

INQUISITION HOUSE OF GRENADA.



Pub<sup>d</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> March 1810 by J. J. Stockdale at Pall Mall.

Wells & Co. del.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
INQUISITIONS;

INCLUDING  
THE SECRET TRANSACTIONS

OF THOSE  
*Horrible Tribunals.*

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LONDON:

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1810.



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TO  
FREDERICK TRIESE MORSHEAD, ESQ.

*Of Hascomb-Place, Surrey.*

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SIR ;

THE History which is the subject of the following pages has been written within a very short space of time, and has not been completed without great industry and exertion.

I hope that, not only the interest of the work, but also the mechanical execution of it, whereon I have spared no expence which I thought necessary, will have some claim to your approbation.

Independently of motives which I refrain from stating here, lest they should subject me to the imputation, equally unworthy and groundless, of flattery, I have been influenced in this address by another, arising from an impulse of the heart, which has, in all ages, obtained the highest veneration, I mean that of gratitude.

To you, Sir, therefore, with the most lively sense of the kindnesses I have received from you, I dedicate this History, and

Have the honour to be,

Your most sincerely grateful servant,

JOHN JOSEPH STOCKDALE.

*London,*  
*April 12, 1810.*



## THE ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE important question, whether the claims of the Roman Catholics to equal political rights with Protestants, should or should not be conceded by the Protestant Government of the Protestant United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having again been forced upon the parliament, directed the attention of the Editor of this work to various publications connected with the ecclesiastical history of Rome: and as the Inquisitorial Tribunal forms so tremendous a feature of that history, it of course attracted much of his consideration.

About this time he received the "*Histoire des Inquisitions Religieuses, par Joseph Lavallée,*" and immediately commenced the translation of it; conceiving that, particularly at the present moment, it could not fail to be acceptable to the public. In the progress of this labour, however, he found it advisable to dismiss the idea of a mere translation, and he formed, instead of it, upon the superstructure of the French author, a compilation which may in fact be considered a new work, wherein is considered all the authentic information of former writers relative to the origin, rise and downfall of the most tremendous and execrable tribunal that ever cursed ill-fated nations.

The compilation has been made indeed with rapidity, but he hopes and believes it will also be found to have been made with accuracy and impartiality, and to combine amusement with information. Independently of the favor of some few communications from gentlemen well acquainted with the countries in which the Inquisition existed, the Editor has had recourse to the following books amongst many others: History of the Inquisition,

by Philip a Limborch, translated by Samuel Chandler, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1731 ; History of the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, and the Indies, compiled and translated by the Rev. James Baker, 4to. London, 1734 ; Histoire des Inquisitions Religieuses, par Joseph Lavallée, 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1809 ; The Sufferings of John Coustos, to which is annexed a History of the Inquisition, with its Establishment in various Countries, London, 1746 ; Lithgow's Travels, London, 1682 ; Memoirs of the Portuguese Inquisition, 8vo. London, 1761 ; Relation succincte et veritable de l'Inquisition et de les Procedures en Italie, par Hierome Barthelemi Piazza, à Londres, 1722 ; The Holy Inquisition, London, 1681 ; Clamor Sanguinis Martyrum, London, 1656 ; Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa, à Leyde, 1687 ; Le Miroir de la Tyrannie Espagnole perpetrée au Pays Bas, par Las Casas, Amsterdam, 1620 ; De la Borde, vue de l'Espagne, 5 tom. et Atlas, Paris, 1809 ; Comber's Parisian Massacre, London, 1810 ; Travels of the Duc de Chatelet in Portugal, 2 vols. London, 1809 ; Gavin's Master-Key to Popery, 2 vols. ; St. Gervais Voyage en Espagne, 2 tom. Paris, 1809 ; \* Dr. Clarke's Memoirs of the Kingly and Papal Supremacy, 1 vol. London, 1809 ; \* Michael Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, 7 vols. London ; \* Dr. Duigenan's Nature and Extent of the Demands of the Roman Catholics, fully explained, 1 vol. London, 1810 ; Bourgoing Tableau de l'Espagne Modern, 3 tom. et Atlas, Paris, 1807 ; Semple's Two Journeys into Spain, 3 vols. London ; Voyages de Tavernier, 3 tom. ; Aventures de Pignata, Cologne, 1725 ; THE BIBLE.

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Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the inferences drawn from the facts related in the works marked thus \*, no difference can, it is presumed, exist, as to the importance of the facts themselves.



## THE PREFACE.



**THE** very great and very extraordinary changes which the events of a few years have produced in the condition of a considerable portion of Europe, and the important and permanent effects with which a revolution so extensive and so unexpected is likely to be attended, cannot fail to excite, in a high degree, the attention of every philosophical observer of mankind.

The tremendous example of the weakness of institutions which appeared to have been consecrated by the approbation of ages, the utter overthrow of powers, once so firmly founded, and so formidably exerted, the rapid change of opinions which seemed to have become, in a manner, the settled and unchangable sentiments of a large portion of mankind, are facts, which unavoidably lead the inquisitive mind to a more narrow research into their origin, and into a more accurate investigation of the events from which they arose, and the maxims and principles upon which they were founded.

The improvement in the progress of the human mind, and of the condition of society, within the course of the last three centuries, has been so very conspicuous ; the advances which several of the states of Europe have made in extricating themselves from the unnatural and oppressive thralldom of the feudal system, or at least of mitigating its severity ; the diffusion of light and extension of philosophy, by the invention of printing ; the astonishing amelioration of the conduct and morals, as well as of the sentiments and principles of men, by the consequences of the Reformation, even in those countries which refused to separate from the Roman Church ; the gradual disappearance of slavery, and the relaxation of the stern spirit of despotism itself ; the infinite benefit which the cause of humanity has derived, even amid the horrors of war, from the invention of gunpowder ; the new spirit diffused

through the minds of the people of Europe, by the discovery of the compass, and the exploring of a new world both in the east and west ; all these are events of so important a nature, as to afford to the friend of man the most brilliant and flattering hopes of still further and more wonderful improvements in the condition of the human species.

When the human mind finds itself thus disenthralled from the shackles which had so long fettered its inquiries and paralyzed its exertions ; when it beholds so great a light burst upon the darkness which had so long enveloped it, its first emotion is to look back with wonder and curiosity upon that state from which it has emerged. We are not contented to enjoy, in tranquillity, the superior blessings and advantages of so important a change, but we must contrast them with the evils which have yielded to the advances of a more happy system. It is not enough that we should exult in a revolution so propitious, but we must trace the steps by which this revolution has advanced, and search out the most remote sources from which so copious a stream of benefits and blessings have been poured forth to cheer and to improve the great field of the world. Nor is this all : familiarized, after a short time, with these blessings, unknown before ; imbued with newly-discovered principles, which now appear axiomatic ; accustomed to views which, however lately observed, seem to lie obvious to the most superficial observation ; we begin to inquire what potent causes retarded the earlier enjoyment of those blessings, what unpropitious influence checked the developement of these sacred principles, and what dark or distorting medium obstructed the clear perception of the natural views of things which now present themselves ? For this great and interesting purpose the laborious research of the antiquarian and the historian, the deep speculation of the legislator, and the penetration of the philosopher, have been largely and effectually employed. The gloomy interval of feudal ignorance, and the degrading influence of feudal policy have been laid open to the eye of inquiry. The gradual corruptions of the pure religion of Jesus, in ages of false philosophy, of dark barbarity, and of refining



subtlety ; the regular and natural usurpations, in circumstances so peculiarly favourable, of the pontifical power ; the bold and enterprising schemes of pontifical policy have been traced, investigated and explained. The shades of ignorance have been penetrated, the obscure forms of objects, in that long and dismal eclipse, which so long shrouded Europe from the light of truth and science, have been approached and examined. The labour of industrious perseverance has compensated for the discouraging darkness in which the inquiry has been conducted, as the unwearied labour of the miner, involved in the gloomy recesses of unexplored subterraneous region, collects that unseemly mass, from which the bright and valuable metal is afterwards to be extracted.

Of all the events which have excited an influence over the advancement of society in Europe, the establishment of the Inquisition is certainly one of the most important ; and, in its utter abolition in our own days, we must hail the opening prospect of the more perfect and universal restoration of the true spirit and influence of that divine religion, which so many centuries' abuse, and so many refinements of human policy, had overwhelmed with every species of corruption.

To account for the origin of this tribunal ; to lay open the projects which gave it birth, and the principles upon which it was conducted ; to demonstrate its connection with the secular ambition and schemes of temporal aggrandizement, pursued by the Pontifical See ; to exhibit its effects upon society, religion, politics, morals, and literature, in short, upon all the concerns of human life, is what is proposed in the following history. It will be seen to have arisen, naturally, from the system of things then existing in the Christian world, and how it was sanctioned by the opinion which so early arose, and which was so frequently acted upon throughout the reigns of Constantine and his successors, that difference of religious opinion was in itself a crime, which, independently of any supposed or acknowledged influence upon the conduct of men, demanded the interference of the magistrate, and deserved the most severe punishment. We shall see the peculiar

turn which was given to the way of exercising this jurisdiction over the thoughts of men, and the advantage taken of this pernicious doctrine, to which every departure from the true spirit of Christianity has given countenance, and which was, itself, by far the greatest departure of all, in the establishment and exercise of the inquisitorial powers. We shall trace the genuine consequences of the principle, in the effects which have resulted from its exercise, convinced that, when the latter are shewn to be pernicious to the welfare of society, and destructive of moral virtue in the world, the former can never be compatible with that divine and glorious scheme for the improvement and happiness of mankind, under the awful sanction of whose name, the bold aspirings of human ambition, and the perverse decrees of human weakness, have ever strove to desolate the world.

If we compare the spirit of Christianity, uniformly inculcated in the life, the conduct, and the doctrines of our blessed Saviour, and that of his disciples, as they are exhibited in the authentic records of Holy Writ, and in the history of the early ages of the Church, with that, which has, but too often, and too generally, usurped its place, from the time that imperial pride and folly first made itself the infallible standard of truth, and, with the feeble arm of human strength, aided the cause of the Almighty, and with the erring decree of human wisdom, shackled the conscience that appeals immediately to its God, who alone can search the heart, we cannot avoid being struck with horror at the contrast.

From the period when Constantine first sanctioned persecution for religious opinion in his conduct towards the followers of Arius, and degraded religion itself into an engine of state, and a tool of secular policy, thus provoking the most dreadful retaliations, for which, in the unstable course of human events, opportunities must infallibly arise, and exasperating the refined distinctions of controversy into the watchwords of murder and of insurrection, we can easily trace the most rapid and melancholy decline in its genuine and proper effects upon the lives and conduct of men. In order, therefore, to shew the rise and progress of persecution in the Christian church, the long previous



existence and application of it, sanctioned by the projects of Innocent III. and the conduct of his Inquisitors, by way of introduction, has been given as concise a view, as the importance of the subject would allow, of its history, from the earliest periods of its birth, to the æra of the Reformation. This part of the work has been borrowed, largely, from the introduction of Mr. Chandler to his translation of Limborch's History of the Inquisition. It will shew, that the spirit of persecution, when once aroused and countenanced, was but too congenial to the gloomy and malignant passions of the human mind ; its excuse for reciprocal vengeance too plausible to be suffered to decline for want of exercise ; and it will, at the same time, demonstrate that every application of this most absurd and preposterous, as well as wicked, mode of forcing the opinions of rational beings, has eventually been attended with signal failure, essential injury to the views of the persecuting party, and infinite detriment to the general cause of religion. If this work should be, in any degree, instrumental in exhibiting the ruinous consequences of religious persecution, to the peace of society, and to the improvement and the virtue of mankind ; if I should prove successful in endeavouring to remove that bias towards the employment of similar means for similar ends, which has so strong a tendency to arise in some minds, it will render no contemptible service to the cause of humanity and of religion.

To those who live under the mild and beneficent government of this country, and even to those who are subject to the greatly-softened rigour of the despotic constitutions of Europe, the picture which I shall give of the spirit and consequences of the Inquisition, might very probably appear too highly coloured ; the detail of its proceedings might, perhaps, naturally be suspected of exaggeration. It may be objected, to me, that society could not exist under the control of an authority so tyrannical, nor could so many centuries have elapsed, of blind submission to the power of a tribunal, which trenched, in so flagrant a manner, upon the rights and interests of mankind. But, objectors of this kind should remember, that history affords us many examples of states existing long under the influence of principles, and in the

practice of customs, which appear to us utterly inconsistent with a state of political society. The bloody and atrocious rites of Canaan, Tyre, and Carthage; the horrid institution of human sacrifices; the universal custom of exposing infants, in the most civilized and refined commonwealths of antiquity, as well as in the extensive empire of China, seem, to our milder manners, to be utterly subversive of every idea of a beneficial government. The frame of society is of a more stubborn texture than most people imagine. Diseases, of the most dreadful kind, may rack the political as well as the natural body, and yet the innate principle of existence will resist the assault. Violent disorders may threaten the instant destruction, and deep-seated and undermining evils presage the gradual dissolution of each, and may exhibit the most distressing symptoms of internal misery and weakness, and of external imbecility and contempt, and yet each will continue to drag out a lengthened and protracted existence, the wonder and contempt of the beholder. Besides, the actual and formal abolition even of the greatest abuses of very ancient standing, is always accomplished with the greatest difficulty; and institutions will be rather suffered to fall into utter disuse, or to hang, as a dead weight, upon the active wheels which are employed to move the great machine of the state, than men will be prevailed on to consent to their entire removal; some imaginary dread of what seems to be an innovation, some undefined apprehension of unforeseen consequences makes even the prudent to pause, and hold forth an invincible alarm to the timid and the vulgar.

There can be no sort of doubt that the Inquisition, though still existing, a frightful monument of human wickedness and folly, and though too frequently called into action, had greatly declined, during the last century, from the influence and the rigour which it had too long exerted. Not an instance has been found, of a person put to death, at Rome, by its decrees, during that period; in Portugal, it was made, in a great degree, subservient to state policy; and in Spain, herself, it felt the influence of time, though my readers have very recent instances of the exertion of its authority in the latter country. It is thus that the persecution of Theodosius and Justinian, and

the dreadful retaliation of the Arians and Donatists, as well as the usurping violence of Pontifical ambition, will appear hardly credible to those who are accustomed only to contemplate the humane and tolerating spirit of this age, and particularly of this country. In the same manner, the almost universal sanction and practice of persecution and violence to force conscience, by the reformers, is a fact that will doubtless appear new and strange to many; but these important truths are on faithful record for our instruction, happy if, while we exult in the superior blessings which we enjoy, we learn to venerate that sacred spirit of true religion which can alone secure their permanence to ourselves, and their still further augmentation and increased security to our posterity.

To advert to the Roman Catholic question, in which, as has been mentioned in the advertisement, this history, in a manner, originated, the reader may very fairly expect some notice to be here taken of it.

In the first place, then, it has been and is customary to argue the point as though the Romanists were impeded in the exercise of their religion; and the King is charged with intolerance, by those who, enjoying the most perfect freedom of conscience, and of public worship, call upon a Protestant government, under the pleas of toleration and emancipation, to grant, in fact, *a bonus to the religion of the church of Rome*, which is refused, to every other dissenting sect, and thereby to hold out such "favor and encouragement,\*" such a decisive preference for the Romish communion, as might tend to promote its unceasing aim, viz. *that of obtaining an actual ascendancy*, and, at length, of supplanting the established religion of the country.

The scale, upon the preponderance of which was to depend the concession or the refusal of the urgent demands of the Romanists, seems of late,

\* Substance of a speech which ought to have been spoken, &c. page 8. I wish I were at liberty, by naming the author, to give him the fame he has thereby so justly earned. I do not remember ever to have seen the Romish question stated with such propriety and strength by any other writer.

however, to have turned, IN PARLIAMENT *at least*, upon the mere circumstance of the consent of the Papists to admit that a negative power or veto shall be *suffered* to be, *by them*, vested in our and their lawful sovereign, in regard to giving or withholding his royal approbation to the Romish bishops, who should still be appointed by the Papal See. Besides that this Papal See is now absolutely a tool in the hands of the great Usurper of a considerable part of Europe, the artifice of such a stipulation, by the appellants, appears never to have been seriously considered. Here indeed, to use the words of a writer of extraordinary popularity, “ I think I may say (but meekly let me say it, and with awful reverence) that Providence watches over this empire, with an eye of peculiar regard. ENGLAND SEEMS TO BE SOLEMNLY SELECTED AND DELEGATED TO INTERPOSE A BARRIER BETWEEN PARTIAL SUBVERSION AND UNIVERSAL ANARCHY ; TO PUNISH THE PUNISHERS OF NATIONS ; TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF AGONIZING EUROPE ; AND TO SIT, LIKE A WAKEFUL NURSE, WATCHING AT HER SIDE, AND ADMINISTERING TO HER LIPS THE MEDICINE OF SALVATION. We stand on a noble, but a dreadful elevation ; responsible in ourselves for the future happiness of the human race. *We have a spirit, a constitution, and a RELIGION, unrivalled, unparalleled, unprecedented.* From these sources I draw my politics, and these tell me we shall triumph. The *red right hand* of Providence is every where visible. Persevere, then, Britons, in the mighty task before you. To recede from it were ruin. Be firm, and you triumph ; fear, and you fall.” (All the Talents, 19th edition, note, p. 48.)

The red right hand of Providence seems indeed to have been visible in regard to this “ VETO.” Every one appeared disposed to accept the terms which the British Romanists *had condescended, in their humility, to prescribe to their Sovereign and to their country* ; when lo ! with that duplicity which has ever been as distinguished a characteristic of that religion, as are ambition, intolerance, and idolatry, this proposal was retracted. Now to the consequences which were about to follow. This point,

conceded by the Papists and admitted by the Protestants, would have been distinctly, on the part of the latter, virtually to consent to, and LEGALLY TO ESTABLISH, THE RELIGION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THIS EMPIRE. An imperium in imperio, solemnly confirmed by an act of both houses of our Protestant Parliament, signed by our Protestant King, unless indeed, with that firmness which our good old King has ever displayed, in strictly adhering to the oath under which he enjoys his crown, he had refused his assent to such an act; but even this would, in every human probability, have involved us in all the horrors of a civil war of extermination. Who that looks upon such a picture, must not then be convinced of the activity of the red right hand of the Almighty to protect, to save us!

A nobleman of high rank, but of still higher ability and political consequence, (Lord Grenville,) recently published a letter, to the Earl of Fingal, on this interesting, this vitally important topic. His lordship therein declares that, upon the rejection of the Veto, he declines giving further support to the Romish claims, and, in another part of the letter, adds, “*With the just and salutary extension of civil rights to your body, must be combined, if tranquillity and union be our object, other EXTENSIVE and COMPLICATED arrangements. All due provision must be made for the INVIOLEABLE MAINTENANCE OF THE RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THIS UNITED KINGDOM,*” &c.

But, it is natural to ask, what became of these extensive and complicated arrangements, of that due provision which must (now) be made for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of the united kingdom, when, in 1807, Lord Grenville resigned his situation as the prime minister of this country, because his Sovereign refused to accède to what is insidiously termed Catholic Emancipation; for which refusal that Sovereign was held up to obloquy, instead of being hailed with universal gratitude, as the firm defender of his people’s rights? Nothing was then proposed but unqualified concession. Has the necessity of “*extensive and complicated arrangements for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of the united kingdom*” been discovered since the last election of

a *Chancellor of the University of Oxford*? Has that election thrown a new light on the subject? Be this as it may, it is but candid to tell the noble lord that the plan of the royal veto on the nomination of Popish bishops, can, by no means, answer the description of “ extensive and complicated arrangements for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of the united kingdom :” for such a veto, if the Papists, who, while they expect us to concede every thing, are willing to concede nothing, were disposed to allow it, would afford no security whatever to our religious establishments. Notwithstanding such a concession, though it were made most freely, Popery would be Popery still ; as much so as if the Pope, instead of being a vassal to France, enjoyed, at Rome, the full plenitude of pontifical power ; and therefore it could not be entrusted with political power, in the state, without endangering the established Protestant Church of the country.

The page of history, antient and modern, even of these our days, now open for our inspection and our improvement, clearly proves, that the Roman Catholic religion was, is, and will continue, in principle and in practice, unchanged and unchangeable. Oh Protestants, observe then, as you have done hitherto, towards your Catholic brethren, perfect tolerance, perfect charity :—but, always bear in mind the fable of the wolves and the sheep. *Remember never to give up your vigilance. Remember the massacre of St. Bartholomew ;* and remember, that Popery, having been driven out of Rome, has taken refuge amongst us, and is, with unceasing activity, daily gaining proselytes to its cause, especially among our highest and lowest classes. Read the following pages with more than serious—with solemn attention, for Popery is making rapid advances against your religion ; and

THE EMBRYO OF THE INQUISITION.

*(may I never find it necessary to be more explicit on this subject)*

IS ACTUALLY ESTABLISHED IN EVERY PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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*Pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome—Precepts of the Gospel perverted—Persecutions since the Foundation of Christianity—Controversy on the Celebration of Easter—Constantine and his three Sons—Moderation of Julian—Controversies and Councils—Reformers infected with the Zeal of Persecution—Luther—Calvin—Calvinists and Arminians—English Reformers ; fatal effects of their Zeal.*

THE lust of power, and the benefits arising from the exercise of her supremacy, appear to have had, at least, as active an influence, as zeal for orthodoxy, in those persecutions, which the church of Rome excited, against heresy, during the conclusion of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the succeeding centuries. Situated in the ancient metropolis of the Roman world, its bishop naturally assumed the pre-eminence among the other prelates of the empire ; and a voluntary respect seems to have been always paid them, even by those who never acknowledged their right of superiority.

After the destruction of the western empire, a vast variety of circumstances, which the limits of an introduction do not permit me to detail, favoured their pretensions and promoted their aggrandizement ; till, at length, advancing from one usurpation to another, they claimed an universal sovereignty ; which the timid, superstitious and wavering conduct of the sovereigns, throughout Christendom, but too much countenanced. The beams of reviving science burst at length through the gloom which, for so many ages, had hung over Europe ; the heart of man received a new impulse ; old errors were examined and exploded, and a new æra arose in the history of the human mind. The enormous

fabric of Romish usurpation was of course assailed, and when the magic of opinion lost its influence, Rome, if she wished to retain her dominion, if she would prevent her threatened downfall, had no resource but violence and persecution. This was not the only period at which persecution disgraced the religion of peace: from almost the earliest ages of Christianity, at least when it became the established faith of the state, its professors forgot its merciful injunctions, and pursued their enemies with all the fury of extermination.

It seems perfectly astonishing that men should so utterly pervert every precept of the gospel, so totally forget the example of their divine master, so completely renounce the spirit of his pure religion, as to conceive themselves authorized to imbrue their hands in the blood of those who refused to adopt their interpretation of his word, as to imagine that murder and violence were pleasing in the sight of that Being who, by the inspired mouth of his messenger, enjoined mutual forbearance, peace and brotherly love. But we are to recollect, that when God gave man a holy religion, he did not, at once, remove the passions of his nature; he did not deprive him of the freedom of action; the gift of the Almighty was holy and good, but man abused the sacred trust, and forgot the injunctions which accompanied it.

I shall now give a rapid sketch of the different persecutions that have arisen, since the foundation of Christianity; in contemplating which we should always remember, that the divine prophet himself foretold that such would be the immediate consequence of the propagation of his doctrines, and, at the same time, reflecting upon that suspicious spirit of religious moderation which has gradually arisen in the world, we should hail the approach of that glorious æra, when persecution shall be no more; when man shall acknowledge the folly and wickedness of intruding between the conscience of his fellow-creature and his God; when governors shall recognize the inalienable right of private judgment; and when religion will

most triumphantly flourish, under the banners of universal toleration.

I shall say but a few words concerning the persecutions to which the Christians were exposed from the Roman power: they appear to have been the result of mere human motives; of state policy; of gross misrepresentation; of the fear of innovation and its probable consequences upon the tranquillity of the state; and of that desire, which men always feel, of having some person or body of persons, to whom they attribute all the evils which they suffer, and all the mischiefs which they cannot, otherwise, account for.

Such was the cause of the first great persecution in the days of Nero, who, to clear himself of the odious imputation of having burned the city of Rome, endeavoured to attribute that crime to the Christians. Such is the testimony of Tacitus, who calls the new religion an accursed superstition, and to the same purpose Suetonius bears testimony. The other persecutions, of which are generally counted ten principal, took place under Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Severus, Decius, Gallus, Valerianus, Dioclesian, and others, during which the most horrible, and almost incredible, barbarities were exercised against those who refused to blaspheme Christ, and offer incense to the imperial gods.

These dreadful cruelties, many bore with that resignation which proved the strength of their faith, and their confidence in the promises of the Gospel, though it must be confessed, that under the latter emperors who persecuted the Christians, the simplicity and purity of their religion were greatly corrupted, and that pride, ambition and luxury had too generally prevailed, both among the pastors and the people.

Such irregularities, as well as the spirit of mutual persecution, were unknown to the earliest converts; the heavenly precept, of "children love one another," seems to have retained its influence through the first age of the church. In the second century, however, the controversy concerning the proper time for

the celebration of Easter seems to have been carried on with considerable violence and asperity by several of the disputants, though many were distinguished for that moderation and forbearance which should be required from candid and temperate men in so very unimportant a difference. But this mild and indulgent spirit was absolutely renounced and forgotten, when, under Constantine, the Christians were placed in perfect liberty and security beneath the imperial protection. The conduct of this emperor was at first dignified and impartial; calculated to restrain the violence of all parties; to establish their rights and to command their obedience; but he soon deviated from this wise and politic system; he became a partizan, a disputant and a persecutor. This fatal change arose out of the Arian controversy which took place between Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, a presbyter of his church, concerning the nature and dignity of Christ. Constantine at first endeavoured to pacify the combatants; he told them, that having examined into the rise and progress of this affair, he found the occasion of the difference to be very trifling, and earnestly exhorted them to temper and forbearance; but being unable to appease their wrath, and alarmed at the violence committed by their followers, he called the first general council, which assembled at Nice, A. D. 325. From the result of this proceeding arose that terrible spirit of persecution which, so long after, harassed the church. Constantine enforced, by severe edicts, the decrees of this council, which condemned Arius, and anathematized all who refused to subscribe their creed; and having once engaged in the dispute, he could not afterwards extricate himself from the thralldom of faction. The furious rage of religious dissention thus excited and encouraged, the successors of Constantine followed the same destructive policy.

Constantine was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. Constantine, the eldest, recalled Athanasius, whom his father had banished, when unable to re-

concile him to his Arian brethren, and restored him to his bishopric; upon which account there arose violent quarrels and seditions, many being killed, and many publicly whipped by Athanasius's order. Constantius, after his brother's death, convened a synod at Antioch, where Athanasius was again deposed, and Gregory put into his see of Alexandria. This emperor was warmly attached to the Arian doctrine, and favoured the bishops of that side only, which occasioned many violences on both parts, which the emperor contemplated with sorrow. The evil had now grown to an enormous height; unintelligible disputes perplexed the minds of men, and zeal for certain speculative points, which few either then or since were able to explain or to conceive, usurped the place of sincere and rational piety. The truth was, that in the general corruption of manners which attended the decline of the empire, the clergy were become the chief incendiaries and disturbers of the public peace; and the fury of the people, on each side, was grown so great, that there was scarcely ever an election, or a restoration of a bishop, in the larger cities, unattended by bloodshed and slaughter.

Athanasius was several times banished and restored, at the expense of blood: the orthodox were deposed, and the Arians substituted in their room, with the murder of thousands; and as the controversy was no longer about the plain doctrines of uncorrupted christianity, but about power and dominion, high preferments and great revenues, the bishops were introduced into their churches and placed on their thrones by armed soldiers, and paid no regard to ecclesiastical rules or to the lives of their flocks, provided they could keep possession and exclude their adversaries: and when once they were in authority, they treated those who differed with them without moderation or mercy; turning them out of their churches, denying them liberty of worship; putting them under an anathema; and persecuting them with innumerable methods of cruelty, as is evident from the accounts given, by the

ecclesiastical writers, of Athanasius, Macedonius, George and others. In a word, they treated one another with the same implacable bitterness with which the heathens, their common enemies, had treated them; as if persecution had been the distinguishing precept of their religion which gave occasion to that severe, but too justly applicable, censure of Julian, that he had found, by experience, that even beasts are not so cruel to man, as the generality of christians were to one another. This was the unhappy state of the church under the reign of Constantius, which affords us little more than the history of councils and creeds, differing from and contrary to each other: bishops deposing, censuring and anathematizing their adversaries; and the christian people divided into factions, under their respective leaders, for the sake of words, of which they knew not the sense, and striving for victory even to bloodshed and death; so lamentably had they debased religion; so wretchedly declined from the sanctity of their ancestors; so corrupted were they by power; so perverted by ambition: and such were the natural though lamentable consequences, when the sovereign power became a party in dispute, and the sovereign's favour the object of the disputants.

Julian, in the beginning of his reign, behaved with great moderation towards the christians, and endeavoured, by his clemency, to restore peace and order; he recalled the bishops, who had been banished by his predecessor Constantius, ordered their effects, which had been confiscated, to be restored, and commanded that no one should hurt or injure any christian whatever; he informed the contending parties that each might profess its own religion in security, provided they did not disturb the public peace by their divisions. Nevertheless, his hatred to christianity soon displayed itself, and although he did not, like the other emperors, proceed to sanguinary laws, yet, in many respects, he treated them with great severity. He ordered that no christian should bear any military office, or have any concern in the management of the re-



venues. He deprived the clergy of their immunities, and destroyed several churches, which he plundered of their treasure and sacred vessels. He punished some with banishment, others with death, under pretence of their having pulled down the pagan temples, and insulted himself. Jovian, of all the emperors, conducted himself with the greatest wisdom and moderation, he rejected the insinuations of those who would excite him to persecution, and held the reins with that steady and impartial hand, which secured the peace of the empire and the credit of christianity. However, this moderation expired with the emperor. The two emperors, Valentinian and Valens, who succeeded, embraced opposite sides, and the usual consequences ensued. The flame of dissention raged in Rome with peculiar violence, and Gratian, Theodosius and the joint emperors Arcadius and Honorius perpetuated these pernicious feuds, which threatened the destruction both of religion and the empire. So little example had the orthodox shewn of moderation or of mercy, that their adversaries seem to have lost all idea of humanity when accident gave them the advantage: thus the revenge of the Donatists in Africa, about this time, was carried on with an atrocity of which History scarce affords an example; severe edicts against them were the consequence: and desolation and misery resulted from their contests. New controversies arose concerning the title of the Virgin Mary, another general council was summoned, and absurdities, anathemas and persecutions, as usual, resulted. Those melancholy disorders continued, under the succeeding reigns, with a distressing uniformity. I may be well excused from dwelling on the details: a rage for controversy, which when countenanced by those who hold in their own hands the rewards of victory, is always carried to the most dreadful excess, and an ambition to obtain the favour of the emperor, seem to have been the ruling motives of these disputes and persecutions. Severity beget retaliation and revenge, and, in the change of emperors and of councils, many opportunities of retaliation

tion occurred. As yet, persecution had not been formed into a system, animated with one spirit and directed by one head: this was reserved for the Roman church in after ages, of which we shall subsequently give the history.

Meanwhile, other controversies arose, which, as usual, occasioned the summoning of other councils, which always sanctioned their own decisions by the authority of the holy spirit, and anathematized, without mercy or reserve, those who refused to subscribe their creeds, till at length men scarcely knew what to believe, or were forced to believe what it was impossible to comprehend. First came that of the Monothelites, who held that there was but one will in Christ, and not two distinct wills, the divine and the human. The emperor Heraclius and his son Constans adopted this opinion; Martyn the Pope of Rome opposed it, and wrote letters to the latter of these emperors, to persuade him to renounce the error. The emperor sent an emissary into Italy to propagate his own doctrine, and persecution, violence, banishments and imprisonment prevailed in terrible succession. At length the sixth general council decided this important point, in favour of the two distinct wills: and thus, 681 years after Christ, was the orthodox faith concerning his Deity, humanity, nature and wills decided and settled by this synod; who, after having pronounced anathemas against the living and the dead, ordered the burning of heretical books, and deprived several bishops of their sees; procured an edict from the emperor, commanding all to receive their confession of faith, and denouncing, not only corporeal, but eternal punishments, to all recusants. These, their definitive sentences, were concluded with the usual exclamation, of God save the emperor; long live the orthodox emperor; down with the heretics; cursed be Eutyches, Macarius, &c.; the Trinity hath deposed them.

Next followed the furious controversy concerning the worship of images, to which religious adoration was now offered; and which, after rending the church for a very great length

of time, after being maintained by rival emperors, and perpetuating the schism between the Greek and Roman churches, was at length decided, in favour of the images, by the seventh general council; which, under Irene and Constantine her son, excommunicated and anathematized all who should venture to oppugn them. This step, in a manner, completed the corruption of Christianity, and the Romish church, which was peculiarly active in establishing the sanctity of images, increasing daily in authority, the world groaned for centuries under her oppressive yoke; nor were any methods of fraud, imposture and barbarity left unpractised, to support and perpetuate it. As the clergy were become lords of the universe, they grew wanton and insolent in their power; and as they drained the nations of their wealth to support their own grandeur and luxury, they degenerated into the worst and vilest men that ever burdened the earth. They were most shamefully ignorant, and scandalously vicious; well versed in the most exquisite arts of torture and cruelty, and absolutely divested of all mercy and compassion towards those, who, even in the smallest matters, differed from the dictates of their superstition and absurdity. United under one head, which, by matchless art, and by an uniform system of policy steadily pursued for ages, had acquired supreme authority, they seemed to have left no spot in which resistance should dare to raise its head. Having laboured, with success, to keep the people in the most profound ignorance, and the most degraded superstition, they seemed to have guarded against all possibility of being disturbed in their dark dominion, by the light of truth and reason. And, as power is only to be retained by the same arts by which it was acquired, when, unable to arrest the progress of the human mind, they saw their power assailed, their dominion threatened; persecution, methodized and systematized, became their only resource, the inquisition their most convenient instrument. This dreadful institution was, in them, the natural result of that unprincipled ambition, which always prompts

men to retain, by any means, however atrocious and unjustifiable, the power which they have acquired ; which sanctions every cruelty, and consecrates every crime. But we cannot, without the most sincere regret, perceive, that even the great and illustrious reformers of religion, these splendid champions of liberty, and benefactors of mankind, whose daring hands burst the shackles which centuries had entwined around the reason of the human race ; the light of whose genius dissipated those clouds which, for ages, had thickened over the world ; were but too much infected with the same fiery zeal of persecution ; so difficult is it to free the mind from the contagion of evil example, so long a time does it require, when error and false principle have once become deeply rooted in human policy, to accustom the mind to a sounder judgment, and to demonstrate the expediency of more enlarged and liberal sentiments. Indeed, violent and tyrannical systems have always so strong a tendency to corrupt the hearts, and to degrade the feelings and understanding of those who languish under their influence, that they are very apt to become incapable of conducting themselves with moderation when the restraint is removed. Thus the antiquity of injustice becomes an argument for its continuance, age sanctions absurdity, and timidity will rather bear its evils than risk the consequences of their removal.

During the long interval which has elapsed between the first ages of christianity and the present, mutual toleration appears to have been completely exploded ; difference of opinion to have been regarded as a most enormous crime, which demanded the most violent coercion, and justified the most outrageous cruelty. Even the most moderate and humane, whose superior mildness of temper was shocked at the idea of bloodshed and torture, were so far infected with the spirit of the times, as to think all other modes of restraint justifiable and praise-worthy ; they still regarded, what they called, heresy as a sin, and only differed from others in their mode of punishing it. During this interval, men appear to have

been persuaded that the conscience had nothing to do in obtaining the favour of the Almighty; that the most laborious investigations into the meaning of the divine word, and the most zealous performance of what they conceived to be the divine will, the most humble adoration of the mercies of God, and the most triumphant exhibition of their confidence in his promises, when persecution put their faith to the test, had no species of merit, or no title to favour. To refuse to subscribe a creed of human invention, unintelligible, unscriptural, or absurd, was the most audacious impiety, and the most enormous wickedness. The reformers, indeed, never thought of proceeding to such dreadful lengths, but still, a detail of their conduct will prove that they conceived difference of opinions a crime which deserved and demanded the punishment of human laws, and a sin which justified a separation from those who maintained them, as persons odious to God, and the certain objects of his wrath.

Luther, the greatest of the reformers, exhibits an instance of this chastened severity. Though naturally of a very warm and violent temper, he was averse to punishing heretics with death. He says in his writings, I am very averse to the shedding of blood, even in case of such as deserve it; I dread it the more, because, as the Papists and Jews, under this pretence, have destroyed holy prophets and innocent men, so I am afraid the same would happen amongst ourselves, if, in one single instance, it should be allowed to be lawful to put seducers to death. I can, therefore, by no means consent that false teachers should be destroyed. But as to all other punishments, he seems to think they may, lawfully, be employed: for after the above passage, he adds, it is sufficient that they be banished. Agreeably to these principles, he persuaded the electors of Saxony not to tolerate, in their dominions, the followers of Zuinglius, in their opinion of the sacrament; nor to enter into any terms of union with them, for their common defence against the attempts of the catholics to destroy them. He declared that there

could be no union, unless Zuinglius and his party should think and teach otherwise; affirming, that either those of his own opinion, or those of Zuinglius must be the agents and ministers of the devil. He also wrote to Albert, Duke of Prussia, to persuade him to banish them from his territories. Seckendorf also tells us, that the Lutheran lawyers of Wittenburg, condemned to death one Pestelius, for being a Zuinglian, though this was disapproved by the elector of Saxony. Several of the Anabaptists were also put to death, by the Lutherans, for their obstinacy in propagating their errors.

John Calvin, another of the reformers, to whom the christian world is, on many accounts, much indebted, was, however, well known to be, in principle and practice, a persecutor. So entirely was he in favour of persecuting measures, that he wrote a treatise in defence of them, maintaining the lawfulness of putting heretics to death; and he reduced these rigid theories to practice, in his conduct towards Castellio, Jerom Bolsee, and Servetus, whose fates are too generally known to require being here repeated. At the council of Geneva, 1632, Nicholas Anthoine was condemned to be first hanged and then burned for opposing the doctrine of the Trinity; and at Basil and Zurich, since the Reformation, heresy was a crime punishable with death, as the fate of David George and Felix abundantly prove.

If we pass over into Holland, we shall also find that the reformers there, were, most of them, in the principles and measures of persecution, which gave the catholics great advantage against them. In the very infancy of the reformation, the Lutherans and Calvinists condemned one another for their supposed heterodoxy, and looked upon compliance and mutual toleration as things intolerable. But the most outrageous quarrel of all was that between the Calvinists and Arminians. One Jacobus Arminius was the author of this controversy, who, disputing in his turn, at Leyden, about the doctrine of predestination, advanced many things different from

Calvin's opinion on this article, and was, accordingly, a few months after, warmly opposed by Gomarus, his colleague, who held, that it was appointed by an eternal decree of God, who, amongst mankind, should be saved, and who should be damned. The moment the two parties had thus got a dogma to dispute upon, the controversy became irreconcilable, and was conducted with the most outrageous violence. The ministers of the predestinarian party would enter into no treaty; the remonstrants were the objects of their furious zeal, whom they denominated, mamalukes, devils and plagues; animating the magistrates to destroy them; and when the time of the new elections drew near, they prayed to God for such men as would be zealous, even to blood, though it were to cost the whole trade of their cities. At length, a synod being assembled, acted in the usual manner; they laid down the principles of faith with confidence, condemned the doctrine of the remonstrants; deprived their antagonists of all their offices; and concluded by humbly beseeching God and their high mightinesses, to put their decrees into execution, and to ratify the doctrine they had expressed. The states obliged them in this christian and charitable request, for as soon as the synod was concluded, Barnwelt, a friend of the remonstrants and their opinions, was beheaded, and Grotius condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and because the dissenting ministers would not promise wholly, and always to abstain from the exercise of their religious functions, the states passed a resolution for banishing them, on pain, if they did not submit to it, of being treated as disturbers of the public peace.

If we look into our own country, we shall find numerous proofs of the same antichristian spirit and practice. Even our reformers who had seen the flames which the catholics had kindled against their brethren, yet lighted fires themselves to consume those who differed with them. Cranmer's hands were stained with the blood of several. John Lambert and Ann Askew will ever bear witness to his destroying zeal. Joan Bocher and George Van Pare fell a

sacrifice to the same vindictive spirit ; and not long after, as the creed of orthodoxy changed, the archbishop himself was burned for heresy. The controversy about the papist habits was one of the first that arose among the English reformers. Cranmer and Ridley were zealous for them, while others were for laying them aside as badges of idolatry and antichrist. Hooper, who refused to be consecrated in the old vestments, was, by order of council, first silenced and then confined to his own house, and afterwards removed to the Fleet prison, where he remained many months. The act, passed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for the uniformity of common prayer, service in the church, and administration of the sacrament, was also enforced with the utmost rigour : in order to prevent all opposition to the church's tyranny, the star chamber lent its aid, publishing a decree for sealing up the press, and prohibiting any person to print or publish any book against the queen's injunctions, or the meaning of them. But not only prohibitions, but the most violent punishments were thought justifiable, even in this reign, to avenge the crime of difference of religious opinion. Eleven Dutchmen, who were anabaptists, were condemned in the consistory of St. Paul, to the fire, for heresy ; nine of whom were banished, and two burned alive at Smithfield. In the year 1583, Copping and Thacker, two puritan ministers, were hanged for nonconformity. It would be endless to go through all the severities which were exercised in this reign on the score of religion, those which have been mentioned, are sufficient clearly to demonstrate that the spirit of persecution had not yet subsided, nor had the minds of men yet recovered that tone of christian mildness and forbearance, which had been so long banished from the world, and seems to have been abjured, as heresy, by all parties.

I shall be excused from dwelling longer on this subject. I have endeavoured, as briefly as possible, to detail the various ravages that have so dreadfully harassed the christian world since the period that Constantine first made persecution a law of the empire,



and an engine of policy; since forgetting the dignified office of a sovereign, who should govern with impartial sway and equal justice, he became the leader of a religious faction, and the engine of persecuting councils. It is only now that the world begins to revive from the effect of this pernicious example, this disastrous policy. Still there are but too many countries where the principles of toleration are yet unknown; where the right of serving God as the conscience dictates are unacknowledged. How proud should Britons then be of holding forth to the world so glorious an example of universal toleration; what a happy prospect does it afford of the blessings which may be expected in future ages, when the same divine and only christian principles will have a still more unrestrained influence, and a still more extensive operation!

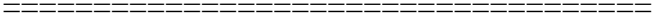
I shall now proceed, after apologising for this long introduction, which however was necessary in order to complete this work, to detail the history of the Romish persecution, of which, the most powerful engine that the unprincipled ingenuity of man ever invented, was undoubtedly the inquisition. In this, I hope I shall be excused if I repeat a few of the particulars which have already been stated in this general account of persecutions; as tending, more immediately, to elucidate the source of that power, whose exertions to maintain itself, were the first origin of this dreadful tribunal.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## INQUISITIONS.

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### BOOK I.

*The division of the Roman Empire between Arcadius and Honorius hastens its decline—Calamitous condition of the Empire—Fatal policy of Constantine—Circumstances which favoured the rise of the Papal power—Arnold of Brescia and Innocent III.—Punishment of the former and Death of the latter—Rise of the Albigenses—Reign of Innocent III.—The first Inquisitors—Crusade against the Albigenses—Character of Simon de Mountfort : his Barbarity—Massacre of Beziers Siege of Thoulouse and of Carcassonore—Fate of Raymond, Earl of Thoulouse, and of his Son—Ruin of the Albigenses.*

**T**HE division of the vast dominions of Theodosius between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, accelerated the downfall of the Roman empire. Previously to that period, it had received many severe shocks from the continual invasions of the barbarians, and from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who may be considered the last of the emperors, whose fame was irreproachable, its doom appeared to have been pronounced, and the symptoms of the speedy and inevitable dissolution of this huge political body displayed themselves, in a manner which was every day more and more terrific. Not, but that during this interval, some men attained to the sovereign power, worthy not only to defend, but

even to restore and re-establish it upon a firm foundation ; but some, unhappily, lived for too short a period, as Pertinax ; others, like Septimius Severus, saw the greater portion of their reigns consumed, in securing, by conquest, the authority which their legions had decreed them. Some died at too early a period of life, as we see in the instance of Alexander Severus, whose brilliant youth was marked by so true a sense of glory and greatness of soul, and whose riper years, if it had been granted to him to attain them, would have consolidated all the good he had begun to effect at the age of sixteen. Some, on the other hand, lived too long (if I may so express myself) and I shall mention only Dioclesian and Maximin. Hercules, whose hands, enfeebled with age, let fall the reins which they had held with vigour for near twenty years, and suffered them to be seized by unworthy Cæsars, like Galerius and Constantine Chlorus, whose ingratitude was as barbarous, as their power was infamous. And even supposing these different emperors, whose names I have enumerated, to have been endowed with genius sufficient to close the abyss which threatened universal ruin, still we are to remark, that they appeared only at great intervals of time, and that, in the meanwhile, the purple fell to the lot of men, disgraced for weakness, baseness, or tyranny, whose crimes dishonoured the diadem ; their insupportable yoke constantly kept alive, in the heart of the empire, the flames of civil war, that most dreadful of maladies to the social body ; thus, under the reign of Valerian and of Galerius, the world beheld three-and-twenty men contend for the empire ; after that of Galerius, the pretenders to the throne were so numerous, that History has almost neglected to count them ; and, by this means, the entire advantage, which the Roman empire derived from the good government of a few great princes, were lost under those who succeeded them : and the continual increase of ruin rendered the reparation of the edifice daily more difficult. Constantine, if we are to rely on the credit of history, possessed

several of the qualities requisite to undertake and to atchieve this important enterprize: his reign was long, but the transfer of the seat of empire, to Byzantium, and the rage for theological disputes which he suffered to arise, were not only two serious political errors, but also two great obstacles to the benefits, which we should have expected from his government. By the first, he alienated the affections of the west, without acquiring any influence over those of the eastern nations, whose gratitude, must, necessarily, be slow, as a long period was required to demonstrate to them the advantages they were to derive from the measure. By this ill-advised step, also, he robbed Rome of that magic importance which had surrounded her for so many centuries, and annihilated, in a single day, that proud title of mistress of the world, which the force of opinion rendered still so formidable to all nations; even long after victories and heroism had ceased to surround her with their pristine splendour. He thus removed, to a distance from his eye, Italy, whose climate and riches were so well calculated to excite the passions of the neighbouring nations; Gaul, the fierce spirit of whose inhabitants continually excited them to independence; Germany, whose savage ferocity ever threatened revolt, and whose boundless forests contained innumerable hordes, who burned to burst the barriers that confined them. He extended, without any real motives, the space it would be necessary to pass through, either to combat with enemies, encouraged by his distance, or to excite, by his presence, the spirits of his friends and subjects, whom his absence had dejected. By opening the door to religious disputes, consequences not less calamitous ensued; and it is to the measures adopted by Constantine, against the heretics of his age, that, in a great degree, are to be attributed these dreadful persecutions in which, for so long a time, the Christians, perverting the doctrine of their Divine master, continued mutually to massacre and to retaliate on one another. Upon the occasion of the dispute between Alexander, Bishop of

Alexandria, and Arius, a presbyter of the same church, by the persuasion of the bishops, or perhaps out of some political view, he called the famous Nicene Council. By their resolutions it appears, that all who refused to subscribe to their decrees, were sentenced to banishment ; the emperor himself put forth an edict, by which he ordained, that all the books written by Arius, should be burned, condemning to death “ *every one who should conceal any of Arius’s books and not commit them to the flames.*” He afterwards issued another decree, by which he took from them their places of worship, and prohibited their meeting, not only in public, but even in any private house whatsoever.

Punishments, still more severe, were, afterwards, inflicted on those, whose opinions the Council were pleased to condemn. From pecuniary mulcts they proceeded to the forfeiture of goods, banishment, slaughter and blood. The Emperor Theodosius the Second, and Valentinian III. Marstian, Justinian, pursued the same unhappy systems of policy. Nor did the Arians neglect, upon the accession of Galens, an emperor of their own party, to take a terrible revenge for the severe treatment they had sustained ; though it must be confessed, that their cruelties fell short of those of the orthodox. To detail these excesses would be only to present the reader with a melancholy picture of the weakness of human nature, and the horrors of perverted religion. The result was, that an entire century, which passed between the reign of Constantine, and the division of the empire between the children of Theodosius, was spent in proscribing the opinions of Arius, Apollinarius, Sabellius, Manes, Eunomius, Eutiches, Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Origen, Priscillion, and others ; Arianism, Manicheism, Paganism, Catholicism, successively became the religion of the court, according to the opinions adopted by the reigning prince. This constant fermentation occasioned the interests of the state to be totally forgotten by all parties, so that the decay of the empire increased rapidly. When Arcadius and

Honorius divided their power, they found, neither in themselves, nor in their subjects, vigour sufficient to resist the torrent ; all the ties of society were broken, all the nerves of the state were relaxed, the inroads of the barbarians multiplied to excess, and the evil became incurable. It happened, however, that as these disorders went on, continually increasing ; as the hordes of barbarians carried fire and sword into all the countries of the empire, into Italy in particular ; as new kingdoms arose, continually upon the ruins of the Roman power, which, frequently, sunk again as rapidly as they had been formed ; it happened, in consequence of this deplorable state of things, that individuals, ruined in their fortunes, threatened in their lives, forced frequently to fly their country, which was deluged with blood, and desolated by rapine, reduced to exile, misery and want ; forced to attend only to their private interests and sufferings, thought less of the concerns of heaven, and ceased in a manner to remember it. By these means, their zeal for theological disputes was abated, their animosities subsided, their sense of individual calamity diminished their ardour in what they had considered the cause of God, and heresies became much less frequent. This universal disorder in the constitution of Europe, and of a great part of Africa and Asia ; this precarious condition of families diminished the love of debating religious questions, favoured the insensible developement of the authority of the Popes. From this period, we less frequently behold the councils, in which they presided, or which assembled under their auspices, engaged in condemning errors of faith. Their most usual object is to enact ecclesiastical laws, generally suggested by the Popes in person, or by their ambassadors, all tending to establish the power and the infallibility of the Holy See ; to compose, under the title of canons, a grand code which should bind all true believers ; to condemn those bishops, whose too penetrating sagacity perceived, even at this distance, the yoke which was preparing for the church ; to confirm or re-

establish in their sees, those, whose submission had restored them to the party of Rome; to intermeddle in the laws passed by the several kings, and frequently to oppose their execution, under the pretence that they were injurious to the rights of the church, in order that, by these attempts, oftentimes repeated, they might accustom the people to think, that there was, upon earth, an authority superior to that of their monarchs, and gradually, to prepare these times when the Holy See should arrogate to herself the power of deposing them, of absolving the people from their oaths, and of conferring their crowns upon her own creatures. If such were the directions which the Popes gave to the spirit of the general councils from the fifth to the tenth century, they were far from neglecting the other means of strengthening their power: the principal of which was to increase their riches by every means within their reach. The origin of those riches may be deduced as far back as the time of Constantine, who endowed the church of St. John of Lateran with a thousand marks of gold, and thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it considerable revenues in addition. Various artifices were used for the above-mentioned purpose; the pretence of undertaking the maintenance of the poor, of propagating the gospel, were successively employed. Superstitious donations from dying persons, money granted by several of the founders of new kingdoms to the Popes to secure their favourable influence over the minds of their subjects, still more increased their wealth, till, at length, by successive purchases, and other contrivances, the entire territory, in the neighbourhood of Rome became, their immediate property. To this wealth they added the influence of instruction, which they concentrated, as much as possible, in the clergy, conscious of the amazing power this authority must necessarily confer upon them, over the rest of the people.

This system of aggrandisement was uniformly and unremittingly pursued for upwards of eleven hundred years. We have only to



look back two centuries, to behold it flourishing and in full vigour, and it was to preserve this usurped authority against the common sense and interest of mankind, that recourse was had to the inquisition; the greatest scourge which the human race has ever endured.

It was at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the power of the bishops of Rome, and the corruption of Christianity were both carried to the greatest excess, that this terrible tribunal was established, and Saint Dominick was the first inquisitor-general. He received his authority from Innocent III. and Honorius III. It was some time before this period that the sects of Albigenses and Waldenses had arisen, and it was their conduct in the horrid persecution carried on against these unhappy people, in which Saint Dominick acted a distinguished part, both as a preacher and a warrior, that procured, for the order of Dominicans which he had instituted, the distinction of being chosen by Pope Gregory IX. to be special members of the tribunal of the inquisition.

As it was in the war of extermination carried on against the Albigenses, that the sanguinary spirit of Papal persecution first displayed itself in all its terrors, it may not be perhaps entirely uninteresting to give some account of its remote origin, and of its tragical termination. Ever since the tenth century, the era of the greatest darkness in Europe, the manners of the clergy had become extremely corrupt; religious discipline had been entirely relaxed. The immense riches possessed by the monks, and which they had acquired by the necessity in which the greater part of the feudal lords had been placed, of mortgaging their domains, in order to march to the crusades; riches which they augmented every day both by working upon the superstitious fears of persons at the point of death, and by abusing the inexperience of young men, in persuading them to exchange their wealth for the frock; by promising weak and credulous persons possession in Paradise, in recompense

of those which they prevailed on them to relinquish upon earth ; and, more than all, by setting a price on the absolution of crimes: these riches had introduced among the monks a spirit of insubordination, a love for the pleasures of the world, and a habit of debauchery, which the regulations and censures of the councils had proved unable to correct. The magnificence of the abbeys vied with that of palaces. Individuals even of the least consequence, among the different religious orders, never walked without being surrounded by servants and chargers; the court paid to the abbots was equal to that rendered to kings. This glaring contrast between the conduct and the doctrines of the clergy, gave rise to the opinions conceived and preached so early as the middle of the twelfth century, by Arnold of Brescia. It was by comparing the manners of the priests and monks of his time with the pure principles of the gospel, that he procured himself, in a short time, many powerful protectors; and it is a circumstance, worthy of remark, that during eight or nine hundred years, this constant contradiction between the manners of the Catholic clergy and the moral which they preached, was ever the first cause of the origin of these opinions which Rome treated as heretical, and all those great and important secessions from the Romish church have been, in a great degree, founded on the necessity of a reform in this particular, and have been, under God, greatly indebted for their final success, to a spirit of just indignation against sacerdotal hypocrisy, which rigidly forbade to others those indulgences in which itself revelled without reserve. Arnold, of Brescia a town in Italy, was the first who assailed the corruptions he had long witnessed with pain; in explaining his doctrine, he ventured to advance that bishops and monks had no right to possess riches; that the lands which they enjoyed with so much pride would occasion their condemnation at the day of judgment; that they could not escape a very rigorous doom; and that these vast territories, the revenues of which fomented their luxury and their

scandalous disorders, belonged to those princes from whom they had extorted them by craft, by menaces, or by hypocrisy. It may readily be conceived, in an age when society consisted only of oppressors and oppressed, how soon the boldness of such an opinion, declared from the pulpit by one who was himself a monk, must have gained him numerous proselytes ; but it is still easier to conceive what powerful enemies it must have excited against him. Saint Bernard, the oracle of the age, took up his pen to oppose him ; he painted him as a monster, with the head of a dove and tail of a scorpion ; but these metaphors did not prevent the opinions of Arnold from penetrating even to Rome, and gaining numerous partisans under the very eyes of Innocent II.

Far different from those of Arnold, were the doctrines advanced by this pope, at the general council of Lateran. He there declares, to above a thousand bishops, that the pope was a sovereign lord, and that ecclesiastical dignities can be held by his permission alone. The sentiments of the former, nearer upon a level with the capacities of the people, gained more credit, even in Rome itself, than those of his holiness. Circumstances also favoured Arnold. The pope had a competitor. The party of Anaclet joining that of Arnold, expelled Innocent from Rome, and he took refuge in France. Arnold lived long after ; at length Adrian the Fourth adopted the violent measures of excommunicating the whole population of Rome, until they should commit him to the flames, and this unhappy reformer was burned in consequence. The fate of Arnold did not intimidate his disciples ; their resentment against Rome was increased, as was natural, by this act of cruelty ; and from the public and private propagation of his sentiments, arose the sects of Albigenses, and Valdenses, or Vaudenses. The former derived their name from the city of Albi, where they first arose. The Vaudenses received their appellation from the Pays de Vaud, whither the followers of Arnold retired after the death of their leader.

I have been thus particular in tracing out the origin of these two sects of heretics, as they were denominated by the policy of Rome, since it was to extirpate the remnant of them whom the sword had failed to destroy, that the tribunal of the inquisition was first established. These sects spread themselves rapidly through Thoulouse, Bezieres, Carcassone, Montpelier, and all the country between the Garonne and the Rhone. Learned and diligent inquirers have taken considerable pains to determine, accurately, their particular opinions. They seem not to have entirely agreed upon several points; in the general, however, nothing could be more harmless than their creed; nothing more gentle and inoffensive than the whole tenor of their conduct: Limborch describes them as aiming at a degree of perfection and purity of manners which gives them a resemblance to the sect we denominate Quakers. The extreme mildness of their principles was the farthest possible from any factious or turbulent spirit, and rendered them strangers to war. Some of them, distinguished by the name of Perfects, debarred themselves from the use of meat, eggs and cheese; they lived in the practice of the strictest sobriety, and most scrupulous continence. Paternal love, filial piety, conjugal fidelity, were practised among them, with an exactness that bordered on severity. Such were the people upon whom Rome made her infant essay of persecution, which speedily grew to so dreadful a monster of cruelty. Such the innocent and harmless victims of power, corrupted by pride and superstition. However, their defection was an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the court of Rome; and, with furious zeal, she commenced her labours for their extermination.

Innocent the Third, whose thunders had assailed the heads of Philip, Augustus and John, surnamed Lack-land, the inglorious usurper of the English crown; whose audacious pride had laid France under an interdict, because Philip repudiated his wife Ingelburge; and absolved England from the oath of fidelity;

because John did not pay, in his opinion, sufficient respect to the rights of the clergy. This pope, whose intrigues and whose arms had seized upon the sovereignty of Umbria, of the Marche of Ancona, of Orbitello, of Viterbe, and of the entire Romagna : whose despotism had robbed the Roman senate of its ancient rights, and made it a subservient herd of slaves : whose enterprizing rashness had ravished, from the Emperors, the honorary prerogatives which they held in the capital of the Christian world, the remains of the power of Charlemagne, that benefactor of the Holy See, so injuriously outraged in his successors : this Pope, whose reign, fatal to the human race, gave birth to the Dominicans, whom, in the sequel, we shall see lighting up so many persecuting fires ; and the Franciscans, those lazy blood-suckers, who fattened on the wealth of states, and the toils of the unfortunate. Innocent III. the insolent master of Emperors and Kings, would not permit to exist, even at the distance of two hundred leagues, men, whose peaceable prayers ascended to the throne of the Almighty, in a language different from his own. In order to make a dreadful example of resistance, and to pluck out the very roots of heresy, he published a crusade against the Albigenses. Saint Dominick and Pierre de Chateauneuf were commissioned to organize this crusade. The former was likewise vested with the power of granting indulgences, which were to wipe away the stains of sin, and to open the gates of Paradise ; but for whom ? not for the Albigenses repenting of their errors ; but for those whose riches and authority rendered inevitable the ruin of these unhappy men ; for those who, pursuing them sword in hand, should attain to the inestimable merit of imbruing the consecrated steel in guiltless blood. With the motives of this war ostensibly religious, human interests were largely mingled. Those of the Popes have been sufficiently explained above, we have already seen that their great and sole object was to effect the subjection of Europe, and to strengthen, more than ever, the system of domination they had established.

