of twenty-eight, and the devotion of Ximenes secured the restoration of the regency to Ferdinand. Joanna, who had been devotedly attached to her husband, lost all semblance of reason after his death, and made no attempt to exercise any influence over the conduct of affairs. The remaining part of Ferdinand's reign is uneventful in the history of Spain. The government was carried on on the same system, but with more avowed absolutism, as during the lifetime of Isabella. Ximenes, whose energies found insufficient occupation in the compilation of his Polyglott Bible and in the foundation of the university of Alcalá de Henares, fitted out and headed an expedition to Oran in 1509, which resulted in extensive but short-lived conquests in northern Africa. Ferdinand threw himself with more energy than ever into the current of European politics. By joining the league of Cambray he wrested from Venice five important towns in Apulia which had been pawned to the republic by Ferdinand II. As a member of the Holy League against France he succeeded in conquering Navarre in 1512. Navarre had passed to the French family of Albret by the marriage of Catharine de Foix with Jean d'Albret, and it was the close connexion with France which gave Ferdinand a pretext for its invasion. In 1515 his new conquest was formally incorporated with the kingdom of Castile. This was Ferdinand's last success; and he died on January 23, 1516. His will recognized Joanna as his heiress in Aragon, and his grandson Charles as the regent in both kingdoms. Until his arrival, the administration of Castile was entrusted to Cardinal Ximenes and that of Aragon to his own natural son, the archbishop of Saragossa.

With the death of Ferdinand begins the period of uninterrupted Hapsburg rule in Spain, which lasted for nearly two centuries. In the course of this period the monarchy obtained absolute authority, and Spain, after rising for a time to be the foremost state in Europe, sank to the position of a second-rate power, from which it has never since emerged. At first the condition of affairs was by no means promising for the crown. The unity of Spain, which had advanced with such rapid strides after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had been seriously shaken by the selfish policy pursued by the king since his

wife's death. Aragon and Castile were distinct kingdoms, and the former was again divided into the three provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, each of which had its own cortes, its own privileges, and the most warmly-cherished traditions of independence. Classes were everywhere divided against each other, and within each class jealousies and quarrels were frequent. The foreign possessions of the two crowns were a source of weakness rather than of strength. France stood ready at the earliest opportunity to contest the possession of Navarre with Castile, and that of Naples with Aragon.

The difficulties of domestic government were increased by the fact that the prospective ruler was a youthful foreigner, who had never visited Spain, and who was completely ignorant of the customs and even of the language of the country. Charles had been born and educated in the Netherlands, of which he had been nominal ruler ever since the death of his father in 1506. All his friends and advisers were Flemings, who cared nothing for Spanish interests and had already acquired an evil reputation for selfish greed. The first symptom of discontent in Spain was excited by Charles's demand to be recognized as king, in utter disregard of his unfortunate mother. In Aragon the demand was unhesitatingly refused, but in Castile the vigorous measures of Ximenes secured Charles's proclamation. The regent, however, had great difficulties to face. The nobles, delighted to be rid of the strong government of Ferdinand, wished to utilize the opportunity to regain the privileges and independence they had lost. In this crisis the loyal devotion of Ximenes saved the monarchy. Throwing himself upon the support of the citizen class, he organized a militia which overawed the nobles and maintained order. A French invasion of Navarre was repulsed, and to avoid any danger from the discontent of the inhabitants all the fortresses of the province, with the single exception of Pamplona, were dismantled. These distinguished services were rewarded with more than royal ingratitude by Charles, who came to Spain in 1517, and who allowed the aged cardinal to die on November 8 without even granting him an interview.

The young king soon felt the loss of so able and experienced an adviser. His Flemish ministers, with Chièvres at their head, regarded Spain as a rich booty to be plundered at will. The Castilians, the proudest nation in Europe, found all the places of honour and profit seized by greedy foreigners. The cortes had shown their loyalty by acknowledging Charles as joint-king with his mother and by granting him an unprecedented service of 600,000 ducats. But they had accompanied their grants with eighty-eight significant demands, which the young king accepted but made no pretence of fulfilling. In Aragon and Catalonia more difficulty was experienced. Nearly two years were wasted in obtaining the recognition of the royal title, and no supplies were forthcoming. Valencia was not visited at all, and the attempt to induce the people to do homage to a viceroy was a failure. A civil war broke out in the province between the privileged nobles and a *germandada*, or brotherhood, of the burgher class. The Government exasperated parties by supporting each in turn, but ultimately threw in its lot with the nobles.