The monarchs, who concerned themselves in the affair, saw, in the contest, an opportunity of weakening the feudal power, and of effecting the overthrow of that grand obstacle to the extension of their authority. The great barons, excited by opposite expectations, calculated, in a manner most favourable to themselves, the chances of the war; and discovered in it the source of new aggrandizement. By protecting the new religious opinions, they hoped to create a people entirely at their devotion; and expected to avail themselves of their attachment, in shaking off the yoke both of the monarch and the church. The people alone fought, with sincerity, to maintain their religious faith; and both the Catholics and Albigenes were far from suspecting that they were but instruments of the passions, the projects and the ambition of those who excited them to arms. The exertions of Saint Dominick, to arouse the gloomy spirit of fanaticism, were but too successful. His labours were incessant; his colleagues and imitators numerous and active. Every pulpit resounded with anathemas against the Albigenes; every court was frequented by the emissaries of persecution. An immense army, inflamed with bigotry, and eager for plunder, was quickly assembled under the walls of Lyons, and the command was conferred upon Simon de Mountfort, a general, in every respect worthy to command in such an expedition.

This Mountfort was of a character peculiar to the age of which I treat. His stature was gigantic, and his strength was equal to his stature. His iron constitution rendered him insensible to fatigue and hardship. He had commenced his military career in the crusades of the Holy Land. In these distant expeditions, undertaken with blind and ill-directed devotion, his mind became occupied with that bloody fanaticism, which the legates of the pope so eagerly wished for in the person to whom they should intrust the conduct of their armies. Born and educated in the camp, at an era when ignorance was the portion of the great, war was his only science, massacre his dearest recreation, plunder his

most gainful employment. He thought himself dishonoured by sentiments of pity. No chivalrous virtues compensated his ferocity; his courage was the courage of the robber. Deaf to the voice of nature, regardless of the rights of men, he kept no faith in treaties, no moderation in prosperity. With him, no law was sacred, no oath was obligatory. Such was the character of this champion of religion. He was intrusted with the interests of heaven, because stained with all the vices of impiety. Sacerdotal intolerance opened the paths of glory and salvation to him, who, in more happy times, had soon expiated his crimes on the scaffold. Raymond Earl of Thoulouse was the first against whom the rage of the crusaders was directed. In his territories the Albigenses principally flourished. Pope Innocent III. having attempted, in vain, by entreaties and by menaces to prevail upon the Earl to exterminate these the most peaceable and faithful of his subjects, and roused to the utmost pitch of fury by his refusal, had pronounced Raymond excommunicated.

In general, during these ages of darkness, when a prince had drawn upon his head the anathema of Rome, his people considered themselves absolved from their oath of allegiance; his most devoted servants dared never more to approach his person; to assist him was sacrilege; his society was contagious; his palace became a solitude; he seemed to be placed out of the protection of the laws of nature. These dreadful consequences, however, resulted not to the Earl of Thoulouse. His subjects, the enemies of the Holy See, filled with the most lively gratitude by this proof of their sovereign's affection, exerted themselves, with assiduity, to repay so important a favour, by redoubling their fidelity to his person, and their zeal in his defence. If such an example were allowed to pass unpunished, the power of Rome was at an end. The security which he continued to enjoy, had quickly opened men's eyes to the imbecility of papal censures, and to the innocence of their spiritual thunders. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary

to destroy him, and yet the purity of his life, and the respectability of his character, deprived even sacerdotal ingenuity of a plausible pretext for so atrocious an act of iniquity. Chance, at length, supplied one. Pierre de Chateauneuf, the legate who had pronounced the excommunication of Raymond, was drowned, by accident, in crossing the Rhone. The intolerant priest was instantly transformed into a saint and a martyr; the virtuous Earl was stigmatized as a murderer and assassin, and held up to the eyes of the world as an object of execration. The infamous falsehood was blindly admitted, and the crusade gained an accession of reputation. Innocent opened the treasures of heaven to those who should arm in the sacred cause, in order to inflame the fanaticism of the people: he bestowed the estates of Raymond upon whoever should seize them, to arouse the ambition of the great.

In this state of things, the army quitted Lyons to march against Thoulouse. Their numbers, their rage, their threats, their devastations, alarmed the fears of Raymond. His virtues were of the mild, pacific cast; he was averse from the horrors of war, and anxious, if possible, to protect his people from its miseries. His mind lost its firmness; he promised obedience to the church, and sought to be reconciled to her favour. From the terms upon which that favour was granted to his supplications, the reader will best judge of the spirit of the times. He was forced to deliver seven castles to the legate, as a security for his future behaviour, and to submit to be scourged in the church of Saint Aude. This sentence was performed with so much severity, that his body was torn and swelled to such a degree, that it was impossible to put on his clothes, and he was forced to return naked to his palace. He was also treated in the same cruel manner at the sepulchre of St. Peter the martyr, at new Chartres, whom the Earl, for some crime, had commanded to be put to death. Being thus secure, on the side of Thoulouse, the crusaders directed their exertions against the capital of the Count de Beziers. He did



not imitate the example of Raymond ; but before having recourse to violence, he earnestly sought every means of conciliation. He repaired, in person, to the hostile camp ; he represented to the legates, that those who had adopted the new opinions composed the smallest portion of the inhabitants of Beziers ; that his personal attachment to the Catholic religion, like that of the Earl of Thoulouse, was well known to his Holiness ; he engaged to watch over the conduct of the Albigenses, from whose mild demeanour, indeed, no evil could be apprehended ; he even cast himself upon his knees at their feet, and besought them, in the name of mercy and of God, to spare his unhappy country the horrors they were preparing for it : but in vain ; these merciless fanatics remained inflexible. The siege of Beziers commenced : it was urged with all the fury of persecution, and sustained with all the energy of despair. The contest was too unequal : upon the 22d of July, 1209, a day ever memorable in the annals of Europe, the ramparts were forced, and the crusaders entered the city. Bleeding humanity attempts, in vain, to discredit the sad story of the scene which followed. Men, women, children, old and young, were murdered, without mercy and without distinction. Not even the temples of the Almighty were respected ; the unhappy victims were slaughtered upon the very altars to which they had fled for refuge ; and when the troops were wearied with massacre, they fastened the doors of the churches, wherein thousands were immured, and setting fire to the buildings, the conflagration completed the destruction of those whom the sword had spared.

When the soldiers demanded of the Abbot of Citeaux, by what mark they should distinguish the Catholics from the Albigenses, he replied ; spare none : God will know how to discover those who are his own. After this, we need not be astonished to hear that upwards of sixty thousand victims perished on this day. This barbarous conduct served only to inflame the courage of the

Albigenses, and henceforth religious fanaticism had to contend against the fanaticism of vengeance. But the plunder of Beziers attracted, to the army of the crusaders, an innumerable multitude of desperate adventurers, without property and without hopes; wretches who, in all ages, are eager for insurrections, massacres and wars.

Such men abounded in these turbulent times, and soon swelled the bands of Mountfort to three hundred thousand men. The Count of Beziers had retired to Carcassonne. The Aude divides this city into two parts, one especially termed the city, built on a hill, and strongly fortified; the other called the town, more exposed and more weakly defended. This place was, therefore, soon forced by the assailants, and shared the fate of Beziers: every inhabitant was put to death; neither age nor sex could gain respect or mercy. The city still defended itself, and famine and disease began to make dreadful havoc among the ranks of the besiegers. Unable, therefore, to make themselves masters of the place by force, they scrupled not to employ the basest treachery. Acquainted with the generous spirit of the Count, with whom they contended, they employed, in this infamous negotiation, a man belonging to one of those orders of knighthood, whom the noble courtesy of the age refused to suspect of baseness or of falsehood. For notwithstanding the gloom of ignorance and tyranny which hung over the middle ages, we are obliged to confess, that the virtues of chivalry diffuse a brilliant and striking light through the surrounding darkness. Such unimpeachable veracity; such strict honour; such generous loyalty; such an ardent, yet simple, devotion; so strongly do these high qualities interest our affections, that if history present us with an instance of a knight, degenerating from that nobleness of character so common to the order, we feel afflicted at his defection: his baseness derives a deeper tinge from the neighbouring excellence of his peers and contemporaries. A man of this stamp was necessary for the legates

to abuse the confidence of the Count of Bezieres. They had need of a chevalier, and they found one for their purpose. This wretch approached the walls of Carcassone ; he solicited an interview with the prince, which was speedily granted ; he represented to him that the legates, struck with admiration of his bravery, were desirous of peace, and that they wished to treat with the hero himself, in person ; he swore, upon the honour of a chevalier, to guarantee his safety, and besought him to terminate the horrors of war, to pity the calamities of his subjects. His apparent candour ; his flattering promises, prevailed over the unsuspecting temper of the prince ; he left his ramparts, and repaired to the camp of the assailants. The reader has, no doubt, anticipated the result : he was instantly arrested, loaded with irons, and cast into a dungeon, where he terminated his life, a sacrifice to the perfidy of those who pretended to be influenced only by zeal for the religion of Jesus.

I trust I shall be excused from dwelling longer upon this melancholy narration, than is necessary to mention, in a few words, the event which followed. The Earl Raymond alarmed at the progress, and enraged at the cruelty of the crusaders, at length took up arms. He assembled his forces, and received even powerful auxiliaries from the kings of England and Arragon, to whom he was related ; but this army was defeated with dreadful slaughter, and the Earl and his son driven from his dominions. Notwithstanding, in the year 1215, the young Earl Raymond, with the help of auxiliary forces, renewed the war against Mountfort, and recovered part of his dominions, including the city of Thoulouse, which, Mountfort, endeavouring to retake, was killed by a blow of a stone, said to have been thrown by a woman. The city, though in flames and half destroyed, was thus delivered from its merciless foe, and by this success, Raymond recovered the earldom of his father, who died in the year 1221, and was succeeded by his son, who could not obtain, with all his endeavours, a Christian burial for his father. Yet, soon after, he found means to banish, from

Thoulouse, the inquisition, which had already been began to be established, for which Pope Honorius III. commanded the Dominicans to proclaim another holy war, by him denominated the Penance War against Heretics. He also exhorted Lewis VIII. King of France, to take up arms against the Albigenses ; declaring, in the impious style now adopted by the Holy See, “ It is the command of *God*.” The French monarch, accordingly, undertook the expedition ; and, with a large army, sate down before Avignon, which was valiantly defended by Earl Raymond. At this siege fell many of the greatest captains in the French army ; and at length the dysentery swept away still greater numbers ; and among them the king himself, whose death was carefully concealed by the Pope’s legate. But this crafty priest, perceiving that Avignon could not be subdued by force, prevailed on the inhabitants, under the security of an oath, to admit him, and some other prelates, in order that they might see whether the cry of heresy was as true as it was loud. But the French, as the legate had perfidiously contrived, entered at the gate opened for the prelates, and seized the city, which they immediately plundered, massacring the greater part of the inhabitants, and binding the rest in chains

After Avignon was thus treacherously taken, they bent their whole force against Thoulouse. That city sustained the siege for a long time, Earl Raymond omitting nothing that became the most experienced commander ; yet at length it was forced to surrender, and this brave but unfortunate young man, after several conferences, was compelled to go to Paris, where, on very hard terms, he at last obtained peace. By way of penance, he was led to the high altar, barefooted, in his shirt and trowsers, and there absolved from the sentence of excommunication, after having made a solemn vow to persecute heretics ; which vow the holy fathers took care to force him to perform.

This event utterly ruined the affairs of the Albigenses ; all further resistance immediately ceased ; and the inquisition, whose

obscure birth was scarcely perceived amid the violence of this storm that raged for more than twenty years, now grown to a great and formidable magnitude, substituted its horrors for those of war, and exterminated the small remains of the Albigenses, which the sword had left. Their cities were subverted; their villages reduced to ashes; their fertile fields became a barren wilderness. A few scattered stragglers only escaped, who crossed the Rhone and the Alps, and concealed themselves among the vallies of Piedmont; here, incensed by their injuries and their sufferings, their mild tempers exasperated into hatred, they sent up prayers beseeching Heaven for vengeance for their fathers, and consolation for their children.

## B O O K   I I .

*Erection of the Inquisition into a Tribunal—The Dominicans and Franciscans chosen to compose it—Motives for this Preference—Their Cruelties in Languedoc—Experience many Obstacles in Italy—False Policy of Frederick II.—Address of the Popes—They increase the Power of the Inquisition—Consolidate their temporal Power, and plunder the Princes attached to the Emperors—Revival of Letters in Europe, and its Effects upon the Inquisition.*

IN the preceding book, we have taken a view of the events which gave rise to the establishment of the Inquisition, and of the bloody omens which presided over its birth. We shall now give an account of its constitution, of the sort of men who composed its original tribunals, and of the labours by which it rendered itself but too conspicuous. Whatever satisfaction Innocent III. may have derived from the success of his legates, and from the victories of Simon de Mountfort, he had too much penetration not to foresee, that this war, though in reality a war of extermination, would never effect the total extinction of the sect of the Albigenses. The courage and perseverance displayed by these persecuted men, were sufficient to teach him that the sight of their tombs would serve but to impart new energy to the minds of their descendants: he perceived, that such a contest could not be maintained without intermission; that peace would restore the losses of his enemies; that persecution, so far from enslaving mens' consciences, tends only to strengthen, with new adherents, the party of the persecuted; that the pillage of cities, the plundering of countries, and the massacre of their inhabitants, are

arguments impotent in theology ; that the power of the sword was necessarily of short duration ; that his grand policy would be, to create an authority, whose action should depend not upon peace nor war, and whose arm ever raised, may strike at all times and in all places, without any signal but its own inclination.

His most anxious wish was, therefore, to have a tribunal, occupied solely in searching after heretics, and whose constant endeavour it should be to effect their detection and their punishment. But to make a choice of men, fitted by their situation and dispositions to assume so terrible a function, was a matter of considerable difficulty. It was necessary that they should be so far divested of all honourable feelings as to undertake, without reluctance, the degrading occupation of spies : that to a blind attachment to the interests of the Court of Rome, they should join a servile deference to her pleasure. That they should be so sensible of the meanness of their condition, as to derive importance from the employment which it was intended to confer on them, it was necessary that they should be free from all those ties of kindred or affection which bind men to society ; that they should have formally renounced all the mild sentiments of nature, and rendered their hearts insensible to every impression of tenderness and humanity. It was further important that they should be little acquainted with matters of religion ; more accustomed to believe than to examine ; that they should possess all the merits of true fanatics ; they must be without mercy, without compassion, without humanity ; and their hatred against heretics be ever nourished by the avaricious apprehension of losing the salaries which they received as the reward of their persecutions.

The monks of Saint Dominick, and of Saint Francis, appeared to the Pope to unite all the qualities which he required : they derived their existence from the Holy See, and their submission to her will was, consequently, unbounded. That enthusiasm for seclusion, those fasts and mortifications, which signalized the origin

of all the monastic orders, and which so speedily gave way to indolence and disgust; this enthusiasm had already begun to decline among them, and they were, therefore, less averse to an employment, which renewed their intercourse with the world. Their poverty, which was then so abject, and consequently so humiliating to their pride, the obligation of mendicity, an inexhaustible source of insults, which they were compelled every moment to endure; all these circumstances conspired to produce that frame of mind, which was likely to accept with joy an office which would raise them from this degraded condition. They were poor, and they might become rich: they were despised, and they had it in their power to become objects of terror: these were allurements too enticing to be resisted! In assuming the monkish habit, they had renounced even the names of their fathers; all sentiments of nature were extinguished in their breasts. Immured in the cloister, they lived together, rather than in society; they felt no kind regards, no friendship, no confidence. Mutual envy and jealousy inspired their minds; they assembled without affection, they separated with disgust; ever bending with hypocritical reverence to superiors, whose despotic severity they daily experienced; cursed with tempers, continually soured by that rigorous discipline, they were compelled to exult in as a blessing; irritated by the impossibility of complaint, and the danger of confiding, selfishness became their passion, hatred their habit, and treachery their policy. Thus did these men appear to have passed through the noviciate, necessary to qualify them for the office they were about to undertake: they, consequently, entered upon it with ardour, and by their earliest labours, fully justified the high opinion which the Pope had conceived of their zeal and of their fitness for this important function.

I should mention, however, that their power was far from being so extensive at first, as it became afterwards; perhaps it did not enter into the contemplation of Innocent to authorize them to prepare those fagots, which became the instruments of such un-



heard of barbarity. Their first instructions were simply to labour for the conversion of heretics, by their instructions and their sermons; to acquire information of their numbers and their rank, to examine whether the Catholic priests and magistrates were zealous in restraining them: and, finally, to ascertain whether the bishops and their ministers exerted a sufficient degree of care and diligence in their detection. The result of these various inquiries was the subject of the reports which they transmitted to Rome, and, upon receiving these reports, the Pope took such measures as appeared to him expedient. It was from this employment that they derived the name of Inquisitors.

There was, besides, insinuated into these primitive instructions one article, capable, by itself, of affording a presage how destructive to the human race this authority would become, if not suppressed at its very commencement. By this article, the Inquisitors were directed to exhort princes and magistrates to punish, even with death, those who should persist in their errors; and it was not difficult to foresee that, if these exhortations proved ineffectual, they would endeavour to take into their own hands the execution of that, which they could not obtain from others.

The event of the war, which we have related, led the Pope to extend his views, and to multiply the springs which he resolved to put in motion. He enlarged, therefore, the authority of the first Inquisitors, he bestowed on them the power of granting indulgences, of preaching crusades, of exciting both kings and their subjects to war, of placing themselves at the head of armies, and of conducting them wherever they might be serviceable in the extermination of heretics.

After this increase of their power, we ought not to expect that the conclusion of the war against the Albigenses, should be the dawn of peace to the south of France: far otherwise!—it was the æra which gave a date to the origin of her misery and her shame; their persecutors, remitting nothing of their vengeance, only chang-

ed their weapons, they ceased from the combat, but they erected the scaffold.

On viewing the narrow bounds within which the Court of Rome seemed to have circumscribed their powers, we should naturally be surprized at their early excesses, for more than fifty years elapsed between the origin of their institution and the epoch, when the Inquisition was, finally, exalted into a permanent tribunal; and even then it was but in a few places of Italy. It is, likewise, a circumstance worthy of remark, that France, destined to be almost the only one of the great Catholic states, in which the tribunal of the Inquisition failed to attain complete success, should be thus, by a singular fatality, the first country that was desolated by its cruelties. But why did they so soon transgress the bounds which had been prescribed to them? This is easily explained: at first, that horror, excited by the barbarity of the crusaders, during the existence of this long and bloody war, seized upon the minds even of the Catholics, most of whom had seen their brethren murdered without distinction, under the pretext, that God would distinguish them among the heretics.

In this state of mens' minds, a single glance from a Dominican was sufficient to inspire terror; and if the most religious and most orthodox conduct were no security against the suspicion of heresy, which the caprice or hostility of a monk, might, at any moment lay to a man's charge, we may conceive what a profound silence the interest of each man would prompt him to preserve, upon the scenes which he every day witnessed: fear sealed his trembling lips, when the slightest murmur might have been his death-warrant. The terror extended even to the civil authorities, whose members were not exempt from the inquisitorial censure; the base apprehension stifled the high spirit of the magistrates. Uncertain whether a courageous resistance to the arbitrary will of these monks would be favourably interpreted by the princes from whom they derived their powers; fearful of being sacrificed, either

to some political interest which they were unable to foresee, or to that abject dependence, in which these sovereigns happened at the moment to be placed upon the court of Rome, they suffered their fellow-citizens to be oppressed, they preferred their own security to the obligation of protecting them, and to that generous courage which might have ruined, but must have immortalized them.

The bishops afforded no more propitious shelter to the victims of inquisitorial fury; some of them participating, or feigning to participate in the sentiments of the Holy See, and urged by personal ambition, hoped by this complying conduct, this real or pretended dependence, to pave their way to the highest dignities of the church, which would have placed them beyond the reach of their persecutors: others, discontented at seeing themselves robbed of that jurisdiction which they had exercised, from the earliest ages of Christianity, and fired with secret resentment against the Dominicans, whom they regarded as the most dangerous assailants of the episcopal authority, beheld, with silent joy, their odious excesses, and flattered themselves that, one time or other, the public indignation must be roused to avenge itself; and, expecting by this means, to recover their usurped prerogatives, they were careful not to restrain their rage, nor to correct their indiscretion. The inferior clergy followed the example of their bishops, fired with fanaticism, when the latter showed themselves the partizans of the Papal power, regardless of the event when they appeared uninterested.

As for the Dominicans, they were conscious that they had exceeded their commission, but the distance to which they were removed from the eye of their master, and their certainty that the groans of their victims would never be heard in Rome, encouraged them in their audacious enterprize, and caused them to listen only to their passions. Besides, should these complaints against their conduct ever reach the foot of the pontifical throne, they were aware that they should much more easily obtain pardon for having

overstretched, than for having fallen short of the limits of their authority. Although their order had been but recently established, they were already sufficiently versed in the policy of courts to know that the great art of pleasing is to take upon one's self the responsibility of certain measures, which their superior never directly commands: and that it is by this species of address that a man renders himself necessary, and establishes himself in favour. They imagined, likewise, that it was a matter of importance to their future greatness, to inspire, from the moment of their birth, by multiplied acts of barbarity and cruelty, which always passed with impunity, an awful opinion of their credit with his Holiness: they knew well, that the order which was most feared must become at length the most powerful and resistless. They nevertheless urged the madness of their persecutions, in some instances, to so frightful an excess, that several cities rose in opposition to their attempts: but so far from punishing, or even censuring their conduct, Rome confirmed the decrees which they had passed. I shall mention but a single instance.

Two Dominicans, whose names History has recorded, Fathers Arnold and William, exercised at Albi, the functions of Inquisitors. Ten years had now elapsed since the sacking of this unfortunate city, by Simon de Mountfort: exile, tortures, and death were the means which these monks daily employed in conversion. In the excess of their madness, they imagined that the dead, as well as the living, were amenable to their tribunals, and, thenceforward, the asylum of the grave became no longer sacred in their eyes. Fired with these sentiments, they repaired, one day, to the cemetery of the church of Saint Stephen: upon that same day the prelate of Albi, presided at the synod of his diocese, it being Whitsun-week. Arrived in this mansion of the dead, they summoned the officers of the ecclesiastical tribunal, and commanded them to tear from the ground the body of a woman, whom they charged with heresy. The judges, terrified at this savage order,

represented to them, that the horror of such a spectacle would probably excite the people to violence; they endeavoured to recal them to sentiments less impious; they painted, in lively colours, the danger to which they would be themselves exposed, and ended, by a formal refusal to obey the requisition. Exasperated at this unexpected opposition, the monks seized a mattock, hastily removed the earth, raised the coffin, and having dashed it in pieces, dragged the dead body along the ground, in presence of the multitude. The people were at first frozen with horror at the sight, and remained for some time in silence; but reason and humanity quickly resumed their place, and the revolt against their tyrants became universal. They surrounded the monks, and seized their persons: cries were heard demanding their departure, expulsion, their condemnation. These fanatics defended themselves with courage proportioned to their imminent danger, and being fortunate enough to escape the hands of the enraged populace, they took refuge in the cathedral, where the synod was assembled. The bishop and the priests, alarmed for the consequences of such a scene, and for the probable results of the popular indignation, employed the most urgent solicitations and prayers to calm their mutual violence. Vain attempt! The furious monks, far from adopting more moderate sentiments, ascended the pulpit and fulminated a general excommunication against all the inhabitants of Albi. Orthodox and heretics, all were involved in the same undistinguishing denunciation. I have before mentioned the usual effects of excommunication in these days of ignorance and darkness. The people were filled with consternation at the sentence, and the triumphant Inquisitors thought only of prosecuting their personal vengeance, for, it can be well conceived that, in such circumstances, their rage, at the insult offered to their authority, spoke much louder than the cause of God. Arrests without number took place; the dungeons were filled, and fagots prepared.

At length, the sovereign authority, which had so long slum-

bered, awakened at least, for a few moments : and commissioners were dispatched to Albi, to decide between the Inquisitors and the people. They were, upon their arrival, instantly excommunicated by the Dominicans : but, for this once, they disregarded the sentence. Justice resumed its course, the prisons were laid open, the devoted victims were set at liberty, and the most bloody of the Inquisitors banished. The people extended their vengeance no farther, than to forbear carrying alms to their convent ; want soon forced them to retire, and happily it was for ever.

Rome, though informed of these events, pronounced no censure upon the authors of the mischief. On the contrary, she gave the sanction of her approbation to their conduct, by refusing, obstinately, to remove the excommunication pronounced against the commissioners, which she had rather suffer to continue for ever, than confess that her agents had acted improperly.

Such was, not only at Albi, but universally throughout the country, the conduct of these Dominicans, whom Dom Vaisetta has described with so much energy, in his *History of Languedoc*. “ They inflicted,” says he, “ the most cruel tortures on those whom they caused to be imprisoned, under the pretence of heresy, in order to force them to the confession of crimes, of which they were perfectly innocent ; they suborned witnesses, they falsified proceedings, &c., so that all people seemed disposed to join in a revolt.” And how can we reject the testimony of so respectable an authority, when we see the Abbot of St. Genevieve, a witness of these atrocities, and a cotemporary writer, exclaim : “ I find every where nothing but cities consumed by the flames, and houses in ruins. The perils which environ me cause the image of death to be ever present to my view.” Even the Abbot Nonotte, whom nobody will accuse of an excessive toleration, expresses himself thus, “ One cannot read without horror the severity, or rather the cruelty, which was exercised against the Albigenes. This severity was never inspired by the spirit of Jesus

Christ. The massacre of Beziers, the pillage of Carcassonne, the capture of Lavaur, excite emotions of horror." He adds, indeed: " But this horror is diminished, when we consider the frightful excesses and massacres of which the Albigenes were themselves guilty." It is easy to perceive, that this latter paragraph is only a sort of penance, to which the author seems to have condemned himself, for having yielded to the force of truth. Indeed, how much more excusable are they who repel force with force, and make reprisals for the barbarity they have experienced, than those who have no other motives for their persecution than a difference of opinion; and who does not know how averse were the religious sentiments of the Albigenes to the effusion of blood? However this be, a long war, marked with calamities and ferocity; thousands of innocent persons exiled and tortured; powerful princes disturbed in their government, or stripped of their possessions; the seed of revolt sown throughout their cities; the people encouraged to take the distribution of justice into their own hands, despising the authority of the laws; religion depreciated and dishonoured by the enormities of her defenders; such were the evils which the Inquisition had already given rise to in Europe, and as yet it was but in its infancy.

About this period, arose that celebrated rivalry between the pontifical and imperial authorities. The Popes, more occupied in the humiliation of sceptres than in the conversion of heretics, now, less frequently, directed their regards towards the children of St. Dominick; deprived of a portion of their credit and protection, they became less formidable. Rome had less time to occupy herself in their concerns, and the interests of heaven yielded to the more important interests of the world. The revolters from Rome availed themselves of these moments of repose, and multiplied considerably; the ordinary consequence of persecutions. When the Popes perceived their rapid increase, they became convinced, that their own security demanded that they should arrest the tor-

rent in its course ; and it was only then they resumed their ancient project of erecting the Inquisition into a permanent tribunal. By one of these strange contradictions, which we sometimes remark between the conduct and the interest of certain princes, contradictions of which History affords but too many instances, it happened that the Emperor Frederic II. who had been so often insulted in person, and so cruelly harassed in his government by the Holy See, declared himself, with uncommon rigour, against the heretics, and became the warmest supporter of the Inquisition. This prince, whose genius was superior to the age in which he lived, deviated, in this instance, from that prudence for which he was distinguished. In declaring himself the partizan of the Inquisitors, and the enemy of heretics, he hoped to veil his real intentions from the nations which he governed, and from those whose alliance he courted. He wished to persuade them that, in the wars which he maintained, it was not religion, nor the rightful authority of the Holy See, that he opposed ; that he distinguished between the person of the Pope and the tiara which he bore ; in fine, it was evidently one of his principal ends, by the adoption of such measures, to expose publicly the imposture and calumny of the Popes who, in order to strip him of his dominions, had charged him with atheism, impiety, and blasphemy : a false and disastrous policy, of which he, eventually, experienced all the pernicious consequences. But Frederick had other motives, less pure, which were not without their influence upon this occasion. He perceived, that the Inquisition, though erected for the promotion of religion, might easily be made subservient to other purposes. He clearly discerned, that in skilful and vigorous hands it would become an irresistible engine of oppression and of tyranny ; he had enemies whom he wished to oppress, subjects over whom it was his inclination to tyrannize ; and he therefore countenanced its establishment. It was at Pavia that he issued these decrees so favourable to the Inquisitors, and so alarming to the heretics ; he then



declared, that he received the former under his Imperial protection ; that he entrusted them with the cognizance of the crime of heresy ; and that he commanded the secular judges to execute the sentence they should pass ; ordaining the punishment of fire for such as should continue obstinate in their errors, and perpetual imprisonment for those who should repeat. These edicts fell almost into oblivion, at least for a considerable number of years. But if Frederick did not derive from them the advantages he expected, Rome made but too powerful an use of them, in the sequel, to persecute, in Italy, the partizans of the Imperial powers. Thus Frederick, by his weak and treacherous policy, was guilty of three serious faults ; first, he alienated the affections of those, whose interest it would have been to support him, by every means in their power, and thus laboured for his own destruction : secondly, he issued decrees, which he had neither time, nor means to cause to be respected or executed, and, by this means, exposed to contempt the sovereign, which is always treated with disrespect, when its laws are without vigour : thirdly, he supplied his enemies with weapons, to ruin, in Italy, the most respectable defenders of his power ; weapons the more perfidious, as the Popes, in employing them, seemed only to yield to the wishes of the Emperor ; while those, against whom they were directed, appeared in opposition to the very authority whose rights they maintained. As the protracted discord between this emperor and the sovereign Pontiff, is foreign to my subject, I shall recount, neither the events of the contest, nor the varied successes of the parties. I shall content myself with observing, that they served only to manifest the audacious pretensions of the Popes, to display the weight of the yoke, which they had imposed upon the necks of all people, and the degraded dependence, in which they held, even the most formidable potentates : in a word, to consecrate that temporal domination, which they had so long laboured to obtain. None of the sovereign Pontiffs had vaunted this pretended right of bestowing and of resuming thrones,

with more haughtiness than Gregory VII. The irresolution of the Emperor Henry IV. his momentary firmness, too often, succeeded by unaccountable imbecility; his submission, as abject as his vengeance was ill-concerted, had made a most pernicious impression upon the minds of the vulgar. Seeing the violences of Rome unpunished, they concluded her pretensions to be well founded. On the other hand, the triumph of Gregory VII. had taught his successors how far they might venture to proceed, and there was no doubt of their following his example. It is an undenied truth, that during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and even after that period, the throne of St. Peter was not always the seat of the Christian virtues. Being frequently occupied by men, whose ambition had put in practice every species of intrigue, to acquire that elevation, they still maintained, when in possession of their object, that turbulent spirit, that audacity, that pride, that lust of power so conspicuous in men, whose only aim is the advancement of their fortunes. The exercise of intrigue is seldom the discipline of justice; ambition and peace but rarely pursue the same path, and the Popes must necessarily keep the world at war, as long as the tiara was the prey of the least scrupulous or the most enterprising. Frederick II. possessed a character of greater firmness than Henry IV. His courage rendered him more formidable: but Innocent III. had been his guardian, and thought himself entitled to demand much upon the credit of this relation. Hence the origin of these storms which assailed the head of this emperor during his whole life. Honorius III. was not of a more pacific temper, but his short reign, which lasted but one year, will not permit us to judge of the extremity to which he might have proceeded.

It was reserved to Gregory IX. to surpass Gregory VII. and Innocent, in their greatest violences. Frederick being afflicted with a disease, and unable to depart for the Holy Land, as expeditiously as the Pope desired, was excommunicated by the Pontiff.

The emperor, upon his return from that crusade, bestowed the throne of Sardinia upon one of his sons. The Pope pretended that nobody could wear a crown without his approbation, and excommunicated Frederick a second time. He did still more; he deposed him, and offered the empire to Louis IX. King of France, for Robert of Artois, his brother. Louis refused it. "How," said he, "does the Pope dare to depose so potent a prince, who has never been convicted of the crimes laid to his charge? If he had merited such a sentence, it could only have been pronounced by a general council." His devotion did not prevent Louis IX. from being sensible of the dignity of monarchs; but he was not entirely exempt from the prejudices of his time. Had a general council a better right to depose a sovereign prince than the Pope? no surely! nevertheless recourse was had to arms. Frederick was every where victorious. Gregory IX. died, and was succeeded by Celestine IV. who reigned but one month. The papal throne remained vacant for two years; a season of delightful repose to Frederick; the only repose he had tasted during his life. To fulfil the pleasure of the Holy See, he had journeyed far from Europe, exposing his life to the sword of the Saracens. Upon his return, he beheld Rome testify her gratitude by proclaiming a crusade against himself; by plundering him of the whole of Lombardy, and part of Germany; and, to crown all, she had, in contempt of the sacred laws of nature, encouraged his children to revolt, and armed the hand of the son against the life of his parent; and, for what? because he endeavoured to preserve inviolate the integrity of his imperial prerogatives!

The purple was at length conferred upon Cardinal Sinibald, who took the name of Innocent IV. Peace now seemed secure. The strictest friendship had subsisted between Sinibald and Frederick; but the remembrance of this friendship remained not beneath the pontifical crown. Innocent surpassed even Gregory IX. in the insolence of his demands; and Frederick, thus deceived by the man

whom he had most loved, became more obstinate in his refusal to comply. Their mutual animosity rose to the highest pitch, and fortune declared for the emperor. He was in full possession of his resources, and the reign of the Pope was but commencing. Unable to provide for his defence; pressed for want of time, and assailed on all sides, Innocent was compelled to abandon Italy. He took refuge in France, and arriving at Lyons, he assembled that celebrated council in which his fury displayed itself without restraint. Louis IX. of France, and Henry III. of England, were present; their solicitations for Frederick were haughtily rejected. Two sovereigns permitted a priest to plunder their equal, without avenging the regal majesty thus insolently outraged. The ambassadors of the emperor met with as unfavourable a reception. The Pope listened only to the suggestions of his hatred. He excommunicated and deposed Frederick at the same time: this was the immediate signal for war. The electors were divided in their sentiments, and the empire was bestowed upon Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse. Conrad, the son of Frederick, attacked Henry, vanquished and slew him. William, Count of Holland, his successor, was not more fortunate. The emperor himself died, soon after, the victim of fatigue and vexation. Conrad, his son, assumed his title, which the electors bestowed upon two other princes, whose names are almost unknown. Conrad preserved only the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and the endless troubles, which the pride of the Popes had then given rise to in Germany, occasioned that interregnum of twenty years, in which the rival factions deluged Germany with the blood of her bravest children.

The Popes, in the enjoyment of peace, because the world was wasted by war, directed their entire force against the Heretics, whose numbers, as before mentioned, had increased considerably in this interval, and it was then that they established the tribunal of the Inquisition. Thus the disasters of the south presided over the birth of the first inquisitors, and the flames of the north gave

splendour to that of their successors. The plan of this institution, drawn up under the eye of the Pope, was presented to his privy council, and submitted to their discussion.

Innocent IV. had no opposition to apprehend on the part of this council, which was composed of cardinals, who were all his creatures, and some of whom, secretly, indulging the hopes of one day attaining to the pontificate, beheld, with pleasure, the foundation of a tribunal, of which they should reap the advantage without incurring the odium. The question, therefore, was less whether the Inquisition should be established, than to provide for the obstacles it might meet with, and to deliberate upon the means of overcoming them. Two of primary importance presented themselves at first view. The first was in the opposition, perhaps insurmountable, which the bishops might offer to the authority it was intended to confer upon the Inquisition: it would, in effect, deprive them of the cognizance of heresy; a right of which they were extremely jealous, and of which they had always been, and were still in possession.

Was not there reason to apprehend that they would consider themselves as proper judges of heresy, as an order of monks, but recently instituted? Discontented as they were at seeing these monks exempted from their jurisdiction, in contempt of the ancient canons, and the constant usage of the church; could it be imagined they would consent to see them raised to be supreme judges of their flocks, perhaps even of themselves, in a point so delicate and so important as that of the doctrine of their faith: could they then hope to obtain their concurrence? and if they should brave their opposition, and proceed, in contempt of their disapprobation; was it not to adopt a measure, the violence of which would be attended with manifest peril? besides, it was evident, that to proceed in this manner would be to treat the bishops with the greatest ingratitude; as, to them were the Popes indebted for a considerable portion of that authority, which the prelates had, uniformly,

exerted themselves to render sacred in the eyes of the people, though at the expense of their own; and that, as power was generally to be maintained only by the same means by which it was first acquired; it was, therefore, strongly the interest of the sovereign pontiffs to preserve a close union with the bishops.

This first obstacle being examined under every point of view, a second, not less important, still remained for their discussion. It was easily perceivable, that this tribunal, invested with the powers it was intended to bestow upon it, would soon deprive the lay judges of their ancient right of instituting process against Heretics. It was therefore to be feared that the Catholic sovereigns, jealous to maintain the magistrates in an authority which was derived from themselves, would unite to oppose the establishment of the inquisition; and that the power of life and death, being one of the highest prerogatives of the regal dignity, it could not be supposed that the monarchs would quietly consent to divide this prerogative with the monks. Of this there was a recent proof in the conduct of Frederick II. who, notwithstanding the countenance he had given to the inquisitors, had conferred on the civil magistrates, alone, the right of passing sentence and of putting it in execution against Heretics. These considerations were inadequate to deter the Pope from pursuing the scheme which he had adopted. As to the bishops, he determined to unite them with the inquisitors, and to declare that nothing should be done without their participation. He flattered himself that, in the course of time, disgusted with the office, its fatigues and its unpopularity, they would suffer the entire business to devolve upon the monks, who would thus, insensibly, obtain the powers which it was judged imprudent to confer all together in the commencement. As to the lay-magistrates, he reckoned with greater confidence on their submission, owing to the almost absolute authority which he enjoyed in Italy, and in which the interregnum of the empire prevented his being molested. However, to soothe their discontents, he declared that

the magistrates should possess the nomination of the inferior officers of the Inquisition, and that none other should be employed : that when the inquisitors thought proper to make visits within the jurisdiction of the magistrates, the latter should have a power of nominating an assessor : that a third of the confiscations should be conferred upon them, which they should employ as the public exigencies might require. As for the rest, he determined to act towards them according to circumstances ; yielding some points of minor importance, which he should magnify as much as possible. Having determined these considerations, and resolved, moreover, that the necessary expenses of the institution should be defrayed by the communities amongst whom it should be established, nothing now remained but to carry the plan into speedy execution. The Dominicans had so well displayed their zeal during the first age of the Inquisition, that to them its functions were intrusted upon the present occasion ; and Lombardy, the Romagna, and the Marche of Ancona where the first provinces in which they were installed.

We cannot fail to remark, with surprize, the extreme timidity with which Innocent commenced the establishment of an institution which had long been so near his heart. This successor of so many pontiffs, whose ferocious temper had excited war between sovereigns and their own subjects, and accumulated so many misfortunes upon the heads of his enemies ; who, though a fugitive and an exile, had contemned the prayers both of Louis and of Henry ; who, proud in the midst of disgraces, had the boldness to excommunicate and to dethrone the most powerful prince of Europe, without other support than the magic of his title, and an assembly of three hundred priests, whose feebleness dared neither resist nor confirm his decree ; this man, who seemed to have only to intimate his will, in order to command obedience ; this man, nevertheless, would not venture, during his life, to extend, beyond the limits of his own territory, an institution which he so fondly cherished. Must we

not recognize, in this diffidence of his powers, the sentiments with which its creation inspired his mind ; must we not say that he foresaw the odium it would excite, and that the founder of the Inquisition was the first man who viewed it in all its attendant horrors ? Thus Circe smiled as she mingled the poisoned draught, and trembled to behold its deadly consequences. The Pope was so sensible of the impression it would make even upon the people in his immediate dependency, that he determined not to rely upon their submission, and wished to bind them still closer by a solemn oath. For this purpose he addressed to the magistrates, priests, and corporations, of the cities in which he established the Inquisition, a bull, divided into thirty-one chapters, in the form of regulations for the institution, in which he inserted two clauses of special rigour : 1st. that these regulations should be enrolled without delay in the public registers, and strictly observed, in spite of all opposition whatever ; of which he reserved to himself the sole cognizance : 2d. that the inquisitors should be obliged to lay an interdict upon all places where the regulations should be disregarded, and to excommunicate those who should refuse to obey them. The Inquisition was at first admitted without reluctance into the three provinces which I have mentioned ; but, when better known, the discontent became universal, and the resistance alarming.

After the death of Innocent, his successor Alexander IV. found himself compelled to modify this bull, and was, nevertheless, unable, by this condescension, to put a termination to their complaints and resistance. After a lapse of six years, Clement IV. and Gregory X. successively, and several other Popes, endeavoured, but in vain, to restore it to its former vigour : the opposition still continued. The Dominicans had, from the very beginning, the imprudence to give free scope to their despotic character. Indiscreet and injudicious spies had intermeddled in the public administration ; had pryed, with malignant eyes, into all its operations ;



had pretended to pass a judgment upon the proceedings, how remote soever from all concerns of religion ; they represented them in a false light to the people, whose obedience they undermined ; they harassed the magistrates with their ill-timed and insolent remonstrances ; they fettered all their actions, and discovered heresy wherever they experienced resistance and reason. Not less dangerous in private society, they insinuated themselves into every house ; they got possession of all the petty disputes of the family ; they fomented all their trifling differences, in order the better to dive into their consciences ; they collected, with malignant assiduity, those accidental expressions, which a transitory difference suggests to a woman against her husband, to a child against his parent, or to a servant against his master ; they caressed men of lively passions, that they might convert them into informers ; they founded their accusations upon reports frequently groundless ; upon confidence betrayed by falsehood ; upon innocent sallies interpreted by jealousy, perverted by envy, poisoned by calumny ; and, disguising their designs beneath the mask of friendship, they pounced, suddenly, upon the victims whom their pernicious industry had marked out, at leisure, for destruction. They shewed no higher regard for the functions of religion ; confession was beyond all others their surest and most perfidious engine of mischief. The faults of others were the only subject of these secret conferences, and a man was absolved from his own sins for having discoursed only concerning the sins of his neighbours. By these hateful and destructive proceedings, they became so universally detested, that the public indignation could be no longer suppressed. The complaints against them assumed a more serious cast, and, to their complaints, the cities added a positive refusal any longer to supply the funds necessary for the subsistence of the inquisitors and their officers, and for the other expenses of the tribunal.

The court of Rome, alarmed at this universal discontent, was obliged to give way ; but her profound policy never abandoned

her in difficulties, and she well knew how to turn to her own advantage the consequences of a storm, which threatened to crush her most favourite institution. She declared, therefore, that for the future, the provinces where the Inquisition should be established, and those in which it still existed, should no longer be obliged to supply the charges of the tribunal; and that, henceforward, they should be provided for by means which should not be, in any degree, burthensome. As to the conduct of the inquisitors, she feigned to disapprove of it; and in order that she might seem to put a restraint upon their excesses, she gave a greater latitude to the prerogatives of the bishops in this tribunal, than had been at first allowed them, as we have before seen, in order to guard against their opposition to its establishments. At first sight, this condescension of the Holy See may wear the aspect of a failure; but Rome, with her wonted sagacity in adopting this line of conduct, was sufficiently aware what important ground she would gain in consequence of this apparent retreat. In the first place, she preserved this her cherished master-piece from that ruin, which every thing announced as inevitable; and which was the point of paramount importance. Then, by this hollow display of her equity, she would re-establish her reputation with impartial persons, and would dispose them, in future, to give less credence to complaints against the inquisitors. In the third place, by increasing the authority of the prelates in the tribunal, she flattered their vanity, and attached them to her cause: fourthly, in herself disbursing the salaries of the inquisitors, she placed them in an absolute dependence upon her pleasure, and forced them, through a regard for their own interests, to an unreserved attachment to her's; in a word, to have no rule but her caprice, no guide but her commands; finally, in relieving the people from the impositions required of them for the maintenance of the Inquisition, she rendered them more indifferent to its proceedings; and whenever she should think proper to employ it against her powerful enemies, she might rest

assured of their acquiescence, when the most important cause of dissatisfaction was in this manner removed. The event quickly manifested the wisdom of the measures, thus adopted by the Holy See; for the Inquisition, though at first established only in the Romagna, the Marche of Ancona, and Lombardy, was now introduced, without difficulty, into Tuscany, Genoa, and every part of Italy, Naples and Venice excepted, for this sole reason, that no longer was any fund required for its subsistence. Nor was she less justified in her calculations upon the indifference of the people; for the opportunity having soon offered itself, of taking advantage of the imprudent protection granted by Frederick to the Inquisitors against the partizans of the imperial power in Italy, the people, without a murmur, beheld the ruin of the most powerful families, whose credit would have easily excited them to resistance, had the Inquisition been supported at their expense. This persecution of the princes of Italy, attached to the imperial family, burst out like a flame in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Matthew Galeacius, Viscount Milan, was the first victim of Papal ambition. Without the shadow of a pretext John XXII. pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, his sons and his followers. Hereby all the cities and lands subject to his government, and all those belonging to his party, were put under an ecclesiastical interdict, and heavy sentences published against all persons who adhered to, favoured, obeyed, or assisted them; and that solemn indulgence, which was always granted to those, who aided in the recovery of the Holy Land, was openly preached against them. The city itself was deprived of its charter, and of all privileges and immunities whatever; and all the inhabitants who favoured Matthew, were given up to be seized by the faithful, to be made their slaves in full right; their effects were granted to any one who could lay hold on them, and their debtors, upon whatever account, freed from all their debts, notwithstanding any instrument or oath they were bound by. Still farther, all who

sent or bought, or carried provisions, or any other things useful to men, to the city of Milan, or who received pay from them, were involved in the same comprehensive excommunication.

Matthew despised the Papal censures, and continued more than three years under excommunication. To revenge this contempt of his censures, the Pope prosecuted him for heresy, as contemning the authority of the Church and her sacred rights; and commanded Aycard, Archbishop of Milan, and the Inquisitors of heretical depravity in Lombardy, to proceed, with all possible rigour against him: and after several citations, he at last pronounced a most violent sentence. The Pope also commanded the Archbishop and Inquisitors, to proceed, in like manner, against all who adhered to the Viscount and his sons, as against favourers of heretics, condemned by the Church, and to punish, according to the ecclesiastical law, all who were convicted of being of his party. The bishop of Parma and two abbots published these sentences, and commanded the anathemas to be every where proclaimed: and enjoined Raymond Cardonus, to assemble an army and chastise the rebels. Several cities were taken, and Matthew was routed. The senate and people of Milan, at length, overcome by the interdict, sent twelve men to the legate to beg peace and absolution. Matthew, quite broken by these misfortunes, as well as by others which threatened him, resigned the Principality to his son, and ordered himself to be carried into the principal church, where he complained that he was unjustly accused of heresy; and protesting, with an oath, that he was, without any crime, deprived of Divine services, he appealed to God, the righteous judge, that he was condemned most unrighteously, by the factious legate, and forced to abandon his country. Thus departing from the city, and making the same profession on the following day, in the church of St. John Baptist, at Monza, he fell into a dangerous fever, and expired a few days after with grief and sorrow. His sons buried him in a private place, concealing his death for some time, lest his body should be burned,

according to the order of the Cardinal Legate and Inquisitors. They used the utmost diligence to discover it, but to no purpose, though they pronounced violent anathemas against those who were privy to and refused to reveal the spot of his interment.

The like sentence was pronounced, not many years after, by the same Pope against Marcilius Paduanus, and John Jandanus, assertors of the Imperial authority against the usurpations of the Popes. The illustrious families of Este, of Ordolafe, of Malateste, and of Manfredi, after a spirited but fruitless opposition, at length, fell a sacrifice to the same unrelenting persecution. The Inquisition was constantly employed, urged by the same principles of avarice and revenge. The interests of religion were made subservient to the interest of aggrandizement, and when the domains of the criminal became the prey of his Holiness, the heresy was frequently forgotten. Such were the first labours of the Inquisition in Italy, and, by the obstacles which its establishment met with, in a country where the Court of Rome possessed so much authority, we may judge of the horror it had already excited. We remember the arts which the Popes were obliged to make use of for its preservation; they displayed no less ability in deriving advantage from those arts. Their first design was to make use of the Inquisition in order to debase the order of bishops; and, by a skilful manœuvre, they employed these very bishops to re-establish the importance of the Inquisitors: they made use of them against Frederick II. to accuse this prince of atheism and impiety, and hoped, by means of this imputation, to alienate from him, the hearts of all the Catholics. Frederick, in taking the Inquisitors under his protection, expected to baffle this intrigue. Nothing could be a greater reflection upon the Inquisitors, than that they should appear to become, on a sudden, the friends of him, whom they had often stigmatized as the enemy of God: but, by a crafty interpretation of this prince's conduct, the Popes saved the Inquisition from the dishonour into which this contradiction must have plunged them; they even made

use of the protection they had obtained from the emperor, to destroy, in Italy, the supporters of his power ; and pretended to defend the laws, which he had established, in order to overthrow, with greater certainty, the authority of his successors.

Never was the human mind more dangerously threatened ; never, since the invasion of the Moors, was Europe exposed to so imminent a peril. If the Inquisition were once established, on the other side of the Alps, as it began to be in Italy, and as the Popes projected, the authority of monarchs was, from that moment, without security ; the grandees of the different nations would become an insignificant band, dependent upon the caprice or the hatred of a monk ; industry would be paralyzed, commerce subverted ; the dearest interests of mankind would be violated ; all generous thoughts would be stifled ; all sciences perverted into crimes ; all discoveries proscribed ; Europe would have become a cemetery, where kings, degraded and trembling, nobles without honour, and without reputation, people without laws or energy, would have been buried unresistingly ; upon this vast waste of ignorance would have arisen the ensanguined throne of papal persecution ; the scaffold which was to murder wisdom and reason ; the executioner who should leave crimes at peace, while the secret thoughts of the mind were made the objects of his vengeance. What power rescued Europe from this, apparently, inevitable degradation ? It was one of those circumstances, which it is not granted to wisdom to foresee, nor to prudence to guard against ; and the importance of which does not, ordinarily, strike mens' minds, until after a long experience has enabled them to consider its various and important results. Is there in History an epoch more worthy the attention of a philosopher, than that in which he beholds the establishment of the Inquisition coincide so nearly with the revival of letters and of arts in Europe, and sees Providence, in this respect, imitate its conduct in the natural world, where it frequently places beside the poisonous weed the plant which contains the antidote ? Providence,

I repeat ; for it was not, assuredly, the presentiment of danger, nor the apprehension of future evil, which gave birth to the art of printing, almost by the cradle of the Inquisition.

It was not human wisdom, which determined the fall of Constantinople, in order to direct the stream of Grecian literature into Italy, to prepare a counterpoise for a system destructive of all intellectual improvement. When Cimabue and Giotto created anew the art of printing, it entered not into their contemplation, that this object of their enthusiasm would lead men to the love of poetry ; that a taste for poetry would carry the mind back into antiquity ; that the faculties would become invigorated by exercise and investigation ; and that the judgment, less wavering and timid, would render the imagination more secure against surprise, more inaccessible to fable, more untractable in the hands of imposture.

When the Portuguese explored the coasts of Africa, and penetrated to the farthest Indies ; when the genius of Columbus conceived the existence of a new world, and his enterprize discovered it, had these hardy navigators in view the propagation of hitherto unknown truths ? Did they purpose to establish a system of the world, the evidence of which should confute those pretended prodigies, invented only to keep the human mind in fetters, and to deter it from the study of nature by alarming it with falsehood ? When ambition, seconded by riches, elevated the Medici to the throne of Florence ; when their son placed himself upon that of St. Peter ; when their refined taste adorned their courts with all the embellishments of the liberal arts ; and when the example of these princes encouraged men to study, and to the investigation of truth and every polite accomplishment ; shall we say that, alarmed at the prevailing ignorance so necessary for the establishment and support of the Inquisition, they sought to prepare an enlightened age which should one day expose its hideous deformity ? No ; the Inquisition once established, every thing conspired against it, and

nobody suspected the fact. It seemed as if an invisible hand prepared the events, and men assisted in their developement, without knowing the enemy against whom their efforts were directed ; as though the Almighty conducted the enterprize, without revealing to his agents either the object of attack, the theatre of the combat, or the day of victory.

Thus the only obstacle, which eluded the foresight of Innocent and his wily successors, was that which it was not granted them to surmount. This obstacle was that universal fermentation, that feverish restlessness which agitated the minds of men during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ; which inspired that ardour for enterprize, that dignity of soul, that insatiate thirst for discovery which elevated men above themselves and rendered them inaccessible to fear or discouragement. First, the sublime conceptions of Dante and Michael Angnuolo, the first characters of printing, the first idea of the Church of St. Peter, antiquity recalled by the discovery of its monument ; and Cicero re-animated to preside over eloquence ; then, the Portuguese “ braving the stormy spirit of the Cape,” the Spaniards seated in the throne of the Incas, Magellan launched on the waves of the ocean, exploring, with bold enterprize, its untravelled circumference : then that dawn of newly discovered truth which beamed upon the mind of Galileo ; the rise of that independent spirit which shone forth in Luther with such beneficial splendour. These were the events which shed a lustre, never to be clouded, over this illustrious period of European history.

The most dangerous enemy of the Inquisition was, therefore, the age in which it was founded. Created two or three centuries earlier, its success would have been more complete, its overthrow more difficult. The boldness of the enterprize, indeed, corresponds with the adventurous character of the times ; whatever be the horror which it inspires, we must allow that the attempt to enslave the thoughts of mankind, in order to rule over the established powers ; to devote the human race to Divine punishment, in order to



secure a single priest from the vengeance of insulted humanity; we must confess, that the attempt displays a degree of enormous wickedness, of atrocious magnanimity, which, at the same time, strikes with admiration, and freezes with horror. But in vain the furies presided over the birth of the Inquisition; in vain the Popes watched the fire-brand to which the infernal Deities had attached the duration of its existence; like Meleager, it was destined to waste and perish as Reason discovered and consumed the torch.

## B O O K III.

*Attempts to introduce the Inquisition into Germany—Persecutions in Bohemia—Its Establishment in France—Pernicious Effect upon Manners—Is attempted to be re-established—Reign of Francis II.—Character and Projects of the Guises—Wise Conduct of Michel d'Hopital—Decline of the Inquisition in France.*

**T**HE Popes being thus freed from all uneasiness upon the side of Italy, turned their eyes towards the rest of Europe, and having long deliberated in what country they should make their first attempt to establish the Inquisition, at length conferred the unhappy distinction upon Germany. As they had much to apprehend from the generous and independent spirit of the people, they directed their ministers to proceed with redoubled caution and address; to avoid intermeddling in the affairs of private families; to make the fairest show of impartiality and moderation in their interrogatories; and, finally, to ordain nothing without previously submitting to his Holiness the cognizance of the crimes brought before their tribunal. The resistance was even greater than they apprehended; some of the cities, into which the Inquisitors had, privately, insinuated themselves, allowed them not the time to carry their plans into execution, but expelled them upon the very first attempt; in some, they permitted, indeed, their settlement, but refused to communicate with them, and forbade the merchants to sell or supply them with any of the necessary articles of life, which compelled them to withdraw of themselves; in many, the first acts of the Inquisitors, were marked by general insurrections, in which curses and even violence were poured out against

them, and which forced them to provide for their safety by a precipitate flight. In some places, however, they were but too successful. In the Austrian states they erected tribunals which, for a considerable time, raged with the most bloody violence, in the city of Crema in particular. Paramus informs us, that several thousand Heretics were apprehended and burned by the Inquisitors. The inquisitorial tribunal was also erected in Prague, but does not appear to have exerted itself, with peculiar energy, till the dawn of the reformation in Bohemia by John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The fate of these unhappy men is generally known. Being summoned to the council of Constance, whither they repaired, relying on the safe conduct of the Emperor Sigismond, they were condemned, by the council, and ordered to be burned. After this atrocious act of perfidy, Martin V. sent letters to the archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors of heretical pravity every where, complaining that, in the kingdom of Bohemia, the marquisate of Moravia, and several neighbouring places, had arisen Arch-heretics, whose writings had been condemned by the council of Constance, insisting that all their followers and abettors should be delivered over to the secular arm, and peremptorily commanding all princes to obey the Inquisitors. By a decree of the same pontiff, the Inquisition was restored and established in Bohemia, whereby many were convicted of heresy, and put to death by various punishments. Some were burnt alive; others thrown into the rivers, tied hands and feet, and so drowned; and others by different methods of cruelty. No country ever suffered more dreadfully than this kingdom from the rage of persecution.

The Pope having, in vain, endeavoured to prevail upon the Bohemians to renounce the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss and Jerome, excommunicated them at Florence, and excited all princes and commonwealths utterly to extirpate this sacrilegious nation; promising an universal remission of sins to the most wicked person,

who should kill but a single Bohemian. The Emperor Sigismund, accordingly, invaded the country with a powerful army, and was guilty of cruelties to which History presents no parallel. Fire, sword, tortures of the most dreadful kind were employed against the Heretics. Their armies were overwhelmed by numbers : their ambassadors perfidiously murdered. The instances of individual torment are too horrible to be narrated ; they almost exceed credibility, as much as they surpassed human fortitude to endure. The consequences, however, are but too conspicuous : the kingdom of Bohemia is, to this day, a terrible instance of the barbarous disposition of religious persecution ; the condition of its inhabitants, a dreadful warning to the rulers of mankind. In vain has nature given them a most excellent soil, and a country, which, for the abundance of all things necessary for the happiness of human life, yields, not perhaps, to any in Europe : in vain are the people of strong and robust constitutions ; gifted by nature with lively and intelligent minds ; patient of labour, and industrious in their tempers : all these advantages are rendered void, to a people subdued, under pretence of heresy, and since rendered stupid by oppression.

Having thus far succeeded, that there might be no place of refuge left for the devoted seceders from Rome, tribunals of the Inquisitions were established, up and down, in all the adjacent countries ; in Hungary, Poland, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Ragusa, Croatia, Istria, Wallachia, in Lower Germany, and other places, to which the power of the Pope could extend itself. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, highly to the honour of the German people, that, except in the instances just mentioned, the establishment of this dreadful tribunal produced not, in the empire, the same deadly consequences which other countries experienced ; nor has it had that baleful effect upon the national character, which has precipitated the downfall of other states. It likewise much sooner fell into disuse and dis-

repute among the generous descendants of the vanquishers of Varus, and the terror of Roman power, than in the more submissive and tractable nations of the south.

From Germany, the Inquisition was soon brought into the neighbouring country of France, where it had languished for many years, after its establishment at Thoulouse, for want of heresies to proceed against. Antonius a Prato, Presbyter Cardinal, by the title of St. Anastasia, Archbishop of Sens, Primate and Chancellor of France, held a provincial council, in February 1528, in which, after he had condemned the doctrine of Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, and their followers; he published a general decree, whereby he declares and renews all the ancient canons of the Lateran council against Heretics, their favourers and defenders; persons suspected of Heresy, and relapsed, as they appear in the decretals, and sometimes guards them by annexing a punishment. To this he added an exhortation to Christian princes, that they should labour to extirpate heresy; and sets before them the examples of Constantine, Valentinian, Theodosius, and others; who, by their vigorous exertions against heretics, found favour with God, and obtained immortal honour among men.