Meanwhile the death of Maximilian had given Charles the succession to the considerable Hapsburg territories in Germany, and in 1519 the German electors had chosen him to be king of the Romans. He was now the first prince in Europe; and it was necessary for him to leave Spain to look after his interests in Germany and to cement there alliances which he needed against the inevitable hostility of France. But his elevation by no means increased his popularity in Castile. The Castilians had

already plenty of grounds for complaint in the rapacity of the Flemings and in Charles's failure to perform his promises to the cortes. But these were as nothing compared with the prospect that Castile might no longer be the primary state of their king, and that their revenues might be employed in the attainment of objects in which they had not the slightest interest. While opinions were thus excited, Charles, who had been reduced to great straits by his military preparations and his promises to the German electors, summoned the cortes to meet at Santiago (Compostella) in Galicia, and thence transferred them to Coruña in order to embark as soon as he had obtained the supplies he needed. The place of meeting was carefully chosen so as to isolate the assembly and to expose it to royal influence or intimidation. The lead of the opposition was taken by Toledo, which refused to send its two deputies, as being too favourable to the crown, but sent other representatives to remonstrate with Charles and to encourage the other cities. They were driven from Coruña, and the deputies of Salamanca were excluded from the cortes. By these and similar means the desired grant was extorted. Charles hastened to quit Spain with the first favourable wind, leaving Adrian of Utrecht as regent in Castile, and two native nobles in Aragon and Catalonia. His departure was really necessary for his other interests; but it must have seemed reckless to the Spaniards at a time when Valencia was in the flames of civil war and Castile was on the verge of rebellion. Before starting he had ordered the removal of the magistrates of Toledo, and had sent a new governor to reduce the city to obedience. The citizens, headed by a young noble, Juan de Padilla, resisted this order and raised the standard of insurrection. Other cities hastened to join the movement, and a central committee, known as the "Holy Junta," established itself at Avila. The unfortunate regent, a churchman of distinguished piety and gentle character, found himself face to face with difficulties that would have taxed all the resources of Ximenes. His attempt to reduce Segovia by arms was a lamentable failure, and he had to confess his utter defeat by disbanding his forces. The nobles, alienated by the appointment of a foreigner to the regency, made no attempt to check a movement against a Government they detested. The insurgents had matters their own way, and Padilla, advancing to Tordesillas, made himself master of the person of Joanna, in whose name it was intended to conduct the government. But this move was less advantageous than it at first appeared. Joanna refused to transact any business or to sign any document, and this public proof of her incapacity served to justify Charles's contention that he was the only possible ruler. The Castilians were not prepared to get rid of the monarchy, so that it was necessary for the rebels to consider the possibility of coming to terms with Charles. The "Holy Junta," which had moved from Avila to Tordesillas, drew up a series of demands, which, if acceded to, would have established a constitutional monarchy in Spain. But their envoys to Germany found it impossible even to secure an audience from the king, and meanwhile the failure of the insurrection was decided. The very ease with which the rebels had triumphed proved an evil, because it encouraged internal dissensions which opposition might have healed. Especially Burgos showed its jealousy of the leading position which had been assumed by Toledo. Class differences, the bane of every country in the Middle Ages, supplied the final stumbling-block. Many of the demands of the communes were diametrically opposed to the interests of the nobles, whose eyes were at last opened to the danger of their attitude of neutrality. Their chief grievance had been removed by Charles's appointment of

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the admiral and constable of Castile as joint-regents with Adrian. An army was raised, and on the field of Villalar the forces of the communes were utterly defeated (April 23, 1522). Padilla, who had shown more enthusiasm than ability, was executed, and one city after another was reduced to submission. A portion of the victorious army was sent to the assistance of the nobles in Valencia, where the *germandada* was at last crushed. The return of Charles to Spain in June 1522 completed the triumph of the monarchy. In 1523 he convened the Castilian cortes, and compelled them to grant supplies before presenting their petitions for redress, thus establishing a precedent which was conclusive for the future.

Charles's reign belongs to the history of Europe rather than to that of Spain, and has been sufficiently treated elsewhere (see CHARLES V.). His enormous inheritance was increased by the successes of Cortes in Mexico and of Pizarro in Peru, by his own annexation of the Milanese, and by his conquests in northern Africa. In the government of this vast empire Spain played an important but on the whole a subordinate part. Its soldiers and its subsidies were Charles's most effective weapons, and to render them more readily available it was necessary to depress still further the liberties of the country. The independence of the towns had been crushed at Villalar, but only by the intervention of the nobles; and these had now to pay the penalty of their selfish loyalty. In 1538, after Charles had for a time concluded his struggle with France by the truce of Nice, he proposed to raise supplies in Castile by an excise upon commodities. The nobles objected on the ground of their exemption from taxation, and the emperor had to give way. But he took his revenge by excluding them altogether from the cortes, which henceforth consisted only of thirty-six deputies from eighteen towns, a body that was powerless to oppose the wishes of the crown.