I cannot certainly affirm, whether the Inquisition, which had been disused in France, was, by means of this synod, restored there. This is certain, that the laws used in the tribunal of the Inquisition, were renewed by its decrees, and that it contains express mention of inquisitors; and, from other sources, it plainly appears that, about this time, the Inquisition was again introduced into France; for Francis I. chose inquisitors of the faith from among the Predicant friars. In the orders of that prince, fol. 408, there is a writ bearing date May 30, 1536, by which he appoints Matthew Orry, a predicant friar, inquisitor of the faith. There is likewise extant, an order of the same monarch, dated April 10, 1540, by which authority is granted to Joseph Corregie, a doctor of the same order, to execute the office of inquisitor of the faith

through the entire kingdom. In the third volume, fol. 482, is a royal statute, bearing date July 23, 1543, where, by power, is granted to the ecclesiastical judges and inquisitors of the faith, to make inquisition against Lutherans and Heretics, provided that Laics, and such as had not received holy orders, should be referred to the ordinary judges. There is also another statute of Henry II. dated at St. Germain en Laye, June 22, 1550, by which the edict of Francis I. is recalled, and Matthew Orry, inquisitor of the faith, delivered from the trouble of communicating to the supreme courts, the bailiffs and seneschals, such actions as he brought against Heretics, provided he communicated them to the ordinary diocesans or their vicars. At the same time that power was confirmed to him, by which he was authorized to recover, to a sound mind, either by instruction or admonition, such as erred from the faith; of granting pardon and mercy to the penitent, and of punishing and correcting the obstinate. This statute was inserted in the acts of parliament, with this condition: that the said inquisitors, in all privileged cases, should share the process with the royal judges.

Besides these testimonies, father Paul, in his History of the council of Trent, mentions Anthony Demohares, inquisitor of the faith, and speaks of other inquisitors in France. However, notwithstanding the constant exertions of the Popes to restore and confirm the Inquisition in France, they were far from obtaining the success with which they flattered themselves. The spirit of the people was averse from so galling a yoke; the pride of the clergy would not stoop to so abject a thralldom; and, although the weak and bigotted Lewis had earnestly solicited Alexander IV. in the year 1255, to establish this tribunal in his states; in consequence of which, that pontiff had appointed the prior of the Predicants, or Dominicans, at Paris, inquisitor over all the kingdom, and county of Thoulouse, with the most ample powers, yet the generality of his successors were of a very different character.

The order of things, likewise, in the course of years, underwent

a considerable alteration ; the feudal system had insensibly declined ; the number of the great vassals of the crown, those, I mean, who enjoyed all the prerogatives of sovereignty, and exhibited few marks of subjection but the vain and idle ceremony of homage ; the number of such vassals diminished every day ; sometimes by the extinction of their families ; sometimes by the result of policy ; and sometimes by the consequences of war, the greater part of their estates had fallen into the hands of the monarch. By this means the cities, protected by a superior power, jealous of his prerogatives, and able to maintain them, were less exposed to the invasions of the court of Rome. The magistrates, supported in the exercise of their functions, resisted the execution of laws, which flowed not from the sovereign whose orders they obeyed. On the other hand, the system of the liberty of the Gallican church, a famous object of prelatical ambition, was daily acquiring strength, and presented a formidable obstacle to the designs of the Holy See. Besides this, the dreadful effects of this tribunal in Languedoc, had justly rendered it odious to the people, and every generous and compassionate mind trembled to contemplate the renewal of its atrocities. Justly, however, as the Inquisition was detested in France, this country was the theatre of some celebrated prosecutions, of which the conduct and the catastrophe exhibited all the principles of this iniquitous tribunal, and which wanted nothing of it but the name. Such were those of the Knights Templars, and of Urbain Grandier ; and of what importance is it to humanity, whether a tribunal bear this or that name, if the manner of proceeding be the same, and if there exist no difference between the species of enormity which cause her tears to flow. If the popes, combining together all the elements of intolerance, had not made, of persecution, a code of religious doctrine : if, by the creation of inquisitors, they had not reduced to practice their bloody theory : if the deplorable success of these monks in Italy, and in France, for several years, had not enriched the Holy See with the spoils of

the victims whom they slaughtered in honour of the God of mercy ; Clement V. and Philip the Fair would perhaps have been less sanguinary in their persecution of the Templars ; at least, they would not have found, in the events which preceded their reign, the plan of conduct which they should adopt to assail these celebrated knights ; to fabricate crimes ; to drag them from the jurisdiction of their natural judges ; to conceal their sufferings from the knowledge of the public ; to stifle, beneath vaults and dungeons, the shrieks which torture wrung from them ; to hurl them into the flames without other condemnation than what their executioners pronounced ; to seize upon their spoils without other right but that of their own will. If, by the want of the name, this tragical proceeding belong not to the Inquisition, is it not entirely its own, in the form, the spirit, the termination, the consequences ?

The great wealth of the Templars allured the avarice of the Pope and of the King ; in order to effect their ruin, it was necessary to charge them with crimes. They procured, without difficulty, a host of vile informers ; the most suspicious testimony obtained credit against a numerous body of knights distinguished by their services, by their courage, by their devoted attachment to their country and its religion. They accused, of heresy, men whose occupation was combat and prayer ; of magic, men whose wealth placed them beyond the want of all the assistance even of supernatural agents, were it possible to obtain it ; of profanation and sacrilege, men whose blood flowed in battle only for the defence of Christianity, and who quitted the field only to load the altars with offerings and treasures. In 1311, fifty-seven of these injured men perished by the flames : in 1314, the grand master, Jacques Molai, Guy, and several others, suffered in the same manner. In every point of this cruel proceeding, we recognize the true principles of the Inquisition ; in the secret incitements, its usual avarice ; in the apparent motives, its ordinary perfidy ; in the rank of the accused, its wonted audacity ; in the feigned credence granted to



the most contemptible informers, its habitual iniquity ; in the pretended crimes, its familiarity with falsehood ; in the protracted torments of the prisoners, its unfeeling cruelty ; in the springs made use of to extort a confession of imaginary transgressions, its insidious policy ; in the indifference manifested to their justification, its constant determination to murder the innocent ; in the nature of the punishments, its uniform barbarity ; in fine, in the confiscation of the property of the accused, the only end of its labours. In vain will men say, that the history of this persecution has no relation to the history of the Inquisition : the judges of the Templars acted upon the model of the Inquisitors. When the principles are the same, when the conduct corresponds, the institutions are in fact the same ; the name is nothing, the spirit constitutes the identity. If the truth of this parallel be indisputable, it is no less so in the case of Urbain Grandier ; it is here, perhaps, still more complete, for the judges possess one point more of resemblance to the inquisitors, and that is their absurdity ; absurdity, so much the more striking, as these judges were stimulated, and probably hired, by Cardinal Richelieu, the most accomplished courtier of his time ; the man most celebrated for his wit, and for philosophy also, when ambition did not pervert his understanding.

To suppose that Richelieu believed seriously in magic ; to suppose he really thought that a band of demons could be listened to as testimony upon a prosecution, would be to disgrace, in a new point of view, the memory of this celebrated minister. He laughed, in private, at the absurd credulity of the judges of Grandier, and made it subservient to his revenge ; as the popes, in order to plunder the sovereign princes of Italy, availed themselves of the ridiculous accusations which the inquisitors set forth against them ; but these stories of magic and of devilish agency, invented to amuse the vulgar, and which Richelieu used without any faith in them, a set of Jacobin monks were but too much inclined to believe ; and,

in this respect, the judges of Loudun resembled them still more closely than the judges of the Templars.

Urbain Grandier united to a prepossessing exterior, a considerable portion of literary talents; he was the favorite of the Ursulines, but had the misfortune to displease the Cordeliers, or Franciscans, who had been selected, from the beginning, by Innocent II. to participate, with the Dominicans, in the inquisitorial functions. Grandier, like all men of superior spirit, considered himself above his enemies, and braved their hatred. His enemies, like all monks, silently cherished the hopes of revenge, and prepared their machinations in secret. They contrived, at the same time, to persuade the Ursulines, that they were enchanted by Grandier; the people, that Grandier was a magician, and Cardinal Richelieu, that he was the author of a libel against him. What more could the Inquisition have done to secure the ruin of a victim? Does not this insidious intrigue rival the most accomplished scheme of the holy office in Portugal, Spain and Italy? Grandier was arrested; twelve commissioners were assembled; the most ignorant and credulous persons were selected from all their tribunals, and Loubardement was nominated their president; a man without property, without honour; a slavish instrument of the Cardinal, the mercenary tool of his vengeance; a man who served him in the same capacity that Tristan did Louis XI. The first action of this tribunal was to put Grandier to the torture: it was dreadful: his bones were crushed, and the marrow forced out. Witnesses were heard, but who were these witnesses? Men! no; they were demons! It was the depositions of Astaroth, Asmodeus, of Naphthali, of Uriel, that they received. The judges fancied these infernal spirits had addressed them! and what was the flagitious conclusion of this ridiculous farce? An innocent man, a man of distinguished honour and conspicuous merit was condemned to the flames! When we coolly view the conduct of the judges in this case, is it not the very

conduct of the Inquisitors? In the preparation, do we not see their deep insidious policy, their malignant wiles, their profound science in calumny; in the compositions of the tribunal, the same assemblage of villainy, ignorance, superstition, absurdity; in the decision, the same prejudice, the same iniquity, the same barbarity? And, if we were inclined, by multiplying examples, to demonstrate, more accurately, the truth of the parallel, should we not discover the same analogy, if we examine, attentively, the prosecution of the celebrated Jacques d'Armagnac; of the constable Montmorenci; the enchantments of St. Claude; and, in more recent times, those of Calas and of La Barre?

The Inquisition was not only, itself, the scourge of those states which had the weakness to adopt it, but its baleful influence poisoned and corrupted the minds of men, in those which shewed most spirit in resisting its entrance. Thus, Germany experienced, in the 13th century, the curse of that secret tribunal, whose seat always concealed, whose emissaries ever unknown, caused the monarch to tremble upon his throne, and the peasant in his cottage. This terrible tribunal, whose existence always felt, but never unveiled, rendered miserable the lives of all who lived within its vortex.

If the atrocious spirit of the Inquisition thus displayed itself in France upon a variety of disgraceful occasions, it is, nevertheless, only doing justice to that gallant nation to declare, that its name was held in almost universal abhorrence. Though the French were not, in those days, sufficiently enlightened to recognize its influence upon certain occasions, they were, however, possessed of spirit sufficient to discountenance its enormities, and to detest its principles. Yet, notwithstanding this universal disposition of men's minds, since the epoch of its cruelties in Languedoc, after a considerable period of decline, it was very near being re-established in the kingdom, with more power than ever, beneath the protection of the throne, where a feeble and valetudinary monarch,

of tender age and mean capacity, presided over the destinies of the state.

As this is one of the most important events in the history of the Inquisition, I shall detail its circumstances, at length, to shew, how much the human passions of ambition and revenge, were generally interested in its erection; although the narrative will extend to a much more recent date than that to which I must afterwards revert, in order to trace out its origin in the other countries of Europe.

Francis II. sate upon the throne of France. Henry II. his father, and Francis I. his grandson, alarmed at the progress of the Reformation, had the impolitic folly to countenance the persecution of the Heretics. The accursed spirit of the Inquisition prevailed, but too generally, at that important period; the government was tainted with its principles, prepared the fagot, and devoted numberless victims to its rage. This treatment produced the effect to which persecution has always given rise. The Protestants, far from being intimidated, acquired only an accession of strength; and having penetrated into the court itself, where it was embraced by the first persons of the state, it created itself many powerful protectors, and seemed, at one time, to have acquired a sufficient preponderance to brave the attacks of its enemies. In this delicate crisis, there was need of a man upon the throne, capable of elevating himself above both parties; of firmness sufficient to confine both within proper bounds; to turn a deaf ear to their reciprocal solicitations; to govern each without fearing either; and who, joining, to a proper sense of his own dignity, an enlightened spirit of toleration, should have united them under his impartial protection; and, by forcing them, at first, to adopt mutual forbearance, would, in time, have given rise to a spirit of reciprocal esteem, perhaps even of love. Unpropitious fate had otherwise determined: Francis II. was but sixteen years old. To feebleness of immature age, he added that of character; a delicate

temperament, which his violent passion for his queen, the beautiful Mary Stuart, rendered still more feeble, added to his natural debility. A pupil of the celebrated Amyot, he had derived nothing from his instructor but a taste for letters ; and that is not sufficient for a monarch : but did Amyot himself possess the qualities necessary to form the character of a man destined to fill the throne ? The love of money was Amyot's failing, and the tutor of a king, should himself be endowed with a royal mind : but how shall we appreciate that of Amyot ? Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., were the sovereigns of his formation. Francis II. melancholy, timid and irresolute, was never designed, by nature, for a throne, but seemed born to be himself governed. He was not a king such as France needed, but a tool to be used by the hands of the ambitious ; and in the days of faction and fanaticism, ambition always abounds.

The rapid progress of the reformed religion, was scarcely more owing to the purity of its principles, than to the striking contrast between the conduct of its ministers and that of the Catholic priesthood. Upon one side, piety, learning, simplicity, modesty, disinterestedness, seemed almost to renew the primitive ages of Christianity ; on the other, avarice, debauchery and ignorance, the disgraceful portion of the greater number of bishops, priests, and monks at this epoch, presaged the decline and even the total ruin of Catholicism. The people, who judge, principally, by what they see, and whose good sense is rarely deceived, gave credit, without reluctance, to men, whose conduct corresponded with the doctrine they delivered, and fled from those without regret, whose vice disgraced the holy office which they filled.

But if there be always, in every state, a large body of men, the friends of virtue and of peace, there are, unhappily, many others whose interest is commotion and discord. An habitual restlessness, and invincible rage for novelty ; a desire of suddenly amassing wealth, which rendered them little scrupulous in the means of attaining it ;

an inordinate ambition ; an imprudent turbulence ; audacity, always violent in proportion as their talents are contemptible ; such are, in general, the qualities of those men, whose character presents a singular combination of indolence and inactivity ; indolence, as to that reputable industry which conducts men to the enjoyment of a competence ; and activity, in disorders where riches are frequently the meed of iniquity. These wretches have no country ; their favourite land is that in which discord reigns ; they wish for regions where the law slumbers ; they embrace no party, but unite themselves to that, which fortune favours with her smiles, and which they abandon as their interests vary ; they are always found where conspiracies are formed ; they are the instruments, but never the heads, of faction, because their sphere is narrow, and their genius pitiful. There were many such men in the two factions which then rent France asunder. The effervescence was at its height ; fanaticism reigned over both parties ; they distinguished one another by odious appellations of Papists and Hugunots, and while the people, blinded by their zeal, fancied they contended for the cause of God, the powerful chieftains, whose policy had excited the commotion, thought only how they should aggrandize their fortunes, and establish their greatness.

Though Francis II. filled the throne, Catharine de Medicis, in fact, governed. Power was the ruling passion of this woman. Catharine, by one of these contradictions which occur but rarely in the history of the human heart, was, at once, ambitious and timid, haughty and pusillanimous, obstinate and irresolute : weak, she mistook cunning for strength ; distrustful, she beheld only stratagems in the councils of the wise ; credulous, she was the sport of hypocrisy ; cruel, she thirsted for blood ; cowardly, she was afraid to shed it. She gave her affections neither to the Protestants, nor to the Catholics. She did not fear the latter, and she hoped, by the exercise of some superstitious absurdities, to lead and to subject them. She dreaded the former, not through into-

lerance, for she cared but little for religion, but through a jealousy of their power. She could not, without alarm, behold at their head, Anthony de Bourbon, and the Prince of Condé, the first princes of the blood. The mother of four sons, all in the flower of their age; she could never foresee the approaching extinction of the branch of Valois, but she wished to preserve, without a rival, her ascendancy over their minds; and if the princes of the blood should intermeddle in the affairs of government, this ascendancy would be endangered.

These ridiculous apprehensions, so unworthy of a royal bosom, caused her to adopt a line of conduct, I shall not say, the most opposite to the interests of France, for that never entered into the paltry calculations, but the most destructive of her own. To debase the Bourbons, she invested the Guises with the most important stations. These turbulent men, whom she fondly hoped to range among the ranks of her creatures, whom she expected to govern by their gratitude, or to crush without difficulty, should they dare to give her umbrage: these men, neither whose genius, nor whose designs her narrow policy had measured; that Duke of Guise, that Cardinal of Lorraine, whom their ambition rendered more famous even than their talents, bowed her beneath the yoke which she herself had prepared. So, to remove her rivals, she imposed masters upon herself; she soon perceived her error; but it was too late. The first use they made of their authority, was to intimidate the king of Navarre, by reiterated affronts, which his weakness but too much encouraged; to remove the Prince of Condé to a distance, under the pretence of an embassy; to banish from court the constable Montmorenci, though a Catholic, because his high employments, and the consideration, which the remembrance of Henry II. had conferred on him, rendered him formidable to them. By their incessant intrigues, they obtained a complete dominion over the mind of the young king; they caressed the passions of Catharine de Medicis. By these means, they completely con-

centrated all power in themselves : they fomented, insidiously, the troubles of the state, in order to ascribe them to the Protestants ; they attached the Catholics to themselves, the prudent, by bounties, places, and honours ; the fanatics, by the expectation of the murder of their enemies. Persecution was revived, and the commotions which they desired, appeared inevitable. The Protestants then conceived a project, the boldness of which was declaratory of their strength ; it was to repair to Blois, where the court resided, to seize upon the persons of their tyrants, under the very eyes of the king, and to restore, by force, to the princes of the blood, that authority which strangers had extorted from them, in contempt of all the laws of nature.

Such was the design of the celebrated convention of Amboise, of which the Prince of Condé was the moving soul, which Larenaudie cemented with so much talent and so much labour, and which he ruined by unpardonable indiscretion. The discovery of this convention supplied the Guises with new springs, by which to move the indolent Francis, according to the suggestions of their hatred or other ambition. This unhappy prince, saw only enemies in the courageous men who were willing to burst his chains, and yielded himself, without reserve, to the unprincipled and ambitious protectors of a throne, which they burned to appropriate to themselves. The Duke of Guise was nominated Lieutenant-general of the kingdom ; and his power became unbounded. Blood streamed in every quarter. The title of conspirator was given by his party to every victim ; and every Protestant was a conspirator. The death of one man occasioned a new opposition of interests. The Chancellor Olivier, at the conclusion of a long life, the latter part of which was as much disgraced by dishonourable adulation, as the former was rendered illustrious by the brightest virtues, the Chancellor Olivier, left a place vacant ; too important not to be coveted by both parties. Mutual hopes and fears invaded their minds. The Guises had lost a partizan ; it was necessary to supply his



place : Catharine had need of support, she wanted a counterpoise to restore equilibrium to the balance, which the interest of the family of Lorraine has caused to incline ; but where shall she find it ? The Protestants fluctuated in uncertainty ; all the courtiers were equally the objects of their suspicion. Should they declare themselves in favour of any one, they knew it would serve only to render his exclusion certain ; so they determined to await the event.

Francis II. the only person to whom the choice of right belonged, was the only person whom nobody consulted. For how should he take part in such high concerns, whose days were spent in brooding over the danger of conspiracies ; whose nights were wasted in the blandishments of love. The Guises set forward Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans, upon whose fidelity they thought they could depend. Morvilliers had penetration enough to foresee the dangers of this elevated situation ; and he refused it. The intrigues of both parties were renewed, when one of those accidental events, of which the history of courts affords so many examples, caused the choice to fall upon a man, who was hardly thought of by any body ; a man who then resided in a foreign court, and whose taste, whose modesty, and whose principles seemed to remove him the farthest from a place to which so many ambitious men aspired. It was neither the king, nor the queen mother, nor the Guises, nor the Bourbons that gave a chancellor to France : it was a woman, whose reputation was not always the most pure, but whose advice upon the present occasion, almost seemed the inspiration of heaven. This woman was the Duchess of Montpensier. As she was the confidante of Catharine, she was a witness to all her anxiety. In order, she would say, to counterbalance the power of the Guises, you have need of a man, of firmness, sufficient to oppose the irprojects ; of virtue, to listen only to the dictates of his duty ; friend enough, to the public weal, to think only of the benefit of the state ; and so wise, that the Protestant may respect, without fearing him.

but in order to prevail upon the Guises to accept him, he must be a man, as it were, insulated; without wealth; without important alliances; without powerful protectors: and where do all these qualifications centre, but in L'Hopital. Catharine, persuaded by these arguments, proposed him; and the Guises subscribed to her choice. L'Hopital has already received some favour from the Cardinal of Lorraine; he will be grateful; he is without a protector; he will be compelled to court their support; he is without influence; he will dread their displeasure: they meditate a grand project, its success is impossible without the assistance of the chancellor; it will be easy to intimidate him: such were the motives which induced them to assent to his nomination. L'Hopital was at the court of Savoy; he was instantly summoned; he returned, and was installed: and France waited with anxiety, doubtful what should be the conduct of a philosopher, in the midst of a court, where faction, fanaticism, and corruption reigned: a philosopher, for even in those days of civil rage, were found many men who were guided by the purest philosophy.

Such is the character, which the historians of the times have given us, of the opinions of those who were called the Tolerants. They did not renounce the Catholic creed, but they approved of the alterations, which the reformed religion had introduced into ecclesiastical discipline: they held it as a principle, that God alone has the right of judging what passes in the heart; that it belongs to him alone to punish heretics, and to recompense the faithful; that all the members of a state, as long as they obey the laws, and discharge their duties towards the government, towards their country and their fellow-citizens, have an equal right to all the advantages which a state of civil society can procure; that favour was unjust, and exclusion impolitic; that the making religion subservient to the purposes of faction only stained its purity and degraded its importance; that an unjust partiality to one party created only external weakness and internal misery; that it was

madness to deprive any considerable portion of the state of all interest in its welfare, to make its prosperity their degradation, and its downfall their fairest prospect : that she should only consider enemies those, whose intention was to disturb the harmony of society ; that, to regard with aversion, men attached to principles different from ours, is the height both of madness and of wickedness ; and to act upon a principle destructive of every virtue : that, in order to combat the religious opinions we disapprove, we should employ against them only charity, patience and prayer, the sole weapons, which the Divine Prophet of our faith made use of, to turn the unbelieving to himself.

Such were the opinions wisely conceived and firmly expressed by the men of this time, the most eminent both for their virtues and their stations ; illustrious prelates, profound theologians, venerable magistrates : such were the enlightened sentiments of Marillac, Archbishop of Vienna ; Montluc Bishop of Valence ; of d'Espense, so justly celebrated for his wisdom, his eloquence, and even for the esteem of the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose opinions on the subject of toleration, were so different from his ; such were the sentiments of l'Hopital, the firmest supporter of enlightened philosophy, and of rational religion. I mentioned, in recounting the motives which determined the Guises to accede to the nomination of l'Hopital, that they meditated a grand project : Philip II. was upon the throne of Spain : the fidelity of the Low Countries had been considerably shaken ; the reformed, who had greatly multiplied in France, might afford a powerful assistance to the Belgic provinces. Philip had given it in charge to Granvelle, his favourite and minister, to make every exertion to compass the destruction of the French Protestants. This man, artful, insinuating, and eloquent, held, at Arras, a conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine ; he proposed to him to employ all his credit to promote the re-establishment of the Inquisition in France ; he explained how agreeable this event would be to his master, the King

of Spain, and assured him, that he might depend upon his friendship and protection ; he displayed to him, in the most alluring colours, all the advantages and emoluments of the post of Grand Inquisitor, with which he would be undoubtedly invested ; the certainty of attaching to himself, by this engine, the hearts of all the Catholics, and the means of overwhelming his enemies without fear of danger, or of retaliation. The Pope, Paul IV., who had the court of Spain in his confidence, united his most pressing intreaties to those of Granvelle. It was not difficult to persuade the Cardinal ; he beheld, in this project, the too flattering expectation of gratifying at once his ambition, his fanaticism, and his cruelty.

After the design, formed at the convention of Amboise, had failed, he thought the moment favourable to effectuate it : in fact, he seemed hitherto to have experienced but trifling opposition. The discovery of their plan had augmented, in the timid soul of Francis II. the fears with which the Protestants had always inspired him ; whatever, therefore, would deliver him from these fears, was sure of meeting his approbation. The boldness of such an enterprize, had redoubled the alarms of the Catholics ; and Lorraine flattered himself, that their hatred would be, in consequence, more violent, and their thirst for revenge more insatiable. The Protestants, disconcerted by this unfortunate event, required some time to resume their former confidence. Never was there a moment more propitious for openly assailing them ; the Tolerants had less motive than before to undertake their defence ; should they oppose the persecution, their enemies might render them suspected in the eyes of the government, might force them to silence, or perhaps, by involving them in the proscription, at once free themselves from such importunate censors. We cannot sufficiently admire, how Providence mocks the ambitious the moment they unite perfidy to their policy. As benignly as she seconds their endeavours when humanity presides over their resolves, so sternly

does she baffle them, when they hope to derive their success from the calamities which they meditate.

The truth of this observation is exemplified by the fate of the Guises. In order to prevail upon the king to second their schemes, and to bring over the council to their party, as a prelude to their project, they proclaimed an edict, by which the king declared that, unwilling to stain with blood the commencement of his reign, he preferred, after the example of the heavenly Father, to pardon his rebellious subjects; and that he was graciously disposed to grant them a general amnesty, on condition of their return into the bosom of the church. This last clause was the perfidious weapon, which they made use of to strike more securely the enemies whom they pretended to forgive. On the one hand, they were certain that the Protestants would reject the proffered amnesty at this price; and thus they might take occasion to declare them enemies of the state; on the other, it enabled them, by commenting on the merciful spirit of the edict, to make both the monarch and his council fall into the snare they had laid. They, therefore, began by lavishing encomiums on his royal and paternal bounty, whose indulgence was extended to men, whom he might, without any injustice, treat as criminals: but, at the same time, they insisted that, if they refused to take advantage of the edict, prudence required they should have recourse to other means, to make the Protestants abjure their errors. They pretended to entertain no doubt of their obedience; but, upon the supposition that their hopes on this head should be deceived, they painted all the horrors of a civil war, which would be the necessary consequence of their resistance. There was then, they declared, in their opinion, but one mean left to prevent the evil, which was to establish a tribunal, to decide all matters concerning religion. This tribunal could be attended with no bad consequence, since, if the Protestants were obedient, they would not fall under its animadversion, and in the contrary event, it would attack the evil at its root; and that, in fine, however matters

turned out, this inestimable benefit would flow from its establishment, that its very existence would serve as a curb to the seditious and ill-intentioned. They declared, that their wishes were entirely for mercy, but that if the sectaries continued obstinate, and forced this tribunal to act, it would be altogether their own fault; and that time and the flames must be employed to compel them to return to their duty.

This plan was adopted, without contradiction, by the council. The Cardinal of Lorraine, certain of a triumph, in order to prepare the public mind, directed his emissaries every where to insist that, should the Protestants continue obstinate in their opinions, they would be punished in the terms of the edict: but that as the cognizance of the crime of heresy was the right of the church, it would be punished, as usual, by the ecclesiastical tribunal. It only now remained to know, who the ecclesiastics should be, who were to compose the tribunal. The Chancellor l'Hopital, perceived how imprudent it would be directly to oppose men, whose schemes were so deeply and so artfully laid; it was necessary that he should, if possible, overthrow the edifice, the materials of which they had prepared, at the same time that he appeared so closely to follow their steps, that they could not complain without unmasking their villainy, and exposing themselves to universal execration. It was then that, publishing the famous edict of Romorantin, an eternal monument of his genius and humanity, he saved France from all the horrors into which the re-establishment of the Inquisition, under such powerful auspices, must have plunged her, at a time when the direful spirit of persecution, which had remained some time dormant, raged with a violence which must ever be the disgrace of France. By this law, he seemed to have conceded every thing to the Guises; he declared his wish that the heretics should be punished, and the edict specially set forth the penalties of their crime: he declared, that this tribunal should be an ecclesiastical power, and that it was upon the church he designed to confer it:

but he reserved, *in petto*, the formation of the tribunal itself, and the edict attributed to the bishops the cognizance of heresy, and the condemnation of its abettors. This clause, of which the Catholics could not, in reason, complain, overthrew the colossus of the Inquisition. The authority of the Cardinal vanished like a phantom, and the Chancellor, by this unexpected resolution in favour of the higher orders of the clergy, raised up against him the enemy, which of all others he had most cause to fear. The Guises, thus, unexpectedly, baffled in their enterprize, were not, however, entirely discouraged.

In order to the complete success of the Chancellor's designs, it was necessary, first, that the parliament should register the edict of Romorantin; secondly, that the states-general should be assembled. The parliament, who had not penetrated the secret motive of l'Hopital, refused to register an edict, in which they only beheld an increase of power to the clergy, contrary to the constitution of the kingdom, and the principles of its government. The Chancellor repaired to the parliament, and in the discourse which he there delivered, we recognize that lofty courage, and that strict veracity, which distinguished his character. He avoided revealing the part which policy dictated in the drawing up of the edict, but he convinced them that its principal end was to put a period to persecution: he said the king was weary of employing useless rigour in the extirpation of heresy throughout his dominion; that this great work was reserved for a general council; that now the only care of the government should be, to make the ancient virtues and primitive manners revive and flourish in the kingdom. This delicate affair being thus arranged, he turned all his attention toward the assembling of the states-general. The princes of the house of Lorraine, convinced that certain destruction awaited them in the meeting of this body, exerted all their united force and cunning to render the design abortive. They exhibited to Francis II. so terrible a picture of this assembly; they exaggerated, to such a

degree, its audacity, its insolence, and its turbulent spirit ; they displayed, in so contemptible a light, the part which the monarch would act among the assembled deputies of the nation, that they completely alarmed the mind of this weak and unfortunate prince. He therefore declared strongly against the convention of the states.

This obstacle did not disconcert l'Hopital. Every day the credit of the Guises became more insupportable to Catharine de Medicis. He accordingly made use of her agency, and by her solicitations, she prevailed upon the king to assemble the nobles and principal magistrates of the kingdom, whose council he might demand, with less danger, in the present condition of affairs. The Guises were less averse from this measure ; as they were the sole dispensers of favour, they imagined it would not be difficult to manage an assembly, of which the greater part would be courtiers.

This assembly accordingly met on the twenty-first of August, 1560. The Chancellor had taken measures for excluding all such magistrates as were devoted to the house of Lorraine, or who were signalized by a fanatical zeal in religion, and for summoning, as far as he was able, only those who were the friends of peace and the public good, distinguished by their tolerant principles, and respected for their wisdom. Francis II. opened the assembly with one of those harangues, which weak princes repeat after the lips which serve to prompt them ; an unmeaning prologue, in which he avoided declaring his own sentiments, and an absurd conclusion, in which he demanded the disinterested advice of men, divided by irreconcilable differences, and whose sentiments he expected to guide, but never meant to follow. The Chancellor addressed the meeting after the king sate down ; he avoided entering into details ; he described to them in general terms, the calamitous situation in which the kingdom was placed, the diminution of her power ; the degradation of her dignity, the approaching annihilation of her agriculture, of her industry, of her commerce ; and the general discontent which these evils diffused through all ranks of people.



He attributed all to the vicious administration of the state, and concluded, by insisting upon the necessity of a complete and fundamental alteration of the system. The princes of the house of Lorraine, thus indirectly accused, spoke at great length upon the subject of their administration, but could not efface the unfavourable impression, which the address of the Chancellor had made upon the assembly. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal successively gave an account, the one of the situation of the army, the other of the finances, but in a vague, confused, and unsatisfactory manner. Their statements presented so much incoherence and obscurity, that they only confirmed the wiser part of the assembly in the desire which they already entertained of seeing the reins of government fall into other hands. The Admiral Coligny rose next, and presented to the king a request, in which the Protestants demanded liberty of conscience, and the right of having churches for the exercise of their religious worship. These objects were proposed for discussion.

Montluc then addressed the meeting. His discourse was conspicuous for that noble boldness, which so well becomes a virtuous prelate. He delivered a truly energetic statement of the irregularities of the clergy; he inveighed against the disorders of the Popes; he painted, in the most lively colours, their disregard for the sufferings of Christendom, and the general corruption of their court; the ambition of the great, whose base selfishness despised the public calamities, and whose avarice fomented the troubles and discords which prevailed, in order to promote their individual aggrandizement; passing then to the spirit of intolerance, which a number of wicked men had revived in France, he displayed the folly and wickedness of every species and degree of religious persecution; he proved, from the sacred text of scripture, that it was, at the same time, an outrage against God and man, and that true religion absolutely disclaimed it: he concluded, in fine, by de-

manding the assemblage of the states-general, the convocation of a national synod, the adjournment of all religious proceedings, and of all punishments, in consequence, until an œcumenical council should have decided on the point. The archbishop of Vienne and the Admiral Coligny, spoke in the same wise strain, and with equal courage.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, though unprepared for this attack, endeavoured to repel it with spirit. They exclaimed, with peculiar violence, against the assembly of a national synod, which they perceived would be destructive of their project of re-establishing the Inquisition. The Cardinal carried his violence so far as to declare, that not even a general council should alter the principles he had adopted relative to religion. One should not have expected to have seen a prince of the church oppugn the only authority which the church acknowledged as superior to the Pope. The creatures and flatterers of the Guises applauded their advice, but all the magistrates, and all the wise and moderate men ranged themselves under the banners of Montluc. The majority of voices was on their side; the convocation of the states-general, and of the national synod was agreed upon. The Chancellor immediately issued a decree appointing the day for the meeting of the states at Manx, and directing the bishops to assemble in order to determine on a period for the sitting of the councils, and in the mean time to labour at the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. In this edict he also suspended the persecution of the sectaries, and the right of taking cognizance of heresy, which, by the edict of Romorantin, he had conferred on the prelates, only for the purpose of gaining time, to baffle the projects of the Guises. (Those who wish for a detail of the St. Bartholomew massacre, which occurred so soon afterwards, will be gratified by perusing the history of it, by the Rev. Thomas Comber, A.B.)

The events which followed, I need not narrate; they were,

however, extremely propitious to France, and destructive of the plan for restoring the Inquisition, which always languished and became almost forgotten, except when revived by occasional edicts. It had flourished most in Thoulouse, Vienne, Arles, Aix, and Ambrun; but the genius of the nation had, in time, deprived it of nearly all its malignity. When it became entirely extinct it is not easy to affirm: but "I am apt to think" says Limborch, "that when liberty of religion was granted, by the royal edicts, to dissenters from the church of Rome, that this tribunal immediately ceased of itself."

## B O O K IV.

*Establishment of the Inquisition in Spain—Torquemada—Ferdinand and Isabella—Cardinal Ximenes—Ruin of the Moorish power—National character of the Spaniards: effaced by the Inquisition—Attempt to establish it at Naples: fails: Introduced into Portugal—Its destructive consequences—Miseries of the new Christians.*

**T**HE kingdom of Spain had been much less fortunate than France, and at the time when l'Hopital performed, to his country, the signal service I have related, a century had rolled away since Ximenes and Torquemada had lighted, in Castile, those fagots in which thousands, every day, expiated the crime of thinking differently from the Dominicans. In vain should we consult the history of all nations; none would present a picture so extraordinary as that exhibited by the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To judge of the Spaniards at that æra, by the Spaniards of the present day, would be to fall into the greatest of errors. We must not imagine that the character of the modern inhabitants of Spain, is the real national character; it is but an assumed, an unnatural, a factitious one. Although their gravity, their bravery, their pride, their indolence, were become almost proverbial throughout Europe; if you stopped at these visible characteristics, you would behold the mask only, not the man: but why this mask? The Inquisition must reply. The permanent establishment of a tribunal, always ready to punish, as a crime, each imprudent word, had perverted every quality of their minds; had enchained every action of their bodies; had interrupted all the delightful intercourse of society, by the shackles of continual restraint.

The man who, in order to guard his life, is obliged to renounce all confidence; who dreads the ear of his friend, the presence of his servant, the treachery even of solitude, becomes, necessarily, timid and reserved. His habit becomes taciturnity, his prevailing quality suspicion. As to courage, they were as much indebted for their reputation, in this particular, to their peculiar costume, as to their actions; their huge hats, their mustachios, their ample clokes, their long swords, gave them an appearance of ferocity, while this attire, veiling all in an uniform sameness of dress, was designed only as a mode of concealment from the familiars of the Inquisition. Other nations were apt to ascribe, to pride, their serious and severe expression of features, whilst it ought justly to have been attributed to the continual gloom and inquietude of their souls, incessantly tormented with the reflection that the exercise of all the virtues and duties, both civil and religious, could not always place them in security against accusation, dungeons, and frequently death itself.

Whilst the fury of the Inquisition was directed only against Moors, Infidels, Heretics, and Jews, the Spaniards retained their primitive character; but when the leaden hand pressed heavy upon themselves, then these assumed qualities were adopted, and, becoming every day more general, passed, in the eyes of superficial observers, for the real characteristics of the nation, whilst they were, in truth, only the result of precautions, universally adopted, to veil, as much as possible, the character of the people. It is with nations as with individuals; a man endowed with activity of genius, with amiability of temper, with abilities able to attain celebrity and perfection in the arts and sciences, and to profit by every species of creditable industry; add to these qualities an innate liveliness of disposition, a natural turn for pleasantry, a heart sensible to the softest affections, warm in the intercourse of friendship, and delighting in the enjoyment of the free and familiar pleasures of society; place this man suddenly in a situation, in which he is

convinced that the exercise of all these natural gifts, which he has hitherto regarded as the charms of his existence, may endanger, in one moment his fortune, his family, his liberty, his very life, and you will quickly behold the lustre of these brilliant qualities faded and tarnished. He will fear to speak, he will scarcely dare to act; he will tremble at the idea of invention; every object will excite his suspicion; he will become gloomy and reserved; solitary in the midst of society, and wrapped up in himself, the natural effect of his constant alarm; melancholy, because compelled to move in a sphere not congenial to his nature; unhappy in the abandonment of his friends, whom he will grieve to lose, but fear to retain; inactive through timidity; mistrustful by reflection; silent through prudence; and, to crown the whole, he will descend to the tomb, unknown, and misunderstood; never justly appreciated, and falsely judged of by the roughness of the exterior which circumstances have forced him to assume. The first part of this picture represents the Spanish nation as it originally was; the second such as it afterwards became.

In this melancholy reverse, we perceive the full effects of the Inquisition; the virtues were blighted beneath its baleful influence; like the poisonous tree of Java, no fair fruit could thrive within the sphere of its malignant but active desolation; waste and death reigned in horrid profusion around. Spain, whose history for more than fifteen hundred years is connected with that of every warlike nation, and whose soil, the illustrious theatre of the youth of Hannibal, of the fierce exploits of Sertorius, and of the victories of Pompey, was so often disputed with the Romans by the brave people of which she was the cradle: Spain, afterwards inundated with those hordes of Goths, who with the Scythians, Getæ, and Dacians, had overrun almost the entire of Europe; Spain, abandoned and sold to her barbarous conquerors by the base Honorius, who preferred an inglorious repose to the honour of defending her; Spain would have at length entirely contracted the manners of these

savage wanderers, if a tribe of barbarians, not less ambitious, but issuing from another climate, and guided by a more gigantic heroism, attracted by the smiling and fertile soil of the ancient Iberia, if the Saracens had not come to tear her from the hands of the Visigoths, and to change the rudeness of the forest into the polish of courts; the taste for pleasures and for arts; the first elements of that chivalrous spirit, whose laws gave birth to honour and gallantry. Pelagius on one hand, Charlemagne and his ancestors on the other, set bounds to these new despots, the more dangerous as their manners were more captivating. Remaining established, in Spain, from the eighth till the close of the fifteenth century; advancing in civilization every day, they insensibly imparted their spirit to the original inhabitants, and gave them every thing except their altars.

The Spaniards, animated by their example, learned from them to cultivate their fields; to them they are indebted for that active and restless temper, the main spring of commerce; that love of pomp, which renders it necessary; that fondness for tournaments, which is the forerunner of victory, the signal of courage, the first essay of dawning heroism, and the recreation of practised bravery: they are indebted to them for that inclination for shows where beauty presides, in which politeness is rendered indispensable, the spirit is refined, the sentiments of the heart, restrained by the rules of public decorum, acquire an expression more delicate and more insinuating; in fine, being continually engaged in wars with the Moors, which were excited by the difference of religion, the ambition of thrones and the national pride, perhaps, to them, they likewise owe that fondness for the combat, those deeds of arms, that warlike reputation, which, in the fifteenth century, raised Spain to the rank of one of the most warlike of European nations.

Such was the nation when Ferdinand V. gave the last blow to the Moorish power, and, by his marriage with Isabella, united, in his own hands, the sceptres of the various monarchies into which

Spain had hitherto been divided. At that epoch, the character of Spain was warlike, industrious, active, lively, amiable, sensible and polite, and such she would doubtless have remained, but that the fair prospects of her doctrines were darkened by the gloom of superstitious persecution, and the bright flowers of her virtue withered by the breath of bigotry. Placed in the neighbourhood of Spain, the Portuguese experienced a similar destiny. Conquered by the Suevi and the Alans, they had equally bowed beneath the yoke of the Moorish conqueror. It was reserved for them to groan beneath the Inquisition, and to exhibit in the total perversion and abasement of the national character, a still more striking instance of its pernicious influence. Delivered from the Moorish oppression sooner than the Spaniards, their active spirit displayed itself at an earlier period. Adventurous in navigation, bold in conquest, Africa saw their banners float upon her shores. Passing, first of European nations, the Cape of Good Hope, and extending their enterprizes to that of Comorin, they spread their rich factories along the coasts of Malabar, and even of China, and the commerce of the old world became their own.

Excited by such an example, the Spaniards, of a spirit not less daring, nor less greedy of wealth, launched boldly upon the Western Ocean, discovered a world unknown before, traversed these huge cordilleras which far out-top even the proud summits of their native Pyrenees, extended their iron dominion even to the South Sea, and seized upon Mexico and Peru. Acting as haughty conquerors, they overthrew thrones and altars; as furious fanatics, they persecuted to convert, and massacred through devotion; in fine, these insatiable spoilers brought back from these new-discovered lands, incalculable wealth, a considerable share of which was devoured by those numerous monks, whom the false policy of Ferdinand and Isabella introduced into Spain; and by those Inquisitors, whose gloomy spirit even now prepared the bloody *auto da fé*. Thus these very Spaniards, who, on the American



shore, had murdered kings and people to gratify the fell spirit of papal persecution, found, upon returning to their native land, the recompense of their zeal in the fagot and the dungeon. How often did the Inquisitors, in order to extol the Romish religion, pour forth the thunder of their invectives against the idolatry and the human sacrifices, real or pretended, which Mexico presented to the eyes of the adventurers; what would these untutored Mexicans have said, had they beheld the human sacrifices, which the Inquisitors of Madrid, of Lisbon, and of Goa, offered daily to their God? Such are the absurd contradictions, which fanaticism reconciles.

Isabella was daughter of John III. King of Castile, and became his heiress by the disgraceful treaty which Henry IV. her brother, whom the monks stigmatized with the name of Impotent, though he had children, and was surrounded with mistresses, was forced to conclude with the Archbishop of Toledo, who had rebelled against him. She espoused Ferdinand V. King of Arragon, and by that union was founded the united kingdom of Spain. At this period, Spain shone with her brightest lustre; her national character was such as I have described above; she essayed the discovery of the new world, she caused herself to be respected by her arms in Europe, and she laid the foundation of that greatness, to which Charles V. attained at an after period.

Ambition and policy were the only motives to the union of Ferdinand and Isabella. Filled as they both were by the desire of reigning, they united their pretensions, without confounding their rights. They were not two consorts, but two monarchs who sate upon the same throne. In uniting their states they did not blend their authority. Such a government is a phenomenon. It should seem as if mutual jealousy would have caused a speedy rupture between them, but it happened otherwise. They were sufficiently wise, or rather they loved one another sufficiently, not to adopt so rash a resolution. They governed almost entirely independent

one of the other, the dominions which they possessed previous to their nuptials; and, in consenting to form but one political body of the kingdoms which they inherited, you would say, that they laboured for their successors, and not for themselves, since their authority was constantly kept distinct.

Philip II. the Spanish Tiberius, regarded Ferdinand as a great prince; yet these were the principal features of his character. Insidious in his policy, crafty in his schemes, perfidious in his dealings, Ferdinand boasted of bad faith as other men boast of virtues. Henry VIII. was his dupe; and how complete a master of the art of deceiving must he have been, whose craft could overreach so subtle a king! His ambition led him to invade Portugal; he declared an unjust war against that kingdom; but its event was disastrous. He was more fortunate in that of Grenada. After eight years of battles, hardly contested, he subdued this kingdom, and thus extinguished the power of the Moors in Spain. Henry VIII. his son in law, was anxious to invade Guienne. Ferdinand undertook the conduct of the expedition, on condition that Henry supplied him with an army. It arrived: he made use of it to usurp the crown of Navarre, undertook nothing against Guienne, and mocked the credulity of Henry, by sending back his troops when he had no further need of their services. His ambassadors informed him that Louis XII. complained that he had been deceived twice by him: twice! said he; he hath lied then; I have deceived him more than ten times. Such was the man, whose piety Italy extolled, and whose hypocrisy gained him the surname of Catholic. He had nevertheless nothing of catholicism but its superstitions; even his most intimate friends doubted whether he seriously believed in God; he was, in short, a king the most fit, of any in the world, for the design of the Inquisitors; the most worthy to welcome the establishment of such an institution.

Isabella made profession of a less crafty policy; her character had more of openness and frankness; her temper was more firm,

her mind more upright; she was a devotee with sincerity, and consequently more timid in whatever concerned religion. To vanquish her strongest resolutions; to persuade her to the adoption of any measure the most absurd or ruinous, it sufficed to alarm her for her salvation. Torquemada was her confessor; he easily discovered her weak side, of which he quickly availed himself to advance his fortune; to confirm the power of the religious order to which he belonged, and which he eventually rendered so formidable, that thrones and people crouched beneath their sway. Torquemada and Ximenes, the one a Dominican and the other a Cordelier; the first a fanatic, the second an ambitious and despotic tyrant, acted a most important part during this reign. They had been, each in turn, the confessors of the queen; Torquemada during her childhood, and Ximenes after she was raised to the throne.

Torquemada, in founding the Inquisition in Spain, and Ximenes in protecting it, acted on different motives. Torquemada's highest ambition was to draw, to himself and his order, the favours of the Pope; to render the Dominicans the most powerful and the richest of the Monks; to secure a Cardinal's hat; to provide himself a post of importance sufficient to place him upon a rank with the greatest nobles of Spain; a post so independent upon the kings, that he need not dread their caprices, nor their inconstancy, and which would unite, in himself, the prerogatives of the most powerful ministers, without being exposed to the disgraces which they so frequently experience.

Ximenes, then prime minister, a man imperious, haughty, cruel and tyrannical, detested by the nobles, whom his pomp eclipsed and his wealth outshone, and whom it was his systematic plan to debase, by strengthening the authority of the king; a severe reformer of the licentious manners of the monks, even of the Franciscans, who were first his protectors, and afterwards his most bitter enemies; dreading, at the same time, the duplicity of Ferdinand, whose caresses were never the symptoms of confidence and friend-

ship, the pride of the nobles, whose hatred watched over all his actions, to seize the propitious moment for his ruin, and the revenge of the monks, the more dangerous as it was more silent, more carefully dissembled, and which discovered itself only by the poignard on the execution of its fell purpose: Ximenes had also an unhappy interest in the support of the Inquisition. His great object was not to strike at the Heretics, whose opinions were to him but of small importance; to burn the Jews, whom he would rather suffer to live, in order to plunder them when they became rich; but it was to secure a weapon, which he could, unexpectedly, plunge into the hearts of his enemies; to have at his devotion a body, whose authority might assault Ferdinand himself, if it were necessary, and retain him, by terror, in the servitude which had been imposed upon him; a tribunal possessing a power, under the sanction of the name of God, to penetrate into the convents of monks and the palaces of nobles; to drag thence the victims whom it had resolved to sacrifice to its security; to plunge them into dungeons, and to bring them forth to punishment among the acclamations of the people, who beheld, in their death, only a homage paid to the Deity. Torquemada regarded the Inquisition simply as the ladder which he should make use of to ascend to the highest honours; Ximenes used it as a rampart to guard those which he had already attained.

Thus the ambition of a Dominican, and the selfish pride of a Franciscan, brought down upon Spain the greatest of all scourges, and a whole nation was ruined, for many an age to come, because one monk aspired to be a cardinal, and another wished to continue prime minister. Motives entirely of a human cast, and far from being the purest of their kindred impulses, presided, in Spain, over the birth of the Inquisition, as they had already done in Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere. In every place its founders had only their own interest in view. The crime of heresy was but the pretext, which they used to persuade the ignorant and unthinking,

that they were guided, solely, by the love of God, in order to attain the double object of impressing the people with a greater veneration, and a more passive obedience, while they passed, in their eyes, for the avengers of heaven; and of acquiring, by making themselves to be considered as a privileged class, whom the Deity had specially chosen to defend his cause on earth, in obtaining, among all the orders of monks, a higher reputation for virtue and sanctity, a reputation, always coveted by hypocrites, to enable them to revel, with less restraint, in the vices which they indulge.

The object of the Pope, the first artful projector of the tribunal, was higher, but not more commendable. His design was to preserve the unity, to maintain the authority, to support the grandeur of the church over which he presided, threatened as she was by the dawning light of truth; shaken by the revolts of her formerly submissive subjects; endangered, by the withdrawing of part of her revenues, her ancient policy would no longer avail. The light of reason was to be clouded; the seceders were to be extirpated; the wealth, which maintained her dignity, secured and augmented. The march of reason was to be arrested; the liberty of conscience was to be enslaved; the rebellious spirit to be crushed: if Rome wished to preserve her ascendancy, she was obliged to adopt measures strong in proportion to her weakness; schemes deeply laid in proportion to her danger; and surely to maintain a stern dominion, to support an unprincipled usurpation, to secure a base submission to her will. No measure can vie for barbarous vigour, no schemes contend for depth of iniquitous wisdom, with the formidable tribunal of the Inquisition. Such were the motives of its founder. But he knew the human heart; he knew, that the base selfishness of some, the ambitious aspirings of others, would not permit him to expect, in all the agents of his pleasure, views and wishes similar to his own; but, beholding the infernal potency of the machine which he had made, he well knew, that there were other passions in the human heart; other views, and other wishes sufficiently

strong to urge them to avail themselves of its influence : he saw that he had but to set the terrible engine at work, and that he need dread no want of zeal and industry to keep it in perfection and repair. He did so ; his bold hand first gave motion to its springs, and the history of religion, for many centuries, has evinced the clearness of his foresight, and the depth of his reflection.

If the Inquisition, in Spain, owed its high authority to Torquemada and Ximenes, they had not, however, the honour of being the first who introduced it. Peter the Second, King of Arragon, had made a diversion in favour of the Albigenses, in the war which St. Dominic excited against them, and which Mountfort pursued with so much barbarity. The death of Peter, who fell gloriously in combat with the crusaders, left an open field to all the odious calumnies, with which Rome endeavoured to tarnish the brightness of his fame. Of necessity, the subjects of a king, generous enough to disdain to receive the law from a herd of fanatic and sanguinary monks, must be tainted with heresy ; consequently, some detachments of these first inquisitors, the scourge of Languedoc and Provence, ascended the Pyrennees, to penetrate into Arragon, but, superstition was not, at that time, in Spain, the monster which it afterwards became ; it was not the period, when Ferdinand V. had St. Ignatius Loyola, among his pages, or St. Thomas de Villeneuve in the number of his almoners.

The Kings of Arragon, intimidated by the disasters of the Albigenses, and by the calamitous result of the expedition of Peter II., consented to receive the Inquisition into their dominions. Rome hoped, that this condescension would serve as an example to the other kingdoms of Spain : and that they would receive, without murmur, this novel institution. The inquisitors, far from foreseeing any obstacles to the extension of their domination through this great peninsula, set no bounds to their ferocity ; and secret informations, imprisonments, tortures, and punishments of every description, marked their earliest steps in Arragon. The impru-

dence of such conduct, drew upon them the attention of all the people of Spain. The relation of the evils which they made France experience; the history of that dreadful war, whose rage had consumed, almost the whole population of Languedoc, and in which the inquisitors had acted so distinguished a part, excited against them the indignation of all men. The little bounds which those who had been admitted amongst the Arragonese, observed in their pretensions and their proceedings, gave rise to a suspicion, that their object of invasion was universal. All people leagued against them; they were every where resisted. In Castile, they declared a traitor to his country, whosoever should grant them an asylum. In the kingdom of Toledo, they were fallen upon the moment they presented themselves; in la Mancha and Andalusia, rewards were promised to all who should arrest them; and the hatred which they excited, extending itself wider and wider, the same measures were adopted in the provinces of Segovia, of Salamanca, of Zamora, the Asturias, and as far as Cape Ortegál. This unanimous opposition, so loudly expressed, opened the eyes of the people of Arragon. Being seconded by the nobles, who were alarmed by the power and the authority of these intruders, and found their very existence endangered, they broke out first into murmurs, and afterwards into open revolt. The inquisitors became the object of universal contempt and detestation: they mocked their judgments, broke open their prisons, and delivered their victims. At Zaragoza, at Huesca, at Barbastro, their lives were, with difficulty, preserved. They were at last reduced to a state of perfect insignificance; but their enemies were guilty of the unpardonable fault of not expelling them entirely. The long sleep, to which their regard for their safety seemed to have compelled them, resembled that of the tiger, who suddenly opens his eyelids, when they appear closed in slumber, and darts upon his unsuspecting prey.

Such was the low condition to which the Inquisition was reduced in Spain, during the fifteenth century, when Torquemada or Tur-

recumata, first beheld the light of Valladolid. Born to the possession of a moderate fortune, which sufficed to procure him a tolerable education, he was driven by a certain unquiet and ardent disposition, while yet at a very early age, to travel through Spain. He visited Salamanca, Toledo, Madrid, and many other places. At length chance led him to Cordova, at which place, a certain lady attracted his affections and his vows; but, whether it was, that he possessed not the art to fix her regards, or that his slender means prevented his lavishing on her those splendid trifles, which so often captivate the female soul, a Moor, more clever, more wealthy, or more amiable, obtained the preference; prevailed on her to break her faith; snatched her from Torquemada, and conveyed her away to Grenada. Hence originated that malignant hatred of Torquemada toward the Moors; hence the rise of those persecutions, which he made them so severely to feel at a future period, and of which, personal revenge was thus one secret motive, though others also conspired.

In order to banish the distressing recollections of an unfortunate passion, which the sight of Cordova continually recalled, he forsook that city, and travelled to Zaragossa, with the intention of proceeding to Barcelona, that he might embark there for Italy. Being moderately versed in theology, he frequented, in Zaragossa, the public controversial assemblies; he disputed with one Lopés de Cervera, superior of the monks of St. Dominic; astonished him by his learning, and inspired him with the strongest desire of uniting to his order, a young man of so promising a genius. A strict bond of friendship was soon formed between them; mutual confidence increased, and the convent of the Dominicans was open to Torquemada. The desire of knowledge led him to examine their archives, and from those he first discovered the authority which the inquisitors had formerly enjoyed, not only in Arragon, but in France also, and that which they still possessed in Italy, where the power of the Pope had always maintained them in honour.



Torquemada was not deficient in genius; he perceived the advantages which a man of ability, might derive from such an institution, to assist his progress towards the highest honours; but in forming, from that moment, the plan of restoring the Inquisition, he perceived, that in order to secure it from the caprice of the different people of Spain, it was necessary that all the kingdoms should be united under one sceptre, whose power should curb the instability of public opinion. The state in which Spain then was, permitted him to entertain the expectation of effecting this most important design; for on one hand, the well known ambition of John II., King of Arragon, father of Ferdinand V., gave occasion to presume, that he would not neglect any favourable opportunity, of increasing his dominion; and, on the other, after the suspicion of impotency, which the priests of Toledo, the enemies of Henry IV. of Castile had given rise to, with regard to this prince, it was possible, that the crowns of that country and of Leon might fall, in default of male issue, into the hands of an infant female, and then, by an alliance, of which he discerned the utility, and to effect which he afterwards laboured with so much ardour, it would be practicable to unite Arragon to these two thrones, and to form, of the whole, one kingdom which, comprehending in itself nearly two thirds of Spain, must, in a short time, engross all the rest.

As to the power of the Moors, it had greatly declined, and after so many centuries of splendour, was now reduced to the kingdom of Grenada only; he foresaw that, by arming against it the monarch who should rule over the entire of Spain, its ruin would be easily accomplished; and then, what a triumph for Torquemada, could he succeed in establishing the Inquisition, to avenge, upon the entire nation, an affront which a Moor had offered him in his love. He concealed not his views, nor his expectations from father Lopés; he engaged him to profit by the credit which he enjoyed at the court of Arragon, to awaken the ambition of the king, by displaying to him the incalculable advantage of an alliance between

his house and the heiress of Castile ; while he, on his own part, should labour to insinuate himself into the good opinion of this princess, possess himself of her confidence, and dispose her mind in favour, not only of the projected alliance, but of the re-establishment of the Inquisition. Their plans being once formed, he took the habit of St. Dominic, quitted Zaragossa, and repaired to Toledo, in order to commence this important enterprize. He then began by preaching, the mean which ambitious monks have always made use of to make themselves known. He succeeded beyond his hopes : the people flocked in crowds to his sermons ; his name soon reached the court, and it became anxious to hear and to be acquainted with him. Naturally imperious and haughty, but supple when his interest required, he assumed the mask of a courtier ; succeeded in causing himself to be nominated almoner to Isabella, who was still a child, and was soon after advanced to the honour of being her confessor. Possessed of this place, the small importance of which excited no jealousy, as her two brothers Henry and Alphonso, who were still alive, gave this princess no hopes of ascending the throne, he saw himself at the summit of his wishes, being, by this means, in a situation to form the first ideas of the child, and to give them the direction most favourable to the success of his designs. In fact, Torquemada gained, in a short time, so complete an ascendancy over her, that he became her preceptor, her only confidant, her best friend. He planted in her soul the first seeds of ambition, and insensibly accustomed her to contemplate the possibility of one day coming to the throne. In order to render this idea familiar, he exaggerated, in her eyes, the vices imputed to her brother Henry IV., and the feeble constitution of Alphonso ; he formed her to a habit of profound dissimulation, by alarming her upon the dangers to which she would be exposed, should she give any intimation of the hopes of reigning, which she permitted herself to entertain ; he discoursed with her concerning the acquisition of power, which would result to her from an union

with the hereditary prince of Arragon ; he inflamed her with admiration of this prince, whom she had never seen, by extolling the graces of his figure, the charms of his wit, his fondness for devotion ; and determined her to refuse, under vague pretences, every other match that might be proposed to her ; and, by adroitly exciting her fears as to the dangerous conjectures that might be made on the subject of their secret and frequent conversations, he accustomed her to treat of these great concerns, only at the seasons of confession. So the confessional chair became the seat from which he instructed her, according to his views, in the principles of government, and of policy, which she was to pursue, and in the conduct which she was to adopt.

The talent, the skill, the patience which this monk employed, in order to command all the thoughts of this young princess, would be truly admirable, were not the misery of mankind the only end of all his industry. Hitherto he seemed to have nothing in view but the instruction of his pupil. Undoubtedly, in giving her false impressions against her brothers, he violated the principles of an honest man, and even policy could not excuse him ; but, perfidious in all his insinuations, he never had hinted to his pupil that, if he desired she should reign, it was only that he might abuse the empire he had obtained over her ; and that he might lead her to re-establish an execrable tribunal ; and that, if he wished to unite her to the house of Arragon, it was but to secure the destruction of the Moors, and to render her the instrument of his personal revenge.

Hitherto he had never pronounced, before Isabella, the name of the Inquisition. It was necessary, however, to be secure of her upon this point, in case she should obtain the crown. In order, therefore, to explain himself upon the subject, he waited for that circumstance, which a religious education renders so important and so serious in the eyes of youth, that of receiving the sacrament, for the first time, when the young person is entirely given up to the

God which the priest presents, (according to the ideas of Catholic countries) and thinks that the counsels, the promises, the orders of that priest, are the undoubted expression of the will of him, about to be received in the communion.

Torquemada, in preparing her for this important ceremony, discoursed upon the felicity which is reserved for all, and especially for monarchs, who adhere stedfastly to the faith. The picture of this felicity led, naturally, to a description of the miseries to which those are exposed who wander from the paths of religion: the history of the various heresies came naturally in succession, and the rigorous measures which so many Popes, the vicars of Jesus Christ, had taken to extirpate them, were represented to her mind under the most brilliant aspect, and as of indubitably divine authority. He drew from the narration this consequence, that, as thrones are derived from God, the cause of God ought to be the most important concern of the monarchs who filled them. To persecute heretics was then a duty inseparable from the throne.

After having thus prepared her mind, he told her that, in the great act which she was about to perform, the offering, most agreeable to God, would be, to engage herself by an oath, to re-establish the Holy Inquisition in Spain, in case she should ever be placed upon its throne. He found no great difficulty to prevail upon her: the innocence of the princess; the ingenuousness natural to her age; the fervour of a youthful female mind, occupied then entirely with religious ideas; a fervour the more lively at the approach of a ceremony, which had been incessantly represented as so essential to her salvation, and still more, the invincible ascendancy which Torquemada had gained over her mind, did not permit her to balance or to hesitate. She accordingly swore, by the God whom she was about to receive, that if ever she became a queen, she would strenuously pursue the punishment of heretics, and that she would establish the Inquisition in order to promote their conversion.

All these events were passing, while a powerful faction declared against Henry IV. King of Castile. History has been severe upon the character of this prince ; but is history always the voice of truth ? However that be, it is evident that the greatest crime of Henry IV. of Castile was, to have displeased the clergy of his kingdom, and this crime brought down upon him the same fate, which Henry III. of Valois afterwards experienced. The details of this plot, hatched by the Archbishop of Toledo, and conducted by Pacheco, Marquis de Villena, would lead me away from my subject ; I shall therefore only mention, that this Pacheco, prime minister of Henry, a perfidious subject, to whom Louis XI. King of France, paid a premium of twelve thousand crowns to deceive his master, the insolent favourite of a voluptuous monarch, whose interests he betrayed, could not, without jealousy, behold Bertrand de la Cueva, raised to an equal degree of favour with himself, and that, in order to ruin his rival, he determined to ruin his master also.

The Archbishop of Toledo, his chapter, and some other prelates, whom Henry, more fond of pleasures than of religious discourses, kept at a distance from his court, seconded the resentments of the Marquis de Villena. Henry, after repudiating Blanche of Navarre, had espoused Joanna of Portugal. The factious pretended that, Henry, hitherto childless, had introduced Bertrand de la Cueva into the queen's bed, which was the origin of the high fortune and credit of this young nobleman, and that, consequently, the child, born out of this adulterous correspondence, was illegitimate. The more absurd this fable was, the more credit it obtained among the people. The clergy, no longer keeping any measures, and headed by the Archbishop, deposed Henry in a form as pompous as it was ridiculous, and proclaimed, in his stead, Alphonso, his young brother.

Hitherto, the crafty policy of Torquemada, had avoided meddling in this plot, but awaited, patiently, its event, Alphonso died in a

short time, and his death was followed by that disgraceful resignation which Henry IV. made of his power ; but as soon as ever the throne was vacant, and the conspirators, by one of those contradictions incidental to faction, were deliberating to remove from the diadem some ambitious nobles, and to bestow it on that very daughter of Henry whom they had declared illegitimate ; Torquemada, seizing this decisive moment to complete his projects, appeared among their ranks, and his activity, his address in intrigue, his persuasive and insinuating eloquence, caused the crown to fall upon Isabella, sister of Henry, to the exclusion of her niece. The marriage of this queen with Ferdinand V. heir of Arragon, completed the triumph of the monk. The conquest of Grenada, and destruction of the Moors, were the first result of these nuptials, and Torquemada no longer beheld any obstacle to his greatness and his vengeance.

Scarcely had Isabella confirmed her authority, and terminated the conquest of Grenada, when he reminded her of her oath. He represented to her, that a great number of Moors still remained in her kingdom ; that, as long as they were unconverted, she never could depend upon their fidelity ; that they would continue always attached to their ancient masters ; that they would seize the first favourable opportunity to recal their brethren, whom the war had compelled to seek refuge in Africa ; that they would be seconded by the Jews, who were accustomed to trade with them ; that the latter would lavish their riches to assist their re-establishment ; that thus the war would become interminable, and that it was a matter of the first importance, both for the repose of Spain, and for her own security, to compel, not only the Moors, but the Jews also, to be converted. That if there were any who dared to refuse, it would be necessary to commit them to the flames, in order to intimidate the others : that this might indeed diminish her subjects, but that it was much better to govern a fewer number, than to continue in a state of painful inquietude, and to be, hourly, exposed

to the horrors of civil war; that she ought, therefore, to hasten the establishment of the Inquisition, whose measures would be less prompt, indeed, than those of battles, but more certain and inevitable. Lastly, he represented to her that the Moors, in order to appease their conqueror, would pretend to embrace the Catholic religion, but would still continue pagan in their hearts; that this evil would continue long; that it would be, in consequence, necessary to have at hand a remedy which might be constantly applied, and this remedy could only be a tribunal whose authority should extend over the conscience. That the Inquisition alone could penetrate into the most secret corners of the heart; that, if the faith had been preserved pure in Italy, it was owing solely to the zeal, the activity and talents of the inquisitors; that it would redound to the everlasting honour of so great a queen, to provide, during her life, for the preservation of the true religion, and to leave after her the infallible means of maintaining it, in its purity, as long as the Spanish monarchy should endure.

Isabella, whom Torquemada had held in the shackles of subjection since her childhood, blindly followed these deadly counsels, and persuaded Ferdinand, her consort, to their adoption. They, consequently, demanded bulls from Pope Sextus IV., who instantly dispatched them, and thus was the Inquisition established in the kingdoms of Arragon, Valencia, the Castiles, and, after a few years, throughout the entire of Spain. Torquemada was appointed a Cardinal, and Grand Inquisitor. He proved himself worthy of this high dignity; during the fourteen years that he exercised it, he commenced processes against more than a hundred thousand persons, condemned six thousand to the flames, enriched his order with their spoils, and died admired and envied for sanctity.

History should never forget, that while the Inquisition was established with so much splendour in Spain, the Popes, encouraged by such brilliant success, attempted to introduce it into

England. There was no thought, at this period, of the rupture with Rome, which was, afterwards, effected by Henry VIII. The English character was displayed, upon this occasion, with its accustomed energy, spirit and independence, and repelled with all her native vigour the odious innovation. An universal cry was raised against it. Never, perhaps, was the cause of humanity defended with more eloquence and animation. Already they predicted the degradation, the future decline and ruin of Spain. England opened all her ports; she lavished all her succours in the assistance of the unhappy fugitives whom persecution forced to fly from the peninsula. The ministry of the time, by enriching the Thames with the industry of these injured emigrants, ennobled their policy by all the dignity of disinterested hospitality: happy England, if she always persevere in the same wise, liberal, and expanded system; if, with narrow selfishness or short-sighted intolerance she risk not the greatness which the folly of other states has so singularly conspired with her own matchless industry to attain!

After the death of Torquemada, the Cordelier Ximenes, cardinal and prime minister, supported the Inquisition, but with different views, as I have before mentioned. History represents this Cardinal as a great statesman. Without doubt, by the aid of his immense riches, he founded many important establishments, and made war upon the Africans at his own expense; but it is to be feared, that these riches were not, always, at least, derived from the purest sources. We should frequently denominate restitution that which history extols as benefits. It was his policy to exalt the sovereign power, by abusing that of the nobles; in order to this, he permitted the people to wear swords, a great oversight in a minister whose object it was to invest the throne with absolute power. By assimilating the people to the nobility, he, contrary to his hopes, broke the pride of one party; and sowed, in the other, the seeds of that indolent temper so long the reproach of Spain, and of consequence so disadvantageous. His exactions and his genius,



fertile in new expedients, filled the coffers of his master; but this insatiable desire of amassing, rendered the minds of his subjects discontented, and laid the foundation of that memorable result of the Low Countries, the event of which separated them, for ever, from Spain. When any one dared to resist him, or to question the right by which he acted, he showed the cannons which he had at his door, and the palace of the Inquisition. Behold my rights, he would reply: but alas! with such rights men annihilate commerce, banish industry, paralyze agriculture, and brutalize a people.

If the subjection, to which these two persons reduced their masters, were so favourable to the Inquisition, the despotism which it exercised had too strong an analogy with the policy pursued by the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella, to tempt them to destroy it; and, although the audacious insolence of the inquisitors dared, sometimes, attack the throne itself, still the Spanish kings imagined that they derived too much benefit from their alliance with the crown, to punish such attempts. One only monarch, Philip I. son of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Marie de Bourgoyne, the husband of Joanna, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, and, consequently, king of Spain in right of his wife, generous, mild, beneficent, enlightened as far as a prince at this period could well become so, and the most polite man of his time, formed the project of suppressing this destructive tribunal; but such designs ought to be conducted in secrecy; it is only at the moment of striking the blow that they should be divulged. Unhappily, his intentions were discovered, his enemies were before hand with him.

One day, after playing at tennis, Philip asked for a cup of water; he drank, the draught was poisoned, and he died at the early age of twenty-eight years. Joanna his widow, would have had the right to govern during the minority of Charles her son, afterwards Charles V. but this princess was an idiot. A reign of this sort is the golden age of great villains; the laws then slumber, the public is defenceless,

and power belongs to the most daring. The Inquisition availed itself of this period, to repair its strength, and to secure its permanence.

Charles V. now ascended the throne. War occupied his whole life. He therefore permitted the inquisitors to act, without much interesting himself in their conduct. The new converts to Christianity, who were particularly exposed to their rage, offered him 800,000 pieces of gold, if he would order that the depositions, at the tribunal of the Inquisition, should always be made public. Charles was strongly inclined to yield to so tempting an offer, but Ximenes exerted himself to the utmost of his power to convince him of the danger of such a step, and, by his repeated instances, at length prevailed upon him to renounce it. Upon one important occasion Charles endeavoured to turn the Inquisition to his own account. The Reformation had made great progress in Germany and the neighbouring countries. Charles, who opposed the confession of Augs-burgh, and took up arms against the league of Smalkalde, was not likely to be a favourite of the reformers: they dreaded him, and he, on the other hand, feared their power: nevertheless, their opinions, by the favour of the Almighty, spread further and further every day.

A vast number of the disciples of Luther had established themselves in the Low Countries: the commerce and the fertility of these regions had attracted them: and their excellent conduct, and exemplary lives had drawn away a prodigious multitude of the natives from the catholic worship. Charles V. was apprehensive for the consequences of this change in public opinion. He dreaded lest the sense of injuries, animated by the rising spirit of independence, might endanger his authority in the Netherlands. He was unable to depend on the fidelity of the magistrates, who were forced to mitigate their severity in religious matters, and who were intimidated by the increasing multitudes of the reformed. He therefore formed the design of introducing the Inquisition there, and of thus striking at the roots of the evil.

Scarcely was his edict made public, when the murmurs became universal, and a spirit of emigration manifested itself. Mary of Hungary, sister to Charles, who governed, under him, the Low Countries, took upon herself to suspend the execution of the edict. She wrote to her brother, informing him, that unless he withdrew or modified it, the ruin of his states was inevitable; that not only the foreign merchants, but a large portion of the native inhabitants were preparing to depart, in order to enjoy, in other lands, their liberty of conscience; that the fields would be left without husbandmen, the factories without workmen, the cities without artisans; that, should he employ rigorous measures to suppress this emigration, the minds of the people would only be more exasperated, and the danger become more imminent; and she advised him seriously to reflect upon these disastrous consequences, which would undoubtedly follow, should he persist in his present intentions.

Charles V. attempted to regulate its application; he exempted all foreigners from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition; and, in favour of the natives, he softened its proceedings. It would have been more consonant to his wisdom to have revoked it altogether. Whenever a sovereign relaxes a severe measure, without the alteration being regarded as the fruit of experience, it is always attributed to indecision, or to an injudicious choice of counsellors. The edict, as it originally stood, had excited indignation; modified, it fell into contempt, and was neglected to be executed. This false step made the people acquainted with their own strength, and, instead of feeling grateful to Charles for having retracted an imprudent measure, they concluded that he found himself too weak to force them to receive the yoke which he had prepared.

After his decease, Philip II. more sanguinary, more obstinate, and more bigotted, adopted the project of subjecting these countries to the Inquisition, but without any mitigation, and in all the

horror in which it flourished in Spain. He was deaf to the just and energetic remonstrances which the states addressed to him upon the occasion. He resolved to be obeyed; they determined to be free: and thus revolt soon displayed its standard. In this manner the Inquisition, whose birth had already cost so much blood to Italy and France, lighted up a war of more than sixty years duration; shook all Europe, destroyed thousands of the human race, rendered the Spaniards hateful to all nations, dismembered one of the most potent monarchies of the age, and deprived its protector of the richest portion of his states. We should deceive ourselves greatly, did we imagine that the Inquisitors were grateful for the protection of these kings, so as at least to act towards them with that respect, which is due to the sovereign authority. Not so; they only availed themselves of it, to censure their actions, to calumniate their intentions, and to blast their memory.

The abdication of Charles V. is one of the circumstances which policy has not hitherto explained, for policy is too fond of seeking motives any where but in nature. Charles V. tired, not of life, but of power; fatigued with a tempestuous reign; broken with disease; warned by advancing age that activity has its bounds; freed from the illusions of glory, by his frequent reverses of fortune; deprived of a consort whom he tenderly loved; jealous of a son, who inherited his sceptre and his faults, without imitating his great qualities; separated from his two daughters, who were placed upon foreign thrones; not at ease in his conscience, and unable to correct the errors he had been guilty of;—Charles stood in need of repose. He beheld death approaching, and wished to have a few moments to prepare himself to meet the grisly enemy, and so abdicated his crown. Behold the mystery unravelled;—it suffices only to know the human heart, to feel the truth of the explanation. The Inquisition beheld crimes, where others viewed only

the ordinary proceedings of nature. Charles had not oppressed this tribunal, but he had not honoured it sufficiently, and it thirsted for revenge.

The Inquisitors began, by interpreting, according to their manner, the reasons of his retreat; and, as they were wont, made calumny their first resource, to excite, against this Prince, the people, who but a moment before had trembled beneath his rod. In order to render his religion suspected, they pretended that his frequent intercourse with the Protestants of Germany had tarnished the purity of his faith; that, seduced by their conversation and their writings, he had embraced their doctrine; and that if solitude seemed to him preferable to a throne, it was but to hide his new principles, and to enjoy the opportunity, in his retreat, of giving himself up to the exercise of devotion, in a manner conformably to the Heretic worship, during the remaining years of his life. They joined these assertions to a perfidious eulogium upon his character: they said, that, naturally mild and merciful, he could not excuse to himself the rigorous treatment, which he had used towards some of the Protestant Princes, whom the chance of war had placed in his hands; that had he been less virtuous himself, he would have been less sensible to the virtues which those Princes had displayed in their disgrace; and that the esteem which he felt for them, and the errors into which he had fallen, were the effect, not so much of inconstancy, as of magnanimity. In order to add more weight to these accusations, and the better to seduce the ignorant, by feigning a religious interest for a monarch of such rare merit, they recommended him to the prayers of the faithful, that it might please God to restore him to the right way.

Charles had chosen for his preacher the Doctor Cacalla, and for his directors, the Archbishop of Toledo, and a bishop named Constantine Pontius de la Fuentes. The confidence which he placed in these men was sufficient to exasperate the Inquisitors;

against them; they malignantly scrutinized into their conduct; set spies to watch their discourse; examined their writings; misinterpreted their expressions, and pronounced them Heretics.— While Charles lived, the Inquisition dared not declare itself openly, but was contented to propagate these falsehoods in private. Charles died: he had been accustomed to amuse himself by writing upon the walls of the chamber, which he occupied in the Monastery of St. Just, some sentences, upon the subjects of grace and justification. The Inquisitors visited the chamber; they pretended the sentiments were erroneous, and infected with Lutheranism; but their holy wrath kept no bounds, when the testament of Charles was made public: there were found in it but a small number of pious legacies, and it contained but a single endowment for prayers. However, Philip II. was not yet at Madrid, and people were ignorant how he would view the aspersions which were thrown upon the memory of his father; he arrived, and began by commanding the punishment of all favourers of the new opinions.

The Inquisition thought itself at liberty, without further ceremony, to arrest the Archbishop of Toledo, the Doctor Cacalla, preacher to Charles, and Constantine Pontius, his confessor. Philip II. remained silent: the people ascribed his conduct to zeal for religion; but the rest of Europe beheld, with horror, a son, whose monstrous insensibility suffered to be dragged to punishment the last friends of his father, those whose tender solicitude had supported him in the awful passage from life into eternity. Process was prepared against them. The Inquisition accused these three men of having dictated, to the Emperor, the testament which he had left. They were all condemned, accordingly, to the punishment of fire, and the testament of Charles was ordered to be burned upon the same pile.

Although a mean, ignoble jealousy inclined Philip to laugh, in secret, at this outrage offered to the last will of his father, he could not avoid perceiving how much the royal majesty was insulted in

such a transaction : but base and perverse, at the same time, instead of punishing the authors of this design, at whom his fears made him tremble, and whom his cruelty rendered dear to him, he negotiated with them under-hand, to save, not the three innocent men from punishment, but the testament from the dishonour of such treatment.

Don Carlos, his only son, Don Juan, brother to Philip II. and the Prince of Parma, his nephew, did not display equal moderation. Don Carlos, in particular, who was still young and ingenuous, publicly censured what he called the weakness of the King. He spoke, with all the warmth of a generous and noble mind, of this unheard-of insolence of the Inquisition, and vowed to exterminate both it and its agents, if he ever should attain to the throne. From that moment his death was sworn by his father and by the Inquisition ; and this oath was kept more inviolably than his. The unfortunate Cacalla was burned alive. Grief and torture had put an end to the days of Constantine Pontius in prison, and he was accordingly burned in effigy. The Archbishop appealed to Rome, and there his riches saved his life.

As to Don Carlos, Don Juan of Austria, and the Prince of Parma, Philip was compelled, in order to satisfy the Inquisition, to banish them from his court, and resolved to take vengeance upon them at a future period, in a more signal manner.—The opportunity offered a few years after. The revolution in the Low Countries had commenced : Don Carlos foresaw the injury which must result from their separation from the House of Austria, and thought it his duty, as heir to the throne, to interpose his mediation between these valuable provinces and his father. This conduct, which policy as well as humanity approved, served as a subject for the clamours of the Inquisition. They affirmed, that a protector of Heretics must be himself a Heretic, and denounced the Prince as such to his father. The tragical end of this Prince is known to all : and though the unnatural heart of Philip, though

his hateful jealousy of the virtues of his son, made him seek still further motives to destroy him, perhaps he would have relented before the perpetration of the crime, if he had not been urged by the Inquisition, and if the disgraceful ascendancy, which he had permitted them to gain over the royal authority, had not alarmed him for his own safety.

Such was the origin of the Inquisition in Spain: such its first essays under the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella. I will here recount, in a few words, the unsuccessful efforts made to introduce it into Naples, and conclude this book by a rapid view of its establishment in Portugal.

Travellers, who have witnessed the superstitions to which the people of Naples were abandoned, have been astonished how this kingdom escaped the Inquisition. It should seem, indeed, after the facility with which the Popes established it in Italy, and the authority which they so long enjoyed in this beautiful country, that Naples could not have avoided the calamity of receiving it: but nobody is ignorant of the disputes which continually arose, during so many centuries, between the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Kings of Naples. Thus, it was not by a superior regard for the rights of humanity, that Naples was preserved during the first year of her history, from papal encroachments, but by the sentiments of hatred, excited by political pretensions, reciprocally advanced and resisted.

When Naples passed under the dominion of Spain, the Inquisition thought the opportunity favourable to unite this country to its dominions; but the barriers which had hitherto been opposed to the encroachments of the Holy See, were replaced by others, that, with equal success, repelled this new invasion. It was ardently wished, by the kings of Spain, to subject their new possessions to the tyranny of the Inquisition; but they required that the Inquisitors of Naples should depend on the grand Inquisitor of Spain; while, on the other hand, the Popes insisted that, as Naples belonged



to the Holy See, the Inquisition, if established, should be dependant upon that of Rome; and this difficulty could never be adjusted.

Charles V. notwithstanding, attempted to introduce it. His protection was always fatal to the Inquisition. A furious sedition was the consequence of the endeavour: a great multitude of Spaniards were massacred in the first moments of tumult; the rest, in order to escape the popular revenge, were forced to take refuge in the fortresses. There they shut themselves up and prepared for their defence.

The people of Naples, being unable to force the Spaniards from their strong hold, and becoming weary of the sieges they were obliged to carry on, had recourse to negotiation. The Neapolitans consented to return to their allegiance, but on condition that no attempt should be made to introduce this hated tribunal, and the Spaniards agreed to this condition. In fact, they renounced the attempt for ever. The dread of a new insurrection, and the recollection of the danger they had incurred, no doubt, were powerful motives for this good faith: while the Popes, on their part, could never consent to give up their prerogatives, or rather those of the holy office at Rome, to gratify the wishes which they felt, to see the Inquisition established at Naples; and, thanks to the irreconcilable disputes which arose upon this question, the project was never carried into effect.

The kingdom of Portugal was not so fortunate. The Jews, having been severely persecuted in Spain, had mostly emigrated from that country, and were, at first, received into Portugal, upon certain conditions, by John II. Emanuel succeeded John II. who, in the year 1497, commanded all the Jews to depart from his dominions, and on penalty of forfeiting their liberty. In consequence of this severe command, many left the kingdom: but many, either dreading cruel treatment from the officers and mariners who were to transport them in their vessels, or, attached

to the country in which they resided, consented to become Christians, upon condition that they should not be liable to any Inquisition for their faith, until twenty years after. Upon these terms they were baptized. But as they were suspected of secretly adhering to their ancient faith, and of bringing up their children in the Jewish religion, King John III. who succeeded Emanuel, requested of Clement VII. to grant a bull for the establishment of the Inquisition in his kingdom. Clement refused it for a long time, through the vigorous exertions of the Jews, who opposed, with all their might, the King's request, but at length yielded to his own inclinations and to the instances of Emanuel, and granted his desire in the beginning of the year 1531. Immediately after this grant, the Jews obtained, from this same pontiff, a general forgiveness of all crimes committed against the Catholic faith; and afterwards prevailed upon Paul III. his successor, to oblige the Inquisitors to alter the forms of proceeding, which they had hitherto followed. Still anxious to secure themselves from persecution, which continually revived against these unhappy people, they, in the following year, obtained another general indulgence, which however was soon after revoked, so that the condition of the Jews was now as dangerous as ever. Meanwhile John III. who succeeded Emanuel, provoked at the lenity displayed towards the Jews, wrote the most pressing letters to the Pope, stating his zeal for the faith, and beseeching him to re-establish the Inquisition, on such a footing as to secure it from all peril in future. In consequence of this application, Paul IV. finally established it in the year 1536, according to the forms which were ever afterwards followed.

Sebastian, king of Portugal, upon occasion of his unfortunate expedition into Africa, granted, to the descendants of the Jews, for a large sum of money, that their effects should not be confiscated for ten years, against the most urgent request of his uncle Philip II. of Spain; but after the rout of the King's army, by the

Saracens, Cardinal Henry, the King's great uncle, succeeded him in the royal dignity; immediately recalled this grant, with the Pope's consent; and alleged this reason in the decree of revocation, that, after the most mature consultation of learned men, they all agreed that he was bound to make such a revocation, because the good of the faith required it.

After King Philip of Spain obtained the crown, the new Christians offered him a large sum of money, and besought him, that he would procure, in their favour, a general indulgence from the Pope. But he treated their prayers with contempt, though he was at that time at war with France and England, his divines suggesting to him, that God would be greatly offended with such money, and that he could expect no success from it.

After the accession of the House of Braganza, the new Christians, in Portugal, against whom it was at first almost solely employed, endeavoured, by many entreaties, to procure the abolition, or at least the mitigation of the Inquisition: for, after that King Alphonso was expelled his kingdom, and succeeded by his brother Pedro, he endeavoured to gain the affections of his subjects by indulgence and kindness, the better to establish his new power; which gave them some hopes of succeeding in what they so anxiously desired. Upon this they deputed certain persons who, on the 9th of June 1676, presented, in the name of the whole nation, to his Highness, an humble petition, in which they represented "that they had before offered their earnest prayers to him, for leave humbly to desire of the Pope some mitigation of their sufferings;" reminding him that, after mature advice of many divines and doctors of the law, he had condescended to their request. They added, "that for this end, they had sent their ambassador to Rome, and that the office of the Inquisition, and college of bishops, had also sent deputies thither, who were both Inquisitors, furnished with the letters of his Highness. But that they were informed, by letters from

Rome, that his ambassador had not only refused to procure them any assistance, but joined his endeavours with those of the Inquisitors' deputies, to prevent their affair from ever being brought on the carpet, because they did not wish that any alteration should be made in the laws of the Inquisition. They therefore requested, from his Highness, an authentic royal instrument, to certify to the Pope, and to the supreme congregation of the Inquisition at Rome, that it was not his wish that the decision of their cause should be suspended, but that speedy justice should be done to them."

All their endeavours were vain; they therefore presented a humble petition to the Pope, in which the deputies acquainted him, that they were deputed, by the new Christians, in the kingdom of Portugal, and especially by those who were detained in the prison of the Inquisition, who were about 500 in number, of all sexes and conditions; some of them having been confined twelve, others fourteen, and none of them less than seven years, in the midst of nastiness and filth. They farther relate the various miseries of the new Christians, and how their affair had been prevented from being expedited, by the artifices of the Inquisitors. They therefore beseeched the Pope that he would graciously regard and pity that miserable people, and renew his command to the Inquisitors to hasten their object; and, the more to excite his compassion, they gave him specimens, which they declared themselves ready to prove by proper witnesses; by which it plainly appeared that the Inquisitors, notwithstanding the Pope's prohibition, continually proceeded in the administration of their offices and the oppression of the miserable.

The same year, 1680, they presented another application to the Pope to the same purpose; and afterwards a third, in which they tell him, that they had humbly petitioned the Apostolic Nuncio at Lisbon, who had referred them to the archbishop of that see; that, in obedience to this rescript, they went to the archbishop;

that he had a conference with the Inquisitor general ; and that, after a long consultation, nothing was concluded ; that the archbishop indeed declared that he knew of a remedy, and could point it out ; but that he would not contend with the Inquisitor about it, till he was suspended and deposed from his office by him, who had the legal authority to suspend and depose him ; and therefore, that since they could not find relief from his Nuncio, they apply themselves to the Pope, and most earnestly besought him to take their unhappy case into his consideration. Thus were these unhappy people continually flattered and deceived with vain hopes and empty promises. Meanwhile the Inquisition continued its ravages with unsatiated vengeance and redoubled cruelty.

It was not, however, entirely without resistance that Portugal submitted to so bloody and ignominious a yoke. Don Pedro, one of the sons of the illustrious John IV. the restorer of the crown and kingdom of Portugal, had succeeded his brother Alphonso. These two princes had not inherited the firmness of their father. Happily the principal nobles of Portugal opened their eyes to the ruinous consequences with which the kingdom was threatened by the atrocious conduct of the Inquisitors. They presented themselves, in a body, to Pedro, and pictured to him, in all the gloomy colours which suited the subject, the oppression under which his subjects, both Jews and Christians, groaned : they painted the Inquisition in all its horrors ; unveiled to him the ambition of the ministers of the holy office ; proved to him that it threatened nothing less than entirely to usurp the royal authority ; to secure, by so many confiscations, the treasure necessary to attain this end ; that, in fact, if he did not hasten to restrain them, the ruin of the state would be inevitable, and his throne, in consequence, imminently endangered.

History has preserved the names of these generous men, whose patriotism despised the dangers to which they exposed themselves, by assailing an enemy so powerful, and so vindictive, and who dared to undertake the defence of humanity, in a country where

the monks had succeeded in placing it in the first rank of crimes : they were, the Marquis de Gonca ; the Marquis of Marialva ; Don Antonio de Mendoza, archbishop of Lisbon ; Don Christopher d'Almeida, bishop of the martyrs ; Lord Russel, bishop of Portoalegro ; the marquis of Tavora ; the Marquis of Fuentes ; the Count of Villafior ; don Sanches Manuel. They were seconded by a great number of celebrated doctors, and the most respectable of the religious orders ; and piety experiences some consolation in beholding all that was respectable of the Catholic clergy in Portugal rising, unanimously, against a set of men, whose imposture abused the sacred name of God, to lead astray the reason of the people, and to satiate their avarice and their cruelty.

But no man of sense and humanity can behold, without affliction, the conduct of so many kings, whose pusillanimity caused them to forget their own authority, and to seek, from a distance, the titles for undertaking what they ought themselves to have executed. Such was that of Don Pedro : if he had the good sense to see the full force and justice of the representations of his nobles and his clergy, he had not the courage to act for himself. He addressed himself to the court of Rome, though invested with powers sufficient of his own ; and the issue of this affair will serve to evince still more clearly to the reader the point of insolence to which the Inquisitors had proceeded. Don Pedro ordered his ambassador at Rome to demand a brief, by which the new Christians should be permitted to make known, to the Pope, their complaints against the Inquisition. The Pope granted it. It was signified to the Inquisitors. He commanded them to stop their proceedings, and permitted the new Christians to nominate deputies to act in their name, both at Rome and in Portugal, and to solicit, from the Pope, a regulation by which the proceedings of the holy office should be subject to the rules prescribed by the civil and canon laws.

The Pope received these deputies with benevolence, and, moved by the picture they presented of the horrible oppression under which those whom they represented groaned, he commanded the

Inquisitors to send him four of the processes against persons condemned by them to the flames, or those who had the appellation of negative convicts. The Inquisitors perceived that they should be undone if they obeyed this order, and they determined not to obey it. The Pope, incensed, laid an interdict upon the grand Inquisitor, excommunicated his agents, and ordered him to give up the keys of the Inquisition to the ordinaries. They neglected to obey this order also; but perceiving that, in this extremity, they must adopt some decisive line of conduct, they resolved to send to his Holiness transcripts, not of four processes, but of two only, and those two that could endanger them the least possible.

The feeble Pontiff, content with this apparent satisfaction, no less insolent than their former disobedience, granted them absolution. He, nevertheless, made some regulations, in order to soften the rigour of these proceedings; they despised these regulations, and never paid them the smallest regard.

While they thus braved the authority of him, whom they pretended was their immediate chief, they exerted themselves to calumniate him to Don Pedro at Lisbon. They suggested to him, that if the Pope demanded the sending of these proceedings, it was because he wished to usurp a cognizance of the affairs of Portugal; that, after having gained this point, he would endeavour to meddle with other ecclesiastical affairs, and thence proceed to draw to himself the right of directing those of a secular nature; that, by these means, the sovereignty of the kingdom would in fact fall into his hands; and that therefore good policy required that, by a formal refusal at the commencement, they should disconcert his projects, and take from him all future excuse for attempting to infringe upon the rights of the King, who had none but God for a superior.

If indignation were not the only feeling which the knavery of these wretches is calculated to excite, we should be almost tempted to laugh at their absurd folly, to tell a king that he had no superior but God, at the same time that they kept him in the most degra-

ding subjection, and after the insults which they had offered to the memory of his father, whom they had excommunicated after his death, and to whom they, with difficulty, allowed the rites of sepulture.

Don Pedro had not courage sufficient to oppose these absurd reasonings. Abandoned to himself, having no longer for his assistance these generous men, whose counsels had for a time enlightened him ; alarmed by the false representation of the Inquisitors ; he recalled the ambassador whom he had at Rome, whose zeal for the cause of the oppressed was offensive to the Inquisition, and whom they had, in vain, endeavoured to corrupt. He dispatched, in his place, Don Lewis de Souza, a person of very different character. This man, hired by the holy office, exerted all his abilities in its service. He suppressed all the memorials which the new Christians addressed to the Pope ; he eluded, or rendered vain, by his secret machinations, all the good intentions which he might have entertained in their favour ; and, conforming his conduct to the example of his employers, he vilified, in the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiff, the King his master, in the same manner that they did the Pope in the opinion of their Sovereign. He gave him to understand that the only reason of Don Pedro's opposition to the Inquisition was his inclination to detach himself from the court of Rome, and to nominate a patriarch who should be independent of his Holiness ; that, were the Inquisition once destroyed, or impeded in its operation, the Holy Father would no longer find defenders in Portugal ; and that the King, who was displeased at the difficulties, that he experienced in Rome, in procuring the bulls which he had requested, having then no obstacle to his vengeance, would not fail to carry into effect this schism, which was hitherto but in contemplation. Thus the Pope and the King, reciprocally deceived by impostors, and reciprocally alarmed for their authority, closed their ears to the cries of misery and of innocence, and the Inquisition pursued, in triumph, the course of its iniquities.



## BOOK V.

*History of the Inquisition of Venice—Long Resistance against it—Nicholas IV. at length succeeds—Precautions used by the Senate—The Code of the Inquisition of Venice—Struggles to get full Power—Its Rival in the Inquisition of State—Its Decline.*

VENICE, one of the most ancient cities of Italy, subjected to the Catholic worship almost from her birth, was proud to have preserved her walls from heresy, through the lapse of so many centuries. She used to cite, as a proof of this assertion, the act for the promotion of Jacques Tiepolo to the dignity of Doge, wherein are enumerated the crimes against which he should proceed,—and heresy is not found in the catalogue.

Afterwards arose the celebrated disputes, which the pride of power excited, between Pope Innocent IV. and the Emperor Frederick II.; they divided all Italy into factions, which were distinguished by the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines. We have before seen, that, in these unhappy times, to adhere to the party of the emperor, was sufficient to draw down the imputation of heresy, and remarked the abuse, which the Inquisitors made of this imputation, to prosecute and to annihilate the most considerable and powerful families.

Venice, more independent of the Court of Rome than the other states of Italy, appeared, to the partisans of the Emperor, an asylum against persecution, and they repaired thither in great numbers. Rome could not behold, without chagrin, the tranquillity which they enjoyed. She abstained, however, from open complaints, for fear of offending the Venetian pride, and resolved to adopt a line of conduct more consonant to her usual policy, more

secret, more insidious, and more effectual. She therefore, by means of her agents, silently propagated the opinion, that this multitude of refugees was principally composed of Heretics; that the title of Partisans of the Emperor, which they assumed, was but a veil, which they drew over their opinions, in order that they might follow them in greater tranquillity; that the interest of the Emperor was as indifferent to them as that of Rome; that their only object was to procure an asylum, in which the arm of ecclesiastical power could not reach them. These rumours, skilfully disseminated among the people, received by the credulous, and repeated by the loquacious, became at length so public as to attract the attention of the Doge and of the Senate. They did not perceive the snares which were spread for them, by the Court of Rome, and, attentive only to maintain religion in its purity, they determined to take such steps as should secure it from every danger. In consequence of this resolution, in the year 1240, they charged certain persons to occupy themselves in the discovery of Heretics; and the Senate ordained, that those whom they should suspect as such, should be brought before the patriarch of Grado, and the other bishops of the Venetian state; and that if this tribunal should convict them of the charges, they should be handed over for condemnation to the secular power. To entrust the cognizance of Heretics to the bishops, was to follow indeed the most ancient regulations of the church, but was directly in opposition to the opinion and the wishes of the Court of Rome. Pleased, however, to have turned the attention of the Senate towards this point, she instructed her agents to applaud the ordinance which it had passed, but to insinuate that it was incomplete; that a period might arrive when the seat of the patriarch of Grado would be vacant; that the Heretics would avail themselves of this circumstance to propagate, in greater security, the errors with which they were infected; that it were much better to establish a tribunal, similar to that which was found, by experi-

ence, to be attended with such important and beneficial effects in the other states of Italy.

The Senate, still more politic than the Court of Rome, easily saw the meaning of these insinuations, and, to remove the imputed source, ordained that, in case an episcopal see should become vacant, the vicars-general of that see should possess and exercise the same authority with the bishops, relative to the cognizance of Heretics, which would entirely remove the bad consequences of such an event. The Popes, perceiving their intrigues baffled by this ordinance, and convinced that Venice would never, of herself, demand the introduction of the tribunal of the Inquisition within her walls, now declared themselves more openly, and loudly applauding the zeal which the Senate displayed for the preservation of the Catholic faith, proposed to them to admit the Inquisitors into the Palace of Saint Mark. An unanimous and formal refusal was the reply to these propositions. It must be allowed that the character which the Inquisitors had every where acquired, contributed to it, at least, as much as the wisdom and policy of the Venetian government. They knew their insolent and disorderly conduct, and the seditions to which they had given rise. They were aware that, according to their caprice, and without other end than their avarice and their resentment, they preached crusades against pretended Heretics, armed the multitude, placed themselves at the head of the most seditious, and gave loose to the reins of rapine, massacre, and conflagration; and that, in the midst of these disorders, they enriched themselves with the spoils of their murdered enemies. They cited, amongst other examples, Parma and Milan, where these horrors had been carried to the most shocking lengths by the Inquisitors; the insurrections of which these cities had been the theatre; and the danger which they had incurred of being entirely destroyed. The most urgent solicitations of the Court of Rome were exerted, in vain, to vanquish the resolution of the

Senate : and, from the age of Innocent IV. to that of Honorius IV., that is, during eleven successive pontificates, Romish perseverance was ineffectual against Venetian firmness.

Nicholas IV. was, at length, more fortunate than his predecessors ; but the Senate, even when yielding, acted with so much reserve and precaution, that they circumscribed the inquisitorial power within such narrow limits, that there was no danger left of their indulging, at Venice, in the scandalous excesses which marked their conduct in other places. The government insisted that the tribunal should be always liable to the inspection of the republic. They would not permit the Inquisitors to collect, by means of their dependants, the revenues necessary for its support. They appropriated a fund for this purpose, and reserved, to themselves, the nomination both of the receiver and of the treasurer. They ordained that the fines, confiscations, and generally all profits, arising from the condemnation of Heretics, should be placed in the hands of this treasurer ; and that he should be accountable to the Senate, which alone should possess the right of determining the application of all such receipts.

It was, certainly, an act of weakness, on the part of the Senate, to submit to the reception of an institution which they had so long and so nobly rejected : but, at least, when they did admit it, it was difficult to have employed greater wisdom than they displayed. The regulations which I shall now state, are the proof of this assertion. We only regret, in beholding so many precautions taken to place the government and the public tranquillity in security from the factious spirit of the Inquisitors, that they did not direct more of their attention towards the unhappy persons who should be brought before them, and that they did not provide a greater security for innocence. The act of the Senate was laid before the Pope, who, though dissatisfied at the modifications which had been established in the confirmation of the tribunal, was pleas-

ed at having succeeded in its introduction; hoping that the government would, at length, relax its vigilance, and thus give occasion to the usurpation of a larger authority. In this, however, he was greatly disappointed. Far from suffering any innovation, the Senate did but confirm their first decree by additional articles, all which together compose these 39 famous regulations, which form the code of the Inquisition of Venice.

ART. I.—There shall always be three senators deputed to assist, in Venice, at all the judgments, actions, and proceedings of the Inquisition; and, as the cities in her dependency ought to regulate themselves according to the institutions of the governing city, wherever the Inquisition shall be established, in the place of the three senators, the rectors of these cities shall be considered as deputies, entitled, by birth, to be present at all the judgments of the Inquisition. Besides the perpetual usage, and many deliberations of the Senate, which confirm this regulation, the Senate has further expressly established it by a concordat passed between Julius III. and the republic, anno 1551.

ART. II.—In case that, in the cities subject to the capital, any of the rectors should be unable to assist at the judgments of the Inquisitors, the vicar of the Podesta shall supply his place: and in case that he also be prevented from attending, the rector shall be obliged to depute one of the counsellors, or some other public functionary, to assist in his room. Decided in the council of ten, 29th of November 1548.

ART. III.—If any of the assistants have business or interest to transact with the Court of Rome, he shall not, on any pretence, or in any manner, meddle in the affairs of the Inquisition; in this case, that charge shall devolve upon his colleague, or upon the oldest chamberlain. This was decided in the council of ten, June 9, 1574.

ART. IV.—Those who are commissioned to assist at the judgments of the Inquisition, shall not interfere, in any manner, in the

drawing up either of the judgment or the proceedings, but shall only watch, with all possible attention, every thing that passes, and shall act only upon four different occasions.

1. If the question concern an affair of importance to the honour of God, to the good of the Church, to the extirpation of Heretics, or to the punishment of any enormous crime, they shall, without delay, cause execution to be done upon the judgments of the Inquisition, assist it and second it with all their power.

2. If it happen that the Inquisitors, under pretence of discharging their duty, and of punishing the crimes which properly fall under their cognizance, shall attempt any thing to the prejudice of the temporal authority, or the tranquillity of the state; or which shall tend to the scandal, or the prejudice of any of the subjects of the republic; those who assist at their judgments shall compel them to listen to the voice of reason, and reduce them within the bounds of equity: and if they be unable to succeed, they shall prevent all execution of their resolves, until the government be apprized of the circumstance, and until its orders be received.

3. In case that any thing should be brought under discussion, which may be suspected to tend to the diminution of the temporal authority, or to public oppression, they shall likewise defer execution till the orders of the government be known.

4. If it should happen that the Inquisitors become negligent in the discharge of their duty, and betray any reluctance to punish Heretics, so that danger exist of their taking advantage of this lenity to increase their numbers, the assistants are bound to exhort them to the performance of their duty; and if it appear to arise from a want of power, and not of inclination, they shall inform the government, in order to receive its directions thereon.

ART. V.—It is strictly forbidden those who assist, on the part of the republic, at the judgments of the Inquisition, to take any oath of fidelity, or of secrecy, touching any thing under the consi-

deration of the Inquisitor, or other ecclesiastical judge, though they are bound to both in virtue of the fidelity and the secrecy which they owe to the state. Decided in the Senate, September 5, 1609.

ART. VI.—In consequence of the preceding regulation, as officers of the republic, they shall from to time give an account to the Senate of every thing which passes at the inquisitorial tribunal, especially of the affairs of most importance.

ART. VII.—In case of the death of an Inquisitor, or of the necessity for any change of persons, they shall send information to the state, and to her ambassador at Rome, in order that they may provide for the exclusion of all suspected persons.

ART. VIII.—No new Inquisitor shall be admitted, unless he be approved by the government, and possess a patent to testify the same.

ART. IX.—The assistants shall attend at all the processes which take place in the Inquisition, as well against the laity, as against ecclesiastics, secular or regular, from whatever source the accusation come, and before whomsoever it may be deposed.

ART. X.—The assistants shall be present not only at the final judgments of all processes, but at every proceeding which has any relation thereto ; as citations, warrants for the apprehension of the accused, imprisonments, hearing of witnesses, torture, abjuration, absolution, and generally at every thing which passes between the first denunciation and the final judgment.

ART. XI.—The assistants shall not neglect to attend upon all the proceedings of the Inquisition, under any pretence whatsoever, and however unimportant they may appear to them ; and they shall not permit any thing to be transacted in their absence.

ART. XII.—If it happen that any process be drawn up, or procedure commenced in their absence, they shall hold it null and void, and prevent their proceeding to execution : all that they shall have

in their power, is to allow the proceedings to be recommenced in their presence.

ART. XIII.—No person shall be permitted, during their absence, to deliver any information, which may serve to any process without the bounds of the Venetian states. The Pope having demanded the concession of this point, it was refused by the Senate, March 9, 1560.

ART. XIV.—Not only shall no proceeding be suffered to take place in their absence, but they shall take care to have this formula attached to the beginning of all acts: Present, and assisting, the most illustrious and excellent Signors.—N.N. This is an express article of the concordat passed between Julius II. and the republic, anno 1551.

ART. XV.—The assistants shall take care that the Inquisitors do not introduce into their proceedings, any regulations enacted without the state: but if there should come from Rome, or from any other place, a regulation which it may be beneficial to adopt, and which does not affect the temporal jurisdiction, the Inquisitors of the state may give it efficacy, provided they follow the style and custom of the country, by forming the decree in the name of the state-inquisition of the place, in presence of the public assistants, without making any mention that the decree comes from Rome, more than if the state-inquisitors of that place were themselves the authors of it.

ART. XVI.—The proceedings, or prisoners shall not be sent out of the state, even to the place where their accomplices may happen to be, without informing the government and receiving its orders.

ART. XVII.—The assistants shall not be counsellors of the Inquisition, because these two charges are incompatible.

ART. XVIII.—The assistants shall not permit the Inquisitors to grant warrants for the apprehension of any individual, unless it appear, by the informations given in their presence, that the crime of



which it treats, is one that falls under the cognizance of the Inquisition. Decreed in the Senate July 5, 1597.—If the case be doubtful, they shall inform the government, and await its orders; and in the mean time all proceedings shall be suspended. Decreed in the Senate, Aug. 23, 1597.

ART. XIX.—The Inquisition shall not proceed against sorcerers and diviners, unless they be manifestly guilty of heresy: this regulation is conformable to the canon law, and to the result of a deliberation, expressly had on this subject, in the Senate, October 10, 1598. If the case be doubtful, it shall be decided by the ordinary judges; which is conformable to the canon law, and to the opinion of the most learned doctors.

ART. XX.—They shall proceed in the same manner with regard to enchantment and witchcraft, the judgment of which they shall not permit to the Inquisitors, unless there be an abuse of the Sacraments, and a consequent indication of heresy; that if, besides the suspicion of heresy, death, sickness, or loss of reason to any one should follow the suspected practices, the Inquisition shall judge of the suspicion of heresy, and the secular judge of the mischief which the witchcraft has occasioned, and the two sentences shall be executed by the two tribunals which shall pass them.

ART. XXI.—The Inquisition shall not pass any judgment on blasphemers, as the cognizance of their crime belongs to the secular magistrate, according to the disposition of the civil and canon laws, and the usage of all Christian countries; but, if the blasphemy give any indication, or suspicion of heresy, against the person who utters it, the Inquisitors shall judge of the indication, and the magistrates of the blasphemy. Thus there shall be two sentences against the criminal; the one, of the holy office, for the spiritual punishment; the other, of the magistrate, for the corporeal. Decreed by the Senate November 11, 1595.—The same mode of proceeding shall be adopted against those, who shall strike the sacred

images, or cast stones at them, and against those who shall openly speak with levity of holy things.

ART. XXII.—The Inquisition shall not judge those who have married two wives, unless there be a suspicion or indication of heresy: and in that case the Inquisitors shall judge of the indication, and the magistrate of the crime of bigamy: and if there be no indication or suspicion of heresy, the secular magistrate alone shall take cognizance of the matter.

ART. XXIII.—The Inquisitors shall not, upon any account, pass judgment on usurers, since the canon law subjects this species of causes to the secular magistrates.

ART. XXIV.—Jews, and, in general, all infidels of whatsoever religion they be, shall not be amenable to the inquisitorial tribunal; but whatever crime they shall be guilty of, shall be decided upon by the secular magistrate, who shall regulate the punishment by the enormity of the crime, conformably to the decrees of the sovereign pontiffs.

ART. XXV.—The Inquisitors shall not be judges of Greeks, nor of the people of any other nation residing within the dominions of the republic, who have obtained permission to have their own bishops, and to live according to their particular customs: in case of their committing any crime, even in religious matters, the secular magistrate shall be the sole judge; and he shall punish them with greater or less severity, according to the nature of the crime, conformably to the perpetual usage of the republic, and to the answer returned, by the Senate, to the Pope's Nuncio, September 4, 1699.

ART. XXVI.—If any subject of the republic, either for the purpose of traffic, or with any other view, should establish himself beyond the mountains, and that, having committed any crime there, he be informed against at Rome or elsewhere; the assistants shall not permit that he be cited by public proclamation,

or by an order signified at the house of his parents; but they shall leave the judgment to the magistrates of the place in which the crime has been committed.

ART. XXVII.—The goods of persons condemned by the Inquisition for heresy, shall not be confiscated, but shall be left to their children and other lawful heirs, with an express prohibition against granting any part of them to the condemned.

ART. XXVIII.—The Inquisitors shall not publish any bull of the Pope, nor any ordinance of the Inquisition at Rome, antient or modern, without the permission of the government.

ART. XXIX.—With regard to books prohibited by the Court of Rome, the assistants shall not suffer the Inquisitors to publish, within the dominions of the republic, any other catalogue of prohibited books than that of the year 1595, conformably to the concordat passed between Pope Clement VIII. and the republic, August 24, 1596.

ART. XXX.—The Inquisition shall not judge either custom-house officers, tavern-keepers, inn-keepers, or butchers who sell meat during lent; all these persons shall be amenable only to the secular magistrate.

ART. XXXI.—The Inquisitors shall not exact any oath from any artisan whatever, nor punish them for faults committed in their trades, for all these things belong only to the secular magistrate.

ART. XXXII.—The Inquisitors shall not address any remonstrances against the corporations, nor against the magistrates, touching the administration of justice; if there be any subject of complaint against them, the assistants shall decide upon it.

ART. XXXIII.—The form and tenor of the edict, which the Inquisitors are accustomed to publish when they enter upon their charge, shall be reduced to six heads, to which they shall not venture to add any thing.

The first, against such as are Heretics, or who are acquainted with Heretics and do not inform against them.

The second, against those who hold conferences and assemblies to the prejudice of the Catholic religion.

The third, against those who celebrate the mass, or take upon themselves to hear confessions, without being duly authorised.

The fourth, against blasphemers who give reason to suspect them of heresy.

The fifth, against those who hinder and disturb the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, who offend its ministers, and who menace or ill-treat informers or witnesses, with relation to their functions; for if it be on any other account, as for example, to offend an officer of the Inquisition out of his functions, that shall be judged of by the ordinary magistrate.

The sixth, against those who possess, print, or cause to be printed, heretical books, or books prejudicial to religion.

If the Inquisitor should advance farther, and add any new decree, or insert any thing more than is expressed in these six articles, the assistants shall prevent him and shall give information to the government. Decreed by the Senate, with the consent of the Holy See, May 23, 1608.

ART. XXXIV.—If any crime, subject to the inquisitorial jurisdiction, be committed in any chateau or village in which it is not established, the Inquisition of the city on which these places depend shall judge of it, in presence of the assistants of the places.

ART. XXXV.—If any crime be committed in any places submitted to jurisdictions situated in different cities, for the spiritual and temporal authority, the judgment shall belong to the Inquisition situated in that city in which resides the spiritual authority, and the assistant of the same place shall attend at the judgment.

ART. XXXVI.—If an accused person, being cited to the

Inquisition, obstinately refuse to appear, and that, according to the usage of the holy office, he be declared a Heretic and delivered over to the secular arm, the magistrate shall be obliged to banish him, either for a time or for ever, from all lands and places belonging to the republic.

ART. XXXVII.—Those who, being condemned by the Inquisition to a temporary or perpetual imprisonment, escape from their confinement, shall be banished by the magistrate, either for a definite period or for ever, as in conscience he shall judge most equitable.

ART. XXXVIII.—Those who, being cited for the crime of heresy, in some place out of the republic, shall take refuge within its limits, shall be condemned, by the magistrate, to four years imprisonment, and then banished from all territories and places in the dependence of the republic; but this regulation shall not prevent the Inquisition from inflicting on them still more severe punishment, if it be necessary.

ART. XXXIX.—It shall be competent to the Inquisition to punish calumniators, and false witnesses, who shall have made untrue depositions before their tribunal, if they can be convicted of falsehood, by the process itself which has been made; but if, for this purpose, it be necessary to institute any new proceedings, the assistants shall prevent this from being done by the Inquisitors, and shall submit this new process to the ordinary judge, such being the opinion of the doctors who were consulted upon this article.

These thirty-nine regulations are very remarkable. The republic of Venice, wiser and more politic than the monarchs of this time, placed the Inquisition in the dependence of the state, whilst these monarchs had the weakness to subject their thrones to the Inquisition.

In Spain and Portugal the Inquisitors were citizens of their

respective countries. Venice, more artful, left these functions to strangers, and had the noble spirit to spare her subjects such a disgrace; so that, if it happened that the conduct of the Inquisitors rendered them odious, she directed the resentment of the people against men who were not members of the state, and thus maintained the dignity of her subjects. By prohibiting the Inquisitors to exercise their employment without having obtained the letters patent of the Doge, she placed herself above the Pope from whom they received their appointments, as these appointments were held to be of no efficacy, until ratified by the Doge. By these means she obliged Rome to present to her only such persons as she chose, and compelled the Inquisitors to attempt nothing contrary to her interests, through fear of banishment. By reserving to herself the right of assisting at all the proceedings and deliberations of the Inquisition, by appointing this right to be exercised by three senators in the capital, and by the rectors in all the other cities, she continually held up, to the eyes of the Inquisitors, the respectable image of her sovereign authority, and rendered them subordinate to the Inquisition of state; thus there were inspectors appointed of their most secret thoughts; inspectors whose presence kept them within the bounds of justice, and whose secret reports, to the council of ten, must necessarily hold them in constant alarm.

This right of assisting at the tribunal was, accordingly, of all the prerogatives reserved by the Venetian government, that which the popes opposed with the greatest vigour, and exerted themselves with the greatest obstinacy to prevail upon it to renounce: but all their endeavours, upon this head, were vain. Paul V., Julius III., Gregory IV., tried all the art that ingenuity could devise, to attain this important object. The Senate remained inflexible, she rested her refusal upon many examples, particularly upon what occurred, at Rome itself, upon the death of Paul IV.; when the people, exasperated by the excessive rigours in which the Inquisition had

indulged itself, without any interposition of this pontiff to restrain them, overthrew and broke his statues, dragged them, contemptuously, along the streets, forced open the palace of the holy office, pillaged and tore to pieces the archives, and then reduced the building to ashes; burst open the dungeons of the Inquisition, delivered all the prisoners, and could not be appeased till they had entirely destroyed every trace of this tribunal, which the popes would not venture, afterwards, to restore, without the greatest precautions. They also cited the example of Mantua, where scenes, not less tumultuous, had taken place, and drew from these instances this conclusion, that if the governments of these different cities had appointed persons to inspect the conduct of the Inquisitors, they would, by restraining their excesses, have prevented those of the multitude.

The Senate discovered by experience, in the sequel, how necessary this right was. They had not, by their regulations, permitted the Inquisitors to decide in cases of sorcery. At this period, when the belief of this supernatural art was general, a report suddenly arose that it prevailed, to an uncommon degree, in the province of **Brescia**. The Inquisition, always ready to go beyond its powers, instantly assumed the cognizance of this affair, and three or four suspected persons were arrested. The rectors of this province, removed to a distance from Venice, neglected their duty, and omitted to attend at the sittings of the tribunal: the consequence of which was that confiscations and tortures took place, without restraint; vexation and oppression were carried to the most enormous height.

The Inquisitor of Brescia transmitted an account of these exploits to the Inquisitor of Venice. The three assistant senators were present at the reading of this report, and the government discovered, at once, the negligence of her rectors, the tyranny of the Inquisitors, and the sufferings of the sorcerers, who betrayed their ignorance of the art, in as much as it had not been able to secure

them from the evils they endured. The council of ten instantly dispatched an order to the governors to send to Venice, under a strong guard, both the Inquisitors and the rectors, and to transmit, at the same time, all the proceedings; to set the prisoners at liberty; to restore to them their families, and their property; and to close the gates of the Inquisition until further orders. All their proceedings were annulled. The Inquisitors of Brescia were confined in prison as long as the examination continued, and were then conducted back to Rome, with an invitation to the Pope, to nominate others in their places: The rectors were punished by the loss of offices, by heavy mulcts, and by a long confinement. Not a single sorcerer was burned, nor was any further mention made of sorcerers in Brescia, for the crime had existed only in the imagination of some visionary fanatics, and in the imposture of the Inquisitors.

This example of firmness in the Venetian government, so important to the public tranquillity, was lost upon the rest of Italy, and had not the least influence even on those states which were in the immediate neighbourhood of the republic. It appears scarcely credible that, at the very time in which the council of ten exercised this wholesome severity upon the Inquisitors of Brescia, those of Milan, whose territory borders upon that of Venice, should have been guilty of the violence about to be related, and, nevertheless, escape with impunity.

The Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Charles Borromeus, visiting his diocese, in which were some places subject to him in spiritual concerns, but the temporal dominion of which was in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland; thought proper to issue certain ordinances of his own authority. This conduct gave umbrage to the cantons; they therefore dispatched an ambassador to the governor of Milan, requesting him to forbid the bishop from continuing his visits in places which were under their jurisdiction, and observing to him that the refusal of so just a demand would, inevitably, give



rise to disagreeable consequences, and might even be followed by steps capable of disturbing the harmony which reigned between the two powers.

The ambassador, upon his arrival in Milan, repaired to the house of a wealthy merchant, with whom he happened to be acquainted: but no sooner was the grand Inquisitor informed of the circumstance, than he hurried to the house, followed by a train of his familiars, and there, without waiting to be informed of the object of his mission, without thinking of the respect every where due to the right of nations, without reflecting upon the calamitous consequences that might result from his rashness, he entered abruptly the apartment of the minister, commanded his followers to seize his person, loaded him with chains, and, after dragging him, in this condition, through the streets of Milan, hurried him, without ceremony, into the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The terror excited by so enormous an instance of audacity was universal; but nevertheless, such was the yoke which the Inquisitors had laid upon the necks of the people, that nobody ventured to resist their violence, nor to avenge the dignity of the inhabitants of Lombardy, which was equally insulted with that of the Helvetic republic. A merchant alone had the courage to repair to the habitation of the governor, and to inform him of the transaction which had just taken place in his house; I say the courage, for his family and his friends conjured him not to meddle in an affair, which might expose him to the vengeance of the Inquisitors. The governor dispatched a message to the Inquisitor, and commanded him instantly to set the ambassador at liberty. The Inquisitor was compelled to obey. The governor endeavoured, by shewing him every honor in his power, and by granting every thing which he was instructed to demand, to efface from the mind of the ambassador the injury he had sustained. However, the Swiss had been speedily informed of the transaction, and had already issued an order for the arrest of the cardinal Charles Borromeus, being deter-

mined to treat him in the same manner in which the Inquisitors should treat their ambassador; but the account of the reparation arrived almost as soon as that of the injury: the cardinal revoked his ordinances, discontinued his visits, and peace was in this manner restored, but, to the disgrace of Milan and of human nature, the Inquisitors remained unpunished, except by being forced to forego the gratification of their brutal animosity.

The Inquisitors of Venice, being unsuccessful in their endeavours to free themselves from the inspection of the assistants, whose presence was so great a restraint upon them, attempted next to exact from them an oath of fidelity. The Inquisitor brother Anthony carried his pretensions farther, by requiring that the doge Pedro Gradenigo should promise, upon oath, under his hand to persecute Heretics. The doge only laughed at him, and was contented with exposing the monk to ridicule in a memoir which he published. As to the oath which the Inquisitors wished to exact from the assistants, the vigorous commands of the Senate compelled them to renounce the attempt. Baffled in this expectation, they were satisfied with demanding, that at least the assistants should be bound to keep silence upon what they should hear and see in the houses and meetings of the Inquisitors. It was replied to them, that the government, in order to the proper discharge of their duty, being obliged to know every thing which passed, there was no reason why the Inquisition should be exempted from that superintendance, to which every department of the state was subjected, and certainly the Inquisitors, when they made a demand of this nature, must have been very ignorant of the nature and policy of the Venetian government.