The vast enterprises in which Charles was involved exhausted his energies, and the failure of his policy in Germany reduced him to despair. In 1555-56 he resigned all his dignities, and ended his life in 1558 in retirement at Yuste. From this time the house of Hapsburg is divided into the two branches of Spain and Austria. Charles's brother Ferdinand became king of the Romans and obtained the German territories of the family, to which he had added the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. Philip II, Charles's only legitimate son, succeeded to the Spanish and Burgundian inheritance, with the addition of Milan. Philip II., like his father, played a great part in European history (see PHILIP II.), but with this important difference that Castile was definitely the central point of his monarchy, and that his policy was absolutely directed by Spanish interests. In character and education he was a Spaniard of the Spaniards, and after 1559 he never quitted Spain. He gave the country a capital, which it had never yet possessed, by fixing his residence at Madrid. Castile, under the direct supervision of the king, was subjected to the most crushing despotism. Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia were governed as mere provinces, in the same manner as Milan, Naples, and Sicily. The continuance of the old divisions of the country, while it lessened its strength, was an immense advantage to the royal power. It was easy for the king to employ the forces of one province to crush the liberties of the others. And Philip possessed a formidable weapon in the Inquisition, which he did not scruple to use for secular purposes. Political independence was crushed with the same relentless severity as religious dissent. Hitherto Aragon had preserved its mediæval privileges almost intact. The king was not entitled to the allegiance of the province until he had solemnly sworn to observe its "fueros." For the decisions of the cortes unanimity was required, so

that each deputy had a practical right of veto. The authority of the justiciar rivalled that of the crown. It was natural that Philip should seize the first opportunity of attacking institutions which could thwart his will. In 1590 Antonio Perez (see PEREZ), a minister who had incurred the king's displeasure, fled to Aragon and appealed to its fueros for protection. Philip had him brought before the Inquisition, and when the people rose in defence of their liberties they were crushed by troops from Castile. The justiciar was put to death, and his successors became nominees of the crown. The cortes were assembled in 1591 at Tarragona, and compelled to abolish the most obnoxious fueros. Their control over the judicial administration was abrogated, and the necessity of unanimity was only retained in certain specified cases, notably the granting of supplies. To avoid any danger from the few privileges that were left, a citadel was built in Saragossa for the reception of a royal garrison. The creation of a regular standing army completed the edifice of absolutism, while the militia which had been established by Ximenes was retained and extended for the suppression of local disorders.

Philip's internal administration was everywhere successful in obtaining the objects which he set before himself. A rising of the Moors in the Alpujarras was crushed by the military ability of his famous half-brother, Don John of Austria. In 1580 a claim to the crown of Portugal, which Philip derived from his mother, was successfully asserted. Thus the unit, the Peninsula was at last completed, while the colonial territories of Spain were immensely extended. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to conciliate the Portuguese to their new ruler. The kingdom was treated as a conquered province; all who had resisted the Spanish invasion were punished as traitors; the native nobles were excluded from all share in the government, which was entrusted solely to Spaniards; the commerce of the country was ruined by provisions which conferred a practical monopoly upon Spain. The result of this short-sighted policy was that the Portuguese stifled their discontent, and eagerly awaited the first opening for the recovery of their independence.

Outside Spain Philip's policy proved a complete failure. His religious intolerance excited the revolt of the Netherlands, which ended in the loss of the seven northern provinces. His grand schemes against England were utterly ruined by the destruction of the Spanish Armada. And, finally, his endeavour to establish a preponderant Spanish influence over France was foiled by the accession and triumph of Henry IV. The treaty of Vervins, by which he acknowledged his humiliating defeat, was almost the last act of Philip II.'s reign, which ended with his death on September 13, 1598.

Philip II. left to his son and successor, Philip III., an empire which was nominally undiminished, as the independence of the United Provinces had never been recognized, and the war for their reduction was still going on. But the unwieldy mass was suffering from internal exhaustion. The resources of Spain and the New World had been squandered in the prosecution of schemes of ambition which had ended in failure. The attention of the people had been distracted from peaceful industry to the unprofitable occupation of war. The soldiery of Spain, once reckoned invincible, had lost their prestige in the marshes of Holland. The enormous taxes, from which nobles and clergy were exempted, fell with ruinous severity upon the productive classes. Castile had suffered most, because it was most completely subject. The provinces which retained their liberties longest were more prosperous, even though they had no share in the riches that were poured into Castile from the western colonies. But they,