This government did not always remain merely on the defensive with regard to the Inquisitors; it was sometimes compelled to resort to rigorous measures, and often chastised them severely when they ventured to meddle with matters which exceeded the limits of their power.

The Holy See, ever ready to take advantage of circumstances to increase her authority and her revenues, had, at the time of the crusades, forbidden all persons, whether merchants or not, to sell, to the Saracens, arms or any thing else which might be employed to the detriment of the Christians. Whether the crusades were justifiable or not, this decree was at least conformable to the laws of war, and was accordingly submitted to without contradiction; but, the crusades being terminated, the decree still continued unrepealed. In 1307, Clement V. thought proper not only to revive the order, but to give it a still more extensive operation. He therefore issued a bull, expressly forbidding all persons, not only to sell arms to the inhabitants of the Levant, but to convey to them any merchandize, or to traffic with them in any manner, under the pretence that it was not lawful for Christians to hold any commerce with infidels. This prohibition was sanctioned by a threat of excommunication, and various other penalties. The Pope knew so well the folly of this measure, that he perceived before-hand that it would be infringed by multitudes of persons. This was the very point which he desired; for the bull imported that whoever should contravene the order, by sending or by conveying European goods to the Levant, should pay to the Apostolic Chamber, a sum of money, equal to the total value of the merchandize.

It would be useless to remark how much the public liberty of states was outraged by such a prohibition, and how extremely pernicious it was to the commerce of Europe. If violations of the order therefore were frequent in most of the Italian cities, they were infinitely more so at Venice, whose power and splendour depended entirely upon her commerce. Those among the Venetians who had been guilty of such violations, to use the expression adopted by the court of Rome, laughed openly at the excommunication attached to this pretended crime, and seldom thought of seeking for absolution. But the hour of death arrived at length, accompanied by its ordinary terrors; the confessors then refused

the dying persons absolution, viaticum, and prayers, and threatened moreover to deprive them of the rites of sepulture. Fear then prompted them to ruin their wives and children, and, frequently, their entire fortunes were insufficient to reimburse the value of all the forbidden merchandize, in which they had traded during their lives. The Court of Rome, which found a remedy for every difficulty, declared that the Apostolic Chamber would be content with the goods which they left behind them, and, for want of her entire right, would accept of what remained at the time of their deaths: this she denominated condescension, and pretended that she was entitled to the gratitude of men, for so liberal an indulgence. If this indulgence had met with the expected acknowledgment, in a very few years, the Apostolic Chamber would have ruined the most wealthy and most industrious cities of Italy.

At Venice, however, she met with nothing but ingratitude; the heirs and executors of the will laughed at the Apostolic Chamber, and continued to take possession of the inheritances which fell to their lot. John XXII. successor to Clement V. not less avaricious than obstinate, inveighed with the utmost bitterness against this insolence, and dispatched two nuncios to Venice, to execute the commands of the Holy See. These nuncios, upon their arrival, excommunicated the proctors of St. Mark, and an infinite number of other persons of all sexes. This audacious attempt drew down the animadversion of the Senate; they declared that the pretensions of the Pope and the proceedings of the nuncios were indefensible and injurious, and that the interest of the state required the employment of all means to prevent their further execution; and the nuncios were accordingly forced to quit the republic.

The Pope pretended to disapprove of their conduct, but without relaxing any thing of his pretensions, he commanded the bishop of Ravenna, by a bull, to oblige all those whom the nuncios had excommunicated, and to whom he now granted absolu-

tion, to repair to Avignon, in order to determine, as he said, the sums in which they were indebted to the Apostolic Chamber. They entirely refused to obey this command, upon the principle that it was no crime to trade with the people of the Levant, so long as they should not supply them with arms, and that the Pope had no right to prevent it. The Pope declared all those Heretics who should venture to maintain this principle. His successor, Bennet XII. being of a less enterprising temper, did not insist upon this pretended heresy; but not wishing to forego this source of gain, he granted permissions to trade with the infidels, by means of which men might pursue their traffic with a safe conscience, and took care to demand a good price for the indulgence. His successors imitated his example, and Innocent IV. among others, exacted, from the Republic of Venice, nine thousand gold ducats for the privilege of a single year. These vexatious exactions insensibly opened men's eyes, and they at length became convinced that there was no necessity for any dispensation to trade with the Eastern nations. Rome was forced to yield to the torrent; but, always ingenious in inventing expedients to compensate her losses, she forbade the Italians to trade beyond the mountains without her permission, under pretence that they would be corrupted by an intercourse with Heretics.

The Inquisition was then in all its vigour, and was entrusted by the Popes with the superintendance of their interests. Clement VII. commanded that no Italian should traffic, or even abide for ever so short a time, in a place where there was no public exercise of the Catholic religion, unless he previously obtained the permission of the Inquisitors, and even then, only on condition that those who obtained it should transmit every year, to these same Inquisitors, an attestation drawn up in due form, that they had discharged the duties of good Christians by regular confession and communion.

This was a splendid harvest for the Inquisitors, and they has-

tened to reap it ; they inundated France and Germany with their spies and their emissaries. These spies watched the motions of all Italians who passed the mountains ; they compelled them to produce the permissions of the Inquisitors ; they followed their steps, they observed all their actions and conversations, they marked the places they frequented, the persons with whom they associated ; they kept an exact, but rarely a true, journal of their conduct, which they transmitted to the Inquisitors, and which was frequently employed to oppress and ruin them after their return into their own country. If they travelled without the permission of the Inquisitors, these emissaries extorted money from them, by threatening to inform against them, which threat they frequently put into execution, after having first plundered them of every thing they could obtain. Then the Inquisitors of the place in which they formerly had resided, caused them to be cited by hand-bills and by public proclamation to appear before them by such a period. In this appearance they frequently failed, because the time allowed was always too short ; and upon such failure they were declared favourers of heresy, their goods were confiscated, and these unhappy men, upon their return home, not only found their fortunes ruined, their houses desolate, their wives and children dispersed ; but were still further liable to imprisonment, tortures, and often even to death itself.

The Senate of Venice threatened the Inquisitors with exemplary punishment, if any Venetian should become the victim of such iniquitous proceedings. This is the reason of their having forbidden the assistants to suffer that any subject of the republic should be cited by public proclamation, and ordained that, if any one should commit a crime in a foreign country, he should be tried by the judges of the place in which he happened to reside at the time. These Inquisitors had so violent a passion for persecution, that in spite of the superintendance of the assistants, and the severity of the Senate, they frequently succeeded in secretly

receiving informations as to the religion and manners of men, the most distinguished in the state, for their riches, their employments, their talents, and their reputation; they summoned to depose against them persons of the vilest character, whom they paid for this infamous trade, and whom in the trials they qualified with the appellation of men of honour and integrity: and when this proceeding was completed, they transmitted it to Rome, to be afterwards employed as the occasion might serve. So that if any of the persons, against whom these informations were received, happened to leave their country and to repair to Rome, or to any of the other cities of Italy, they were frequently arrested at a moment when they least expected it, and as the fear of offending the Senate prevented Rome from consigning them to punishment, she set a heavy price upon their liberty, which they frequently obtained only by the sacrifice of their fortune.

Upon one remarkable occasion they displayed, in a most striking manner, this audacious and insolent spirit. At the time of the civil wars in France, some of the Venetians ranged themselves beneath the standards of Henry III., to assist him against the league, and the government of Venice, being perfectly aware that this war had much less for its object the interests of religion than the ambition of the Guises, did not think proper to order them to return to their country. Albert, inquisitor of Verona, was highly incensed at this conduct, and commenced a proceeding against the doge and all the members of the Senate, as favourers of heresy. He searched among the very lowest dregs of the people for witnesses, whom he affected to consider as of unimpeachable veracity. The Senate, being informed of this insolent conduct, caused him to be arrested, and confined in prison. The time was not yet fully arrived, to inflict upon the delinquent a more exemplary punishment.

This continual struggle, between the Senate and the Inquisition, evidently proves, that the Venetian government, though it long

resisted the establishment of the Inquisition, in the dominions of the republic, had nevertheless need of its own experience in order to become perfectly acquainted with its spirit ; that they had not foreseen that here, as in other places, it would endeavour to become independent of all laws ; that it would endeavour to exalt its power above all the constituted authorities, and to draw to itself that respect which the people owe to the government alone. It would have been much wiser to have refused to allow the establishment of the Inquisition, than thus to place, in the heart of the state, a body whose invasions they must always dread, whose steps they must watch, whose enterprises they must never cease to combat, and whose projects they must be constantly forced to thwart and baffle. The more we admire the wisdom of the Senate in the precautions which they took to confine it within narrow limits, the more are we astonished at their imprudence in ever admitting it. There is reason to suspect that if the government of Venice, after having so long resisted the solicitations of the Popes, yielded at length to those of Nicholas IV. it was the dupe of a false calculation in politics.

At this epoch the people of the Levant had recovered the greater part of these countries, which the Christians had formerly wrested from them. Venice herself was threatened with the loss of the islands of Crete, Cyprus, and even of Corfu. The rivalry of Genoa began to display itself. Nicholas IV., whose reign, though of short duration, was sufficiently long to violate the repose of Italy, by the protection which he gave to Charles of Anjou against James of Arragon, caused every pulpit to resound with exclamations against infidels, and agitated all the courts of Europe, with his endeavours to excite a new crusade. If this event had taken place, Venice expected to recover the states which she had lost : and it was therefore imprudent to offend, in the person of the Pope, the powerful mover of an enterprise, the issue of which would have been so favourable to the interests



of the republic. Such was the influence of her external policy. As to the internal, we should remember that the introduction of the Inquisition at Venice corresponds, nearly, in point of date, with the establishment of the aristocratical form of government, by the celebrated Pedro Grandenigo, in place of the democratical constitution, and that it was about the same period, the formidable council of ten, whose rigorous superintendance I need not recall to the recollection of the reader, was instituted.

Heresy certainly was not the enemy most formidable to this new government ; they were in possession of means fully sufficient to suppress it without the assistance of Rome ; and if they supposed that the interest of the state required the Catholic to be the prevailing religion, they had, in the confirmed habit of the people, to consider it as such, and in the prevailing opinions, a sufficient security that, for a long period at least, no sect would be sufficiently powerful to overthrow or even to balance it. But they were far from feeling the same security with regard to these discontents, to which the new order of things had given birth. Grandenigo might therefore imagine that, by means of the religious Inquisition, he should infinitely multiply the springs of that Inquisition of state, of which he was the author ; that it would add another important source of information ; that the assistants, being always present at the proceedings of the Inquisitors of religion, would be able, through the secrets of heresy, to penetrate into others, which it was of more consequence to discover, and thus increase their means for the destruction of their enemies. Such appear to be the most probable reasons for this condescension to the wishes of Nicholas IV. ; a condescension that is otherwise unaccountable in a government, which had hitherto, so uniformly, baffled the schemes of his predecessors. To suppose that Grandenigo admitted the Inquisition for no other reason, but because the democratical government had rejected it, would be to ascribe, to him, a littleness of mind, incompatible with what history

relates of his character. To ascertain the degree to which the religious Inquisition answered the ends which he expected from it, I cannot undertake, even were it permitted me to indulge my own conjectures; but there can be no doubt upon this one point, that the government discovered, by experience, that these Inquisitors would shortly resemble masters, much more than auxiliaries, did they not find, in the dark and rigid policy of Venice, an insurmountable obstacle to their designs; and the constant succession of restrictive measures, made use of by the Senate against them, from the conclusion of the thirteenth century, almost to our own days, demonstrates the persevering obstinacy with which they endeavoured to render themselves independent of the sovereign power, and to reduce it to the same state of slavery to which they had subjected it in almost all other countries.

The most severe blow that government gave to their power, was the forbidding them to publish any bulls, relative to their functions which they received from Rome; the never permitting the regulations they contained to be put in force against Venetian subjects, and depriving them of the power of censuring books, which they claimed in all countries into which they had been admitted. In fact these bulls were so shocking, that it seems almost incredible that any government should allow, not the execution, but even the promulgation of them. Some of these bulls ordained that Heretics should be publicly burned alive; some that their goods should be confiscated, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, that is to say, of excommunication, against such princes as should oppose their execution; and the ordinary consequences, which followed these censures during the darkness of the middle ages, have been before described. Others authorised the Inquisitors to demolish any house in which a Heretic had been arrested, even though the house were not his property; others gave permission to these same Inquisitors to keep under their pay an armed force, which they were to employ against whomsoever they should think proper; to arm themselves when they

judged it necessary to preach crusades at their pleasure ; to enrol under their banners all who presented themselves, without waiting for the approbation of the government. Paul IV. commanded them never to remit the punishment of death to such unfortunate persons as were brought, for the first time, before their tribunal. Pius V. added to this bloody command, another, still more barbarous, by which he consigned innocence to a punishment more cruel than death, I mean to the continual apprehension of it. He declared that, although an accused person had been pronounced innocent by an authentic sentence, it should not prevent the Inquisition from recommencing the process as often as they pleased, even though no new accusation had been received, nor any fresh proofs adduced, since the first judgment pronounced in his favour. This same Pope decreed further, that whoever should make use of any menace against any officer, however subordinate, of the Inquisition, or against any witness who had borne testimony against an individual, should be first excommunicated, and afterwards punished with death, as guilty of the crime of high treason against his spiritual chief ; that his goods should be confiscated ; and his children be declared infamous, and incapable of acquiring any property by donation, or by testament. He ordained the same punishment of excommunication and death, for all those who should favour the escape of any of the prisoners of the Inquisition, or who should attempt to effect their liberation, even though the attempt should fail of its object.

This sanguinary legislator, as we perceive by these regulations, was not contented with putting men to death, he wished to annihilate all the sentiments of nature, emotions of generosity, laws of humanity, duties of friendship, breathings of pity ; and although there existed courage enough to oppose the publication and the executions of such bulls, and the republic of Venice alone possessed that courage, these laws of Rome now appear to us so absurd and so atrocious, that it is less to the courage of the Venetian government

than to its understanding, that we are disposed to render the tribute of our applause.

If this constant opposition of the Senate to the publication of these different bulls, excited the violent displeasure of the Inquisitors, their pride was not less sensibly wounded by the prohibition of the government to assume the censure of books. They pretended to possess the right of judging of books, not only with regard to heresy, but with regard to politics also; a pretension as dangerous as it was ridiculous. Being entirely devoted to the Court of Rome, they would infallibly have approved of all works which tended to establish the superiority of the Papal authority, above that of all temporal sovereigns, such as, for instance, the writing of Cardinal Bellarmine, in which he declares all to be Heretics who maintained the principle, that kings and sovereign princes have no superior but God; a principle contradictory of the opinion professed by Paul IV., when he declared, that he would not have kings for companions, but for subjects, and that he would keep them under his feet; such also as the works of Baronius, in which he asserts, that it was the height of impiety in princes and their officers to prevent the free circulation of books approved by the Pope, and that it was to deprive St. Peter of one of the keys which Jesus Christ had given him, namely the power of discerning good from evil. Every body is acquainted with the insolent letter which he wrote to Philip III. of Spain, to complain that the King's ministers had forbidden the sale of the eleventh volume of his annals; in which letter he declares that the Pope is the only legitimate judge of books, and that, consequently, princes and their officers should not dare condemn a book, which his Holiness had sanctioned by his approbation.

For the same reason the Inquisitors would have forbidden all books which tended to support the sovereign authority, so much insulted by the haughty pretensions which the Court of Rome main-

tained, even so late as the seventeenth century : all books in general, in which were explained the rights of nations, and above all, those in which the language of truth is employed to inform sovereigns of their true interests, and to lead them insensibly to these enlarged ideas which were at that time so uncommon, and which the popes so much dreaded to see them adopt. The popes, or their writers, imagined that they made ample concessions, when they declared that, if kings, with their legal councils, considered any book dangerous to their authority, they might apply to their bishops, and that these prelates, if they judged it necessary, might order its suppression ; that is to say, they wished not only that the temporal sovereign should recognize an authority, within his dominions, superior to his own, but that a bishop should better understand the art of government than the monarch and his advisers appointed by the constitution. This second absurdity gave rise to that witty question addressed to Montluc, bishop of Valence, What should be thought of the man, who, seeing Paris involved in a conflagration, should wait till water was brought from the Tiber to extinguish the blaze, while he had that of the Seine so near at hand ?

The Senate, with their usual energy, repelled all the attempts, made by the Inquisitors, to arrogate this right to themselves. They did not even allow them the power of censuring books contrary to decency, good morals, or to the individual honour of the citizens. They declared that this right belonged specially to the magistrates of the police, and that they alone should examine and prohibit them.

The Inquisitors next attempted to exact an oath from all printers and booksellers, that they would not publish any heretical works. The Senate replied, that the citizens of a state are not obliged to take any oath except to the government, to which alone it was reserved to forbid heretical books, because it implied an act of supreme authority, which ought never to be yielded to any body.

They next required that the booksellers, at certain periods of the year, should present them with an inventory of the books which they had in their warehouses, and that it should be lawful for them to ascertain its accuracy. The Senate rejected this demand also, because measures of this nature were injurious to an important branch of commerce, which government ought generally to protect, and the exercise of which could not be legally superintended by any but itself.

The Inquisition bore, with the greatest impatience, the fetters thus imposed upon its power, and constantly demanded the interference of Rome, which was never applied for in vain; but there was one restraint, the more peculiarly galling, as it corrected its perverse injustice and ruined its hopes; this was the severity with which the Senate treated the false witnesses whom the Inquisitors made use of in their proceedings, and whom they were in the habit, not only of treating with indulgence, but even of recompensing, in order to encourage accusation, and to multiply their victims. The Senate, on the contrary, upon the least complaint from those who had been accused, caused these witnesses to be instantly apprehended; if convicted of false testimony, they were capitally punished, in case their depositions had endangered the life of the accused, or doomed to confinement, upon its appearing that their falsehood had affected only the tranquillity of a citizen.

By these strict regulations, the trade of a false witness, which met with so much encouragement from the Inquisitors, daily lost its credit, and their prey diminished, in proportion as the activity of these miscreants was restrained. Besides, the Senate, in the midst of this just severity, conducted itself with such perfect impartiality, that it forced to silence even the Inquisitors, whose rage vented itself but in murmurs, and consoled itself by endeavouring to propagate the opinion that the vengeance of the Senate, inflicted upon these false witnesses, proceeded from its hatred of the Inquisition.

The Senate then had recourse to the most celebrated lawyers, and, after having received their opinions, distinguished two species of false witness, first, the false witness evident, namely that whose falsehood is established by a regular judicial process; and the false witness resulting from the process, or that which is suspected to be such from variations in the depositions, from uncertainty in the answers to the interrogatories, and from the occasions in which the witness appears to contradict himself. They permitted the Inquisitors to grant indulgence to this second class, since a variety of circumstances, such as fear, default of memory, too slight an examination of the fact under consideration, and a thousand other causes, may occasion a witness to hesitate and falter, without being however directly chargeable with falsehood: but as to those of the first class, the Senate always continued inexorable.

Thanks to these wise and strict regulations, the Republic of Venice was never the theatre of the horrible punishments which were so frequently exhibited elsewhere. Arrogant, haughty, and merciless, in all those states into which the weakness of the government admitted them, the Inquisitors were, at Venice, comparatively timid, humble, and submissive. They brooded, in silence, over the injuries which they thought they endured in being restrained from the indulgence of their bloody dispositions, and, if urged by that restless boldness that every where marked their character, they attempted, upon any occasion, to over-leap the bounds within which they were confined, their speedy and certain punishment, soon brought them back to the recollection of their dependance, and curbed the violence of their inclinations.

The religious Inquisition of Venice had always a formidable and jealous rival; this was the Inquisition of State. This latter, terrible without doubt, but less hateful than the other, always maintained its ascendancy. Though assailed by all the arts, and all

the perseverance of Rome, supported by her numerous and devoted partisans, it always supported the contest with vigour, and derived only new stability from the efforts exerted for its overthrow; thus exhibiting an instance, the more illustrious as it is the more uncommon, of a government possessing wisdom and dignity enough to provide for its security against insidious machination, and to support its independance amid the general subjection and degradation of Europe.



## BOOK VI.

*Composition of the Tribunals of the Inquisition in Italy, Spain, and Portugal—Crimes of which it has Cognizance—Its Jurisprudence—Internal Arrangements—Dungeons—Tortures—Description of an Auto da fé—General and Fundamental Principles of the Inquisition, extracted from the Directorium Inquisitorum.*

THE preceding books contain a general idea of the rank which the Inquisition held in Europe, and of the calamities to which it gave birth: it remains now to enter more into a detail of its horrors, which is indeed a most painful duty.

The Pope was the head of the Inquisition, which, at Rome, was called the Holy Office; he nominated all the cardinals who composed it: all the Inquisitions of Italy, Venice excepted, depended upon that of Rome. The Pope likewise possessed the nomination of all the members of these secondary tribunals. They were removeable at his pleasure: he could recall them without any formality, and even without letting them know the cause of their disgrace. After this we shall no longer wonder at the intrigues and crimes, to which these men had recourse, in order to preserve their places.

The Holy Office, at Rome, was composed of cardinals and counsellors. The cardinals formed the tribunal; that is, they were the judges; the others composed the bar. All these latter were required to be professors of the canon law and regular priests. Their business was to examine the books, the opinions, the doctrines, the public and private conduct of those who were brought before the tribunal; they were therefore bound, in virtue of their office, to make a report of all their proceedings, and it

was, almost always, upon their statements, that the cardinals formed their judgments and decrees. After the counsellors came the secretaries and the fiscal proctor; this last person was the only one known to the accused. The number of subordinate officers was immense. Whatever crime they might commit, the secular power had no authority over them: they were amenable only to the Inquisition. It is not then to be wondered at, if the very dross and scum of the human species demanded with ardour this kind of employment.

The Inquisition of Rome, or Holy Office, had a supreme authority over all the inferior tribunals of Italy, with the exception of Venice. They were bound to transmit an account, to its members, of all affairs of importance, to consult them upon all weighty matters, to receive their answers, to conform to them without hesitation, and to obey their orders, whatever they might be, with the utmost exactness. The same persons regulated all proceedings, prescribed the forms of judgment, repealed at pleasure the ancient laws, and established new ones; pronounced sentence finally upon all the differences which their various pretensions gave rise to, among the Inquisitors, and punished them in whatever manner they deemed expedient.

That which, at Rome, was called the Holy Office, in Spain and in Portugal was denominated the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. All the particular Inquisitions of all territories belonging to these kingdoms depended upon their respective Supreme Councils; except that alone of Milan, which was subject to Rome, although the duchy belonged to Spain: the Inquisition having been established there previously to its becoming a dependancy of the Spanish crown. The King of Spain nominated the grand Inquisitor; but it was necessary that this nomination should be confirmed by the Pope, and this was the only right which he possessed, over the Inquisitors, beyond the Pyrennees.

The Supreme Council was composed of the grand Inquisitor,

and of five members. One of these was necessarily a dominican. The other officers were a fiscal proctor, a secretary of the royal chamber, two secretaries of the council, a chief alguasil or great serjeant, a receiver, two relators, and two qualificators. The number of familiars and of inferior officers surpasses belief. Here, as at Rome, they were amenable only to the inquisitorial tribunal; but in Spain they enjoyed still greater privileges, and it was for the purpose of participating in these privileges that the greatest lords did not blush to execute the duties of officers of the Inquisition. What a terrible phenomenon in politics, a body numerous and united, placed in a state of absolute independence of all the civil powers; above all laws, unshackled by the social ties which were imposed upon the rest of the citizens, and not bound to give any account of their conduct either to the monarch or to the magistrates, nor even to the head of the church, of which they assumed the defence.

The Supreme Council exercised, in Spain, the same authority over the inferior tribunals, that the Holy Office of Rome did over those of Italy, but the Supreme Councils of Portugal and Spain were still more formidable: they attained to that pitch of power as to make even their kings tremble. These kings had not, as the Pope, the wisdom to declare themselves heads of the Inquisition in their own dominions.

The inferior Inquisitions, dependent upon the Supreme Council, resided at Seville, Toledo, Grenada, Cordova, Cuenza, Valladolid, Murcia, Lerena, Logrogno, San Jago, Zaragossa, Valentia, Barcelona, Majorca, Sardinia, Palermo, Mexico, Carthagena, and Lima. Each of these was composed of three inquisitorial judges, three secretaries, a chief alguasil or grand serjeant, and three receivers, qualificators, or counsellors; they differed from those of Italy in this, that the latter had but one inquisitor, assisted by a vicar, a fiscal proctor, a notary, and some counsellors. Both had a great number of jailers, and a multitude of subordinate officers.

In order to qualify an Inquisitor, or to hold any office in the Inquisition, it was necessary to exhibit proofs of a singular species of nobility; it was requisite to be what was denominated, *Casa limpia*, that is to say, descended of a family of ancient Christians, and that none of his ancestors should have fallen under any inquisitorial censure. Immediately on being admitted, the person was obliged to take an oath of secrecy and fidelity to the Inquisition. The violation of this secrecy was punished with death. No excuse would avail, even though it evidently appeared that the person had only done it in order to save his life; the guilt was considered inexpiable, the punishment was the same.

There were two bodies of men in Spain who were of great assistance to the Inquisition: one was the *Hermudad*, the other the *Cruciata*; and although the Inquisitors did not count the individuals of these bodies among the number of their members, yet they made use of them as if they were their dependents, and employed them as two arms of tremendous potency to seize their victims in every part of the Peninsula. The *Hermudad* was an immense body of bailiffs, or rather spies, who were spread, not only through all cities, but even through the towns and villages. The smallest hamlets swarmed with these vermin. They were a gang of wretches whom want and idleness had collected together. Victims, without their suspecting it, of this accursed Inquisition, whose baleful influence had, in the course of years, annihilated every species of industry; they served, for a contemptible pittance, the tyrants who had robbed them of all the means of procuring an honourable livelihood.

In order to possess the better claim for their wages, they had devoted all the faculties of their minds to perfect the art which they pursued. The Inquisition was not possessed of any agents more crafty, more persevering, more indefatigable. When once their eyes were fixed upon a victim, it was but of small importance to him that he was innocent; his doom was pronounced, his

fate inevitable. If his reputation, his rank, his riches, the number of domestics who attended him, or any other circumstance did not permit them to employ force in his apprehension, then they had recourse to stratagem. All means, however flagitious, with them, were allowable; they employed all arts, they assumed all characters; they made use of every dress, they adopted every exterior in order to approach their prey. Caresses, flattery, entertainments, money, were all employed in forwarding their designs; they continued these devices for months and even years, till at length they drew the devoted victim into some imprudent step; then they displayed their true character, they pounced upon him unexpectedly, and delivered him to the Inquisition where he was lost for ever.

If the reader recall to his memory what has been said before of the mask with which the Spanish nation concealed its original character, he will be the less surprised, when he considers that every man had reason to believe himself surrounded, incessantly, with spies, totally lost to every idea of virtue, strangers to every sentiment of honour, and interested in procuring his destruction, in order to support the infamous course of life which they had adopted. The other body which was not less serviceable to the Inquisition, although its objects were less odious, from the nature of its composition, was, nevertheless, equally infamous. It was called the *Cruciata* or *Crusade*; its power and riches were incalculable, because the bishops, the archbishops, and almost all the *grandees* of Spain belonged to the fraternity. The intolerant spirit of the age had furnished the first idea of its establishment; it was founded by the wildest fanatics; they had united, in order to watch over the manners of Catholics, and to inform against them, if they failed to discharge the duties of their profession.

It is not difficult to conceive, to what a degree of hypocrisy such an establishment must have brought the nation, and that, if the people went regularly to mass, to vespers, to sermons, to com-

munion, or to confession, it would frequently be much less for the love of God than for fear of the cruciata:—Such were the two great auxiliary powers which the Inquisition had attached to itself. It had sought the assistance of the first, which was originally destined for the pursuit of criminals who had escaped the sword of secular justice, in order to possess, in it, an army, always active and alert, which, in serving the Inquisition, would appear to promote only the execution of the civil laws. It had encouraged the service of the other, in order to unite to its interests the most powerful persons of the state, and to deliver itself from the danger of their opposition.

The Inquisition possessed, or rather had assumed to itself the right of judging ; 1. Heretics ; 2. Those suspected of heresy ; 3. Their abettors, their protectors, and all persons who favoured them in any way whatever ; 4. Magicians, sorcerers, enchanters, and all those who made a practice of witchcraft ; 5. Blasphemers ; 6. Those accused of having resisted the officers of the Inquisition, or impeded its jurisdiction. The simple enunciation of these heads proves the formidable extent of their authority.

The Inquisition comprized, under the name of Heretics, all those who had spoken, taught, written, or preached any thing against the Scriptures, the creed, the articles of faith, or the traditions of the Church ; those also, who had renounced the Catholic religion and embraced any other ; those who, being Catholics, had praised the customs and ceremonies of other modes of worship ; those who were of opinion that men might be saved in all religions, provided they conscientiously discharged the duties of them ; those who spoke or taught any thing contrary to the universal sovereignty and unlimited power of the popes, called in question their authority over general councils, or denied the dominion to which they pretended over temporal princes and monarchs ; those, finally, who took the liberty of criticizing or finding fault with any decision, proceeding from the pope, upon any subject whatsoever.

To be suspected of heresy in the eyes of the Inquisition, it was sufficient to have advanced any erroneous proposition, or to have neglected informing against a person who had been guilty of this fault ; to have spoken irreverently of holy things ; to have shewn disrespect to an image ; to have read, kept in the house, or lent to any body, books forbidden by the Inquisition ; to have neglected the duties of devotion ; to have passed a year without communion or confession ; to have eaten meat upon days of abstinence, or during lent ; to have been present, even once, at the sermons or other religious exercises of Heretics ; to have neglected appearing before the Inquisition when summoned ; to have any Heretic for a friend ; to have treated him with kindness, given him a lodging, or even visited him ; to have prevented him from being taken by the Inquisition, engaged to save him, or aided his escape. According to the principles of the Inquisition, a man was obliged to inform against his father, his brother, his wife, his children, under pain of excommunication, and of being treated as an abettor of Heretics.

Under the same penalties it was forbidden to favour, counsel, or assist any person arrested or pursued by the Inquisition ; to lodge, conceal, or aid any prisoner who escaped, or to supply him with tools to break from his confinement ; to prevent an officer of the Inquisition from arresting any one, or simply to assist those who should disturb them in their functions. A person was still further a favourer of heresy if he wrote to a prisoner of the Inquisition, even simply to console him, or to give him intelligence of his family ; if he engaged witnesses to be favourable to him ; if he concealed or burned any papers that might have been useful in his conviction. In fine, every merchant was a favourer of heresy, if his trade occasioned an intercourse with Heretics, if he sent them merchandize or money, if he wrote to them, or received their letters.

Jews, Mussulmans, people of all other religions, were, equally with Christians, amenable to the Inquisition for all the pretended

crimes just enumerated, and for some others besides ; such as for preventing any person of their faith from embracing the Catholic religion ; or for enticing a Catholic to embrace their own ; for selling, causing any body to read, or simply for keeping in their houses the books of their doctrine, as the Talmud, the Koran, or any other ; or for employing Christian women as nurses for their children. The motive of the Inquisition for treating these unhappy persons with such extreme rigour, was to compel them to change their religion through fear of punishment. A mode of conversion worthy of such a tribunal.

All those crimes were punished with death, if the accused were unable to justify himself from the charge of them. We shall see presently, that this justification was next to an impossibility. But the most unpardonable crime of all, and that which death certainly followed, was to offend, even in the slightest manner, any officer or agent of the Inquisition. The penalty was the same for the least menace used towards the informers or witnesses upon a prosecution : if it happened to be discovered, neither birth, nor character, nor employment, nor rank, nor dignity could save from destruction a man guilty of this crime.

Public report, secret information, discovery by means of their spies, and voluntary accusation, were the four ways employed by the Inquisition to bring matters under its jurisdiction ; in the three first cases, the accused was cited three times to appear ; if he neglected to obey he was excommunicated, and condemned to heavy amercements ; the power being still reserved of punishing him in a more exemplary manner when he should be arrested. If he appeared, he was far from being secure of saving his life ; if he fled, he was forced to bid adieu to his country for ever. Nothing was ever forgotten at the tribunal of the Inquisition : it acknowledged no prescription. Flight was extremely difficult : after what I have mentioned of the Hermandad, the reader will perceive that it was almost impossible. Besides, flight was equivalent to conviction ; it



was considered as an escape from the prison of the holy office, a crime which was always punished with death ; it was only occasionally, and by extraordinary indulgence that it was changed into perpetual imprisonment.

The Inquisitors, in order to get possession of a man's person, did not always submit to the usual formalities. If they judged it expedient, they ordered him to be seized without any warning, and under these circumstances, no asylum was sacred, no privilege was respected. In this melancholy situation a man found himself a solitary being in the world. Though apprehended in the midst of his family, his friends, and his domestics, nobody dared to move in his defence. The moment he passed the threshold of the Inquisition, he was dead to the world ; terror chained the tongues even of his nearest relations, and they dared no longer to mention his name. At his entrance, they searched him carefully in order to rob him of every thing, particularly of those instruments which he might make use of to take away his own life ; but all their precautions were frequently vain ; they could not take from the unhappy prisoner the walls of his dungeon against which he dashed out his brains. The number of wretched persons who thus deprived themselves of life was beyond all calculation ; those who expired under the severity of torture were however still more numerous.

An Inquisitor, followed by his officers, next repaired to the house of the accused ; he took an inventory of his furniture, of his books and of his papers ; and whoever dared to utter the slightest complaint would have been instantly arrested. This inventory was followed by the seizure of his goods, which were to answer for the expences of the proceeding, and the fines to which he might be condemned.

Things being thus arranged, the process commenced. Nothing was ever so tedious as the proceedings. The accused was frequently left to remain for several months in the prisons before they thought of granting him an audience. The prisons were most horrible ; they were unwholesome subterraneous dungeons, far removed from

all intercourse with the human species ; the descent into them was by a vast number of winding ways, for fear that the complaints and cries of the unhappy prisoners should be heard above. The light of heaven never visited these abodes of darkness, so that those confined were unable to read or to occupy their attention with any thing but their sufferings, and with horrible reflections upon the miseries which awaited them. They were not permitted, in this condition, to see or speak to any body. If the proximity of one dungeon to another permitted the prisoners to converse, they were strictly commanded to avoid all communication ; and if the guards ever heard them speak, either alone or to any other person, they instantly entered and applied the scourge without mercy.

When a criminal had thus passed many days, and sometimes many months without knowing the crime of which he was accused, or the witnesses who had deposed against him, he was informed by the keeper of the prison that he might demand an audience. When the accused appeared before his judges for the first time, they asked him, as if they were entirely ignorant both of his person and his crime, what he wanted, and whether he had any thing to say to them. The surest, or the least dangerous mode of acting was to confess the crime, even though not guilty, because they did not cause a prisoner to be put to death the first time he was brought before the Inquisition ; but his family was branded with infamy, and this first judgment rendered his relations incapable of any office either in church or state.

Another mode of delivery from the Inquisition the first time of being brought before it, was to declare constantly that you had nothing to say, and that you did not consider yourself guilty of any crime. In that case if their proofs were not very strong, they dismissed the accused without further proceeding : but in general the unfortunate victim could not thus escape, for the Inquisitors caused him to be followed by two or three of these spies, who were

called familiars of the Inquisition. These men pursued him with a perseverance which is almost inconceivable ; they watched all his steps, all his conversations, all his actions, even the most trifling ; nothing escaped them ; they were frequently the friends of the suspected man, his own domestics, or his nearest relatives. Upon the slightest suspicion that could be imagined, they arrested him a second time. His treatment was now similar to that which he experienced upon the first occasion, except that he was exposed to still greater severity and hardship. Then was the unhappy culprit ruined beyond redemption ; for the Inquisition knows not to pardon twice.

After he had languished for many months in prison, amid all the horrors before described, it was suggested to him, as at first, that he might demand an audience. Although the mansions of the Inquisition were externally superb, though the finest marble, and all the ornaments of architecture were profusely employed in their decoration, they presented to the eyes of the accused nothing but objects of terror and dismay ; all was gloomy and sad within ; the Inquisitors and their officers equally assumed an air of austerity, which left nothing to hope from the compassion and mercy of the judges. As soon as the prisoner appeared, the Inquisitors earnestly exhorted him to confess his crime. If he denied his guilt, they remanded him to confinement, saying that they would allow him time to consider the subject, and to recall every thing to his memory. After having suffered him so to remain for a considerable time, if he still continued to plead not guilty, they forced him to swear upon the crucifix and the holy Evangelists, that he would return true answers to such questions as they should put to him. If he refused to take the oath, he was instantly condemned, without any other form of proceeding, because they inferred either that he did not profess the Christian religion, since he was unwilling to offer so decisive a proof of his faith as was thus required of him, or that he was afraid of the crime

of perjury, and consequently guilty of the offence with which he was charged. After he had taken the oath, they interrogated him upon every circumstance of his life, from the earliest period to the present, and even upon the lives of his ancestors, in order to discover whether any of them had been ever apprehended by the Inquisition. If this happened to be the case, it was a most fatal prejudice against the accused, because they imagined that he must have inherited the opinions of his ancestors as well as their blood; and that, as he derived from them his education, he must have imbibed their errors, as those things to which they felt the strongest attachment.

Hitherto they gave not the slightest intimation of the crime of which he was accused, nor of the depositions which had been made against him; they only endeavoured, by a thousand wiles, to draw something from his own lips upon which they might condemn him. This insidious snare was the most artfully laid, and the most difficult to avoid. As they frequently arrested people upon the most vague and most confused reports, or upon proofs much too slight to serve for their condemnation, the judges would have been often embarrassed for a pretext to gloss over their iniquity, if the accused, by speaking too much, had not themselves furnished matter for their sentence. On the other hand, as the Inquisitors promised them a milder treatment, and sometimes even flattered them with hopes of mercy, if they honestly confessed their crimes, and exhibited, by this avowal, the clearest indication of a sincere repentance, the unhappy men, uncertain but that they might be possessed of the means of convicting them, and flattered moreover with the expectation of a speedy deliverance, were frequently guilty of indiscreet confessions, which were then made the excuse for their destruction.

If the accused, either from consciousness of innocence, or because he was too wise to fall into the snare thus laid for him, persisted to deny his guilt, they delivered to him, in writing, the accu-

sation preferred against him. This was a piece composed by the Inquisitors themselves, in which they mingled several crimes, perfectly false, and of the most enormous nature, with those of which he was really accused. This mixture of truth and falsehood was another trap which was laid for the unfortunate prisoner; as he seldom failed loudly to exclaim against the horrible crimes laid to his charge, they took occasion thence to infer, that he was really guilty of those against which he remonstrated least.

As soon as they had delivered to the prisoner his written accusation, they next assigned him an advocate — A vain favour! a mockery of justice; he was not permitted to give counsel to the accused, nor even to converse with him, except in the presence of the Registrar and the Inquisitors. The prisoner was not even allowed to make use of him to defend his cause. In this tribunal, as every appearance of the accused was in person, no attorney being here allowed, so he was obliged to defend himself against unknown accusers; for they never named to him either the accusers or the witnesses, nor were they ever produced in his presence. As to the party in the accusation, he was known to him perfectly well, being always the fiscal proctor of the Inquisition. The informers never appeared as parties, but only as witnesses. It should be observed here, that of late years this severity has mitigated, at least by the Inquisition of Lisbon. It happened upon the following occasion: A young man who was immured for some very slight offence, in one of the prisons of the Inquisition which overlooked the street, and weary of the length and severity of his confinement, contrived at length to remove the bars from the window of his cell, through which he flung himself down upon the pavement, where he was instantly dashed to pieces. It happened to be a Sunday, and the entire congregation, who were quitting the church of St. Dominic, were witnesses of this melancholy scene, which excited so great a degree of indignation among the people, that the Prince Regent, in order to appease their anger, thought

proper to enact that, thenceforth, any person accused before the Inquisition, should be allowed the full benefit of counsel of his own choosing, and that the civil power should, on all occasions, accompany that of the Inquisition in every arrest of person.

Some days after they had delivered to the accused the copy of his accusation, they brought him to another audience with his advocate ; but it was not allowed the advocate to speak, without consulting the Inquisitors upon what he was to say ; his office was confined to earnest exhortations of the accused, to confess a crime of which he frequently was entirely innocent. In vain did he insist upon knowing the witnesses who had informed against him, they persisted in refusing to grant the demand. It was only permitted him to guess them, and to ask, as he named them, whether such or such were of the number. They either made him no reply at all, or such an one as they thought proper, without ever informing him whether his conjecture were right. Then they continued their interrogatories, and if he persisted in denying his guilt, they again remanded him to prison. At length after having, frequently for many years, thus conducted the miserable victim from the prison to the audience-chamber, and thence back again to prison, they commenced his prosecution.

The first step was to make him appear before the Inquisitors. Then, for the first time, they presented him with the true depositions of the witnesses, (for the former accusation which had been communicated to him was a piece composed by the judges themselves, an artful mixture of truth and falsehood.) They presented him with the true depositions, but entirely garbled, that is, without mention of any circumstance either of time, place, or person, which might lead him to discover his accusers. If the witnesses had mentioned any thing, in their depositions, that could tend to the acquittal of the accused, it remained in the original ; no mention was made of it in the copy which was delivered to him.

So that, if these depositions were true, they frequently served only to embarrass the accused, and to plunge him into the greatest perplexities.

The depositions being thus communicated to him, if he found himself unable or unwilling to make his replies or his exceptions against the witnesses immediately, they allowed him three or four days to deliberate, and, in the mean time, remanded him to prison. He was required, after this, to endeavour to guess his accusers and his enemies, for they always persisted in refusing to produce or even to name them to him. The time allowed him for making his challenges being expired, they again summoned him before them, and listened to all the exceptions which he made to witnesses of whom he knew not the names nor the rank. If by chance he happened to make a true conjecture, and to offer any important objection, it was of but small advantage to him, for the judges gave in the process what value they pleased to these exceptions, and frequently denied them any, though ever so important or so well founded; or rather nothing that he could advance against a witness was esteemed of any avail, unless he could prove him to be a declared enemy. This did, however, not entirely overthrow his testimony, though it weakened its force; but to except against him for crimes, or for notorious infamy, was totally disregarded and held for nothing.

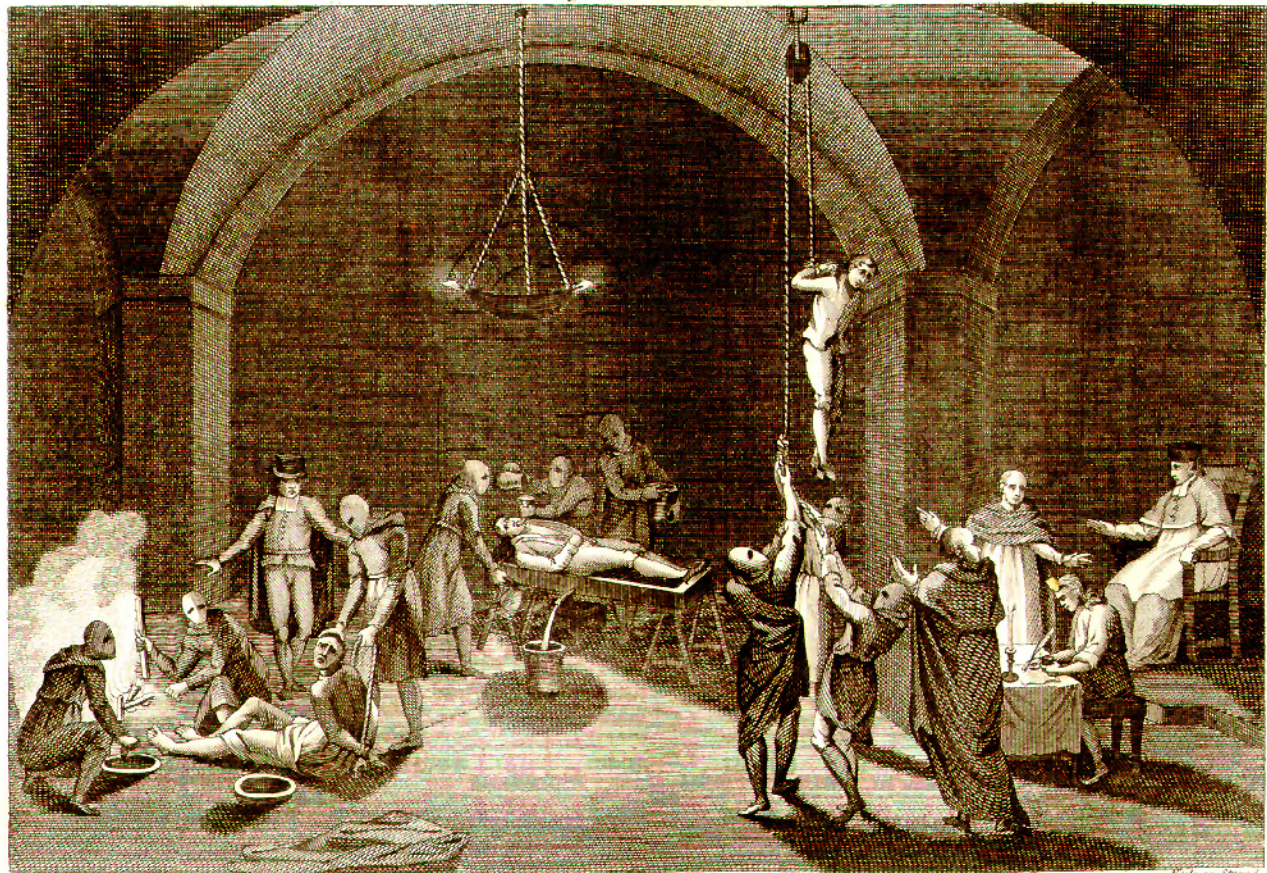
With regard to evidence, it may not be improper to mention certain rules peculiar to the Inquisition, and which are used in no other tribunal: 1. If they never communicated to the accused the names of the witnesses who had deposed against him, it was in order to give no clue to the exceptions which he might make against them, or that the assurances which the witnesses had of never being discovered, might promote and facilitate accusations. 2. For the same reason they did not oblige the witnesses to prove their depositions. 3. For the same reason witnesses were never, or very rarely, confronted. 4. In this tribunal, because of the enormity

of the crime of heresy, all witnesses were received, from whatever quarter they came, or however infamous or exceptionable they might be; men who were notorious for infamy, for perjury, for the most scandalous vices; Heretics, Jews, Mussulmans, all were admitted, and their evidence received, in order to destroy the unhappy man, and to cause him to be condemned to the flames. 5. Two hearsay witnesses were equivalent to one eye or ear-witness, and were sufficient to justify the application of torture. 6. The informers themselves served as witnesses, and this was the reason why they did not appear as parties in the cause. Finally, a son might be evidence against his father, a father against his son, a wife against her husband, a husband against his wife, a domestic against his master, or a master against his domestic:—a horrible perversion of the rules of equity, and an inexhaustible source of treachery and of revenge!

After the accused had made his replies and his challenges, if that they were not satisfactory, and they were otherwise unable to convict him of the crime, they next put him to the torture. Of this there were three principal kinds; the first was by the rope, the second by the trough and water, and the third by fire. The torture by the rope was thus inflicted. A rope was fastened to the hands of the accused, being previously tied behind his back, then he was raised by a pulley to a considerable height, and, after having remained some time suspended, was suddenly let fall to within half a foot of the ground. The shock dislocated his joints and caused the sufferer to utter the most piercing shrieks. This torture was continued for an hour, and frequently more, according as the Inquisitors, who were present, thought proper, and as the strength of the sufferer would permit. If this torture were not sufficient, that by the trough and water was employed. They prepared a large piece of timber made hollow like a trough, with a sharp bar across. The unfortunate prisoner was placed in the trough, his back supported by the bar, and his



TORTURES of the INQUISITION.



Pub. March 1820 by J. Stoddart of Pall Mall.

No. 20 Strand

head and feet being fastened down by cords to the bottom of the trough, in which position, from the pressure of the bar and the dreadful tightness of the cords, he endured the most inexpressible agonies. Then having stopped the nostrils of the criminal they placed a piece of linen cloth over his mouth, upon which they poured a stream of water, from a considerable height. This forced the cloth deep into the throat of the sufferer, and by this means he was totally deprived of the power of breathing. They then, occasionally, removed the cloth to prevent his expiring under his sufferings, which they renewed again as soon as he was able to endure them.

The torture by fire was the most horrible of all. They lighted up a blazing fire, and having rubbed the feet of the criminal with lard and other penetrating and inflammable substances, they stretched him along the ground, with his feet turned towards the fire: in this horrid agony they forced him to continue, until he had confessed whatever they pleased. These two latter species were usually continued for an hour and frequently still longer. There were likewise other species of torture frequently made use of, which will be described in the course of the narration.

When the accused was condemned to the torture, they conducted him to the place destined for its application, which was called the place of torment. It was a subterraneous vault, the descent to which was by an infinite number of winding passages, in order that the shrieks of the unhappy sufferers should not be heard. In this place there were no seats but such as were destined for the Inquisitors, who were always present at the infliction of the torture. It was lighted only by two gloomy lamps, whose dim and mournful light served but to shew, to the criminal, the instruments of his torment: one or more executioners attended as the case required. These executioners were clothed nearly in the same manner in which penitents are dressed, in a large robe of

black buckram, their heads and faces concealed under a cowl of the same colour, with holes for the eyes, the nose, and the mouth.

This spectre-like figure seized the criminal and stripped him of his clothes. Before he was put to the torture, the Inquisitor once more exhorted him to confess the crime with which he was charged. If he persisted in refusing, that species of torture, to which he was condemned, was inflicted, being generally one or other of the three kinds which I have mentioned. Sometimes the application was so violent that the strength of the victim entirely sunk under its severity, and it became necessary to summon the physician of the Inquisition in order to know whether he could endure it longer without his life being endangered.

When, by the dint of their tortures, he had said whatever they wished to make him say, a confused mixture of truth and falsehood, still the unhappy wretch was not freed from further suffering; he was forced to undergo a second and a third trial of the same description, upon the intention and the motive which urged him to the action which he confessed he had committed. For example, if a man were found to have married two wives at the same time, if a friar or a nun were convicted of having entered into wedlock after their vow, however it might appear that violent passion or some very strong interest was the only motive for such conduct, they were doomed to a second torture, in order to force them to declare whether they considered marriage as a sacrament, whether they thought religious vows were not binding on the conscience, or that it was not possible to persevere in continence. If their confession were satisfactory on these heads, they were forced to undergo the torture a third time, in order that they might discover their accomplices or those who had aided and encouraged them in such conduct.

After undergoing these horrible sufferings, they were reconducted to the frightful dungeons already described, where the

unhappy victims were abandoned to despair, and to the excruciating agonies which their tortures occasioned. If it happened however that all these tortures failed to extort the desired confession, they sent the prisoner back to his confinement, in the same manner. There, artifice and device were employed to effect what violence could not obtain. They caused certain miscreants, who were suborned for this purpose, to enter the dungeon of the prisoner; these men pretended to console and to succour him; they passed themselves for prisoners like the rest, inveighed against the Inquisition in the most bitter terms; accused it of barbarous and insupportable tyranny; reviled it as the greatest scourge with which an offended God had ever visited the sins of his people, and, by these infamous arts, caused the unhappy man to fall into a snare which it was so much the more difficult for him to avoid, as it was hard to reject the offices of friendship and benevolence, amid the woes and sufferings which environed him.

The Inquisitors, on their side, seconded these arts with all their might; they consoled the miserable sufferer; pretended to be touched with pity for his miseries; that, they sought only his conversion and benefit, not his destruction! The slightest confession, they declared, for which they bound themselves to inviolable secrecy, would be sufficient to extricate him from all his pains, and to bless him with the recovery of his liberty.

The result of all these base and treacherous wiles was that, if the accused were convicted in the judgment of the Inquisitors, either by the evidence of witnesses, or by his own confession, he was condemned either to death, to perpetual imprisonment, to the galleys, to the scourges, or to some other similar punishment.

When a cruel and disgraceful death is once inevitable, the only indulgence that can be shewn is to inflict it speedily. Even this mournful indulgence, however, was seldom granted, in the In-

quisition, and they often deferred the execution of the sentence, after it had been pronounced, for a year and not unfrequently for several years together, in order that, by punishing a great multitude together, the punishment itself might be more dreadful, and hold forth the more terrific example.

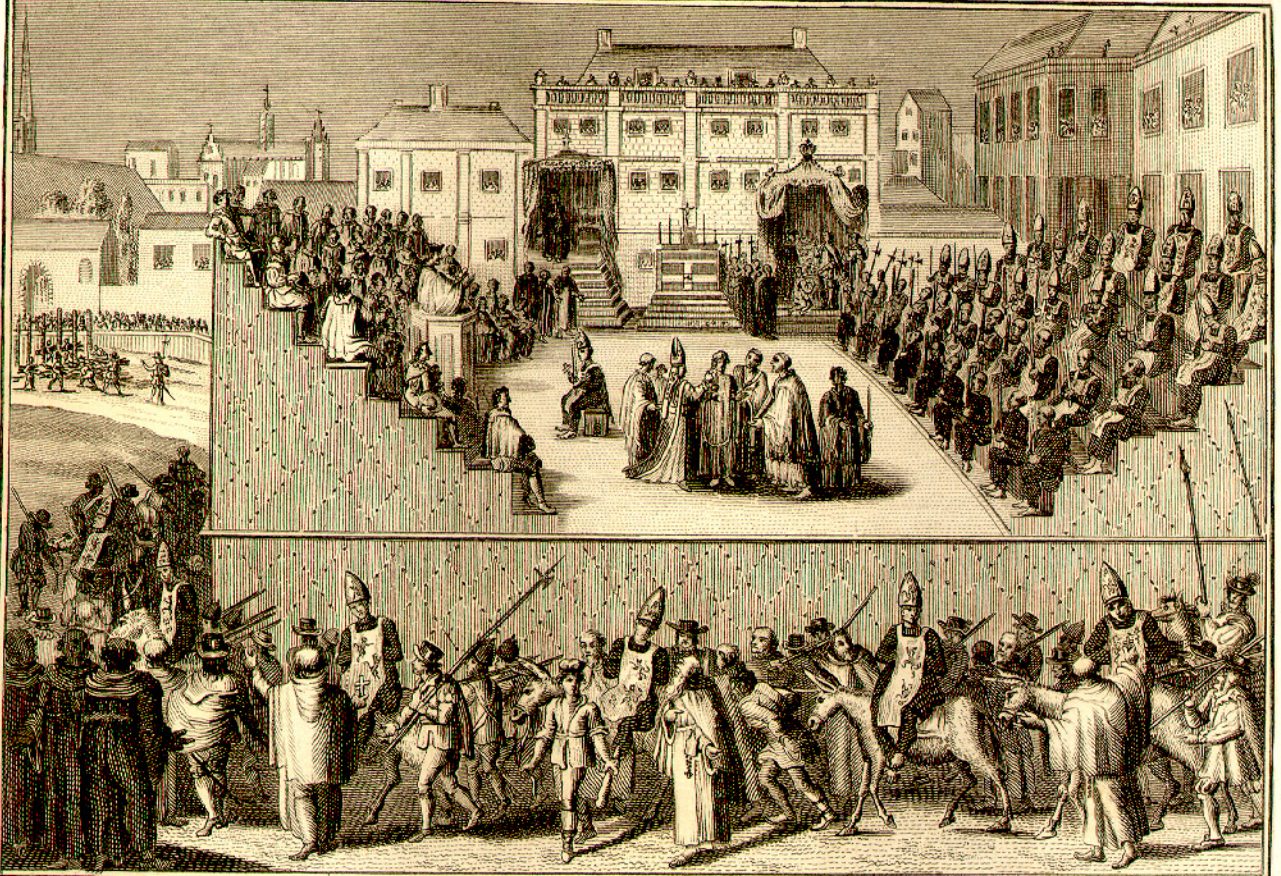
The spectacle of a great number of criminals condemned to capital punishment, without any regard shewn to age, sex or quality, would confirm, as the Inquisitors declared, the mind of the people, in the holy Catholic religion: a mean truly worthy of such apostles of persecution.

These general exhibitions of the Inquisition were not regarded simply as the execution of so many criminals, but were presented as a religious ceremony, by which men gave a public and splendid proof of their warm zeal for religion; this is the reason why they were called acts of faith. In Spain they were generally celebrated at the coronation of a king, at his attaining his age of majority, at his marriage, or at the birth of a successor to the throne, in order that they might be the more solemn and the more authentic.

As the ceremonies, usual upon such occasions, are nearly the same in all places, I shall only describe one as it took place at Madrid. A month before the general execution took place, the ministers of the Inquisition, preceded by their banners, marched in a cavalcade from the palace of the holy office to the grand square. There, in the presence of an immense crowd of people, they proclaimed, by the sound of trumpets and drums, that in a month from that time they would celebrate an auto da fé, or act of faith, or a general execution of the Inquisition. They then prepared, in the great square, a stage fifty feet in length. It was elevated to the same height with the balcony designed for the King. At the extremity of this stage, upon the right-hand of the King's balcony, was raised an amphitheatre, to which they ascended by five-and-twenty or thirty steps, destined for the council of the Inquisition, and for the other councils of Spain. At the top of these steps you beheld,



PROCESSION of an ACT of FAITH.



Pub. 1 March 1850 by J. J. Stockdale 41 Pall Mall.

Steel and Stroud.

under a canopy, the throne of the grand Inquisitor considerably elevated above the balcony of the King. On the left-hand of the balcony, was prepared a second amphitheatre, of the same dimensions with the former, which was to be occupied by the victims who were destined to perish in this human sacrifice. In the midst of the great stage was placed another very small one, longer than it was wide. It supported two cages, open at the top, in which the condemned criminals were placed during the reading of their sentence. There were also prepared, upon the greater stage, three seats, two for the relators or readers of the sentences, and the third for a preacher: an altar also was erected near the amphitheatre of the councils.

The places of their Catholic Majesties were so arranged, that the Queen sat upon the right-hand of the King, and upon the left of the Queen-Mother. The ladies, who waited upon the Queen, occupied all the rest of the balcony, from one end to the other. There were also other balconies erected for ambassadors, and the lords and ladies of the court, and scaffolds for the people. Exactly a month after the proclamation of the act of faith, the ceremony commenced with a procession. It proceeded in the following order from the church of St. Maria. A hundred coal-merchants, armed with pikes and muskets, marched in front, because they furnished the wood which was employed in the punishment of those who were condemned to the flames. Next followed the dominicans, preceded by a white cross. The Duke of Medina Celi appeared next in order, bearing the standard of the Inquisition according to the hereditary privilege of his family. This standard was of scarlet damask; upon one side was embroidered a naked sword in a crown of laurel, upon the other the arms of Spain. Next was borne a green cross bound with black crape. Several grandees and other persons, familiars of the Inquisition, marched after it, dressed in cloaks adorned with black and white crosses, and edged with gold lace. The procession was closed by fifty halberdiers or guards

of the Inquisition, clothed in black and white robes, commanded by the Marquis of Povar, hereditary protector of the Inquisition in the kingdom of Toledo.

The procession, after having passed in this order before the palace, repaired to the square: the standard and the green cross were placed on the stage. The dominicans alone continued there, all the rest retired. These monks passed part of the night in singing psalms, and from the first light of day celebrated several masses at the altar until the hour of six o'clock. The King and Queen of Spain, the Queen-Mother, and all their ladies, appeared in the balcony in an hour after. At 8 o'clock the march of the procession commenced, as on the preceding day, by the company of coal-merchants, who ranged themselves upon the right-hand of the King's balcony: the left being occupied by his guards. Thirty men followed, bearing paste-board figures as large as life; some represented such persons as had died in prison, whose bones were borne in coffins, upon which flames were painted; the others represented those who, having escaped from the hands of the Inquisition, had been condemned for contumacy. These figures were placed at one extremity of the amphitheatre.

Twelve persons, male and female, arrived next with ropes round their necks, and torches in their hands, and carrochas or caps of paste-board, three feet in height, upon their heads, on which their pretended crimes were represented in various manners. Fifty other persons followed after these, clothed in the san-benito, a cloak without sleeves, of a yellow colour, with a great St. Andrew's cross marked in red before and behind: these were Jews who were arrested for the first time, and who repented and were condemned to bear the san-benito or to remain in prison for some years; each of them was conducted by two familiars of the Inquisition. Behind them came twenty Jews, men and women, who were relapsed, and were therefore condemned to the flames. Those who had shewn signs of repentance had the indulgence of being strangled before



they were cast into the fire : the others, who continued obstinate in their errors, were to be burned alive. They bore san-benitos of painted cloth, upon which were represented devils and flames ; their caps were painted in the same manner ; five or six of them, more obstinate than the rest, were gagged to prevent them from blaspheming.

These miserable victims of bigotry marched beneath the balcony of the King, and, having taken a circuit round the stage, they were placed upon the amphitheatre on the left side, each of them between the familiars and the monks who accompanied them. Some grandees, who were of the number of the familiars, placed themselves upon two benches, which were assigned to them, at the lower end of the other amphitheatre. Such as were condemned to death, beside the escort of the two familiars, were surrounded by four or five monks of different orders, who continued to exhort them as they proceeded. The clergy of the parish of St. Martin arrived next and placed themselves near the altar. The officers of the supreme council of the Inquisition, the Inquisitors, the qualificators, the officers of all the other councils, and several other persons of consideration, seculars and regulars, forming altogether a long cavalcade, preceded and ranged themselves upon the right-hand of the amphitheatre, upon both sides of the throne prepared for the grand Inquisitor. He marched last of all, clothed in a violet robe, and accompanied by the president of the council of Castille : as soon as he ascended his throne the president retired.

Mass then commenced, in the midst of which the officiating priest left the altar, and placed himself upon a seat which was prepared for him. The grand Inquisitor descended from his place with his cope and mitre, and, after having saluted the altar, he advanced towards the King's balcony, and ascended the steps at the end of the amphitheatre, with some officers of the Inquisition ; they bore the Cross, the Gospels, and a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain were bound to maintain the Catholic faith, to extirpate heresy, and to lend all their authority to

support the proceedings of the Inquisition. The King of Spain, standing bareheaded, and, having by his side a grandee who held aloft the royal sword, swore to observe the oath which a member of the royal council recited. He remained in the same posture, until the grand Inquisitor had resumed his place, or until he quitted his pontifical robes. Then a secretary of the Inquisition ascended a pulpit prepared for the purpose, and read a similar oath, which he caused the councils and the whole assembly to take. After this a dominican ascended the same pulpit, and delivered a sermon replete with the praises of the Inquisition.

It was almost noon when they began to read the sentences of such as were condemned. First were read those of the persons who died in prison, or who had been condemned for contumacy; their effigies were carried to the lesser stage, and placed in the cages: then they proceeded to read the sentences of the rest, whom they caused to enter, one by one, into the same cages, in order that they might be seen distinctly by every body. Next were read the sentences pronounced against such as were accused of bigamy, of witchcraft, of the profanation of holy things, and of several other crimes, as well as those against the repentant Jews, and this ceremony lasted until nine o'clock in the evening. Mass being ended the grand Inquisitor, dressed in his pontifical robes, granted a solemn absolution to all those who repented. The King having retired, the criminals, who were condemned to the flames, were delivered over to the secular arm, and were carried upon asses to the distance of three hundred paces without the gate of Foncaral.

They were executed after midnight. The obstinate were burned alive, the repentant were strangled before they were cast into the fire. Those who were condemned to the lash were conducted, on the following day, through the city upon asses, and whipped as they proceeded along all the streets and public squares. Besides these general executions of the Inquisition, particular ones took place every year at the end of lent, upon the Friday preceding

Good Friday : the Inquisitors, upon these occasions, were accompanied by the magistrates, by the officers of justice, by the king's officers, by the governor, by the nobility, and by the whole clergy secular and regular. Every thing was conducted with nearly the same ceremonies.

While the Inquisition performed these dreadful executions, its prisons were very far from continuing empty, for they were still filled with victims of all ages, sexes, and conditions ; namely, with those whose crimes they had not yet been able to prove, and those who did not deserve a public or severe corporal punishment. Before they were dismissed from prison, they were all obliged to make abjuration, as it was termed, *de levi* or *de vehementi*, that is to say, of the light or of the vehement suspicion of heresy : those who made the latter sort of abjuration, if they again fell into their errors, were treated as relapsed, and condemned to die without mercy. Those who had only incurred a slight suspicion were not liable to the pains of death. Besides those who had made abjuration, particularly that *de vehementi*, were obliged to wear the *san-benito*, some for life, and others for a certain number of years : this was the highest mark of infamy to individuals and families.

Those, to whom the Inquisition had left any property, made use of it to purchase an indulgence from wearing so disgraceful a habit. These kind of indulgences were rarely granted ; besides being otherwise difficult to obtain, their high price enhanced this difficulty, for the smallest evil to be expected by the wretch whose miserable destiny placed him in the hands of the Inquisition was the loss of his property.

In the first place, all the goods, moveable and immoveable, of such as were condemned to death, were confiscated, and as for the others, their property, being seized at the commencement, was generally almost wholly consumed, before they were set free, by the bad management of the sequestrators, by fraud, by confisca-

tions, and by enormous mulcts. Such were the proceedings of the Inquisition. A few of its favourite maxims will enable the reader to judge of its spirit and its conduct, and will justify every thing which has hitherto been advanced respecting it.

It was held, in the Inquisition, as an inviolable rule, that they should never dispute with Heretics concerning religion, especially before the people; that thus they should be instructed by the voice of authority, not by the conviction of reason. That those who concealed a Heretic, or who favoured him in any manner whatsoever, or for whatever motive, deserved to be excommunicated, and ought not to be admitted into the rank of penitents, without passing through the Inquisition. They were always treated as persons suspected of heresy, as if a man could not grant assistance to an unhappy person in his distress, without being a favourer of his errors.

A Heretic, though absolved by the Pope himself, did not cease to be subject to the Inquisition, and might be thereby condemned to death. When a Heretic had been once condemned, they never ought to allow him to speak before the people. They never ought to grant his life to a Heretic who retracted his errors, because, if this indulgence were used, all Heretics would save themselves by false recantations. They ought never to interrogate an accused person, if they were doubtful of his crime; but they ought always to suppose the crime true, and to interrogate him only upon the circumstances. In the examination of a Heretic, they ought always to place the fear of death before his eyes; they ought not to hope, or even attempt to convert him by the Holy Scriptures, or by disputation. They ought only to promise, in ambiguous terms, to shew him mercy if he confessed his crime, but by no means to consider themselves bound to adhere to their promise, after they had obtained his confession.

To these maxims, we may also add the following: that the goods of a Heretic belonged of right to the Inquisition, even to the

prejudice of his children, or other heirs of the Catholic religion. That death did not exempt the accused from the judgment of the Inquisition ; that they might proceed against him after his decease, and cause him to be executed in effigy. That a man should nevertheless be suspected of heresy, though he advanced an heretical opinion only in jest, or had imitated Heretics only for his diversion. That in heresy and in apostacy there was no proscription. That a man should not make use even of paternal remonstrances against an erroneous opinion entertained by his brother, before he had carried information to the Inquisition. That there was no consideration either of parentage, or of alliance, or of gratitude, even for life itself, that could dispense with the obligation of informing against a person who became subject to the Inquisition. That a favourer of one who was known to be a Heretic, ought, after his death, to be deprived of the rites of Christian sepulture. That, to have advanced any heretical opinion, through ignorance, did not exempt from inquisitorial censures, because all the faithful were bound to be acquainted with what the church condemned. That the lay magistrates were bound to lend all their power to the support of the Inquisition, under pain of excommunication. That a magistrate who neglected to perform this duty, if he delayed procuring absolution, deserved to be condemned as a Heretic.

In fine, the Inquisition maintained that a concealed and secret Heretic, who did not even divulge his errors, and so injured nobody but himself, ought, nevertheless, to be condemned to death. That a relapsed Heretic, although he repented a second time, ought to be subject to the same punishment. That a Heretic, who had abjured his errors, upon falling again into the same, ought to be considered as relapsed. That a concealed Heretic, who never had appeared so during his life, and was only discovered to be such after he was laid in the grave, ought, notwithstanding, to be condemned, and burned in effigy. That a Heretic who confessed

having maintained any false opinion, under the conviction that it was a part of the true Catholic doctrine, ought to be put to the torture in order to discover whether he spoke the truth.

If, to all this, we add, as before mentioned, that the parties and informers might be allowed as witnesses; that they never produced these witnesses, named or even hinted them to the accused, in order that it might be the more difficult for him to make his exceptions against them: that persons who had been convicted of perjury, or of any other crime, however flagitious, were allowed to be received as evidence: that wards and minors at the age of fourteen years might be received as witnesses without the knowledge of their tutors or guardians: we shall easily be convinced that the tribunal of the Inquisition was the most dreadful, the most sanguinary, and the most iniquitous that ever was erected to sanction oppression, tyranny and murder.

The Inquisitors had always allowed that, by the proceedings used in the Inquisition, it was difficult to prevent many innocent persons from perishing with the guilty; but this difficulty gave them no uneasiness. They had laid it down as another of their maxims, that it was better that an hundred pious Catholics should suffer, than that one Heretic should escape. The reason which they gave for this horrible maxim was, that by putting to death an innocent person they only made him sure of Paradise; whereas, if a Heretic were suffered to escape, he might infect, with his errors, a great multitude of people. It was not even allowed these unhappy persons, thus unjustly condemned, to complain of the unmerited sufferings which they endured: to have done so, would have been avenged as a new crime, which the Inquisition punished with so much the more severity, as its credit was now at stake, and in that tribunal the judges never would confess that they had decided unjustly. It was therefore necessary that they should confine themselves to the species of consolation set forth in the Directory of the Inquisitors. "Let no person, it says, venture to affirm that he

is unjustly condemned: or to complain of the ecclesiastical judgment, or the censures of the church. But if he be unjustly condemned, let him console himself with the reflection, that he has suffered for righteousness sake."

This consolation was to suffice to those who were plundered of all their goods, who were condemned to the galleys, to perpetual imprisonment, to the scourge, or to excruciating tortures, and an ignominious and infamous death!!! The horror with which such a detail of principles must inspire the humane reader, the horror which I myself feel as I extract them from the various records of inquisitorial iniquity which lie before me, do not permit me to trace the lighter shades of difference which existed between the modes of proceeding in the tribunals of Spain and Portugal. I confess freely that these facts exhibit so enormous a degree of atrocity, and of cool, methodized and reflecting iniquity, that, in spite of their indubitable and unquestioned authenticity, one would be tempted to doubt, if we did not see, as we read, the *Directorium Inquisitorum* of the dominican Nicholas Eymeric of Gerona, that they are the result, the necessary and inevitable result, of the principles there laid down and established.

The reader shall judge for himself by a few lines which I shall take the liberty of citing. We shall see, for example, according to the ideas of this legislator, of what species of persons the Inquisitors were to receive the evidence, against the persons who were accused before them.

1. Excommunicated persons. Excommunicated persons! and yet these men, according to the principles of the dominicans, were legally dead, incapable of buying or selling; of making a will, of inheriting, of bearing testimony in any other court, and deprived, not only of all the privileges of citizens, but even of the rights of nature.

2. The accomplices of the accused: that is, persons, whom the hope of saving themselves disposes to seduction, to falsehood, and

to calumny, and who are but too strongly tempted to save themselves by the sacrifice of innocence.

3. Persons infamous and guilty of crimes, however atrocious their crimes might be. Thus, according to the equity of these Inquisitors, a high-way assassin deserved greater credit than an unhappy man whose only crime was, frequently, the possession of riches, of which the monks were derminded to get pos session.

4. Heretics : but upon this express condition, should be always *against* the accused, and never, upon any account, in his favour. The reason which the author gives for this contradiction is as detestable as the contradiction itself. If, says he, they depose any thing in favour of the accused, it is not to be regarded, as it arises, not from a spirit of justice, but of hatred for the church. On the contrary, when this evidence is against him, we are freed from this apprehension !!!

5. Mahomedans, Jews, and Infidels. Men who were perfect strangers to the Catholic worship, received as witnesses of crimes committed against a religion of which they knew nothing !!

6. Men perjured in the cause. That is to say, if a witness, in the course of the process, retract his assertions, this shall prove nothing in favour of the accused : But if, after having once retracted, it happen that, through caprice or personal hatred or through corruption, he make a second deposition against him, then he shall be credited, although he have, previously, declared himself a false perjured witness.

7. The wife, the children, the parents, the domestics of the accused, provided, as above, that their evidence be against him and never in his favour. There is no need of much reflection to perceive the horrible iniquity and pernicious consequences of this fatal principle. Father Eymeric himself perceived how revolting it was to every feeling of justice and humanity, and seeks to justify it. He advances, in the first place, that all the canonists hold that, in matter of heresy, the brother could testify against his brother, the



son against his father. He allows that a reverend father *Simancas* has pretended that fathers and children ought to be excepted out of this law : but, pursues the legislator, we cannot assent to this opinion, which is opposed by very strong reasons: first, that one ought to obey God rather than his parents : (would not one infer that God himself was the immediate author of the Inquisition?) secondly, it is allowable to kill one's father when he is an enemy to his country ; how much sooner therefore should one inform against him when he is a favourer of heresy?! The blood runs cold at the reading of such shocking principles, when we reflect that there was an institution which reduced them to practice, all over the world, during five hundred years, and yet the human race did not arise and crush the horrible monster beneath the weight of its just indignation.

This iniquitous legislator is not content to range the greatest of crimes among our highest duties ; he holds forth a reward to parricides. It is their interest, says he, to act in this manner, for the son who informs against his father shall be exempted from the penalties, by law, enacted against the children of Heretics, and this, as the reward of his discovery, *in præmium delationis*. Need we seek, after this, to know the instructions which this man gives to the Inquisitors, with regard to the infliction of torture ? After having enumerated the various circumstances under which it ought to be administered, he adds : “ Torture is not always a sure means of discovering the truth. Weak men, at the first application of it, confess crimes of which they are not guilty ; others, strong and obstinate, support the most exquisite torments. There are some who, having already undergone its operation, support it afterwards with more firmness, because their limbs stretch themselves, and resist vigorously. There are others, who by their sorceries render themselves insensible, and die in their punishment, rather than confess any thing. (He is not content with cruelty, but he must call absurdity to its aid.) These men employ, in their witchcraft,

certain passages of Scripture, which they write in a *strange* manner upon *virgin* parchment; they insert the names of angels which *nobody knows*, circles, odd characters, and carry these characters upon some concealed part of their bodies. I do not know (he wittily adds) *any certain remedies* against these sorcerers; it will be however proper to strip them naked, and examine them carefully before the torture is applied.

“ When the sentence of torture is pronounced, and before the executioners are prepared to administer it, the Inquisitor and his *honest people* shall make new exertions to persuade the accused to confess the truth.” (The truth! let the reader remember that they never let their unhappy victims know the crimes which were laid to their charge, the names of the witnesses, or the evidence they had deposed; and that, after having left them to languish for years in their dungeons, and caused them to undergo two or three examinations, in which they were to guess, as well as they could, of what they were accused, it was the custom to present them with false accusations, drawn up by the Inquisitors themselves, in which the most enormous crimes were imputed to them, mingled in the most artful manner with the trifles, which were generally the only motives for their detention. And let him judge, after this review, of the profligate hypocrisy of the legislator, who insults human nature by pretended compassion for the sufferings which he prepares for his victims, and who claims a merit for the new endeavours which the *charitable pity* of these *honest people* made use of to extract the truth from men who knew not of what they were accused.)

“ The executioners of torture,” says he, “ as they strip the accused, shall affect uneasiness, precipitation, and melancholy, in order to alarm him the more. After he is deprived of his clothes they shall draw him aside once again, for the purpose of exhorting him anew to confess his crime: they shall even promise him his life upon this condition, unless he be relapsed, for in that case no

such promise shall on any account be made him. If he persist in denying his guilt, they shall apply the question (the torture); during which they shall interrogate him upon the least important of the crimes of which he is *suspected*, because he will sooner confess the lesser than the more considerable faults.

“ If he still persist in his obstinacy, they shall display before him the instruments of the other tortures, and forewarn him that he shall undergo them also if he refuse to confess the truth. If he will not confess any thing, they may continue the torture for the second and the third time, *but they shall only continue the tortures and not repeat them.*” (Should not we think that this was a favour shewn to him, and that to continue tortures is much more merciful than to repeat them.) “ When the accused shall have borne the question without confessing any thing, the Inquisition shall grant him his liberty, by a sentence importing, that after a *careful* examination of his case, nothing has been found to be lawfully proved against him of that which had been laid to his charge.” (Well ! and so, if the horrible torments which he was obliged to undergo had extorted falsehood from his lips, he had been condemned upon that confession, and death would have been the *dénouement* of this bloody tragedy.)

“ As for those who make confession, they are to be treated like penitent Heretics who are not relapsed, that is to say, they shall be punished by so many years imprisonment, by the confiscation of their goods, and by being obliged publicly to wear the san-benito; and as Heretics who are relapsed, if it be the second time of their being brought before the Inquisition, that is by death.” —This legislator divides, into many classes, those who are to die, and these laws have been constantly observed for five hundred years. “ 1. Relapsed persons who are penitent, that is to say, those arrested the second time, who repent of their faults. 2. Heretics impenitent not relapsed, that is, those who being arrested for the first time only, will not repent. 3. Heretics impenitent

relapsed. 4. Heretics negative, that is, those against whom there are sufficient proofs, and who persist in denying their guilt. 5. National Heretics. As to this last class they shall cause the accused to be cited by public proclamation, if he will not appear, and that he happen afterwards to be arrested, he shall be put to death, even though he be not convicted, and though fear were the only cause of his flight."

I shall now mention the opinion of this legislator with regard to fines and confiscations; an opinion from which the Inquisitors never deviated, except for the purpose of improving upon its severity. "Besides penance, the Inquisitors may impose pecuniary fines for the same reason that they may impose pilgrimages, fasts, prayers, &c. These fines ought to be employed in pious works, such as the support and maintenance of the Holy Office. In fact," he adds, "it is just that the Inquisition should cause its expences to be defrayed by those who are brought before its tribunal, because, according to St. Paul, chap. ix. Epistle to the Corinthians, nobody is obliged to go to war at his own expence, *nemo cogitur stipendiis suis militare.*"—"Of all pious works," continues Father Eymeric, "the most important being the establishment and support of the Inquisition, the fines may be applied, without reserve, to the maintenance of the Inquisitors and their familiars, and we ought not to imagine that this application should only be made in case of necessity, because 'tis *very useful* and *extremely advantageous* to the Christian faith, that the Inquisitors should possess abundance of money, in order to be able to reward and pay their familiars well for the searching out and imprisonment of Heretics. If Heretics, who repent before their sentence, do not lose all their goods, it is only by the pure bounty of the Inquisitors who grant them their properties as well as their lives, seeing that they deserve to forfeit both the one and the other. In fact, the effects of a Heretic cease to continue his property and become forfeited by the simple fact." Commiseration for

the children who are thus reduced to beggary ought not to suffer this severity ; for, by the laws, both human and divine, children are punished for the faults of their parents, “ the children of heretics, even when they are Catholics, are not exempted from this rule, and nothing ought to be left to these but such a share as appears to belong to them by the law of nature : the Inquisitors may, however, by special favour, provide for the subsistence of the children of heretics. They may instruct the boys in some trade, and as for the girls, they may be placed in the service of some lady of distinction in the city ; with regard to those whose tender age or delicate health renders them unable to earn any livelihood, they may grant them some small support.” (Robbers plunder the unfortunate passengers who fall into their hands, but at least they spare them the additional evil of sarcasm and irony.) “ If the children of princes were in the same condition, and there were any daughters amongst them, it would be proper to give them a suitable portion.” (And for how many ages did princes permit that a band of ignorant, sanguinary, and bigoted, monks should thus devote themselves to punishment, and their children to infamy ; for, in order that this clause of the code should be applied, it was necessary that the princes should have been previously condemned by them.) “ After the death of a heretic, they may declare that his goods are liable to confiscation, and deprive his heirs of them, though no such declaration had been made during his life, the Inquisitors may proceed against a heretic after his death, and declare him such ; and, in order to confiscate his goods *ad finem confiscandi*, may take them out of the possession of whosoever may hold them, as far as the third person, and apply them to the advantage of the Holy Office. From this rule, are excepted, children, who have enjoyed them for forty years after their father’s decease, but only on condition that they believed sincerely that he died a good Catholic ; in the other case, the Inquisitors may seize possession of them, although the forty years are elapsed. If the accused, who is dead,

had received absolution, that shall not prevent the whole process from being recommenced, in favour of the Holy Faith : in cases of heresy a sentence of absolution ought never to be regarded as a definitive judgement. When heretics, excommunicated persons, persons who have been guilty of contumacy and have been, in consequence, deprived of their properties, shall make humble application to the Inquisitors, they may grant them absolution, but shall by no means restore them their property. (This is the proverb of Barilus, that which is good to take is good to keep ; *ce qui est bon à prendre est bon à garder.*)”

Here the legislator starts a very singular difficulty, and this is to determine, whether a heretic, who is not yet either condemned or *denounced*, be or be not obliged, in conscience, to offer all his goods to the Inquisition, and if he be guilty of a mortal sin or not, so long as he retain them. He cites the various opinions of all the doctors who have spoken upon both sides of the question ; he confesses *ingenuously*, that, if a concealed heretic be obliged to bestow his goods upon the Inquisitors, it is in fact to impose upon him the obligation of informing against himself ; now that is very hard, cries this compassionate man ! but, adds he, the question is still more embarrassing, in relation to a heretic who has persisted in denying his crime upon the trial, and who, from a want of proofs, has been set at liberty and absolved ; one may therefore doubt whether a man, in such circumstances, be not bound, in the sight of God, to deliver himself to the Inquisitors.

This legislator of the Inquisition decides, moreover, “ That all heretics are deprived of all offices, benefices, powers, dignities, &c. and that their children are equally incapacitated to bear them.” This exclusion extends even to the second generation on the father’s side ; but on that of the mother it is only applicable to the first.—He is of opinion, besides, that every man who is guilty of heresy loses, *ipse facto*, the civil authority which he possesses over his domestics ; the political authority which he enjoys over

his subjects; the natural right which he has over his property; the rights to which he is entitled to over those who are bound to him by any obligation, promise, or oath, however sacred or solemn; and, finally, all parental authority. Out of these principles, says he, "many circumstances arise, some of which are worthy of being remarked; for example," he subjoins, "he who has received any trust or deposit from a heretic is not bound to restore it; a Catholic woman is not bound *in any duty* to her husband; a commander is not obliged to restore or to preserve any place for a king who has entrusted it to his keeping.

Such are a few of the maxims; so atrocious, so absurd, so sanguinary, so barbarous, as almost to surpass belief, contained in this Inquisitorial code. Such is the jurisprudence, such the principles, destructive of every social tie, fatal to every virtue, which have been followed in Spain, in Portugal, and in Italy; they are now indeed abolished, but the joy that an event so propitious to human nature would naturally inspire is damped by the reflection that their abolition is owing to a tyrant, whose perfidious policy confers benefits only to deceive and to betray, wherein despotism substitutes a slavery more galling and more degrading, in the place of the declining systems of ancient oppression which he removes; whose unprincipled soul rejoices to find in governments that debility and langour, in the people that abasement and indifference, which aid his own iniquitous schemes of aggrandisement, and render him secure against meeting, in the vigorous re-action of insulted humanity, the reward of his baseness and his crimes.

## B O O K VII.

*Idea of the Inquisition of Goa, from the Account of Pyrrard—Differs somewhat from the Inquisition of Europe—Instances of some celebrated Processes by the Inquisition of Rome, Spain, Portugal, and Goa—History of Marc Antonio de Dominis—Negative Convicts—Meaning of that Title—Instances of old Christians condemned—Account of the Imprisonment and condemnation of M. Dellon by the Inquisition of Goa, written by himself—Interior management of that Tribunal—Manner of Proceeding used by the Inquisitors—Ceremony of an Auto da Fé—The Treatment of William Lithgow by the Inquisition of Seville—Anecdote of the Inquisition of Zaragossa.*

It was not in Europe alone that the Inquisition exercised its fury ; it crossed the ocean, desolated America and Asia, and, redoubling its insolence and cruelty, in those distant regions, not a year passed that the flame of its fagots did not exhibit to view the wounds of Mexico and of Goa. The traveller Pyrrard gives us the following description of this tribunal, in the latter of these cities.

“ As to the Inquisition, its proceedings are much more rigorous here than in Portugal and in Spain: it frequently condemns to the flames certain Jews, whom the Portuguese term *Christianos novos*. The moment they are taken, by order of the Holy Inquisition, all their goods are also seized, and few are arrested who have not the misfortune to be rich ; the king supplies all the expenses of these proceedings, if the parties have not wherewithall to defray them : but the Inquisitors rarely assail men till they know them to have



STANDARD of the INQUISITION at GOA.



Pub. 1. Mar. 1820 by J. J. Stockdale 41 Pall Mall.

Steel sculp.

amassed considerable wealth. Nothing can be more cruel or more merciless than their conduct: the slightest suspicion, the most trivial word, even of a child, or of a slave who wishes to injure his master, occasion a man's immediate apprehension; and credit is given to children as soon as they are able to speak."

"Sometimes people are accused of putting a crucifix in the cushions upon which they sit or kneel: sometimes of scourging images or not eating bacon; sometimes of observing their ancient law, although they may discharge, in public, all the duties of good Christians."

"I solemnly believe, they most frequently ascribe to them what belief they please, for it is the rich alone that they put to death; upon the poor, they impose only certain acts of penance: and what is still more cruel and shocking is, that a man who bears ill-will to another, in order to gratify his revenge, will frequently accuse him of a crime of this nature, and when once he is taken, there is no longer a friend who will dare to intercede for him, or even to visit or converse with him, no more than with those accused of high treason."

"The people also dare not speak of this Inquisition but with the utmost respect and reverence; and if, by accident, the slightest word should escape one, which concerned it ever so little, it would be necessary immediately to accuse and inform against one's self; for otherwise, if another should convey the information, one would be instantly seized. It is a dreadful and frightful thing to enter there once, for one has neither attorney nor advocate to plead for him; but they are themselves both parties and judges, at the same time; as to the form of proceeding, it is perfectly similar to that of Spain, Italy, and Portugal."

"People are frequently confined to the prisons for two and three years without knowing the reason, and are visited only by the officers of the Inquisition, and never suffered to behold any other person."

“ The Pagans and Moors of Goa, of what religion soever they be, are not subject to this Inquisition, until they become Christians ; however, if it happens that an Indian Moor or Pagan should dissuade or prevent an other, who was inclined to embrace Christianity, and that this should be proved against him, he would be seized by the Inquisition ; as would he who should cause another to quit the Christian faith, as it very frequently happens.”

“ It would be impossible to tell the numbers of those who are put to death by this Inquisition at Goa. I shall content myself with instancing the example of a jeweller, or lapidary, a native of Holland, who had resided here more than twenty-five years, and was married to a Portuguese mulatto, by whom he had a very beautiful daughter arrived at the marriageable age, having likewise amassed a property of about twenty or thirty thousand crusadoes. However, he was accused of having in his possession books of the protestant religion ; upon which he was immediately arrested, his property seized, one-half of it left to his wife and the other appropriated by the Inquisition. I do not know what became of him, for I left that country almost immediately, but I believe that he was either put to death, or at least that he entirely lost his property.”

“ All the other Inquisitions of the Indies depend upon that of Goa ; the great festivals are the seasons chosen for the execution of their sentences. They oblige all these unhappy criminals to walk in procession, in shirts dipped in sulphur, and all painted over with flames. The difference between those worn by such as are to die and the others is, that the flames of the former ascend, and those of the latter descend. They are led directly to the great church, which is near the prison, and continue there, during mass and sermon, in which time they address to them many exhortations and remonstrances, after which they are led to the *Campo Santo Lazaro*, where they are burned, some in presence of the rest who are forced to stand by during the ceremony.”

We have before mentioned the mode of proceeding used by the Inquisitions of Europe ; that in Asia and America was nearly similar, the latter only differed in the greater frequency of executions ; the superior horror and the unwholesomeness of the dungeons ; the difficulty, still greater than in Europe, of the unhappy victims escaping from their unhappy destiny ; by the more certain impunity of their persecutors, in consequence of the distance to which they are removed from the government of the mother-country, and the inspection of the court of Rome, which was interested in preserving, at least, the semblance of equity.

It would be impossible, I do not say to detail the sufferings of all the persons who fell a sacrifice to their persecutions, but even simply to present the list of them, I shall therefore content myself with relating a few of the cases which occurred both in Europe and in the Indies : they will be sufficient from which to form a judgment of the others.

I shall begin with that of the celebrated Mark-Anthony de Dominis. He was descended of an illustrious family, some say of Venice, others of Milan ; it is pretended that he reckoned among his ancestors Pope Gregory X. and, if this assertion be true, it would prove him to derive his origin from the noble house of Visconti. He received a brilliant education, suitable to his extraordinary genius. The Jesuits used their utmost endeavours to attach, to their fraternity, a young man whose shining abilities early predicted the high rank which he was destined to attain in the republic of letters. Their opinions in his favour were completely verified ; his talents soon became conspicuous, and procured him the protection of the emperor Rodolph. From him he obtained the bishopric of Segni, whence he was shortly translated to the archbishopric of Spalatro, the capital city of Dalmatia.

At this time the insolent pretensions of Paul V. displayed themselves, in all their haughtiness, not only against England and Germany, but likewise against Venice. It was under this Pope

that the Inquisition of Rome thought proper to condemn the history of Thuanus, the pleadings of the celebrated Arnauld against the Jesuits, and, what is still more intolerable, the decree of the parliament of Paris against Jean Chatel, the assassin of Henry IV. This transaction exhibits, in its true colours, the genuine spirit of the Inquisition.

The senate of Venice had enacted, by a decree of 1597, that the goods of seculars, possessed under the direction of churches, should not be subject to the laws of prelation, of consolidation, or of disherison: by another decree, of 1603, they had forbidden the taking down of any church, convent, or hospital, without the permission of government; and, finally, by a third edict, dated in 1605, they forbade the alienation of the properties of laymen, in favour of ecclesiastics.

Clement VIII. had concealed the resentment which these acts of the Venitian government excited in his mind; but Paul V. was less patient, or, to speak more correctly, less prudent. In the mean time a canon and an abbot were accused, at Venice, of certain enormous crimes, and the senate caused them to be brought before the secular judges: the rage of Paul V. then burst forth; he demanded of the Venitian government the surrender of the prisoners; it was refused. The Pope then fulminated his anathemas against the republic, and charged his legates to promulgate them, and the legates were, in consequence, expelled the city.

Paul Sarpi, better known under the name of Fra Paolo, a theologian of the republic, published a memorial, setting in a most ridiculous light the pretensions of the Pope: he was excommunicated. Paul V. endeavoured to excite a crusade against Venice, but, alas! the twelfth century was passed away and nobody took up arms.

In the impotence of this violence, we recognize the first systems of the influence of that light which now broke in upon Europe. Dominis had all the sagacity necessary to discover, and talents to

propagate, the truth. As he was the archbishop of a city in the dependance of Venice, it was natural that he should dedicate his person to the defence of that republic. He therefore maintained in his writings that the church, under the government of the Roman Pontiff, is no longer the church, but a human estate under the temporal monarchy of the Pope; that the church has no coercive authority, nor any power of external restraint; that the church of Rome, in consequence of the dignity of the city, is the first in excellence, but not in jurisdiction; that the papal power is but a fiction of men, &c. These principles, upon which he afterwards improved still farther in his famous treatise *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, caused him to be informed against, at the Inquisition.

The protection of the senate and the eminence of his dignity did not secure him against the consequences which might have ensued from the condemnation of his book. He might have been suddenly seized and carried away by the familiars of the Inquisition, who were accustomed to put in practice every art, and to employ every species of disguise, in order to get possession of their prey; he was apprehensive of being dragged away to Rome and plunged into the dungeons of the Holy Office. He therefore sought safety in retirement, first in Germany, and afterwards in England, where James the First was upon the throne.

Rome and the Inquisition were no sooner apprised of his escape than they every where published that this man, already justly celebrated, had embraced Lutheranism; and, not being able to rob him of his life, they endeavoured to deprive him of his reputation, by imputations as false as they were absurd. Meanwhile James, who loved learning and the sciences, gave him a most honourable and flattering reception: assured him of treatment suitable to his merits and to the elevated rank which he had held in the church; and Dominis, blessed with happiness and tranquillity, esteemed and visited by all the learned men in England, loved by all who

were capable of appreciating the high and amiable qualities of his heart and mind, indulged himself, without any uneasiness, in learned study and in useful labours ; and it was at this period that he published those writings in which the conduct of the Popes is examined most in detail ; in which their pretensions are discussed, elucidated, and confuted ; their rights are reduced within their just limits ; and wherein the rights of nature and of reason are set forth with clearness, and asserted with dignity.

He passed a number of years in this manner, exempt from all care and uncasiness : surrounded with universal esteem ; sought for not only by all Englishmen who were celebrated for learning, but by all the illustrious travellers, whom his writing had delighted and enlightened : and always a welcome visitor at the Court of James, who piqued himself for learning, and was proud of the presence of one of its most distinguished votaries.

Rome could not, with patience, behold this happiness and security enjoyed by one of her most formidable enemies. It was in her eyes of infinite importance to destroy the source whence proceeded these thunderbolts, which frequently, launched with unerring aim and irresistible force, destroyed, by degrees, that huge monument of power which it had cost the labour of so many ages to erect and to consolidate. She therefore caused all the numerous friends and relations of Dominis to be solicited to unite in endeavouring to prevail upon him to return into his country ; she scandalously abused their confidence in order to excite them to this step ; solemnly assured them that she was animated only by the desire of seeing so great a man restored to the church ; that she would never reproach him, in the slightest degree, for the boldness of his writings, and that she harboured not the slightest resentment against him upon that account : that it gave her pain to think that Italy should be deprived of its greatest ornament, and that a man of his distinguished merit should be thus banished to a distant country. That this was the motive which touched her

most ; that, whatever advantages the king of England might hold forth to tempt him to continue his residence near his person, the Court of Rome would go much beyond him in munificence ; that he should be restored to all his honours, emoluments, and dignities ; that he should be re-instated in his archbishopric, and that she would add a still farther increase to his fortune, if it were necessary. She represented to them that it would be unworthy of a character so generous as that of Dominis to entertain the slightest suspicion of the good faith of Rome ; that he would be highly blameable to distrust her promises, so sincere and so disinterested, the only object and end of which was to preserve pure the glory of so estimable a man, and to restore to religion the most distinguished of its ministers and the most eloquent of its defenders.

All those, who were united to Dominis, either by blood or friendship, were duped by these deep and artful demonstrations of interest, and became, without suspecting it, accomplices in the abominable perfidy of Rome.

Nevertheless Dominis resisted, for a long time, the solicitations of so many persons, almost all men of considerable weight for the rank which they held in society, and for the share which they occupied in his esteem. He communicated the affair to all those in London who had manifested an interest in his welfare, and James I. himself condescended to remind him, in the most earnest manner, of the danger to which he would inevitably be exposed, if he suffered himself to yield to the entreaties of his friends. His own heart spoke a language still more convincing and more alarming ; ought he to hazard, for future and perhaps most fallacious hopes, the happy life, the honourable rank, the liberty of thought, which he enjoyed in England. Ought he to imagine that Rome had suddenly abandoned the principles which she had pursued from time immemorial, and ought he to suppose that she made an exception from her rule of faithlessness, in favour of him alone ? Ought he,



besides, by an imprudent confidence, to give the lie to all that he had so repeatedly advanced in his writing about Romish perfidy; the deceitful promises of the Popes; their consummate skill in every treacherous art; the ordinary fate of all those who were weak enough to suffer themselves to be seduced by their wives; the unforgiving rancour of their hatred, and their absolute want of all reserve or decency, in the choice of their means, of seeking the gratification of their vengeance? On the other hand, that attachment to his country, which can never be effaced from a generous mind; that natural desire of beholding again his beloved family and the cherished friends of his youth; the improbability, which he fondly thought there was, that so many persons so affectionate and friendly should unite in persuading him to adopt a measure which was to cost him his life; the impossibility of believing that they were not perfectly aware of, and had not maturely considered, the dangers to which he should be exposed, if he were deceived; the injury which he should offer to their honour and to their kind interest in his favour, by refusing to yield to their solicitations and prayers: these and a thousand other reflections increased his uncertainty and agitated his mind.

Such was the anxiety to which he was a prey, when a grandee of high dignity, a minister and an ambassador, did not blush to degrade his character, by meanly acting in subserviency to the unprincipled perfidy of the Court of Rome; nor to abuse the confidence which distinguished rank naturally inspires, to betray an unfortunate man into the snare which was laid for him, and to deliver him into the hands of his executioners. Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, ambassador from Spain to the English Court, was the man whom Rome employed in this disgraceful ministry: he accepted it with alacrity, and conducted it with fatal success. He accordingly sought Dominis, and repeated all that his friends had previously urged; he offered himself to guarantee the sincerity of Rome; he improved upon the flattering and advanta-

geous offer which had been already made on her part, and solemnly pledged himself to engage her to keep all the promises which he made in her name.

When we are about calmly to weigh the credulity of Dominis, it is very difficult to know the reasonable point at which to stop. The extreme anxiety which the Court of Rome betrayed to draw him from his asylum, the recourse to so many various measures, the employment of such a multitude of springs, by a great power, when a single individual only stood upon the other side, ought, perhaps, to have been sufficient to have put him upon his guard. Was it not natural to imagine that she was animated by some important though secret scheme, when she combined so many means to insure success? But Dominis also considered himself as something more than a mere individual; perhaps he exaggerated his own merits; and this may, in some degree, diminish the interest which his fate inspires, because we are inclined to attribute to self-love his indiscreet confidence, and we are tempted to think that, with less pride, he might have escaped the danger. However, if we consider this confidence under the most favourable point of view, as resulting from the generosity natural to a great soul; if we reflect that a man like Dominis would have blushed to think that his relations and his friends were accomplices in the perfidy of Rome; that he would have imagined himself guilty of a crime, in suspecting an ambassador to be capable of disgracing his character by a falsehood, of silencing the remonstrances of his own conscience, to deceive an unfortunate innocent man, and to sport with his existence; that he would have regarded it an insult, offered to all the sentiments of nature and of humanity, even to conceive for a moment, that so many benevolent protectors would have abandoned him at once, if Rome should violate her promises; if we give way to these reflections, this his imprudence will be but another claim upon admiration, another ray added to his glory. We esteem the more a man, whose magnanimous zeal regards

baseness in another, as a phantom only of the imagination, and our indignation at the perfidy of his enemies increases in proportion as it stands contrasted with the noble generosity of his conduct.

As soon as his resolution to return was known in London, his English friends exerted their utmost endeavours to arrest him, while on the edge of the precipice. Their exertions were fruitless : he was resolved; his determination was fixed, and he advanced towards his destruction.

The moment he arrived in Rome, his enemies violated, with the most gross and scandalous effrontery, the promises which they had caused to be made to him. They began by commanding him to abjure, publicly, the pretended heresies which he had disseminated by his writings. The Inquisition next seized upon his person. They commenced his prosecution ; but, whether from the vexation of being in a manner the author of his own ruin, or in consequence of the torture which he endured, or whether the apprehension of the punishment to which he was exposed, undermined the vital principle, he shortly died in prison.

Nevertheless, historic truth does not permit me to conceal, that many well-informed persons, of that time, thought that poison had terminated his life; whether that he received it from the hands of the Inquisitors themselves, who, perhaps, dreaded the sensation which might be occasioned in the public mind by the execution of a man whose reputation was so high, or whether his family, which was of very high dignity, alarmed for the infamy of a punishment, the stain of which would fall upon themselves, formed the dreadful resolution of administering the fatal draught, we are not informed. His enemies, however, not content with having thus basely deceived this illustrious man, and accelerated the termination of his valuable life, endeavoured to blacken his fame, and to calumniate his memory. They pretended, and their hireling writers have repeated after them, that the only reason for his

quitting England was that he was forced to that measure by the disgrace into which he was generally fallen there: that the promises which he pretended to have been made by the Court of Rome were but the creatures of his own imagination; that his presumption, his vanity, and his avarice, had alienated from him the hearts of all respectable persons in London; that he had the audacity, before his departure, to ascend the pulpit, and there publicly to retract every thing which he had previously spoken and written against the church, in the hope of disarming, by this stroke of policy, the resentment of the Holy See; that James I. irritated at such conduct, had ordered him to quit his dominions within three days, and that he had been forced to comply with the command.

Their imposture was not satisfied with thus defaming his reputation, but attempted also to pervert the facts which followed his entry into Rome. They asserted that this illustrious prelate had not only abjured, of his own accord, the errors which he had professed, but had supplicated pardon for them, in a public consistory; that his characteristic inconstancy had led him shortly after to repent of this step; and that his letters, being intercepted, proved that he had been endeavouring to effect a reconciliation with England, and to procure himself a new asylum in that country; that this last fault irritated the Pope, Urban VIII. against him; and he, therefore, caused him to be arrested and conducted to the castle of St Angelo, where he put a period to his own existence by poison. This heap of falsehoods avoids to make any mention of the Inquisition. These fabrications have been constantly repeated down to our own days; it is however confessed that the Inquisition carried the body of this celebrated man to be burned, together with his treatise *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*. The Inquisition had then at least some part in the catastrophe.

As to the other circumstances, in the eye of the Inquisitors, one of the greatest crimes of Dominis was to have proved that there

was nothing miraculous in the appearance of the rainbow, and that it was a simple effect of the ordinary laws of nature. In the same manner they shortly after condemned the system of Galileo, which the philosophy of after ages has adopted and demonstrated. Dominis, who, by his treatise *De radiis visus et lucis in vitris perspectivis et Iride*, published at Venice in 1611, opened the way which Des Cartes afterwards pursued.

The innocence of the lives of the nuns did not place them in security from the fury of the Inquisition; the asylum of the cloister was thousands of times violated by its intrusion, and furnished the victims of its cruelty equally with the busy theatre of the world.

One of the most celebrated cases of this description was that of the sister Maria of the Conception, who was born at Villastremos, the child of Don Manuel Soares.—This unfortunate young woman was arrested on an accusation of heresy, and passed many years in the prison of the Inquisition, at Evora, in Portugal, before the Inquisitors were able to collect a sufficient number of proofs, or rather to corrupt a sufficient number of witnesses, to effect her condemnation. In all the interrogatories which were addressed to her, she constantly persisted in asserting her innocence: at length they pronounced against her a sentence by which she was doomed to the torture. The unhappy sufferer endured it for an hour and a quarter with astonishing fortitude, which her executioners did not expect, and which they very seldom found in the weaker sex; but, at last, entirely overcome by the excessive torment, she accused herself, and confessed every thing which they thought proper to demand. She was then set free from the instruments of torture and, having resumed her clothes, the Inquisitors prepared to receive her confession. But, instead of persisting in her last declaration, she protested against every thing which she had said, when undergoing the Question she affirmed that she was a sincere Catholic, and that nothing but

the fear of expiring beneath the torture had caused her to confess herself a Jewess.

The Inquisitors ordered her to be re-conducted to her dungeon, and, after a few days, they commanded her to be put to the Question the second time; again she sank under the weight of her sufferings, and again confessed that she professed the Jewish religion. Being re-conducted to audience, in order to confirm her declaration by an unrestrained confession, she once more retracted every thing she had said, and informed her judges, that it was to no purpose to apply the torture a third time, for that if she were subjected to it a hundred times she should always conduct herself in the same manner.

Nothing could disarm the inflexible and barbarous obstinacy of the Inquisitors, and, for the third time, they subjected this unhappy girl to the most violent tortures. Upon this occasion, the mercy of Providence seemed to have descended for her support, for she was enabled to endure this third horrible trial without confessing what they endeavoured to wring from her. When the reader has reflected, for a moment, upon such enormous iniquity and cruelty, he shall hear the result. The judgement was as flagitious as the trial was wicked and absurd. The unfortunate sufferer was condemned to be scourged through all the streets of Evora, and to be banished for ten years, not as convicted of the crime laid to her charge, but because she would not ratify the falsehood which nothing but the insupportable violence of tortures, inconceivably dreadful, had twice extorted from her; and we are to remember, that being burned alive would have been the consequence of such a confession. Thus the Inquisitors degraded her by an infamous punishment, to console themselves for not having been able to put her to death. Such was their justice, and it was moreover necessary to adore that justice in silence, as the following circumstance will prove.

At this same Auto da Fé, a man named Andre Francisco Teinders,

of Villa Viciosa, was among the number of victims. For want of proofs, the Inquisitors were unable to take away his life: he could not avoid saying, to somebody who happened to stand near him, that the punishment of this young woman, which had just been read, appeared to him to be very severe. For this single expression he was re-conducted to the tribunal, where the Inquisitors, having virulently abused the impious insolence with which he had dared to criticise the judgement of the defenders of God, told him that he deserved to be carried back to prison; and that if, by an extreme stretch of mercy, and through the purest Christianity, they consented that he should remain at liberty, he must take especial care not to be guilty, in future, of similar indiscretion, as it might cost him much dearer, if he indulged it a second time.

The unhappy woman, whose torments I have related, was among the number of the condemned whom the Inquisition denominated *Diminutos*. There were three distinctions of *Diminutos*: by this denomination, in general, were meant those whose confession was incomplete. The Inquisitional legislators reckoned, in the first class, those whom the hope of saving their lives had caused to accuse themselves before they were condemned, and who, after that, had time granted to them to examine themselves well, to complete their declaration. The next class was composed of those whose confession was posterior to their sentence of condemnation: to these they applied the torture, in order that their sufferings might force them to add whatever was defective in their confession, the completion of which might save them from the highest punishment. The Holy Office considered this as an act of great clemency and mercy on her part. The third class comprised those whom the dread of approaching death determined to accuse themselves, at the moment that their hands were tied to be led to execution. These were not put to the Question, but, in order to save themselves, they were under the necessity of naming

all accomplices as well as all who had accused them. To conceive the atrocious injustice as well as absurdity of this obligation we should consider that they were never informed of the real crimes laid to their charge, nor of the names of the informers or witnesses who had deposed against them; in order therefore to name, it was requisite to guess them, a thing which appears to be physically impossible. What was the result then of this horrid injustice? it was that the miserable victims, reduced to despair by the frightful array of death which was placed before their eyes, and urged by the Inquisitors to hasten their declaration, seeking to recall to their memories all the persons they had ever known, during their existence in the world, united together, in their declarations, their parents, their friends, their servants, their acquaintances, even perfect strangers; in fine, all of whom their memory preserved the slightest idea or recollection, and thus endangered the existence of a vast multitude of innocent persons. Even this could not save them; for, supposing that they repeated, in this manner, a hundred or two hundred persons, as it happened frequently, in spite of this great number, some of their accusers were forgotten, since they had often no connection in the world with them, and their names were many times perfectly unknown to them, they were, for this inevitable oversight alone, delivered to the flames, and perished in the distracting reflection of having, without any benefit to themselves, yielded up a multitude of unoffending persons to the Inquisition. Thence arose a proverb, common in Spain, *Maos atados turas abraladas*, the country is in a flame when a man has his hands tied.—If, by the greatest accident, they happened to name their accusers, and the witnesses who had deposed against them, that did not always save them: for, if it was remarked that, in their declaration they forbore to mention those who were supposed to be most dear to them, as their parents, consorts, or children, it was supposed to proceed from a secret wish to preserve them, and they were burned as guilty of volun-



tary and wilful concealment. I shall cite a few examples from the history of the Inquisition, printed in 1769.

An inhabitant of Villa Viciosa, named George Francis Mela, was arrested by the Inquisition of Evora: shortly after his arrest, in the hope of hastening his deliverance, he accused himself; they demanded the names of his accomplices, accusers, and witnesses against him; he mentioned all whose names occurred to his memory, but at each reply the Inquisitor answered that is not sufficient. In this manner he charged about five hundred persons, without being able to satisfy the Inquisitor. At length, the unhappy man, not knowing what to do, and having gone through the entire circle of his acquaintance, recollected that one of his daughters had been sent, at the age of five years, to the convent of the Expectation, at Evora; scarcely did he know her, she had been educated by the nuns of this monastery; at a more advanced age she had taken the veil, and was, by her excellent conduct, the example of the entire society. This man, whose desire of saving himself almost approached insanity, after having accused his wife, his children, his brethren, at length accused this hapless daughter. Let the reader picture to himself his despair when the Inquisitor declared to him that was not all, and when he heard the awful sentence of death pronounced. Then, perceiving that he had nothing more to hope, he declared publicly, as he walked to the stake, that every thing which he had said was false and fabricated; that the fear of death alone had extorted the lie from his lips, and that all those whom he had cited were entirely innocent. He was burned as a *Diminuto revogante*; that is, as one who had confessed in fact, but had belied himself.

A woman, a native of Fueintera, who lived at Clues, the widow of Gaspard Gomes Jacintes, and whose name was Maria Mentés, being arrested by the Holy Office, named, in this manner, more than six hundred persons, and was nevertheless condemned to

death. As soon as she was apprised of her fate, she retracted every thing she had said. In the procession of the *Auto da Fé*, the *san-beinto distinguiſtol*, the unfortunate victims who are doomed to die, one of her daughters, seeking to save her wretched mother, approached her and named, in a loud voice, some of their relations, fearing lest she might have forgotten to mention them, and hoping thus to furnish the means of saving her life. My dear child, cried the unhappy woman, I have already named all Portugal and Caſtille, but it would not avail.

We may conceive by theſe examples the moral degradation to which the Inquiſition had reduced theſe wretched people, and judge whether it be not true, that it had extinguished in them all thoſe ſentiments of nature, of humanity, of juſtice, and of probity, which compoſe the baſis of ſocial order. What was the crime of this innumerable multitude of victims? I have mentioned before that it was generally the being *Chriſtianos novos*, or new Chriſtians. Theſe blood-thiſty monks ſeemed to have converted them, only to ſuppoſe that they were not ſincere in their converſion; if they continued Jews or Moors, they were burned; if they became converted, they were burned; ſo whither were they to fly from perſecution and murder? The confeſſion, true or falſe, which the Inquiſitors objected againſt, did not then ſecure the unhappy victim from death, as we have ſeen; neither did a firm denial of guilt, though it excited more intereſt for the condemned, as he in that caſe died without endangering any other perſon. Theſe laſt, in their death-ſentence, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Negatives*, or denying.

A man, of an illuſtrious houſe at Liſbon, Don Jaques Mello, a knight of the order of Chriſt, a captain of cavalry, and an officer of diſtinction, was arreſted by the Inquiſition, with his wife and ſon. He was accuſed of being a new Chriſtian, though he was exact in his diſcharge of all the religious duties; but, ſuch was the deteſtable influence of the terror inſpired by the Inquiſition, that

it occasioned people to assume the appearance of inhumanity, and to seem to exult and rejoice when they happened to meet with any of its victims in their way. Don Jacques Mello had exhibited symptoms of this weakness. Such was the conduct which drew down upon him the vengeance of his enemies. His wife and his children were arrested with him: these, accustomed to opulence, and impatiently supporting the horrors of a dungeon and the privations of every kind to which they were subjected, urged moreover by the counsels of the door-keepers and pretended prisoners, whom the Inquisitors caused to mingle with the real victims of their cruelty, to discover their complaints and to excite them to imprudent and often to fatal steps; they determined to secure their own liberty by accusing the unfortunate Mello. He denied all consciousness of guilt with firmness, and was condemned to be burned as a *convicto negativo*, that is to say, as condemned because he had denied his guilt. He died protesting that he was a sincere Christian, and invoked the name of Christ with his very last sigh.

Alfonso Nobre, a native of Villa Viciosa, and one of the principal gentlemen of that city, where he had been mayor and prior of la Misericordia, was conducted to the prison of Coimbra, under the charge of being a new Christian. They shortly after arrested his son and his daughter, who, either by evil advice or by intimidation, first accused themselves and afterwards their father. He was brought forth, at the Act of Faith, as a negative convict. It happened that, as the procession advanced, this ill-fated man passed near his son; the latter, struck with horror at his father's lot, besought him to forgive him, and implored his benediction. I pardon you, he replied, for having reduced me by your baseness to this miserable condition, as I wish that God should pardon me, and trust that his mercy will forgive me my sins; but I give you not my benediction, for I acknowledge not, as a son of mine, the man who has dishonoured himself, and who, being in sincerity a Christian, has thought fit to pass for a Jew; I also pray to God that it may

please him to turn your heart and to forgive you. After this he advanced to his execution with heroic constancy, and with demonstrations of the most sincere confidence and most exalted piety.

John de Siqueira and his brother, natives of Torres Alvas, both the sons of a laundress, were arrested at Lisbon, at the same time with John Travassos de Costa, who, during many years, had been vicar-general of the archbishopric of Lisbon. The two brothers firmly maintained their innocence; but, being accused by a great number of witnesses, they were condemned. The grand vicar Travassos, in consequence of his high situation, had been frequently at the *Mesa* of the Holy Office; he knew how difficult it was to escape when once inclosed within its walls, wherefore he, at first, lost all courage, confessed every thing they pleased, and accused an infinite number of persons, among whom were John de Siqueira and his brother. Probably they discovered, from the companions of their fate, that Travassos had deposed against them; and, shortly after, one of the brothers, being summoned to an audience by the Inquisitors, said to them, how can you imagine, gentlemen, that a vicar-general should have communicated his sentiments to me, who, being only the son of a laundress, would hardly have been deemed worthy to attend him as a menial? If Travassos have deposed against me, it is, doubtless, because he imagined that I had acted in the same manner towards him; but, I forgive him from my soul, as I hope that God may forgive me my sins; at the same time I solemnly declare, in his holy presence, that I never, during my whole life, was guilty of the crimes now laid to my charge. If I were a Jew, as you suppose, why should I refuse to confess it, in order to save my life? I have no property to forfeit in so doing; but I dare flatter myself that the Almighty has granted me this opportunity of procuring my salvation, by suffering, and I shall not reject it. These two brothers were burned, as *negatives*, and to their very last moments exhibited every possible demonstration of the most heartfelt attachment to their religion. The grand vicar

escaped from the Auto da Fé, bearing the san-benito, and lived the rest of his days in the greatest misery. It was reported, that, at the hour of his death, he declared that every thing which he had deposed before the Inquisition, both against himself and others, was totally false ; but the Holy Office had no regard to such declarations.

If the Inquisition thus constantly persecuted the new Christians, it sometimes, also, contrived to lay hands on those who were denominated old Christians. About the end of the sixteenth century, a regulation appeared, by which it was enacted that the depositions of the new Christians against the old should be no longer received, and that, if any individual of them ventured to accuse the latter, he should, by the act alone, be deemed a perjurer, and consequently be condemned to the lash or to the galleys. However his deposition was valid against another new Christian ; an odious and infamous distinction ; for, in all tribunals, it is held as a maxim that a man who has given false testimony against one individual shall be suspected for the future and his testimony be inadmissible against another.

Baptist Cabros, a native of Elvas, one of the first nobility in the country, was arrested and marked out as being a new Christian in the eighth degree. His process was quickly commenced, and he was condemned to die. He confessed, at length, after his hands were already bound, that is to say, when he could no longer be put to the Question, nor consequently atone, by these barbarous means, for the incompleteness of his confession. Determined, however, to try and save his life at any price whatever, he accused all those who occurred to his recollection, and among others a female mulatto, who belonged to the family of one of his uncles, on that side by which it was pretended that he was a new Christian. He, therefore, escaped, at the Act of Faith, with the san benito de *fogo revolto*, and was sent to the galleys. Shortly after the mulatto was arrested: the only defence she made was to affirm constantly that

she was an old Christian. This fact being clearly proved, Cabros was led back to the prison of the Holy Office, whence he came forth a second time with the *carocha*, was scourged and sent to the galleys again, where he continued five years. The captain of the galley shewed him some indulgence, on account of his rank, and, from this consideration, he exempted him from the severe labours to which the other slaves were condemned. This captain was summoned to the Inquisition and severely reprimanded for his indulgence. It is proper to observe that Cabros had deposed against the mulatto, when, having his hands already bound, he could no longer, as it has been observed, supply, by the Question, the insufficiency of his confession; he could not, therefore, escape death but by charging the mulatto, who was in reality comprised among the number of his accomplices; nevertheless it was for having named an old Christian that he was imprisoned a second time, scourged, and sent to the galleys.

In the convent of the Franciscans, at Lisbon, situated in a place called *O campo do Curral*, lived a friar, a man of learning, of a very good family, and a native of the city. His family-name was Travassos da Costa, and he was cousin to the vicar-general mentioned above. This friar was an old Christian, but this did not prevent him from forgetting his faith, and becoming, in good earnest, a Jew. His zeal in his new creed was so excessive, that he endeavoured to convert his brothers, and to communicate to them his errors; the other monks of the convent, having, in vain, endeavoured to bring him back to his religion, were at length compelled to inform against him before the Inquisition. He was accordingly tried and condemned to be burned, which he endured with fortitude, protesting, to the last, that he died in the law of Moses, which he believed to be the only true law of God. In the sentence, which was read publicly at the *Auto da Fé*, he was called a new Christian; but his relations, fearing that this imputation would bring dishonour upon the family, made strong remonstrances to the Holy

Office. They confessed that the Franciscan had been justly punished ; but that he ought by no means to be denominated a new Christian, which would cover his family with obloquy and disgrace. They were allowed, by the Inquisition, to prove their assertion, and justice was done them. They effaced what had been written at the bottom of the sentence of the deceased, and they were acknowledged to be really old Christians. Here there was an old Christian condemned, and dying obstinate in his errors. Thus had the Inquisition established a line of demarcation between the orders of Catholics ; glory or infamy depended on a date.

Francisco d'Aleveido Cabras, a native of Elvas, son of Andrew Martin Cabras, and one of the first men of that city, was the sworn enemy of every thing that went by the name of new Christian ; and, when occasion offered, he persecuted them with every outrage possible. This conduct was the cause of a report getting into circulation, that his mother, through one of her great grandsires, had in her veins some portion of the new Christian blood, although all his other ancestors of both branches were genuine old Christians. Certain enemies gave information against Aleveido and against Donna Britta de Segueira, his aunt, his mother's sister ; they were, consequently, both arrested, Francisco confessed without hesitation, and came forth *reconciled*, that is, bearing the san-benito at the Auto da Fé. As soon as he had returned to his father's house, the latter, not able to endure his presence after the stigma which he had thrown upon himself, and the insult offered to his family, expelled him from his habitation, and sent him into Spain. He remained there some time, became a Monk of the order of St Francis, and then returned to Portugal, where the friars of his order compelled him to resign his habit, and caused his profession to be declared void, upon the plea that he had been in the Inquisition, and had come forth thence as a Jew, which was confirmed by his own confession ; and, until peace should be concluded between Spain and Portugal, he remained at Elvas, in the secular habit.

His aunt, Donna Britta de Segueira, took a course quite opposite to her nephew: she alleged, as her justification, that she was an old Christian; she was set at liberty, after being acknowledged such: and thus it was evident that Francisco was not a new Christian as he declared himself. The witnesses, who had deposed against Donna Britta, came out of the Inquisition, were scourged, and sent to the galleys. They arrested Francisco d'Alveido anew; and after remaining a long time in prison, he, at length, was let out with the *carocha* and banished from Portugal for two years; and that for having accused himself falsely of Judaism, while he was really a Christian; and for having occasioned misfortune to a vast number of people by his false accusation. Here again behold a man condemned, not because he had originally confessed himself a Jew, but for having insulted, in his own person, by this confession, the dignity of an old Christian.

Francisco Lopes Morgalho, a native of Elvas, and known universally to be of an old Christian family, seeing that they had arrested his wife, resolved immediately to go and accuse himself. He had a nephew, named Manuel Lopes Torras, whom he advised to do the same; the nephew replied, that it was to no purpose he advised him, because he was an old Christian; that however did not prevent the uncle from going to the Holy Office as he had intended. The nephew proved his dignity and remained secure; the uncle was punished for having not sufficiently respected his title as an old Christian.

Antonio Gonsalves, a native of Olivença, who dwelt at Cabanos, in the diocese of Visco, who was well known as an old Christian, was confined by the Inquisition, and came forth bearing the *san-benito* at the *Auto da Fé* in the year 1660.

One Maya Noite, a native of Abrantes, an old Christian, was the declared enemy of the new. This was the cause of his ruin. He was of a blustering insolent temper, and always betrayed the most extravagant joy when he beheld any new Christians conducted



to the Inquisition ; he was accustomed to insult their misfortunes, to load them with opprobrious language, and, frequently, to accompany them to the very doors of the Inquisition, calling them Jews, and pouring forth the most violent imprecations against them. To what can we possibly attribute this abominable spirit and the dreadful vengeance to which it gave occasion, but to the total perversion of the principles of men's minds, which arose from the Inquisition. Twelve new Christians mutually bound themselves, if ever they should happen to be arrested, to accuse Maya, with one accord, of having celebrated, with them, the rites of the Jewish religion, and previously settled every thing that they should say in order that their depositions should exactly correspond even in the most minute circumstances. These twelve men were actually imprisoned some time after; each, accusing himself, deposed that, on such a day, at such a place, and upon such an occasion, Maya Noite, with such and such persons, naming his eleven associates, had mutually declared that they lived according to the rules of the Mosaic law ; and, as the Inquisitors demanded, of each, if Maya were a new Christian, each, as he had agreed, answered that he knew not, but that, upon the occasion in question, he had positively declared to them that he was one, and that they had believed him upon his word. By this precaution, these twelve witnesses extricated themselves from the danger to which those were inevitably exposed, who, since the regulation on that subject, accused an old Christian of having Judaized. The unfortunate Maya being then conducted to prison, and finding himself charged by the exactly concurring testimony of twelve witnesses, (a thing unexampled in the Inquisition, where it is even unknown to have two witnesses that agreed), found it perfectly impossible to disprove their assertions; and, as he was not of a very distinguished family, and was unable to tell the name of his great great grandfathers, although he was acknowledged by every body to be an old Christian, the Inquisitors decided that he was a new one; his prosecution was com-

menced, and he was speedily condemned to be burned, crying as long as he was able, as he walked to the fagot, that in his person a true old Christian was destroyed.

At the beginning of this book, a general view was given of the Inquisition at Goa; its spirit will be still farther elucidated, by an authentic detail of the miseries which it inflicted upon a French gentleman named Dellon. It will serve to make known the internal policy and circumstances of this accursed tribunal of iniquity. The story is thus told by the unfortunate sufferer himself.

I passed my life at Daman, in the most tranquil and agreeable manner: I enjoyed more of the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants than a physician of my years had reason to expect, and I had the happiness to make several friends, in whose society I could unbend in the most delightful manner, after the fatigues of study and the necessary labours of my professional duty. It seemed to me as if nothing could disturb my repose, when God permitted a horrible persecution to be excited against me, under the weight of which I cannot help being astonished that I did not sink. I was arrested by the order of the Inquisition, and my trial was conducted in the manner that I shall afterwards explain.

The house of the Inquisition, which the Portuguese call *Santa Casa*, or the Holy House, is situated at one side of the grand square, which is in front of the cathedral of St. Catharine. This house is grand and magnificent: there are in the front three doors; that in the middle is the greatest, and corresponds with the grand staircase by which you ascend to the great hall, of which I shall speak by and by; the other doors led to the Inquisitors apartments, each of which is extensive enough to afford lodging to a considerable number of persons. There are besides many apartments for the other officers of the house. As you penetrate farther within the edifice you find a great building, divided into several compartments, two stories high, and divided from each other by court-yards. Upon each floor is a long gallery, divided into seven or eight

chambers, or dungeons, each ten feet square; the entire number of which may perhaps amount to about two hundred. Some of these dungeons are quite dark, being without windows, and having no aperture to admit the light, except the door, and that is always kept shut. Besides these cells, some are smaller and lower than the others, and they showed me one of these, upon my complaining one day that I was too severely treated, to let me know that I might be treated still much worse. With the exception of these dark cells, all the others are vaulted and white washed, tolerably clean, and lighted by means of a small grated window, which cannot be shut, and so high that the tallest man could not reach it.

The walls are every where five feet in thickness; each chamber is secured by two doors, one of which is on the inside and the other on the outside of the wall; the inside one is a folding door, it is strong, well secured with iron bars, and the lower half is in the form of a grate. There is, in the upper part, a small aperture through which the prisoners receive their food, their clothes, and the other articles of which they stand in need. This aperture is fastened by a key and secured by two strong bolts, the other door is neither so strong nor so thick as this, but it is without any aperture. It is usually left open from six in the morning until eleven o'clock; in order that the wind may enter through the other which is grated, and that, by this means, the air of the dungeon may be purified and rendered less unwholesome. At all other times this door is kept as carefully shut as the former.

Each of the victims, whose unhappy destiny conducts him to this prison, receives an earthen pot full of water to wash himself, another of a neater kind, called *gurguleta*, also filled with water for him to drink, with a *pucaro*, or cup, made of a kind of earth which is commonly found in the Indies, and which gives a delightful coolness to the water suffered to remain in it for some time. He likewise receives a broom, in order to keep his chamber clean, a large basin for his occasions, which is changed every three

or four days, and a vessel to cover it, which serves to receive the dust which he has swept from the floor and walls of his prison. The prisoners are fed after the manner of the country, the blacks with *cange*, or rice water, rice, or a little fried fish; the white people in the same manner, except that they are allowed some fruit and a small quantity of meat for their dinners on Thursdays and Sundays, but never any at supper, not even on Easter day; and this regimen is not adopted more for economy than to mortify the persons who, they pretend, have incurred the greater excommunication, and to secure them at the same time from that dreadful malady, called by the Indians *mordechi*, which arises from indigestion.

This disease is frequent and dangerous in these burning climates, and especially in a place where exercise is impossible; it almost always begins by a violent fever, accompanied by trembling, anxiety, and vomiting. These symptoms are speedily followed by delirium and death, if a very prompt remedy be not applied. There is one in common use among the Indians which is far preferable to any other, because daily experience evinces that it is a specific in these cases, and that you cannot omit its use without exposing the patient to the most imminent danger. This extraordinary remedy consists in applying an iron, made red hot in the fire, to the foot of the patient, at the hardest and most callous part of the heel. They commonly use for this purpose either a spit or some other instrument of nearly the same form; it is applied across the foot, and left in contact, till the patient shows, by his cries, that he is affected by the heat. The operation is not extremely painful, and does not prevent the person who has undergone it from walking immediately after with the same freedom as before, if other circumstances do not confine him to his bed. Nevertheless by this simple mean, especially if recourse be had to it in time, the progress of the disorder is almost infallibly arrested; and the person who, without this remedy, would have been in the greatest

danger of losing his life, is frequently cured, in a very short time, without the application of any other remedy.

Physicians and Surgeons sometimes go to visit the sick; but, in the most dangerous cases, they never administer to any body the *viaticum*, or extreme unction, nor do they allow them to hear either sermon or mass. Those who die in prison are interred within the building without any ceremony; and if, by the maxims of this tribunal, they are worthy of death, the flesh is carefully separated from their bones, which are kept to be burned at the first Act of Faith.

As it is always extremely sultry in the Indies, the prisoners are not allowed beds, neither do they ever behold fire or any other light but that of the day. In each cell are two small recesses to sleep in, because, when necessity requires it, they confine two prisoners together: besides the mat, which each receives, he is likewise provided with a quilt or counterpane, which, being doubled, serves as a matrass, for there is no need of any covering in the Indies, on account of the heat, unless it be as security from the flies, which swarm here in innumerable multitudes, and constitute one of the most afflicting calamities of this melancholy abode.

There are two Inquisitors at Goa; the first, who is called *Inquisidor mor*, or the great Inquisitor, is always a secular priest, the other is a Dominican friar. There are also numerous officers, who are called *Deputados da Santo Officio*, and are taken from all the religious orders; they assist at the judgment of criminals, at their examination, and the drawing up of the process against them; but they never repair to the tribunal, unless summoned by the Inquisitors. There are likewise other officers, who are denominated *Califidores da Santo Officio*, to whom is entrusted the examination of books, suspected to contain sentiments injurious to the purity of the faith. These latter, also, do not assist at the judgment of criminals, and approach the tribunal, only, to make their report upon such matters as are submitted to their consideration.

There is besides a proctor, an attorney and advocates, for the prisoners who require them, and who serve much less to defend them than to pry into their secrets, which they discover only to betray: even if dependance could be placed on their fidelity, their assistance would be of but small advantage to the accused, as the latter are never allowed to converse with their advocates, except in the presence of the Inquisitors themselves, or of persons deputed by them to give an account of the confession.

The Inquisition has still other officers, distinguished by the name of *Familiaries do Santo Officio*, who are properly the bailiffs of this tribunal. People of all conditions are proud of being admitted to this noble function: these familiars are employed to arrest such persons as have been accused before the tribunal, and they generally observe the rule of dispatching a familiar of the same rank with the person whom it is intended to apprehend.

These officers receive no wages, they esteem themselves sufficiently recompensed by the honour which they pretend to derive from the employment of the Holy Office. They all wear, as a mark of creditable distinction, a gold medal, upon which are engraved the arms of the Inquisition. When it is resolved to arrest any one, they repair to him, alone, and declare that he is summoned by the Inquisitors; the person is then indispensably obliged to comply immediately; for, should any one be so bold as to attempt resistance, every body would instantly lend his utmost aid to execute the command of the Holy Office.

Besides these officers, there are also secretaries and summoners, who are called *Merinhos*, an alcaide, or jailor, and guards who keep watch over the prisoners and convey them their food and other necessaries.

As all the prisoners are separate from one another, and two are very seldom confined together, four persons are sufficient to guard two hundred. A constant and rigid silence is preserved in the Inquisition, and a prisoner who should venture to complain,

to weep, or even to pray to God in too loud a voice, would run the risk of being severely scourged by the guards; for, upon the least noise being made, they run to the place whence it proceeds, to warn the person who is the cause of it to keep silence, and, if he neglect the first or second command, they immediately enter his cell and chastise him without mercy.

The alcaide and the guards remain continually in the galleries, and even sleep there during the night. The Inquisitor, accompanied by a secretary and an interpreter, visits all the prisoners every two months, or thereabouts; he asks them whether they are in want of any thing, if they receive their victuals at the regular hours, and whether they have any complaint to make against the officers who approach them: the secretary writes down the answers which are made to these three questions: this done, the door is instantly shut.

These visits are only intended to display that pretended justice and kindness of which they boast in this tribunal, but they never prove of the slightest advantage to the prisoners who are foolish enough to make complaints, which only serve to occasion their being afterwards treated with greater inhumanity. Those, among the prisoners, who happen to be rich are not a whit better for it than those who are not possessed of any thing; the Inquisitors supply the latter with necessaries out of the confiscated property of the former, for the Holy Office never fails to confiscate the entire property, moveable or immoveable, of all such as have the misfortune to fall into its hands.

The goods of those who are condemned to death, and of those who avoid it by confession, are equally confiscated, because they are all reputed guilty; and, as the Inquisitors seek not so much the lives as the riches of their prisoners, and as, according to the laws of the tribunal, they do not deliver over, to the secular arm, any but such as are relapsed, or who are unwilling to confess the crimes laid to their charge, the judges put in practice every art that

ingenuity can devise, to persuade them to make confession of their fault, and are not sparing of the torture for this barbarous purpose. The true reason of this conduct is, that, when once a man has declared himself guilty, the world has no farther reason to doubt that his goods were justly confiscated, and then, by remitting the pains of death to these pretended criminals, they make a parade of mildness and indulgence, in the eyes of the simple and unsuspecting, which contributes to support the credit of the tribunal; without this artifice it must sink under the weight of universal detestation.

It may be proper to observe that those who have escaped the flames, by this artifice, are strictly obliged, as soon as ever they are set free from prison, to publish abroad that they have been treated with the utmost goodness and clemency, in being granted their lives, which they had justly forfeited; because the man, who, having declared himself guilty, should attempt, after his enlargement, to demonstrate his innocence, would be instantly seized, condemned, and burned, at the first *Auto da Fé*, without the smallest hopes of mercy or of pardon.

By far the greater number of persons, who fall under the weight of Inquisitorial vengeance, in these unhappy countries, are sacrificed either for their wealth or to the suspicion of being secret preceptors of Judaism, though with their last groan they testify their attachment to the Christian faith, and their firm hope in the merits of their redeemer. But its disgusting and absurd cruelty is displayed, in a manner equally glaring, in its treatment of those unfortunate Indians who are accused of magic and sorcery, and, as guilty of such offences, committed to the flames. To explain this circumstance clearly, it should be remarked that the Pagans, who, in their unconverted state, have been in the constant habit of a great variety of superstitious practices, to discover distant or doubtful events, as the success of an enterprize, the issue of a malady, the affections of a second person, and several



other things of this description, cannot, on their embracing Christianity, so immediately forget all their ancient ideas and prejudices as to abstain from putting these vain and foolish arts in practice after they are baptized, which, indeed, is almost all they are taught of their new religion. This will not appear surprising to those who reflect that, even in our own country, where civilization has made so great a progress, many may still be found who put confidence in these absurd ceremonies, that these poor people, but lately converted, often having passed the greatest part of their lives in Paganism, and living in the dominions of the Portuguese in India, more as slaves than subjects, generally assume the religion of their oppressors, only with the hope of being something better treated by those who tyrannize over them. However these faults, so excuseable in this unlettered and depressed people, are always expiated, when discovered, by the dreadful punishment of being burned alive, in conformity with the rules of the tribunal, for the second offence, if they have confessed upon a former occasion; and for the first, if they persist in denying it; and the Inquisitor punishes not only Christians who are accused of falling into the crimes subject to its cognizance, but Mahomedans, Pagans, and other strangers, of what religion soever they may be, who are guilty of any of these offences, or who dare to exercise their religion in the territories of his Portuguese majesty. Although this prince, by his laws, allows entire liberty of conscience, the Holy Office, in interpreting this permission, consents indeed that these foreigners should believe as they please, but rigidly punishes the least exercise of their religion; and as in the Portuguese dominions in India there are many times more Mahomedans and Pagans than Christians; and as the Inquisition, which punishes with death relapsed christians, never inflicts any capital punishment upon those who have not received the rites of baptism, even though they should fall a hundred times into the same errors; and that at the worst they are condemned to the galleys or to exile; this dread of

the flames operates as a natural obstacle to the embracing of the Christian religion: thus the Holy Office, far from serving to propagate the gospel in those countries, contributes only to alienate the minds of the people from it, and to inspire them with a horror for its name.

The constant and uniform system of accusation, which, necessarily, results from the circumstances mentioned, and the unrestrained liberty in which every man indulges himself of denouncing, with impunity, those with whom he is at enmity, are the reasons why the prisons of the Inquisition are seldom empty for any considerable time; and, though the Acts of Faith are celebrated every two years, or three at the most, there are ordinarily two hundred prisoners, and frequently more, exhibited on these melancholy occasions.

The real cause of all the miseries which I endured from the ministers of the Inquisition was an ill-founded jealousy of the governor of Daman. It is not difficult to suppose that this reason was never inserted in my accusation; but, in order to gratify the vengeance of this governor, they made use of various pretexts, and at length found the means of arresting and banishing me from the Indies, where I might otherwise have passed the remainder of my life.

The first occasion I gave to my enemies to make use of the Inquisition for my destruction was a discourse which I had with an Indian friar, of the order of St. Dominic: before I proceed, however, I ought to state that, although I humbly confess that my conduct was not always strictly conformable to the pure religion which I professed, nevertheless, I was most sincerely attached to the faith of my ancestors, that is, to the Apostolic and Catholic church of Rome.

I took considerable pleasure in reading, and in nothing more than the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, which I always carried about me: I was not entirely ignorant of scho-

lastic theology, because, as, in the course of my travels, I had met with persons of all sects and opinions, I was frequently in the habit of disputing with them upon various topics of religious belief, I was possessed of several books upon this subject, and I had improved my knowledge, by reading and conversation, during the long leisure of sea-voyages, and the residence which I had made in several parts of India. I therefore had the vanity to think myself qualified to enter into conversation and even into dispute with these theologians by profession; and, in the most innocent manner possible, I fell into this snare with the friar whom I have mentioned.

I had lodged, for about fifteen days, in the convent of the Jacobins, and lived upon the most friendly footing with the whole fraternity; I had done them whatever services laid in my power, in return for their kindness to me, and particularly for the attention which father Juan de Saint Mochaël paid me. We had many conversations on various topics; that which I held with the friar before alluded to, was upon the subject of baptism. We were agreed about the three species which the church recognizes; and it was merely for the sake of dispute, and not because I doubted in reality, that I questioned the effect of that which is called *Flaminis*; and to support my opinion I cited this passage, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et spiritu sancto, &c.* Nevertheless I had scarcely spoken the words, when the good father withdrew, without making any reply, as if he had some pressing engagement, and went, as far as I can judge, to inform against me before the commissary of the Holy Office, though, as I spoke several times afterwards to this same person, and as he had never testified the least coolness towards me, I was far from suspecting, at that time, that he had dealt by me in so ungenerous a manner.

I was also frequently present at their religious assemblies, wherein were borne little stocks upon which were painted the images of the blessed virgin or some other saint. The Portuguese are ac-

customed to kiss the image, represented on the stock, and such as please put their alms into small boxes which are carried about with them, for the support of the religious society. All are at liberty to give or to withhold alms as they think proper, but no one can refuse to kiss the image without offending the bystanders. At this time I was only twenty-four years of age, and I had not the prudence necessary for a person who resides among strangers, to whose manners it is undoubtedly right to conform as much as possible; and as besides I was not accustomed to these sorts of ceremonies, I frequently refused to kiss the images, whence they hastily inferred that I held them in contempt, and that consequently I was a heretic.

I was one day at the house of a Portuguese gentleman, when his son, who was ill, was about to be bled, I perceived that the young man had, in his bed, an ivory image of the blessed virgin, which he frequently kissed, and to which he constantly addressed himself. This manner of honouring images is very common among the Portuguese, and it gave me, I confess, some uneasiness, because the interpretation which the protestants put upon this action prevents them, as much as any thing else, from returning into the bosom of the church. I warned this young man that, if he continued to hold the image in the position in which it then was, that the blood would spurt out upon it; and, when he replied that he could not bear to part with it, I told him that it would very much embarrass the operation. He instantly exclaimed that the French were all heretics, and that they did not adore images. To this I replied, that I believed we ought to honour them, and that if I should shake off the word *adore*, it was only with regard to the image of Jesus Christ, and then the adoration were only due to him who was represented by the image; and to prove this I cited the opinion of the council of Trent, session the 25th.

It happened, about this same time, that one of my neighbours coming to visit me, and seeing a crucifix at the bolster of my bed,

said ; recollect, sir, to cover this image, if you should happen to introduce any kind hearted lady to your apartment. How, said I, do you then think that I could thus hide myself from the eyes of God ? And are you of the same opinion with these abandoned women, who live amongst you, who, often concealing, beneath the bolster, the beads and relics which they generally wear about their necks, think they may give themselves up, with security, to every species of excess ? No, sir, entertain more exalted notions of the Deity, and do not imagine that the sheets can cover our sins from the eyes of God, who clearly sees the most secret thoughts of our hearts ; and as for that crucifix, what is it indeed but a piece of ivory ; thus we remained, and my neighbour having withdrawn, acquitted himself punctually of his supposed duty, and went immediately to inform against me at the Holy Office ; for all persons are here obliged, under penalty of the greater excommunication, to declare, within thirty days, every thing which they know relative to any crimes that fall under the cognizance of the Inquisition ; and, in order to enforce this regulation, all those who neglect to deliver in their information, within the prescribed time, are considered guilty, and punished as if themselves had been chargeable with the crimes, which they forgot to reveal.

This horrible regulation causes friends to betray their friends, parents their children, and makes even children forget the veneration which God and nature have implanted in their hearts for those to whom they are indebted for their existence. These circumstances had already given rise to a most dangerous prejudice against me, but the strangest motive of all for my imprisonment and my condemnation was, that, being once in a certain company in which the conversation turned on the justice of men, I said, that it merited much less the name of justice than that of injustice ; for that men judge only according to appearances, which are often deceitful, and are therefore liable to form many unequitable deceptions, but that God knew things as they really are, and there-

fore that God alone could be denominated truly just. One of the persons who was present, and heard me speak, replied, that, generally speaking, what I had advanced was true; that nevertheless there was this distinction to be made, that, if in France true justice were not to be found, they then enjoyed a great advantage over my countrymen, in having amongst them a tribunal whose decrees were not less just nor less infallible than those of Jesus Christ. Do you think, I asked, that the Inquisitors are less men, or less liable to the human passions and frailties than other judges? talk not in that strain, sir, rejoined this zealous defender of the Holy Office, if the Inquisitors, assembled in their tribunal, be infallible, it is because the Holy Ghost always presides over their decisions.

I could no longer endure a discourse which appeared to me so utterly absurd and shocking; and, in order to prove by an example that the Inquisitors were very far from being as he represented them, I cited the case of Ephraim de Nevers, a French capuchin, and apostolic missionary to the Indies, who, according to Boulaye-le-Goux and Tavernier, was arrested by the Inquisition, through envy, about sixteen years before, when he had been extremely ill-treated for a year and a half; and I concluded by telling him, that I was convinced that this worthy friar was possessed of more virtue and more knowledge than those who had thus confined him in a dark and narrow prison, without even permitting him to repeat his breviary. I added, that I considered France most happy in having refused to admit this severe tribunal, and that I thought myself fortunate in not being subject to its jurisdiction. This conversation was accurately reported to the commissary; and, joined to what I have before related, served as the ground of my accusation.

Notwithstanding the inviolable secrecy which is required, by oath, of all those who approach the Inquisition, I did not fail to

receive some hints of the depositions which had been made against me. This made me apprehensive of falling into the hands of the Holy Office, and caused me to resolve to visit the commissary, from whom I hoped for the benefit of his advice, as I had been recommended to him by certain persons who deserved his highest consideration and regard, and because, as long as I had hitherto lived in Daman, he had always professed to be my friend. I therefore related to him, in a lively manner, every particular which had passed, and intreated him to give me his advice for the regulation of my future conduct; I assured him that I had no evil design, and was ready to atone for my fault in any manner that he might think proper to require.

This good father confessed to me that my conduct had given very general offence; he said he was persuaded that my intentions were not bad, and even that there was nothing criminal in any thing that I had related; that nevertheless he advised me to accommodate myself more to the fashions and manners of the people, and to speak, for the future, less freely upon these subjects; that, above all things, I ought to be more reserved in speaking of images, which I had often asserted were not to be adored; and which assertion I had endeavoured to prove by quotations from scripture and from the fathers; that the common people were indeed under certain trivial errors, which passed with some for true devotion, but that it was not my business to undertake to reform and correct them.

I returned him my warmest thanks for the good advice which he bestowed upon me, and retired from his presence much comforted, because I knew, that, having accused myself before being arrested, I could not now be made a prisoner, according to the laws of the Inquisition. I was also much delighted with the justice and candour of this worthy man, as I conceived him to be; because, having found me to be not seriously culpable, he had

freely given me his advice, for the better regulation of my subsequent conduct, in order to avoid giving the least shadow of suspicion against me.

Although what I have just repeated was more than sufficient to have ruined me, according to the maxims of the Inquisition and the custom of the country, yet it is possible that things would not have been pushed to that extremity against me, nor with such precipitation, if the governor had not been urged to procure my destruction by the jealousy which he had most unreasonably conceived of me. He concealed it, however, so well, that he appeared to be one of my very best friends; but, while he assumed this deceitful exterior and even received me with the greatest apparent cordiality at his table, he was earnestly soliciting the commissary of the Holy Office to write to Goa to the Inquisitors, to inform them of the discourses which I had held: for he did not wish to lose the opportunity, which I had thus imprudently supplied him with, of at least banishing me from Daman for ever.

The cause, or the pretext, of the jealousy of Manuel Furtado de Mendoza was the numerous but innocent visits which I paid to a lady, whom he loved, but who slighted his passion, a circumstance utterly unknown to me, and who, he imagined, had bestowed her regard upon myself. A certain black priest, who lived opposite to this lady, entertained a passion for her as violent as that of the governor, and had solicited her to gratify his abominable desires, even in the confessional chair, as I was informed from her own lips. This wretch conceived a similar jealousy of me; and, although he had been hitherto my friend, and I had done him many services of importance, he united himself to Manuel Furtado in order to effect my destruction.

These two rivals, being thus united, pressed the commissary with so much importunity, that, upon the information which by their solicitations he sent to Goa, he received, from the Inquisitors, an



order for my arrest, which was carried into execution the 24th of August, 1673, at six o'clock in the evening.

As I had none but concealed enemies, they easily mingled themselves with my true friends. The governor and the black priest, who wished for nothing so much as my banishment, knew admirably well how to conceal their hatred and jealousy; the former dispatched certain officers from his house to assure me of the warm interest which he felt in my welfare, and to offer all the assistance in his power for my enlargement: the latter came to the grate of my prison and shed some false and treacherous tears, that joy, rather than sadness, caused to flow.

I was hardly confined in my new melancholy abode, when, reflecting seriously on my misfortune, I easily discovered the apparent cause, and I resolved to put in practice every expedient for the recovery of my liberty. My friends were continually telling me that the best and readiest way to obtain this end was to confess voluntarily, and as soon as possible, every thing I knew relative to the causes of my detention. Wishing therefore to avail myself of their advice, I wrote to Goa to the grand Inquisitor, who is called in Portuguese *Inquisidor mor*. I declared to him, ingenuously, in this letter, every thing of which I thought I could possibly be accused, and intreated him to put the most favourable construction upon my conduct. My letter was safely delivered; but no answer was returned, and I was left to languish in prison, among a multitude of unfortunate blacks, who were arrested about the same time, by order of the Holy Office.

The severity of my sufferings was in some degree mitigated by the kindness of Donna Francisca, the lady upon whose account I was confined: she treated me with the utmost possible attention, sent every day to make the kindest inquiries after my health, and at the same time had conveyed to me abundance of the choicest delicacies, which were not only sufficient for my own support, but

enabled me to maintain four others of my fellow-prisoners. It was not so with the rest ; there is no regular subsistence for them at Daman : the magistrates throw it upon the charity of whoever thinks proper to assist them ; and, as there were but two persons in the city who sent them food regularly twice a week, the greater number, not receiving any nourishment upon the intermediate days, were reduced to a degree of misery that it was shocking to contemplate. The extreme wretchedness to which these unfortunate sufferers were reduced gave me the utmost pain, and caused me to write to the governor and to the principal inhabitants of the town, who shortly after sent a fund of subsistence for them.

The commissary had not found me criminal by the confession which I had made to him ; and, even had I been so, I ought to have been freed, according to the rules of the Holy Office ; but, to gratify the revenge of my two enemies, whom the reader is already acquainted with, he had violated all the laws, and accused me as a *dogmatizing heretic*. Had he sent me immediately to Goa, I should have come out of prison three months after, in the Act of Faith which then took place, but it was not the intention of my enemies that I should so soon regain my liberty. Instead of this, he repaired thither himself, to be freed from my importunities and expostulations, and did not return till after the conclusion of the *Auto da Fé*, during which time he probably held me up to the Inquisitors as a dangerous man, and a fit object for Inquisitorial punishment. At least, I had reason to suspect that such had been his conduct, from the extreme severity of my sentence, which appeared so unjust, even in Portugal, as I shall hereafter explain.

After the return of the commissary, I wrote to, and earnestly intreated, him, by the intervention of a number of persons, to grant me an interview ; but neither my letters nor the solicitations of my friends could prevail upon him to comply, so much did he

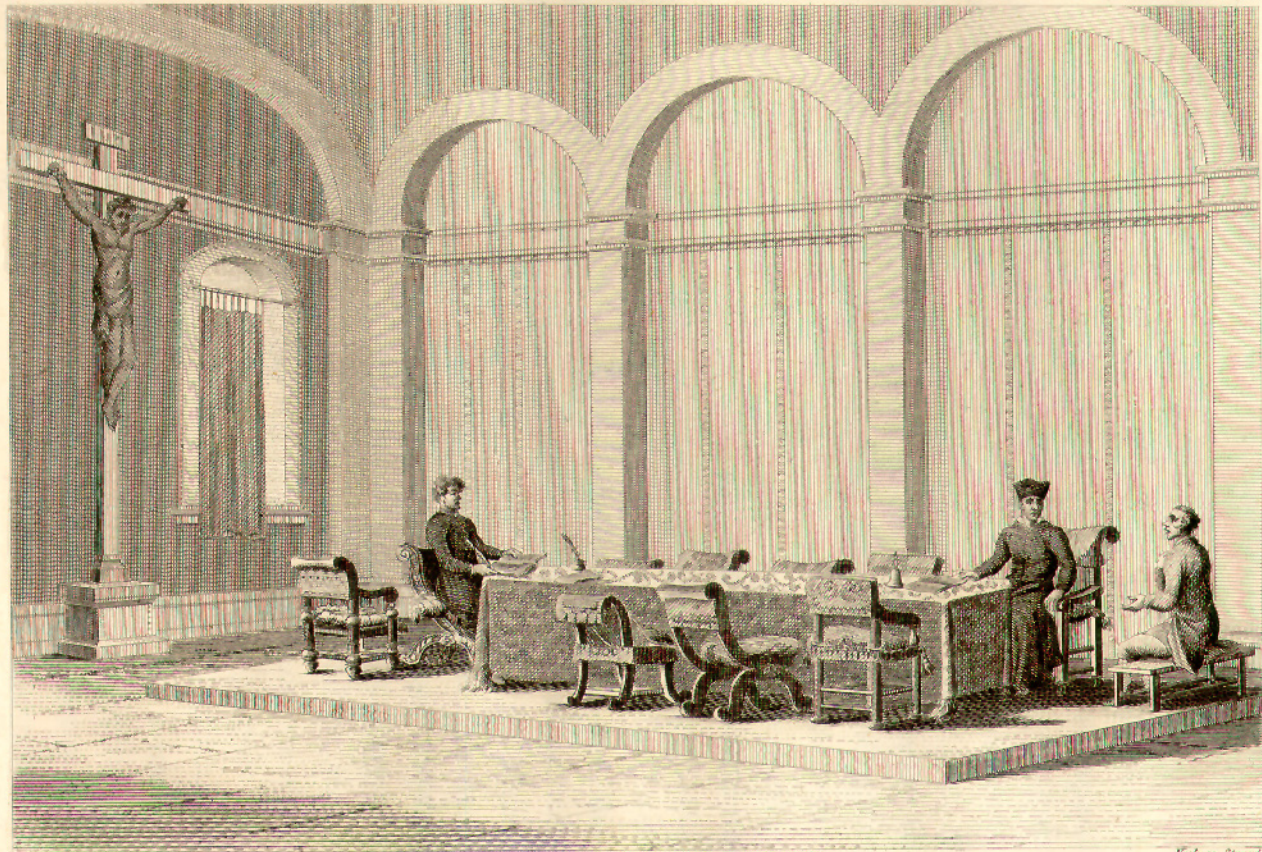
dread the severity of those just reproaches which his treachery had merited from me.

At length the day of our departure for Goa arrived; and, setting sail upon the 1st of January, in the year 1674, after a variety of incidents not worth recording, we reached Goa on the 14th day. The captain, under whose protection we had been placed, immediately apprized the Inquisitor of our arrival, and, according to the orders which he received, we disembarked on the following morning, and were conducted immediately to the Inquisition; but, as that did not happen to be a day of audience, we were led to another prison, called *Alijouvar*, the most filthy and dreadful which I had ever beheld. From this execrable place we were freed in two days, by an order, to repair to the *la Santa Casa*, which we instantly prepared to obey.

It was not without much difficulty that I reached this place, in consequence of the heavy and galling irons with which I had been loaded; I was nevertheless forced to walk the whole way from the *Alijouvar* to the Inquisition. Being arrived here, they assisted me to ascend the steps, and I entered, with my unhappy companions, the great hall, where was in waiting a smith, who took off our irons; which operation being performed, I was called first to audience.

After passing the hall, I entered an antichamber, whence I proceeded to the chamber in which my judge was seated. The Portuguese call this place *Mesa do Santo Officio*, that is, the board, or tribunal, of the Holy Office. It was hung with taffety, some blue and some orange colour; at one end is a large crucifix, which reaches almost from the floor to the ceiling: in the middle is a large alcove, where is a table fifteen feet long and four wide; round the table were two large elbow chairs and several smaller ones, at one end was the secretary, by the side of the great crucifix. I was placed at the other end opposite to the secretary:

TABLE of the INQUISITION.



Pub. Mar 1810 by J. Stockdale at Pall Mall.

Wool 20 Strand.

near me, upon my right hand, in one of the great chairs, was the grand Inquisitor of the Indies, named Francisco Delgado e Matos, a secular priest, about the age of forty. He was alone; because, of the two Inquisitors who generally reside at Goa, the the second, who is always a Franciscan monk, had lately returned to Portugal, and the king had not yet nominated any body to supply his place.

As soon as I entered the audience-chamber, I fell upon my knees at the feet of my judge, hoping to excite his compassion by this humble posture; but he would not permit me to remain in that position, and ordered me to rise. Then, having demanded my name and profession, and asked whether I knew for what crime I had been arrested, he exhorted me to declare every thing as soon as possible, since that was the only means of speedily regaining my liberty. After satisfying his two first demands, I told him that I believed I knew the cause of my detention, and that, if he would have the goodness to listen to me, I would immediately accuse myself. I mingled tears with my intreaties, and threw myself, a second time, at his feet; but my judge, without any emotion, told me that there was time enough, but that he had business to transact much more important than mine, that he would apprise me when he should be at leisure, and, immediately, taking up a small silver bell, he made use of it to summon the *alcaide*, that is the prison-keeper, or jailor, of the Inquisition. This officer then entered and conducted me to a long gallery, which was not far distant, whither we were followed by the secretary. Thither was brought my trunk, which they opened and examined in my presence; they then searched my person with the greatest care, and took from me every thing that I had about me, even the buttons from my sleeves, and a ring which I had on my finger, so that nothing remained but my handkerchief and a few pieces of gold, which I had sewed up in a purse and placed between my foot and my stocking, where they happened not to

think of searching; of all the rest they made, upon the spot, an exact inventory, which was perfectly useless to me, since not one single article, and there were many of considerable value, has ever been restored to me, although, at that time, they assured me that, upon my enlargement, every thing would be returned with the most scrupulous fidelity.

This ceremony being ended, the alcaide took me by the hand and conducted me to a dungeon, about ten feet square, in which I was confined alone: I saw nobody till the evening, when my supper was brought. The next day, when the guards brought me my breakfast, I asked for my books and combs; but I was informed that the former were never allowed to any body, not even a breviary to the priests, and that I should have no use for the second; to prove which, they cut of all my hair immediately. This is practised towards all prisoners, of whatever sex or condition, the very first day they enter their prison or the day following at farthest.

They had informed me, that, if I was in want of any thing, I needed but to knock gently at the door and call the guards, or ask them at my meal-times; and that, when I wished to demand an audience, I should address myself to the alcaide, who, like the guards, never speaks to the prisoners without somebody being present. They had likewise given me hopes that my liberty would speedily follow my confession; for this reason I never ceased to importune the officers to be conducted to the presence of my judges; but all my tears and entreaties could not obtain this favour until the last day of January, 1674. The alcaide, accompanied by a guard, came to conduct me for this purpose; at two o'clock in the afternoon, I dressed myself as he directed me, and came forth from my prison, with my legs and feet uncovered. I was preceded by the alcaide, and the guard followed me. We proceeded, in this order, to the door of the audience-chamber; then, the alcaide having advanced a few paces and

made profound obeisance, came out again in order to permit me to enter alone. I found, as upon the former occasion, the Inquisitor and the secretary only. Before they began my examination, they obliged me to take into my hand a missal, which laid upon the table, and swear to disclose the truth, and to preserve secrecy, which two oaths are required of every one who approaches this tribunal, either to give information or to receive a command. They then asked me whether I knew the cause of my detention, and if I were determined to declare it; I replied by reciting exactly every thing which I have before mentioned, concerning baptism and images, without, however, mentioning any thing of what I had said concerning the Inquisition, because I did not recollect it at the time. My judge demanded whether I had any thing more to say; and, having received my reply in the negative, far from setting me at liberty, as I had expected, put an end to the audience, by declaring, nearly in these words, that I had acted very wisely in accusing myself voluntarily, and that he exhorted me, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, to make, as soon as possible, the remainder of my confessions, that I might experience the mercy of indulgence, which this tribunal always displays towards those who manifest a sincere repentance for their crimes, by an unforced avowal of them.

My declaration and his exhortation being finished and taken down in writing, they were read to me and signed by my hand; then the Inquisitor rang his bell to summon the alcaide, who instantly appeared, and conducted me back to my prison in the same order in which I had come.

I was a second time brought before my judge, without having demanded it, on the 15th of February, which made me suspect that they had some intention of setting me free. As soon as I arrived they interrogated me as before, to know whether I had any thing more to say, and exhorted me to lay aside disguise, and freely to confess all my faults. I replied, that, after the most



careful recollection, I was unable to bring to my remembrance any thing in addition to what I had previously related. They demanded my name, the names of my parents, my brothers, my grandfathers, and grandmothers, paternal and maternal, and of all my relations both on the father's and the mother's side, whether I was *Christain de oito dias*, that is an eight-day Christian, because in Portugal they do not baptise their children until eight days after birth. My judge appeared surprised when I informed him that this custom was unknown in France, but that there the infants were baptised as soon as possible. He then required the name of the priest who had baptised me, in what diocese it was, in what city, whether I had been confirmed, and by what bishop. Having satisfied all these demands, he ordered me to place myself upon my knees, to make the sign of the cross, to recite the *Paternoster*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, the commandments of God and the church, and the *Salve Regina*. After this he concluded in the same manner as before, exhorting me, by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, to confess all the faults with which I could charge myself; all which being written down, read in my presence, and signed, as before, I was desired to withdraw.

From the moment that I entered this prison, I had been overwhelmed with the deepest affliction, and wept continually; but, at my return from this second audience, I abandoned myself entirely to despair, seeing that they required of me things which appeared to be impossible, because my memory did not present me with any thing more to confess. I therefore endeavoured to put a period to my life by abstaining from food. I was obliged indeed to receive the food which was brought to me, because I could not refuse it without exposing myself to a cruel chastisement from the hand of the guard, who takes the greatest care to observe, when the prisoners return their dishes, whether they have eaten a sufficient quantity for their sustenance; but my



eager wish for death furnished me with the means of eluding their vigilance on this particular. I passed whole days without tasting a morsel; and, in order that they might not perceive it, I threw into my bason a part of what they gave me to eat. This severe fasting entirely deprived me of sleep, and my sole occupation was to bruise my body with blows, and to pour forth floods of tears.

In this deplorable extremity I began seriously to reflect upon the errors of my past life, and to confess that it was by the just judgment of God that I had fallen into this dreadful calamity. I even brought myself to think that perhaps he had made use of these means to bring me back from my evil ways; and, having fortified my mind a little by such reflections, I humbly prayed for grace and mercy to support me under the weight of so heavy an affliction. At length, after having repeatedly endeavoured to recal to my memory every transaction which had occurred during my abode at Daman, I recollected the expressions which I had made use of against the Inquisition, and its integrity as a tribunal, and immediately demanded an audience, which was not granted to me till the sixteenth of the March following.

I entertained no doubt, as I went into the presence of my judge, that I should, upon that day, bring all my miseries to a termination; and that, after the confession which I was about to make, I should be quickly restored to entire liberty: but, when I thought myself at the very moment of deliverance, I saw myself plunged into the lowest state of despair; for, having declared what I had said with regard to the Inquisition, I was informed that it was not that which they expected from me; and, as I had nothing more to say, I was instantly remanded to prison.

Behold me now arrived at the most afflicting period of my captivity; for, hard and severe as it had hitherto been, I had at least the consolation to reflect that I had suffered at first with some degree of patience, and even latterly endeavoured to make a good

use of my calamities: but I confess that the bad success of my last audience, which I fondly hoped would have so prosperous an issue, was to me an insupportable blow: and, looking upon liberty, therefore, as a blessing to which I was never to attain, I abandoned myself to such an extreme degree of sadness and despair, that I was very near losing my reason. I had not indeed forgotten that it is forbidden to destroy one's self, and I certainly did not wish to plunge myself into eternal perdition, but I no longer desired to live; and the extreme anxiety which I felt to terminate my wretched existence perplexed and confounded my reasoning faculty; so that I struck out a middle course between despair, which rashly perpetrates its own destruction, and that natural death for whose tedious approach I could not bear to wait; and I foolishly hoped that God would forgive me, if I procured my dissolution by slow degrees, and by the ministration of another person.

I now pretended to be sick, and be afflicted with a fever. They accordingly sent, to visit me, a *Pandite*, or Pagan physician, who had no difficulty in finding my pulse out of order; and, believing my disease to be real, he ordered that I should be let blood; the operation was repeated for five days successively; and, as my intention in seeking this remedy was very different from that of my physician, as soon as ever the attendants were withdrawn, and the door was shut, I untied the bandage, and suffered my blood to flow long enough to fill a cup which contained at least eighteen ounces. I repeated this desperate expedient every time that I was bled; and, as I took no nourishment, it is not to be wondered at if I were reduced to the utmost degree of weakness.

The alcaide, who remarked this great alteration in my appearance, was amazed, as well as the *Pandite*, at the miserable condition to which I was reduced; which indeed was so bad as hardly to leave the least hope of a recovery. This occasioned them to make known the circumstance to the Inquisitor, who proposed to me to

make my confession ; and, as I did not imagine that I could possibly escape death, and as I had begun to repent of the rash conduct I had pursued, I consented that they should send me a confessor. They accordingly desired a good frier, of the order of St. Francis, to attend me. To him I gave an entire account of what I had done, and I received the greatest consolation from him, whose excellent advice resolved me, as far as in me lay, to contribute to the restoration of my health. I permitted him to inform the Inquisitor, secretly, of the whole affair ; and from that day forth I was treated with much greater indulgence, and every thing that was of service to recruit my exhausted strength, was sent to me ; and, in order in some degree to console my sorrows, they confined, along with me, a black prisoner, who had confessed himself guilty of magic, and who was my companion for five months.

During this period my mind was more tranquil and my grief less violent ; but, as soon as ever they thought my health and spirits restored, they deprived me of my fellow-prisoner, and the loss of this small consolation immediately plunged me into the same condition from which I had been just raised. Being rendered quite desperate, I sought anew for the means of putting a period to my life. I did not suppose that I should be able to feign sickness a second time ; and, animated by the excess of distraction, I remembered, that, notwithstanding the diligent search which they had made upon my entrance, I had saved a few pieces of gold in the manner which I have mentioned ; I accordingly took one of these pieces, which I broke into two parts, and, having rubbed one of them so long upon an earthen vessel that I made it quite sharp on both sides, I resolved to make use of it as a lancet, to open the arteries of my arm. I then attempted to effect my design, and pierced with it as deep as I was able ; but, in spite of my utmost efforts, I could not succeed ; and, instead of the arteries, I only opened the veins which are over them.

As I was determined no longer to keep within any bounds, I was

not content to lose my blood by little and little as before, but, letting it flow profusely from both my arms, I, in a short time, entirely lost all my strength, and fell down in a swoon, amid the gore with which my dungeon was filled; and, undoubtedly, if God Almighty, by a special act of mercy, had not caused the door to be opened by somebody who came to bring me something at a time when it was unusual to visit me, I should have miserably destroyed both my body and soul.

The guards were thunderstruck at seeing me in this state; and, having instantly called the alcaide, they all entered together and bound up my arms, and, by their unremitting attention, at length restored me from the long and deep fit into which so terrible a loss of blood had thrown me. They apprized the Inquisition of the case: I was ordered to be brought to audience. I was accordingly carried, being totally unable to move without assistance; and, when I arrived I was laid, stretched along the ground, as my extreme weakness made me incapable of standing or sitting.

The Inquisitor loaded me with reproaches, and commanded that I should be carried away and secured with fetters, in such a manner that I should be unable to move my arms. This treatment served only to enrage me the more, and I violently dashed my head against the walls and the pavement; and, had they suffered me to continue long in this state, the bandages would infallibly have loosened from my arms, and I must have died very shortly; but, as they kept a careful watch over me, they perceived, by my actions, that this was not the proper season for severity, and that it was more expedient to pursue a milder course. They therefore took off all my fetters, in order to dissipate my gloom, conveyed me to another prison, and gave me a companion, who was charged to take care of me. This person, however, after the lapse of two months, was likewise removed, as the first had been, while I was still in such a deplorable state of weakness as to be almost unable

to rise from my bed and receive my victuals at the door, which was but two or three paces distant.

I had been now eighteen months in prison, and had really become almost habituated to my sufferings, when my judges, having learned that I was in a condition to be examined, ordered me to be brought to audience for the fourth time. They demanded whether I was, at length, prepared to reveal that which was expected of me. Upon my rejoining that I was unable to recollect any circumstance in addition to that which I had already confessed, the proctor of the Holy Office presented himself with his libel, or indictment, in order to signify the information which had been given against me.

In all my other interrogations, I had accused myself; and, content with listening to my declaration, they had avoided entering into any conversation with me, but sent me away the moment I had finished whatever I had to say against myself; but in this last audience I was accused, and accordingly allowed time to make my defence. They read, in the depositions made against me, the offences with which I was charged; the facts were true; I had confessed them voluntarily, and had therefore nothing to say as to these facts: but I thought it right to convince my judge that they were not so criminal as they imagined. I answered them, with regard to what I had said about baptism, that my intention was by no means to combat the doctrine of the church; but that as the passage, *nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei*, had appeared to me very explicit and important, I demanded the explanation of its meaning. The Grand Inquisitor appeared to be much surprised at this passage, which every body has by heart; and I was not a little astonished to witness his surprize. He asked me whence I quoted it; I replied, from St. John's Gospel, third chapter and fifth verse. He ordered the new testament to be brought, found out the place, and read it over, but gave me no explanation of it.

In regard to the worship of images, I told him that I had advanced nothing which was not sanctioned by the council of Trent; and I cited a passage from the twenty-fifth sitting, *de invocatione sanctorum et sacris imaginibus. Imagines Christi, deiparæ virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, retinendas, iisque debitum honorem, et venerationem imputiendam; ita ut per imagines, coram quibus procumbimus, Christum adoremus; et sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur.* My judge appeared to be still more surprised at this quotation than at the former; and, after having looked for it in the council of Trent, he closed the book without any observation on the passage.

There appears something almost incredible in this degree of ignorance in persons who pretend to judge upon matters of faith; and I confess that I should scarcely believe it myself, although I was a witness to the fact, and retain it perfectly in my memory, if I had not perceived, by the printed accounts of Tavernier, that Father Ephraim de Nevers, though in general extremely reserved in speaking of the Inquisition, from which he endured such barbarous persecution, has nevertheless declared, that nothing had been so insupportable, of all that he was compelled to endure, as the gross and deep ignorance of its ministers.

The proctor, as he read the informations, had said, that, besides what I had confessed, I was accused and sufficiently convicted of having spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition and its officers, and even of having uttered language highly disrespectful of the Sovereign Pontiff and his authority; and concluded by saying, that the obstinacy which I had manifested, in despising so many indulgent delays and charitable warnings as I was favoured with, being a convincing proof that I entertained very pernicious designs, and that my intention was to foment and propagate heresy, I had consequently incurred the greater excommunication; that my property was to be confiscated for the benefit of the king, and my body delivered to be burned.

I leave the reader to conceive the amazement which I felt at this dreadful declaration. I can safely declare, that, however terrible these words were, the death with which I was menaced appeared less horrible than the continuance of my slavery. So that, in spite of my affliction at this iniquitous sentence, I determined to reply with spirit to this new accusation urged against me. As to my intentions, I declared that they never were bad; that I had always been a sincere Catholic; that all those with whom I had lived in the Indies could testify thus in my favour, especially the Fathers Ambrose and Yues, both of these French Capuchins, who had frequently heard me in confession; and I afterwards learned that the latter of these persons was at that time actually at Goa, when I cited him as a witness of my innocence. That I had frequently travelled sixteen leagues to pay my Easter devotions; that, if I had any heretical opinions, it would have been easy for me to have established myself in those parts of India in which liberty of speech is allowed, and that I needed not to have placed my abode in the Portuguese territories; that, so far from entertaining dogmatical notions against religion, I had been very often engaged in disputes to defend it; that I never had spoken disrespectfully of the Pope; and that, if they would state all my accusations in detail, I was ready to confess them as far as they were true, as I had done before.

The Inquisitor coolly answered, that, as to what I had said of the Pope, he would give me time to recollect myself; but that he was surprised at the impudence of my assertion, that I had confessed what I had said regarding the Inquisition, which, if I had really done, I might long since have been set free from prison. I was so enraged at this false and insulting declaration, that I was totally unable to contain my indignation; and, had I not been forced instantly to withdraw, I cannot answer for the lengths to which my anger might have impelled me.

I was afterwards summoned three or four times in the course of

the month, and earnestly pressed to confess what I was charged with respecting the Pope. They mentioned a new proof which the proctor pretended to have discovered against me on this point, which in reality contained no more than I had already heard; but what clearly proves that it was a falsehood invented for the purpose of forcing me to an untrue confession is, that they did not urge me to mention the detail of what they pretended I had said upon this subject. Seeing they could extort nothing of the kind from me, they ceased to speak any farther about it; and, finally, this article was not inserted in the statement of my case, which was afterwards publicly read at the Act of Faith. They endeavoured, in the latter audiences, to force me to confess that my intentions had been to defend heresy, but this I never would allow, it being absolutely unfounded in fact.

During the months of November and December, I heard every morning the shrieks of the unfortunate victims, who were undergoing the Question, which was inflicted in so barbarous a manner, that I saw many people who were rendered lame all their lives in consequence of its application; and, among others, the first companion whom they had confined with me in prison.

No regard is paid, in this holy tribunal, to quality, sex, or age; they treat all their prisoners with equal severity, and apply the torture indifferently to all, having previously stripped them almost naked, when the interest of the Inquisition requires it.

I remember to have heard, before I was cast into prison, that the *Auto da Fé* was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because on that day is read in the churches that part of the gospel in which mention is made of the last judgment; and the Inquisitors pretend, by this ceremony, to exhibit a lively feature of that awful event. I was likewise convinced that there was a great number of prisoners; the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of



meals. I was likewise pretty certain that an archbishop had arrived in Goa, in the month of October, after the see had been vacant thirty years, as I had frequently, during many days, heard the chiming of the bells of the cathedral, at a time when I was aware there was no remarkable festival, and I knew, moreover, that he had been expected before my confinement.

These hopes however vanished when the first and second Sundays in Advent were passed by, and I prepared to undergo another year of melancholy captivity, when I was roused from my despair, upon the eleventh of January, 1676, by the circumstance which I am going to mention. I remarked, that, when they brought me my supper, which I refused, they did not as usual press me to accept it: and, as soon as the door was shut, I abandoned myself entirely to the gloomy reflections which occupied my mind. At length, after many tears and sighs, being entirely overcome with grief and fatigue, I fell asleep about eleven o'clock in the evening. I had not been long in this state when I was startled by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the door of my prison. I was surprised to see persons enter with a light, which I had not been accustomed to behold; and the lateness of the hour added still more to my apprehension. The alcaide presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to make myself ready to attend him when he should call for me next: thus saying, he retired, leaving a lighted lamp in my dungeon.

As soon as ever my agitation would permit me, I dressed myself in the clothes that I had received, which consisted of a jacket, the sleeves of which extended to my wrists, and trowsers which reached down to my feet: they were of black cloth striped with white. I was not suffered to wait long, for my guards returned, about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate ranged in a rank against the wall: I placed myself also among the

rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band, whom profound silence and perfect stillness caused to resemble statues more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were clothed in the same manner, were placed in a neighbouring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves, at some distance, attended by others who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were, but I was afterwards informed that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burnt, and the others were their confessors.

After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we received each a large wax taper; they then brought us a number of dresses, in the form of dalmatics, or large scapulars; they were made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. These distinguished habiliments are given to those who have committed, or who are supposed to have committed, any crimes against the faith of Jesus Christ, whether Jews, Mahomedans, sorcerers, or heretics, who had been formerly Catholics. This great scapular, with the cross of St. Andrew, is called *san benito*. Those who are considered as convicted, and who persist in denying themselves guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, or who are relapsed, wear another species of scapular, called *samarra*, the ground of which is grey. The portrait of the sufferer is there represented both before and behind, placed upon burning torches, with flames which ascend, and devils painted all around; their names and their crimes are written beneath the portraits; but those who confess themselves guilty, after their sentence is pronounced, but before they are brought forth from prison, and who are not relapsed, have painted, on their *samarra*s, flames with the points descending. This is called *fogo revolto*,— or flame reversed.

The *san-benitos* were distributed among about twenty blacks

SAMARRA

SAN BENITO

FURGO REVOLTO



*Pub 5 March 1850 by J.J. Stockdale 49 Pall Mall.*

*Neale sc. Strand.*



SAMARRA

SAN BENITO

FUEGO REVOLTO



*Pub. 1. March 1810 by J.J. Stockdale at Pall Mall.*

*Neel or Strand*

who were accused of magic, and to a Portuguese charged with the same crime, who was also a new Christian ; and, as they were determined to take a complete vengeance upon me, and to load me with every possible insult, they obliged me to put on a habit similar to that of the sorcerers and heretics, though the sincerity of my faith was indubitable. My apprehensions redoubled when I beheld myself clothed in this manner ; because, as I observed that there were but twenty-two persons out of so great a number who had received the same dress, I concluded that we must be the unfortunate victims who were not to hope for mercy.

After this distribution, I saw produced five caps of pasteboard, pointed like sugar-loaves, all covered with painted devils and flames of fire, with the word *feticero*, which means a sorcerer, written around them ; these caps are called *carrochas* ; they were placed upon the heads of as many persons, the most guilty of those who were accused of magic ; and, as they all stood near me, I expected every moment to be designated in the same manner ; in this, however, I was mistaken.

At four o'clock in the morning, some of the servants of the house came, accompanied by the guards, to distribute bread and figs to those who thought proper to accept them ; although I had taken nothing the evening before, I was so little inclined to eat that I at first refused them ; but one of the guards approached me, and said, " take your food, and, if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket ; for you will be hungry enough before you return." These words gave me great consolation, and entirely dissipated my fears, by the hopes which they afforded me of returning ; so that I resolved to follow his advice.

The great bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before the sun rose, which served as a signal to warn the people to come and behold the august ceremony of the Auto da Fé, which is the grand triumph of the Holy Office ; and then they made us proceed from the gallery, one by one. I remarked, as we passed into the

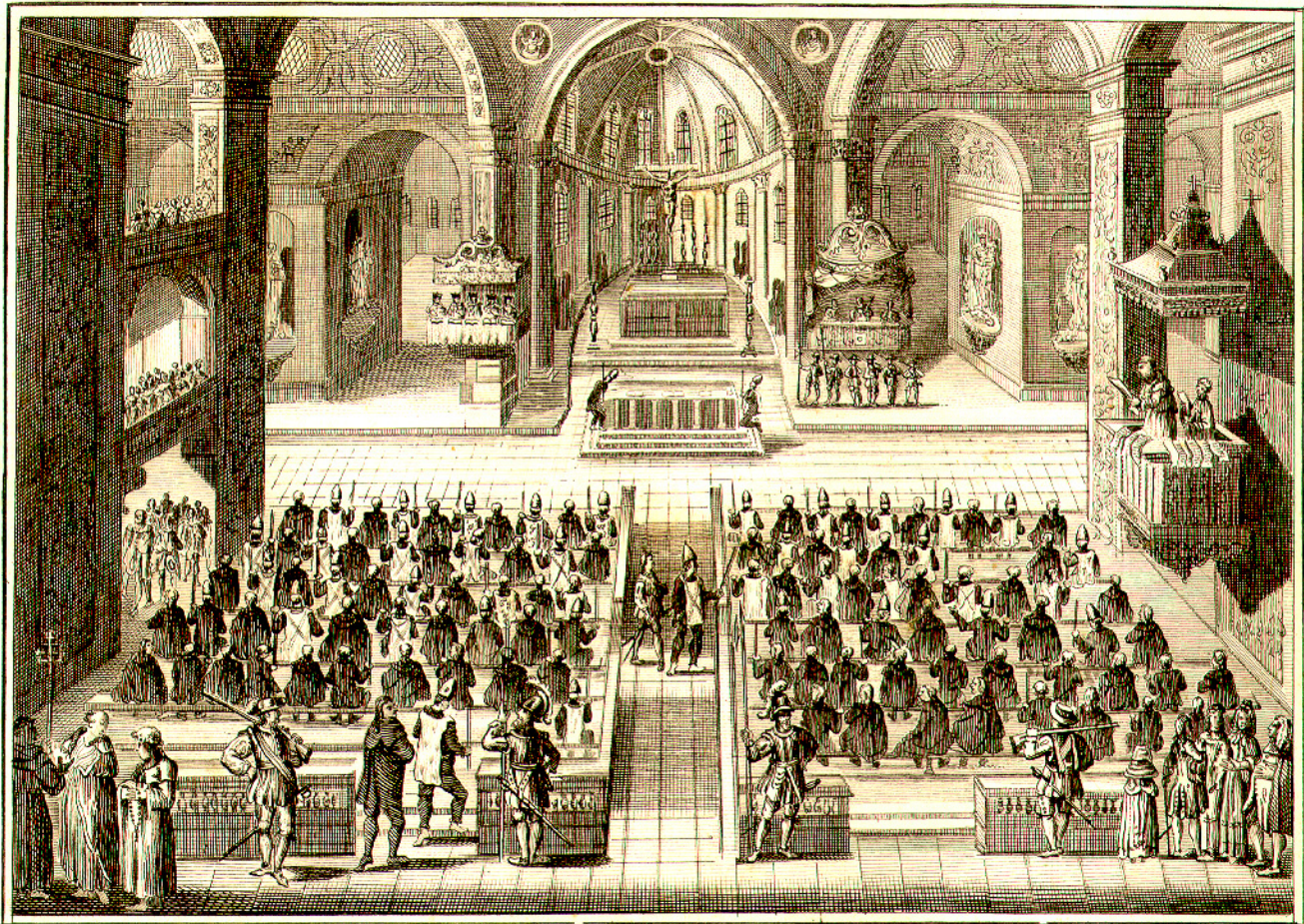
great hall, that the Inquisitor was sitting at the door, with his secretary standing near him; that the hall was filled by the inhabitants of Goa, whose names were written down in a list which the secretary held in his hand; and that, as each prisoner advanced, he named one of these gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately came forward and accompanied the prisoner to serve as his god-father (as he is called) at the Act of Faith. These god-fathers are charged with the care of the persons whom they accompany; they are answerable for them, and are obliged to present them again when the ceremony is over; and the Inquisitors pretend to confer the highest honour upon those whom they make choice of for this function.

My god-father was the commander of the Portuguese fleets in the Indies; I went forth with him; and, as soon as I was in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege because St. Dominic, who founded their order, was also the founder of the Inquisition. They were preceded by the banner of the Holy Office, in which the image of the founder is represented in the richest embroidery, holding in one hand a sword and in the other an olive branch, with this inscription,—“*Justitia et Misericordia.*” These monks are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, each having his god-father by his side, and a wax taper lighted in his hand.

The least guilty go foremost; and, as I did not pass for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me. The women were mixed promiscuously with the men, the order not being regulated by the difference of sex, but only by the greater or less enormity of crimes. I had, like all the others, my head and my feet bare; and I was dreadfully incommoded, during our march, by the small sharp stones with which the streets of Goa are covered, and which caused the blood to stream from my wounded feet. They obliged us to take our course through the most considerable streets; and we were everywhere regarded by an innumerable crowd



CELEBRATION of an ACT of FAITH at GOA.



Needle-w. Bristol

Pub. 1 March 1810 by W. Stockdale At Pall Mall.

of people, who had assembled, from all parts of the Indies, to behold this spectacle; for they take care to announce it, long before it takes place, in the most remote parishes.

At length, covered with shame and confusion, and dreadfully fatigued, we arrived at the church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the Act of Faith. The great altar was covered with black, and there were placed upon it six large silver candlesticks, with a lighted wax candle in each; two thrones were erected at the sides of the altar; that on the right for the grand Inquisitor and his counsellors, the other on the left for the Viceroy and his court. At some distance, before the great altar, was erected another, upon which were six missals open; thence, to the door of the church, they had prepared a gallery about three feet wide, with ballustres at both sides; and benches were placed its entire length, for the prisoners and their godfathers to sit upon, who took their places as they entered, so that those who came first were seated nearest to the altar. As soon as I had taken my place, I began to remark the order observed by those who followed me; I perceived that those, to whom were given the terrible carrochas that I mentioned, marched last in the procession, and that immediately behind them was borne a great crucifix, the front of which was turned towards the persons who went before; it was followed by two persons, and by four images of men as large as life, each on the top of a long pole, and also by as many cases, each borne by a man, and containing the bones of those whom the images represented. The face of the crucifix being turned towards those who go before, expresses the mercy which has been extended towards them, in delivering them from the death which they have justly deserved; and the same crucifix turning its back upon those who follow is to imply that these miserable victims have no further grace to hope for: such are the mysteries of the Holy Office.

The manner in which these unhappy persons were clothed was



not less calculated to inspire horror than pity: both the living prisoners and the statues wore samarras of grey cloth, on which were painted devils in great abundance, as well as blazing torches, upon which the head of the sufferer was represented to the life, both before and behind, with his sentence written beneath, expressing, in large characters, his name, that of his country, and of the crime for which he was condemned. Besides this horrible dress, they likewise bore carrochas, covered in the same manner with devils and with flames. The small chests, in which were contained the bones of those who had died, and whose trials had taken place, either before or after their decease, in order to give occasion for the confiscation of their property, were likewise painted black, and covered with devils and flames.

I should here remark, that the Inquisition does not confine its jurisdiction to the living, or to those who die in its prisons, but frequently commences process against persons who have been dead for many years, when after their decease they are charged with any considerable crime; in this case their bodies are taken from their graves, and, if they be convicted, their bones are burned at the Act of Faith, and their goods confiscated; of which they inhumanly plunder those who have inherited them. I advance nothing that I have not myself seen practised; for, among the statues which were borne at this ceremony, there was one which represented a person who had been long dead, against whom they had ordered a prosecution, whose goods they in consequence confiscated, and whose bones they burned, or perhaps those of somebody else who was laid in the same place.

These unfortunate persons entered in the order which I have described, and assumed the place destined for them, near the door of the church. The Inquisitor approached, followed by all his attendants, and placed himself upon the throne which was on the west side of the altar, while the Viceroy and his court seated themselves on the left. The crucifix was placed upon the

altar, between the six candlesticks, and each officer being at his proper post, and the church being filled with as many people as it could contain, the provincial of the Augustin monks ascended the pulpit and preached for a quarter of an hour; and, in spite of of the anguish of spirits and the distress in which I was, I could not avoid remarking the comparison, which he instituted, of the ark of Noah and the Inquisition; between which, notwithstanding the resemblance, he found this difference, that the animal which entered the ark, before the deluge, came out of it of the same nature as before; whereas the Inquisition had this admirable property, that it totally altered the nature of those who were inclosed within its precincts, changing their tempers into the mildness of lambs from the fierceness of lions. Thus were we doubly punished as well by the iniquity of the judge as by the absurdity of the preacher.

This sermon being concluded, two readers, one after the other, ascended the pulpit, in order, publicly, to read the sentences of of all the guilty persons, and to announce the punishments to which they were condemned. Each person, as his sentence was pronounced, was conducted by the alcaide into the middle of the gallery, where he remained, standing with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, while his doom was reading: and, as it is supposed that all the criminals have incurred the penalties of the greater excommunication, as soon as the ceremony was over, they were each led to the front of the altar on which were placed the missals, upon one of which having placed his hand, he was commanded to kneel down, and to continue in this posture until there were as many persons as there were books. Then the reader ceased to pronounce the sentences, that he might read, with a loud voice, a Confession of Faith, after having briefly exhorted the criminals to repeat it with him, with their hearts as well as their lips; this being done every one returned to his place, and the reading of sentences proceeded as before.

I was called up in my turn, and I heard that all my guilt turned upon three points: first for having maintained the invalidity of the baptism *Flaminis*; secondly, for having asserted that we ought not to adore images, and for having blasphemed that of the crucifix, saying, of an ivory crucifix, that it was a piece of ivory; and, thirdly, for having spoken contemptuously of the Holy Office and its ministers; but, above all, for the evil intentions which I had entertained in saying these things: by reason of all which crimes, I was pronounced excommunicated: and, to atone for these faults, my goods were to be confiscated for the benefit of the king, I was to be banished from the Indies, and condemned to the galleys for five years, and to undergo, besides, whatever other special penance should be enjoined me by the Inquisition.

My Confession of Faith being then made, I returned to my place, and then found reason to rejoice that I had not refused my bread; for, as the ceremony continued the whole day, in my exhausted condition, I must have sunk under the want of food. As soon as the sentences of all those were read to whom mercy was extended by sparing their lives, the Inquisitor left his seat, to put on his albe and stole; and, being accompanied by about twenty priests, each with a cane in his hand, he advanced into the middle of the church, where, after having repeated several prayers, he absolved us all from the excommunication, which we were pretended to have incurred, upon our receiving a blow of his cane from each of the priests who attended.

I cannot here refrain from relating a circumstance which will serve to shew the excess of Portuguese superstition, in every thing that belongs to the Inquisition: it is, that, during our march to the church and our long continuance in it, the person who acted as my godfather would never answer me a single word, though I put many questions to him, and even refused to give me a little snuff which I once requested, so much was he afraid of

being involved in the censure under which I laboured; but, the moment my absolution was pronounced, he embraced me with the greatest kindness, and told me that he would, from that time, look upon me as his brother, since the church had pronounced me forgiven. The ceremony being finished, and the Inquisitor having resumed his place, they summoned forth, one after another, those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the Holy Inquisition. One man and one woman were followed by the images of four persons, whose bones were contained in the chest which I mentioned. The man and the woman were Christian Indians, who were accused of magic and condemned as relapsed, but in fact, as little guilty of sorcery as those who condemned them. Of the four images, two represented men who were also held to be convicted of magic, and the two others two new Christians, accused of Judaism; one of them had died in the prison of the Holy Office, the other breathed his last at his own house, and was long buried; when, at length, being accused of Judaism, as he had been possessed of considerable property, his bones were torn from the grave to be burned at this Auto da Fé.

The sentences of these unhappy persons were read, and concluded with these words; that the Holy Office, not being able to extend to them any mercy, in consequence of their impenitence, and finding itself indispensibly obliged to punish them with the utmost rigour of the law, had delivered them up to be burned.

Upon these last words, a beadle of the secular tribunal came forward and seized these unhappy people, after they had previously received a slight blow upon the breast, from the alcaide, to intimate that they were abandoned.

Thus terminated the Act of Faith; and, while these unfortunates were led away to the bank of the river, where the Viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the fagots had been prepared the preceding day, we returned to the Inquisition with our godfathers.

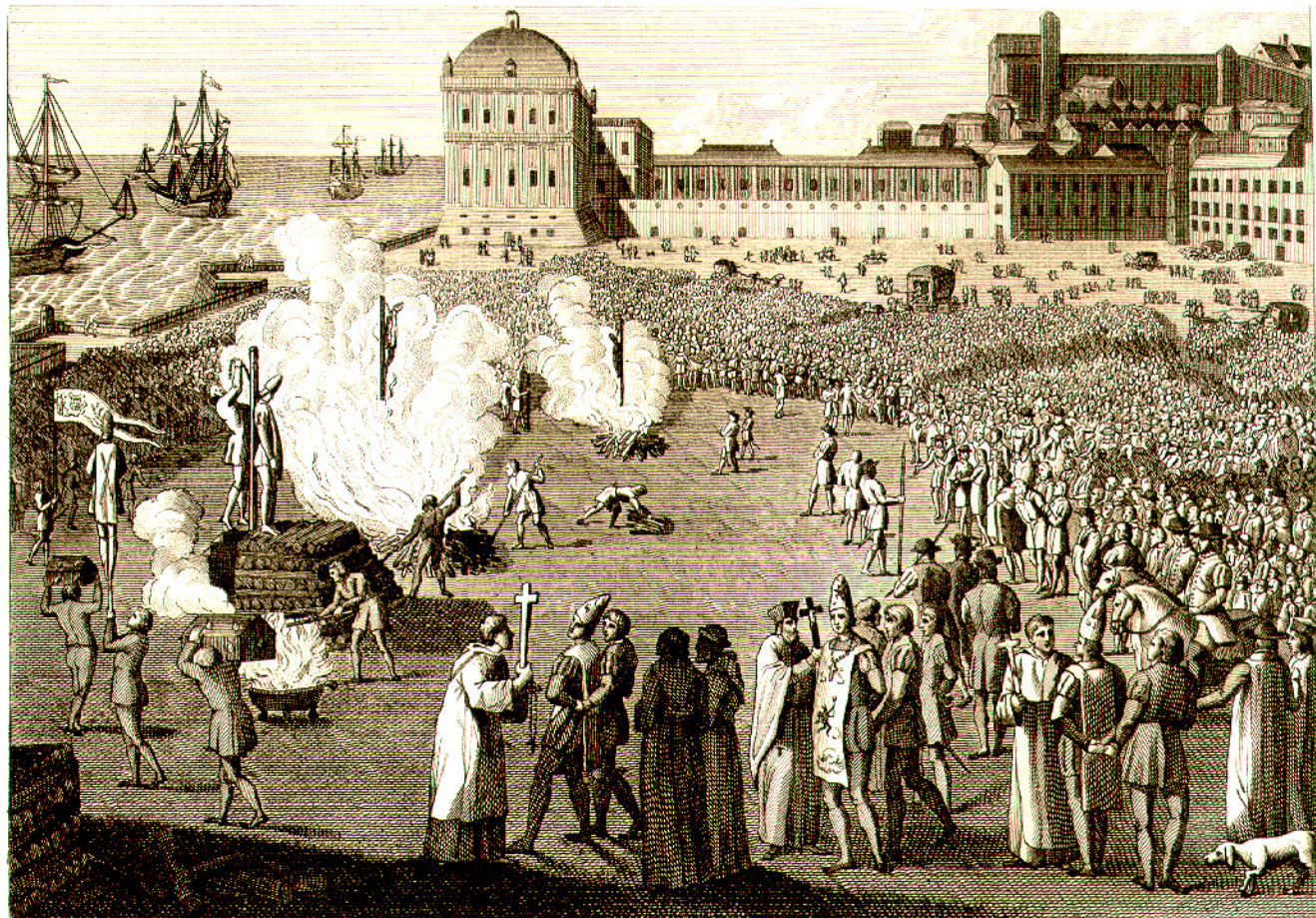
Although I was not present at the execution of these persons, thus abandoned by the Holy Office, yet, as I was accurately informed by several eye-witnesses of such ceremonies, I shall state, in a few words, the formalities with which they are conducted.

As soon as the condemned arrive at the place where the secular judges are assembled, they ask them in what religion they wish to die, without saying a word about their trial, which is supposed to be perfectly regular and equitable, as nobody dares doubt the infallibility of the Holy Office; and, the moment they have replied to this single question, the executioner seizes them, and binds them to a stake in the middle of the fagots, where they are first strangled, if they die Christians, and burned alive if they persist in Judaism or heresy; which happens so extremely seldom that you would scarcely see an instance of it in four or five Acts of Faith, though very few take place in which there are not several persons burned. The day after the execution, the portraits of the sufferers are carried to the church of the Dominicans. Their heads only are represented, placed upon blazing torches; beneath are written the names, the names of their fathers and of their country, the species of the crimes for which they died, with the year, month, and day, of their execution.

If the person burned have fallen twice into the same crime, this inscription is placed beneath the portrait: *Morreo quemado por hereje relapso*; which signifies that he was burned as a relapsed heretic. If, being accused but once, he perseveres in his error, they write: *por hereje contumax*, a contumacious heretic; but this case is extremely uncommon. Finally, if, being accused only once, by a sufficient number of witnesses, he persists in declaring himself innocent, and profess Christianity to the moment of his death, they write beneath his picture: *Morreo quemado por hereje convitto negativo*; that is, that he was burned as a convicted heretic, who refused to confess; and you see a great number of



AN ACT OF FAITH.



Pub. 20<sup>th</sup> March 1870 by J. J. Stockdale 41 Pall Mall.

Nett. sc. Strand.

portraits of this kind. But you may be convinced, that, out of a hundred negatives, (as they are called,) there are ninety-nine who are not only innocent of the crime which they deny, but who have, besides this innocence, the merit of choosing rather to die than to confess themselves guilty of a crime of which their conscience is clear: for it is impossible to conceive that a man who is certain of saving his life by confession should persist in a denial, and rather prefer being burned to declaring the truth, by which he may be preserved. Many hundred of these horrible pictures adorn the great church of the Dominicans, at Lisbon, where they stand as so many consecrated trophies, to the glory of the Holy Office.

The next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, they brought me my breakfast, and shortly after ordered me to pack up my clothes, and to hold myself in readiness to depart the moment that I should be called upon. I obeyed this command with all possible diligence; and about nine o'clock a guard came to summon me, as he had done the others, to the great hall, whither I followed him, still wearing the san-benito, which I was apprized that I should be obliged to put on every Sunday and every holiday, until the entire completion of my sentence. After having remained here some short time, I saw ester about twenty of my companions, who had been condemned to be flogged on the preceding day, which sentence was inflicted upon them through every street in the city. When we were all assembled, appeared the Inquisitor, before whom we all knelt down, and received his benediction, after we had kissed the ground beneath his feet; they then commanded the blacks, who had no bundles, to carry those of the white people. Such of the prisoners as were not Christians were immediately sent away to the places which their sentences imported, some to exile, some to the galleys, and some to the gun-powder manufactory, which is called *Casa da Polveira*: those who professed Chris-

tianity, both back and white, were conducted to a house, hired for this purpose, in the city.

In this house we remained until the 23rd of January, when we were conducted again to the hall of the Inquisitor, and thence summoned, each in his turn, to the board of the Holy Office; to receive, from the hands of the Inquisitor, a paper, containing the penance to which he was pleased to condemn us. I went there in my turn, and was delivered that which contained the rules by which I was to guide my conduct during the completion of my sentence, of which the following is a translation.

1. For the three next years he shall attend confession and the sacrament; during the first, every month, and during the two latter at the festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and the assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

2. He shall attend mass and sermon upon Sundays and festivals, if he has it in his power.

3. During the three said years, he shall every day repeat five times the *Pater Noster*, and the *Ave-Maria*, in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4. He shall form no friendship nor particular connexion with heretics, nor persons whose faith is suspected, and who may endanger his salvation.

5. He shall keep a strict secrecy upon every thing which he has seen, said, or heard, and upon every discourse which has been held with him, both at the board and in the other places of the Holy Office.

Francis Delgado e Matos.

After I had received this writing, I kissed the ground and returned into the hall, where I remained until all the rest of the prisoners had gone through the same ceremony. We were afterwards led back to our confinement till the 27th of January, when, at length,



we set sail from this ill-fated land, and arrived in Lisbon the 15th of December, in the same year.

As soon as we had cast anchor in the river of Lisbon, the master, under whose guard I was, went to apprise the Inquisition of my arrival. I was conducted thither on the following day; and thence, by order of the Inquisitors, who did not deign to see me, I was led to the prison, which is called the Galley. It bears this name, because, as there are no galleys in Portugal, to this place are sent those whom the Inquisition, or the lay judges, have condemned to that punishment. They fastened to my leg a heavy chain, the other end of which bound that of a man, who had been condemned by the Inquisition, and had saved his life by making a confession the evening before he was to have been burned. In this prison all the criminals are fastened together, two and two, by the legs only; their chain is about eight feet in length: each prisoner has at his waist an iron ring to support it, so that a length of about three feet still remains between them. These galley-slaves, as they are called, are sent every day to work in the dock-yards, where the king's ships are built. They are employed in carrying wood for the carpenters, they unload vessels, fetch stones and sand for ballast, and water and provisions to equip for sea. They are likewise employed in preparing hemp, and in every other service, however laborious or degrading, that the service of the king requires, as the pleasure of their masters imposes.

Among these convicts are some condemned by the Inquisition, and others who have received their sentence from the lay judges. There are also of the number some fugitive or incorrigible slaves, who are sent hither by their masters to be chastised, or to be brought to a sense of their duty. There are, likewise, many Turks who have been taken prisoners in the Barbary corsairs, and condemned to slavery. All these persons, of whatever quality or condition they may have been, are indifferently employed in

these degrading services, and if they do not possess money sufficient to gratify, with occasional presents, the officers, who otherwise exercise over them the most unexampled cruelty.

This terrestrial galley is built upon the bank of the river: it consists of two great halls, one over the other. They are both generally quite full, and the prisoners sleep in them upon mats, which are the only beds they are allowed. The heads and beards of the criminals are shaved once a month; they wear tight coats and caps of blue cloth: they are likewise allowed great coats of coarse grey serge, which serve them as a covering by day and by night; and these, with two coarse shirts, are all the clothes which they receive from the king during a period of six months.

Each of the prisoners is allowed a pound and a half of biscuit, very black and very hard, for his daily sustenance, six pounds of salt meat per month, with a bushel of peas or of beans, of which they may make what use they think proper. Those who receive assistance from any other source generally sell their provisions and buy something better, according to their means; they are not allowed any wine, and whatever they choose to drink they must provide at their own expense every day, a very few festivals excepted. At an early hour in the morning, they are conducted to the dock-yards, which are about half a league distant from the Galley: they are then obliged to work without remission at whatever labour is assigned them until eleven o'clock; after that they are allowed to rest for two hours. At one their labours are resumed and continued until night, when they are re-conducted to the Galley.

In this house is a chapel, in which mass is celebrated on Sundays and festivals, and to which several ecclesiastics frequently come to catechise and to exhort the prisoners. Besides the provisions which the prince allows to these unfortunate people, they frequently receive alms, so that none of them is in absolute danger of perishing for want. When any happen to fall sick, the physicians and

surgeons visit them with assiduity; and if their disease become dangerous they are administered the sacrament, nor are they denied any spiritual consolation. When any of them is guilty of a serious fault, he is scourged in a dreadful manner; he is laid down with his face towards the ground, and, while two men hold him fast in this position, a third scourges him violently with a great tarred rope, which generally tears away large pieces of flesh from his back. So dreadful is the severity of this punishment, that I have frequently seen persons, in consequence of it, with their backs entirely mortified, so that their cure was most tedious and difficult, if not entirely hopeless.

When the prisoners have business which requires personal presence, they are allowed time to attend it, and permitted to walk through the city, even without his companion, always paying a guard, who is obliged to attend him every where. In this case he carries his chain alone, and, as it is very long, he generally passes it over his shoulders, suffering it to hang down before or behind, as he finds least incommodious.

The day after my arrival in the Galley I was shaved, clothed, and employed in labour, like the rest of the prisoners; and, hard as this mode of life was, the liberty which I enjoyed of seeing and speaking to persons of my own species rendered it less dreadful than the hideous solitude of the Holy Office. By the terms of the sentence, pronounced against me at Goa, I was doomed to pass five years in this laborious servitude, and there were no great hopes that they would be particularly mild to a man who had the temerity to speak disrespectfully of the Inquisition and its pretended infallibility. However, the strong natural desire that the miserable always feel to terminate their sufferings occasioned me to think upon means for recovering my liberty sooner than I could reasonably have expected.

I inquired, as soon as possible, whether there were at Lisbon any persons of the French nation, who could assist me in the

design which I meditated, and had the satisfaction to learn that M. Fabre, first physician to the Queen of Portugal, was not only in high favour with that princess, but also much esteemed and respected by all persons of rank and dignity about the court. To him I therefore applied, beseeching him to take me under his protection, which he promised to do in the most generous manner possible, not only assuring me that I might command his best services for the recovery of my liberty, but offering me, in the mean time, the free use of his purse and table. He had the goodness to admit me frequently to the latter, loaded as I was with chains, without taking any offence at the wretchedness of my appearance, or at the presence of the guard who always followed me. He also visited me in my prison, when his time permitted him, to console my sorrows and to converse on the subject of my deliverance. I then wrote to France to my relations, to inform them of the deplorable condition to which I was reduced, in order that they, either by themselves or their friends, might solicit all those whom they supposed to have any interest with the Queen of Portugal, whom I hoped to influence in my favour.

By M. Fabre's advice I presented a long memorial to the Inquisitors, in which I set forth all the causes of my detention, and I supplicated them to moderate the excessive rigour with which I had been treated in the Indies. This memorial was carried to the tribunal of the Holy Office by a French Capuchin, who was one of the qualificators, who frequently visited me, and gave me the greatest consolation. They paid no attention to this request, nor to three others which I addressed to them in less than a month, by the hands of this same friar.

The reason for this silence was that the post of Grand Inquisitor had become vacant, and Don Vecessimo d'Alencastra, archbishop of Braga, who had been nominated to the office, had not yet regularly entered upon its functions. As soon as ever he began to discharge the duties of his place, I presented another

memorial, which was read in his presence, at the sovereign council; but the only effect which it produced was to cause Don Vecessimo to say that he could not possibly believe the statements which I there made to be true, as it was totally incredible that a man should have been condemned five years to the galleys, for the trifling crimes which were mentioned in the memorial. Upon hearing this, I addressed another memorial, beseeching him to read the account of my trial, which, after being most violently opposed by the council, who declared that all the tribunals of the Inquisition were supreme, and that a revision of their judgment was totally inadmissible, he at length consented to do. To this I ought however to confess he was principally urged by the warm solicitations which were made in my behalf by many persons of the first respectability, to whom I was indebted for this important favour. To be brief, my process was revised, my sentence reversed, and, upon the last day of June, 1677, I again tasted the sweets of liberty, after having languished very nearly four years under the dreadful power and tyranny of the Inquisition.

From the above narrative, which, though long, is given almost in the words of M. Dellon himself, the reader may form a judgment of the spirit of this dreadful tribunal, and of the opportunity which it always afforded of gratifying private revenge, and of plundering the defenceless and innocent. Religion here was merely the pretence, while to gratify the jealous hatred of a profligate governor was the true cause of the miseries inflicted upon this unfortunate young man. The gross ignorance of the judge is not the least disgusting feature of the narrative; but this was only natural; for, when the abandoned policy of the government permitted him to crush whoever dared to think differently from himself, it is not to be wondered at if he preferred the speedy mode of exterminating enemies to the trouble of convincing them. But, if such were the conduct of this tribunal in the remote settlement of the Indies, the following account will prove, that in Europe

it was not less profligate, and that here as well as at a greater distance from the centre of government it was equally made the tool of injustice and oppression.

William Lithgow, a native of Scotland, was urged by the strongest inclination to travel. After having visited several parts of Europe he came at length to Malaga, where he agreed with the master of a French ship to carry him to Alexandria. Before this ship set sail, an English fleet, fitted out against the Algerines, came and cast anchor before the town, on the 7th of October, 1620, which threw all the inhabitants into the greatest consternation; these ships being supposed to belong to the Mahomedans. However, next morning they found their mistake; when the governor, seeing the British cross in the flag, went on board the ship of the admiral, Sir Robert Mansel, who received him with the greatest politeness; so that, at his return, he entirely calmed the fears of the inhabitants, and caused them to lay down their arms. On the morrow, several of the crew came on shore; and, being Lithgow's particular friends, spent some days in viewing the curiosities of the city, and then, inviting him on board, they presented him to the admiral, who treated him with the greatest civility. They kept him on board the next day, when the fleet sailed and Lithgow returned to Malaga.

As he was proceeding to his lodgings, through bye streets, in order to carry all his things on board the French ship, which was to sail that night for Alexandria, he was seized by nine officers, who carried him before the governor, to whom he complained of the violence that had been done him. The governor answered only by a nod; and bid certain persons, with the town secretary, to go and examine him. This was to be transacted with all possible secrecy, to prevent the English merchants, who resided in Malaga, from hearing of his arrest.

The council being assembled, he was examined; and, being suspected to be an English spy, they did all that was in their power

to make some discovery to that purpose, but in vain. They afterwards asked the names of the captains of the fleet; whether Lithgow, before his leaving England, did not know of the fitting out of this fleet? why he refused the offer which the admiral had made of taking him on board his ship? In a word, they affirmed that he was a spy, and that he had spent nine months in Malaga, with no other view than to give intelligence, to the English court, of the time when the Spanish fleet was expected from India. They then observed, that his intimacy with the officers, and a great many of his countrymen on board the fleet, who had shewed him the highest civilities, were so many indications of his guilt.

As Lithgow found it impossible to erase these bad impressions, he intreated them to send for a bag, containing his letters and other papers; the perusal of which, he declared, would prove his innocence. The bag being accordingly brought, and the contents of it examined, they were found to consist chiefly of passports, and testimonials from several persons of quality: a circumstance which, instead of lessening their suspicions, served only to heighten them. Presently after, a subaltern officer came into the room, to search him, and took eleven ducats out of his pocket: stripping him afterwards to his shirt, they found, in the waistband of his breeches, the value of 548 ducats in gold. Lithgow, putting on his clothes again, was conducted to a secure place, and thence removed to a horrible dungeon, where he was allowed neither bed nor bedstead, and only an ounce and a half of musty bread and a pint of water daily. He was also loaded with irons, so heavy and so tight as to occasion the most dreadful pains, and entirely to remove the possibility of repose.

He remained for a long time in this miserable condition, until the governor had received directions from Madrid, upon which he began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because the Christmas holidays approached, it being then the forty-seventh day since his imprisonment. He relates, that

about two in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and, some time after, the sound occasioned by the opening of the prison-doors. Immediately nine serjeants and a notary came into the place where he laid, and, without uttering a word, conveyed him, all loaded with irons as he was, into the street, where they placed him upon his back in the coach, which carried him to a house about a league out of town, whither the rack had been removed the day before. At break of day the governor, Don Francisco and the alcaide came thither in a coach; into their presence he was brought, and requested to have an interpreter allowed him, which favour is secured, by law, to all persons unacquainted with their language and customs; but this was absolutely refused him, as well as his demand to appeal to Madrid, as being a superior judicature.

After a long examination, which lasted from the morning till it was dark night, in which, from the exact conformity of his answers to his former confession, the natural consequence of truth, they charged him with having got them by heart; and, after a vain attempt to make him accuse himself of his supposed crimes, the governor ordered the notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the alcaide's hands to be tortured. He was therefore immediately carried, in the arms of the serjeants, to the end of a stone gallery where the rack was placed.

The *encarouador*, or executioner, began to knock off his irons with a great sledge, which he did in so barbarous a manner as to tear away the flesh, and to occasion the most excruciating tortures. When his irons were taken off, the unfortunate man fell upon his knees and besought God to grant him strength to support the agonies which were preparing for him. The alcaide and the notary having placed themselves in chairs, it being their office to witness and to set down the confessions and tortures of the delinquent, he was stripped quite naked and fastened in the rack. The various tortures to which he was put exceeding all description,



let it suffice, that he was upon the rack five hours, during which time sixty different species of tortures were inflicted upon him, of so horrid a nature, that at length his strength entirely failed, and he would inevitably have expired had they been continued for a few moments longer. In this deplorable state his irons were clapped on again, and he was removed to his former dungeon, having received no nourishment, except a couple of eggs and a little warm wine, rather to prevent his dying, and to reserve him for farther punishments, than through mercy or compassion.

After having remained in this dreadful confinement for some months, in the midst of such misery, filth, and vermin, as are too disgusting to relate, he received an account, from the slave who attended him, which, far from giving him any hopes of releasement, served only to alarm him with the apprehension of ending his days under new torments. He was told that an English seminary-priest and a Scotch cooper had been for some time employed by the governor in translating, into the Spanish language, all his books, writings, and observations, and that it was commonly reported, in the governor's house, that he was an arch heretic, so that he began to fear that they were determined to put a period to his existence, being unable to extort a confession of guilt, from which his conscience was clear.

Accordingly, two days after, the governor, the Inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and, being seated, after several idle questions, the Inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he were a Catholic and acknowledged the Pope's supremacy; to which he replied in the negative as to both questions, adding, that he was extremely surprised at being asked such questions, since it expressly stipulated, by the articles of peace subsisting between the two crowns, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the Inquisition, nor to any molestation on account of their religious faith; and also making use of some warm expressions, unsuited to his situation, but which were wrung

from him by the sufferings he endured. The Grand Inquisitor replied with most violent expressions, and charged him with having treated the miracle of the Blessed Virgin, at Loretto, with ridicule, and with having spoken and written in the most disrespectful manner of the Pope, the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, and concluded by granting him eight days to recant his errors and subscribe to these holy truths which he had profaned.

During these eight days, the ecclesiastics held many conferences with the prisoner, whom they endeavoured to convince of the truth of their tenets, by violence and threats, rather than by reasoning, the result of which served only to exasperate their rage, and to render Lithgow more determined. But, as soon as the time allowed him was expired, they again visited him with manners entirely altered, and with the strongest expression of interest and commiseration. The two Jesuits protested, with tears in their eyes, that they were afflicted from their hearts for the terrible death he was to undergo; but, above all, for the loss of his most precious soul: and, falling on their knees, cried out; convert, convert, oh dear brother, for our blessed lady's sake, convert from your errors! He replied, that he neither feared death nor fire, being prepared for both. Upon this, the governor came in and exhorted him, in the strongest terms, to abjure his false and heretical notions, promised him the utmost indulgence if he would comply, admired his constancy and firmness, which he declared were worthy of the highest applause, and concluded by offering to exert his influence with the king, to secure him a pension of three hundred ducats, if he would prove himself deserving of favour, by his speedy acquiescence.

Finding that reward had as little influence as threats to shake his constancy, they all withdrew in the most violent rage, and repaired to the bishop of the Inquisition; for the governor was the instrument of accusing him to the Inquisition, in order, if possible,

to free himself from the aspersions that might be justly thrown upon him, for torturing and confining, contrary to all the laws of nature and of reason, and in direct violation of subsisting treaties, a subject of a great foreign prince, in amity with Spain, upon matter of mere conjecture. So that the Inquisition was brought in only as a screen to cover his injustice, and an engine to destroy the man whom he had irreparably injured, and through whom he had insulted a power, that would, in all probability, warmly interfere with his government for his dismissal or his punishment.

The first effect which he felt, from being exposed to this iniquitous and servile tribunal, was a sentence to be, that night, subjected to eleven different tortures, under the pressure of which, if he should not die, he was to be conveyed, after the Easter holidays, to Grenada, at which place he was to be burned alive. The first part of the sentence was executed with the most horrid barbarity, but contrary, as it should seem, to the expectations of his persecutors, his strength was sufficient to out-live the infliction.

He was again loaded with irons, and carried back to his dungeon, where he must inevitably have died, but for the humanity of a Turkish slave, who had always shewn him the greatest possible kindness, and who now every day brought him, by stealth, some small refreshment, for which he was himself treated with the utmost severity and insult by the other servants of the house. He was also much indebted to a female negro slave who, for four weeks, brought him daily some nourishment with a small quantity of wine in a bottle.

During the interval, since the last torture, Mr. Lithgow waited for the day, which was to terminate, at the same time, his life and his torments, when it pleased God to effect his deliverance in the following manner. It happened that a Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga, and being invited to supper by the governor, he entertained his guest, among other matters, with a detail of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the moment when

he had first arrested him on suspicion of being a spy. He said that he had afterwards discovered these suspicions to be ill-founded, and was therefore anxious to procure his release, but finding amongst his papers many expressions highly injurious and insulting to their religion, he had, on his refusal to abjure such errors, handed him over to the Inquisition, by which he had been condemned, thus suppressing the true cause of his conduct, which was his apprehension for the consequences of his own imprudent severity.

In the course of this conversation a Flemish youth waited at table, who was so struck with amazement and horror at the suffering of the stranger, that the idea haunted his mind the whole night and prevented his closing his eyes. In the morning, as soon as he was dressed, without intimating his purpose to any body, he enquired for an English factor, and being directed to the house of a Mr. Wild, he related to him the entire conversation which he had heard, but was unable to tell Mr. Lithgow's name. However, Mr. Wild, after some time, conjectured that it must be he whom the servant alluded to, whereupon he sent for the rest of the English factors in the town, about seven in number, and, upon consulting together, they determined to send a statement of the affair to Sir Walter Aston, the English ambassador at Madrid.

The ambassador immediately presented a memorial to the King and Council of Spain, and soon obtained an order for the prisoner's enlargement, and delivery to the English factory. In consequence of this order he was released on Easter Saturday about midnight, and an English squadron having, providentially, arrived in the road, he was carried on board one of the vessels, where he was treated with the greatest humanity by Sir Robert Mansel, the admiral. Having thus, by the mercy of God, escaped from the very jaws of destruction, for in a few days he must have been conveyed to Grenada and burned, he endeavoured to procure the restoration of his books, his papers and his money. But although the King of England and his ministers interested themselves in his favour,

and though Gundomere, the Spanish ambassador, promised that all his effects should be returned, with a thousand pounds of English money, on account of the tortures he had received, and which was to be paid by the governor of Malaga, yet he never could succeed in procuring the performance of these promises, the interest of the governor and the Inquisition, and the indolence of the court, having all conspired to impede the progress and to prevent the performance of justice.

The above narrative requires no comment, the horrible injustice as well as the base subserviency of this tribunal to private revenge and persecution, are there displayed in their most striking colours.

As it is not my intention to write the private history of the lives of the Inquisitors, I pay no attention to the numerous disgraceful anecdotes which abound upon the subject of their irregularities. Narratives of this kind almost always come from sources that render their credibility justly suspicious; however, I may be excused from inserting the following, as it is related by Mr. Gavin, upon his own knowledge, and therefore may be considered as laying some claim to authenticity. Having just hinted my ideas upon this part of my subject, upon which I shall have occasion to enlarge more hereafter, I will proceed to the history.

In 1706, after the battle of Almanza, the Spanish army being divided into two bodies, one advanced through Valencia, towards the confines of Catalonia, under the command of the Duke of Berwick, and the other, composed of fourteen thousand French auxiliaries, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon, whose inhabitants had declared themselves for King Charles III. Before the Duke arrived at the city of Zaragossa, the magistrates went to meet him, and to offer him the keys of their town, but he refused them, and preferred rather to enter through a breach, which he did, treating the people as rebels to their lawful King. After regulating the affairs of the

city he departed for Catalonia, and, in a short time, Monsieur de Legal was sent to command in his place.

The city was ordered to pay a thousand crowns a month, for the Duke's table, and every house a pistole; and besides this, the convents were to pay a donatrice proportioned to their rents. The college of Jesuits was charged with two thousand pistoles; the Dominicans with one thousand, the Augustins with one thousand, and so the rest.

M. de Legal sent first to the Jesuits, who refused to pay, alleging their ecclesiastical immunity, but Legal, not acquainted with this sort of excuse, sent four companies of grenadiers to be quartered on the convent at discretion, so that the fathers, fearful for their treasure, were soon glad to pay the donatrice required.

He next sent to the Dominicans. The Friars of this order are all familiars of the Holy Office and dependent on it; they declined paying, under the pretence that they had no money, and said it was impossible to satisfy his demands unless they should send the silver bodies of the saints. They did this in order to terrify Legal with the apprehension of popular violence, upon this insult to the sacred images; but he, equally politic with themselves, immediately commanded four companies more of his grenadiers to line the streets, holding out his musket in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, to receive, with all possible devotion, the procession of the priests, who advanced bearing the images. Having received the Saints, he sent them to the mint, promising the father Prior to send him what remained above the thousand pistoles. The Friars, being disappointed in their design of raising the people, went to the Inquisitors to desire them to release their Saints out of the mint, by excommunicating M. Legal, which the Inquisitors did upon the spot; and, as soon as the excommunication was drawn up, they sent it by the hands of their secretary to be read to him. The governor mildly replied, that he would reply to the Inquisitors

the next morning, and so dismissed the secretary perfectly satisfied. At the same moment, without reflecting upon any consequence, he called his own secretary, and bid him draw up a copy of the excommunication, putting out the name of Legal, and inserting that of *the Holy Inquisitors*.

The next morning, he gave orders for four regiments to be ready, and sent them, along with his secretary, to the Inquisition, with command to read the excommunication to the Inquisitors themselves, and, if they made the least remonstrance, to turn them forth, open all the prisons, and quarter two regiments there. The Inquisitors, as was natural, exclaimed violently against such treatment, and, denouncing the most terrible threats against its author, the secretary placed them under a strong guard and conveyed them to a house, prepared for the purpose, from which they shortly set off for Madrid to complain to the King; but, although he affected to be very sorry for what had happened, he told them that, as his crown was in the greatest danger, and as the affront was offered by the troops of his grandfather, who defended it, they must wait with patience, until his affairs should take a more prosperous turn.

The secretary of Monsieur Legal, according to his order, next opened the doors of all the prisons, and then the profligate wickedness of these Inquisitors was detected. Four hundred prisoners obtained their liberty on that day, and among them were found sixty young women, who were apparently of the number of the three Inquisitors' seraglio, as some of them afterwards confessed. This discovery, so dangerous to the Holy Tribunal, was in some measure prevented by the archbishop, who went to M. Legal, to request him to send these young women to his palace, that he might take care of them; and, in the mean time, he proclaimed an ecclesiastical censure against such as should venture to defame the sacred Inquisition, by groundless reports upon the subject; thus confirming the universal belief of its iniquity. The governor an-

swered, that he should be happy to oblige his grace in any thing within his power, but for these young women the French officers had succeeded in hurrying them away, being glad to meet with such fine mistresses.

As I travelled in France some time after, (says Mr. Gavin,) I met with one of these women in Redfort, at the inn at which I lodged, who had been brought there by the son of the innkeeper, formerly a lieutenant in the French service in Spain, and whom he afterwards married for her great merit and beauty. She was daughter of the Counsellor Balabriga; I had known her before she had been seized by the Inquisitor's orders; her father died of grief, without the consolation of revealing the cause of his distress, even to his confessor, so extreme is the terror of the Inquisition in every mind.

I was very glad to meet one of my countrywomen in my travels, and as she did not remember me, especially in my disguise, she took me for an officer. I resolved to stay there the next day, to have the satisfaction of conversing with her, and to get an account of what we could not know in Zaragossa, for fear of incurring the censure published by the bishop. Her father and mother-in-law, to shew their respect for their daughter's countryman (Mr. Faulcaut, her husband being gone to Paris), invited me to an elegant supper, after which I earnestly entreated to know the cause of her imprisonment, of her sufferings in the Inquisition, and every thing with which she was acquainted concerning it. With some reluctance she consented, and gave me the following account.

“I went one day with my mother to visit the Countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Torrejonn, her confessor, the second Inquisitor of the Holy Office. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and so many intricate questions about religion, that I was unable to answer him. His serious countenance frightened me, upon which he turned to the countess, and desired her to assure me that he was by no



means so severe as I took him to be, after which he treated me in the most obliging manner, and presented me his hand, which I kissed with great respect and modesty, and on going away, he said to me, 'My dear child, I shall remember you until the next time.' I did not take any notice of the words, as I was entirely unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being only fifteen years old. However, he did indeed remember me, for that same night, when I was in bed, hearing a knocking at the door, the maid, who lay in the same room with me, went to the window, to enquire who was there? I heard say, 'the Holy Inquisition.' I immediately started up and exclaimed, Father, father, I am ruined for ever; but my father, who was terrified out of his wits, instead of assisting me, opened the door himself for the officers, and though overwhelmed with tears and anguish, he delivered me immediately into their hands.

"I expected to die that very night, but was greatly astonished at being carried into a noble room magnificently furnished, where I was immediately attended by a maid bearing a salver of sweetmeats, and cinnamon water, who desired me to take some refreshment, before I went to bed. I asked her, in the greatest distress, whether I was to die that night or not? 'Die,' said she, 'you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and I am to be your attendant, but have a little patience and to-morrow you shall see all the wonders of this place.'

"After she had tranquillized my fears in some degree, she at length prevailed on me to go to bed, upon which she locked the door, telling me that she was to lie in a closet which was close to my chamber. The fear of death prevented my closing my eyes all that night, so I arose at the break of day and dressed myself. Mary, for that was my attendant's name, lay until six o'clock, and was very much surprised to find me up so early; however, she said very little, but in a short time brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits. After I had drank one cup myself and desired her to take the other, I besought her to tell me the reason

of my confinement. She told me she was unable yet to give me the information I required, and, bidding me again to have more patience, with this answer she left me. In about an hour however she returned, bringing me a fine holland shift, and an under-petticoat finely laced round the edges, two silk petticoats fringed all over with gold, and every other article of dress, of the most beautiful and splendid description; but my greatest surprise was to see, among several trinkets which she placed on the table, a gold snuff-box, with the picture of Don Francisco Torrejonn in it. On beholding this, I began to suspect the reason of my confinement, so I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be perhaps the occasion of my immediate death, and to accept it would be to give him too great encouragement against my honour. But I formed, as I thought, a middle course to pursue; so I said to Mary, Pray give my service to Don Francisco, and tell him that, as I could not bring my clothes with me last night, I consider myself at liberty to accept these clothes, being such as decency require, but as I take no snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me if I decline the honour of accepting his box. Mary did as I desired her, and in a short time returned with a picture of Don Francisco set in gold and diamonds, which he begged of me to accept instead of the snuff-box. When I was in doubt how I should act, Mary said to me, 'If you will take my poor advice, madam, you will accept, not only this present, but every thing else that he is pleased to send you, for consider that, if you do not readily comply with every thing that he is pleased to order, you will certainly be put to death, and nobody here can defend you; but if you are obliging to him, he is a very complaisant gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you may live here as a queen, he will give you another apartment, with fine gardens, and many other ladies shall come here to visit you, so I advise you to send him a civil answer, or you may repent it.'

"I was so struck with horror at hearing this, that I could only

reply, with sobs and tears, that she might deliver what answer she pleased, upon which she withdrew, and in a few minutes returned, with great joy in her countenance, to inform me that his lordship would give me the honour of his company at supper. She then bid me mind nothing but to divert myself, and added, ' I am now, madam, to call you mistress, and you may command me in whatever you please ; but, as I have been in the Holy Office fourteen years, and know all its rules, I am to inform you that silence is imposed on me as to every thing but what concerns your person. So, in the first place, do not oppose the Holy Father's will ; secondly, if you see some young ladies here, never ask them any inquisitive questions, neither will they ask you, and take care that you never tell them any thing ; but you may come and divert yourself among them at such hours as are appointed ; you shall have music and all sorts of recreation ; three days hence you will dine with them, they are all ladies of quality, young and merry ; you will live so happily here that you will not wish to go abroad ; and when your time is expired, then the Holy Fathers will send you out of this country and marry you to some great nobleman. Never mention your own name or Don Francisco's to any body ; and if you happen to meet here any persons whom you have formerly known, no notice must be taken of it, and you must talk only of indifferent matters.'

" All this astonished or rather stupified me to such a degree, that the entire seemed like a piece of enchantment. With this lesson she left me, saying she was only going to get my dinner ; every time she went out she locked the door. The windows of my room were so high that I could not see out of them, but searching in an adjoining closet, I found all sorts of books, with which I amused myself as well as I could till dinner.

" In about two hours time, she brought me my dinner, which consisted of every thing that could gratify the nicest palate : when dinner was over, she left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing,

to ring the bell. I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading; I really think I was under some enchantment, for, under this suspension of thought, I remembered neither my father nor mother. At seven in the evening, Don Francisco came to visit me, in his night gown and cap; not with the gravity of an Inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me, at the same time, that his only reason for coming to see me, was his regard for my family, and to tell me, that some of my lovers had procured my ruin for ever, having accused me in matters of religion; that my sentence had been pronounced, which was to be burned in the dry pan, by a gradual fire, but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it. Each of these words was a mortal shock to my heart, I threw myself at his feet, and said, 'Ah, Signor! have you stopped the execution for ever?' 'It only belongs to yourself to stop it or not,' replied he, and with that, he wished me a good night. As soon as he was gone I fell a-crying most bitterly, but Mary came and asked me the cause of my grief. 'Ah, good Mary, said I, tell me what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire, for I am doomed to die by it?' 'Oh, madam, she answered, never fear any such thing, these are only made for such as oppose the Holy Father's will; to such as are complying he is the most obliging man in the world, but to those who are obstinate he is inexorable; however, if you are very anxious to see it,' she added, 'to-morrow morning you shall be gratified with a sight of the dry pan.'

"Accordingly, very early in the morning, she led me down stairs to a large room with a thick iron door, in which was an oven, burning at the time, with a large brass pan upon it, which had a cover of the same metal and a great lock to it. In the next room, there was a great wheel covered on both sides with thick boards; and opening a little board in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle into the midst of it. There I saw that all the cir-

cumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors. After which she showed me a pit full of serpents and toads.

“ ‘ Now, my dear mistress,’ said she, ‘ I will tell you the use of these things. The dry pan is for Heretics, and those who oppose the Holy Father’s will and pleasure. They are put naked and alive into the pan, and the cover of it being fastened down, the executioner begins by putting a small fire into the oven, which by degrees he augments, until the whole body is reduced to ashes. The second is designed for those who speak against the Pope, and the Holy Fathers, they are put within the wheel, which is turned round and round until they are dead. The third is for those who contemn images, and who refuse to pay due respect to ecclesiastical persons.’

“ I was so struck with horror at those dreadful sights, which I believed were really employed for the purposes which she mentioned, that I was not mistress of my senses, and being informed, by Mary, that I must wish Don Francisco a good morning, I was led by her, without knowing what I did, through a long gallery into the Inquisitor’s chamber. He was still in bed, and desired me to sit down by him, bidding Mary to bring the chocolate in two hours. As soon as she was withdrawn he declared his passion for me in so violent a manner that I was deprived of all power of resistance.

“ When Mary came again with the chocolate I was overwhelmed with shame at being seen in such a situation, but she, coming to the bedside where I was, knelt down and paid me homage as if I had been a queen. She then offered me the first cup of chocolate, and desired me to give another to Don Francisco, which he received most graciously: after we had breakfasted Mary dressed me and conducted me to another splendid apartment, from the windows of which I beheld the river and the gardens. She afterwards told me, that the young ladies would come and pay me their compliments before dinner, and would take me to dine with them, charg-

ing me, at the same time, to remember her advice. She had hardly finished these words, when I saw a troop of beautiful young ladies, magnificently dressed, who all came forward and embraced me one after another, and wished me joy. My surprise was so great that I was unable to answer their compliments, upon which one of them addressed me in the most flattering terms, and described all the delights I should enjoy in the most glowing colours, after which we all went to dinner. We were entertained with all kinds of exquisite meats, delicate fruits and sweetmeats. Six maids attended on us all, but Mary waited upon me alone.

“ The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front, and I reckoned in it, that day, fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. After dinner we went up stairs into a long gallery, where some played upon musical instruments, others at cards, and others walked about for three or four hours together. At last Mary came up, ringing a small bell, which was, as they informed me, the signal for us to retire to our rooms ; but Mary said to the company, ‘ Ladies, this is a day of recreation, so you may go into what rooms you please till eight o’clock.’ They all begged to attend me to my apartments ; we found, in the anti-chamber, a table, with all sorts of sweetmeats on it, every body took such things as she pleased, but nobody spoke a word about the sumptuousness of the table, or about the Inquisition, or the Holy Fathers. So we spent our time in indifferent conversation, until eight o’clock, when each retired to her own room.

“ As soon as they were gone, Mary let me know that Don Francisco waited for me, so we went to his apartment ; and supper being ready, we sat down, attended only by Mary. After supper was over, she went away, and I was obliged to share the Inquisitor’s bed.

“ Next morning, when I went into my own chamber, I found there two suits of clothes of rich brocade, and every thing else, as if for

a lady of the first rank. I put on one, and when I was dressed, the ladies came to wish me joy, all dressed in different clothing, much richer than the day before. We spent the second and third day in the same manner, Don Francisco continuing still with me; but on the fourth morning, after serving us with chocolate, Mary told me, that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority desired me to get up, Don Francisco saying nothing to the contrary: I obeyed and left him in bed. I thought this was to give me some comfort, but I was very much mistaken; for Mary conveyed me to a lady's room, not eight feet long, which was a perfect prison; and told me this was my room, and this young lady my bed-fellow and companion; and, without adding a word more, she left me there.

“ ‘ For heaven's sake, dear lady,’ said I, ‘ is this an enchanted place? I have lost my father, and my mother, and, what is worse than all, I have lost my honour and my soul for ever.’ My new companion seeing my distraction, took me by the hand and consoled me in the kindest manner possible; she besought me not to cry or to grieve, which would be of no avail, and would only serve to draw upon me the severest treatment, and perhaps even a cruel death. ‘ Our misfortunes,’ said she, ‘ are of the same description, pray take courage, and hope that God will at length deliver us from this hellish place; but be sure that you shew no signs of uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument of our torments or our comfort. Have patience, however, till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter, which may perhaps afford you some consolation.’

“ I gave way to the most distracting reflections, but the kindness of my new sister Leonora at last prevailed on me to overcome my vexation before Mary came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had seen for three days before. After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had only one between us: and when she had gone out and

locked the door ; ‘ Now, my dear sister,’ said Leonora, ‘ we shall not be disturbed again until eight o’clock at night ; so, if you will promise me, upon your hopes of salvation, to keep secret, while you remain in this house, the things I shall declare to you, I will reveal all that I know.’ I threw myself at her feet, and promised all that she desired, after which, without further ceremony, she began as follows : “ My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but I ‘ assure you all the ladies in this house have already gone through ‘ the same : in time you will know all their stories, as they hope ‘ to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument ‘ of your fright, as she was of ours, and I warrant she has shewn ‘ you some horrible place, but not all, and that you were so ‘ dreadfully alarmed at the sight of them as to choose the same ‘ course which we did, to redeem yourself from death. By what ‘ has happened to us, we know that Don Francisco has been ‘ your destroyer ; for the three colours of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the Holy Fathers ; the red silk belongs to Don ‘ *Francisco*, the blue to *Guaero*, and the green to *Aliago*, for they ‘ always thus designate the ladies whom they bring hither for their ‘ use. We are strictly commanded to make all possible demonstrations of joy, for the three first days after a young lady comes ‘ here, as we did with you ; and as you must do with the others : ‘ but afterwards we live like prisoners, without seeing any living ‘ soul but the six maids, and Mary, who is the house-keeper. We ‘ all dine in the hall three times a week.

“ ‘ When any of the Holy Fathers has a mind for one of his ‘ slaves, Mary comes for her at nine o’clock and carries her to his ‘ apartment : but they have so many that the turn comes only ‘ about once a month, except for those who happen to please ‘ them more than ordinary, who are sent for more frequently. ‘ Some nights Mary leaves the door of our rooms open, and that ‘ is a sign that one of the fathers is to come that night : but he comes ‘ in such silence, that we do not know whether he is our patron



‘ or not. If one of us happen to prove with child, she is removed  
‘ to a better chamber, where she sees nobody but the maid until  
‘ she is delivered. The child is taken away, and we do not know  
‘ where it is carried. I have been in this house six years,  
‘ and was not above fourteen when the officers took me from my  
‘ father’s house. I have had one child here.

“ ‘ We have, at present, fifty-two young ladies, and we lose  
‘ every year six or eight, but we do not know where they are  
‘ sent. Our continual torment is to think that, when the Holy  
‘ Fathers are tired of one, they put her to death, for they never will  
‘ run the hazard of being discovered in their villainy. So, although  
‘ we cannot oppose their commands, yet we continually pray to  
‘ God to pardon the sins which we are forced to commit, and to  
‘ deliver us out of their hands. Arm yourself therefore with  
‘ patience, my dear sister, for there is no remedy.’

“ This discourse of Leonora prevailed on me to appear outwardly easy before Mary. And in this manner we lived together eighteen months, in which time we lost eleven ladies, and got nineteen new ones. After these eighteen months were expired, one night Mary came in, and ordered us to follow her down stairs, where we found a coach waiting, into which she forced us to go, dreading that this would be the last night of our lives. However, we were carried to another house, and put into a worse room than the former, where we were confined above two months, without seeing any body that we knew; and in the same manner we were removed from that house to another, where we continued till we were miraculously delivered by the French officers.

“ Mr. Faulcaut, happily for me, opened the door of my room, and from the moment he saw me, shewed me the greatest civility. He took Leonora and me to his own lodgings, and after he had heard our stories, for fear of any disagreeable consequences, he dressed us in men’s clothes and sent us to his father’s; so we came to this house, where I was kept two years as the old man’s

daughter, till, Mr. Faulcaut's regiment being disembodied, he returned home, and in two months after married me. Leonora was married to another officer; they live at Orleans; and I hope you will pay her a visit, on your way to Paris: my husband is now at court soliciting a new commission; and, I am sure, will be very glad of your acquaintance."

Thus ended the conversation for the night.

## BOOK VIII.

*Continuation of the same Subject—Extraordinary Conduct of the Inquisition towards the Sect called Quietists—Its Persecution of Learning—Treatment of Galileo—Saurentius Valla—Several other Instances of its Cruelty—Interesting Account of the Escape of a Mexican from the Prison of the Inquisition in Lisbon—Admirable Conduct of a Negro Servant upon the Occasion.*

THE narratives, which I have submitted, will serve to make the reader acquainted, in some degree, with the spirit of the inquisitorial tribunal; it will therefore not appear surprising if its members were the declared and irreconcilable enemies of every species of reformation in religion, as well as of every description of advancement in science. Of this baneful principle I shall now give a few examples, and then conclude this book with a few promiscuous instances of the injustice and tyranny of the tribunal.

The subject of the first narrative which I shall make for this purpose, is highly interesting and curious, and, that the reader may enter into the true spirit of it, I must inform him that it was written on the spot, that is at Rome, at the very time that the incidents took place, and by a person of great learning and distinction. I will give it mostly in his own words.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard of rich and honourable family, entered into priests' orders, without taking any preferment, so that his motives were perfectly pure and disinterested. He passes, in Italy, for a man both of learning and good sense. His course of life has been most scrupulously correct, but he has never practised those absurd austerities of discipline, so opposite to true and rational devotion, which are however so much magnified in the church

of Rome, and among the religious orders; nor has he ever countenanced those degrading superstitions, by inculcating the efficacy of which, the innumerable monks, who swarm in these countries, contrive to live upon the credulity of the people. He, on the contrary, devoted himself to that sublime and mystical kind of devotion, to which the minds of the ordinary herd of mankind seem scarcely calculated to elevate themselves, but which has frequently been set forth, in the most persuasive manner, by some of the best and most pious persons of their age. St. Bernard and Thomas a Kempis have been the principal supporters of this mode of devotion, in which they have been followed by St. Theresa, and after her by Battazar Alvares, a Jesuit, and, with no small success, by one Walter Hilton, an English Carthusian in Henry VI.'s time, who wrote a book, entitled "The Scale of Perfection," inferior to the works of none of those whom I have mentioned.

I shall not trouble the reader by entering very minutely into the explanation of their doctrines, but shall only observe, that they held that the common method of devotion ought only to be considered as steps to raise men into that higher state to which they aspired. That while men continued in them, they were nothing but lifeless forms, and if they rise above them, they become clogs and hindrances, which amuse them with many dry performances, in which those, who are of a higher dispensation, feel no pleasure nor advantage. Therefore, that the use of the rosary, the daily repeating of the breviary, together with the common devotions to the saints, are generally laid aside by those who rise to the contemplative state: and the chief business, to which they apply themselves, is to keep their minds in an inward calm and quiet, that so they may, in silence, form simple acts of faith, and feel these inward motions and directions, which they believe to follow all who rise to this elevation of mind. But because a man may be much deceived in these inspirations, therefore they recommend, to all who enter into this method, to make choice of a spiritual guide,

who has a right sense, and a true taste of those matters, and is, by consequence, a competent judge in them.

This is all I need say, to give the reader a general view of Molinos's method. Hence he will perceive the reason why his followers were denominated Quietists, and why his book is entitled *Il Guida Spirituale*.

Molinos had conceived these notions in Spain, where they were much countenanced by the celebrity of the writing of St. Theresa, and where the dreadful degradation of religion, and the almost exclusive merit attributed to superstitious forms and absurd mummeries of devotion, naturally drive men of exalted imaginations, and contemplative minds, into the opposite extreme. He afterwards came and settled in Rome, filled with the most excessive zeal for the propagation of his opinions. He here wrote his book, and commenced a correspondence with a vast number of men, of the most elevated thoughts and clear judgment, whom he could meet in this city. His principles were speedily adopted, or at least professed, by an immense number of people, many of whom were animated by a desire, equally pure with his own, to raise the minds of men above the trifling superstitions then so much in vogue, but several, it is to be feared, from less direct motives, some through a secret enmity towards the regulars, the great apostles of superstition and absurdity; others through the vanity of rising superior to the world, and of gaining themselves a reputation.

In the year 1675 his book was first published, with five approbations before it. One of these was by the archbishop of Rheggio; another was by the general of the Franciscans, who was one of the qualifiers of the Inquisition. Another was by father Martin de Espersa, a Jesuit, that had been Divinity professor both at Salamanca and at Rome, and was, at that time, also a qualifier of the Inquisition. The rest were by persons of equal respectability.

This book was no sooner printed, than it was universally read in Spain and Italy. The author rose to the highest pitch of celebrity,

and letters were addressed to him, from all parts of Europe, by those who favoured his opinions. Many of the secular priests, both at Rome and at Naples, declared themselves openly for it. Some of the most celebrated fathers of the Oratory, particularly Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci, and many even of the cardinals themselves courted his acquaintance, and thought it no dishonour to be reckoned of the number of Molinos's friends. Such were Cassonato Azolini, and Carpegna ; but above all Cardinal d'Estrées, a man of great learning, and who was ambitious to be thought a reformer of some of the grossest abuses prevalent among the clergy and the people, which were too shocking to be tolerated by a man of his freedom of spirit.

All things concurred to raise Molinos's character and to make his person considerable. Even the Pope, who now reigns, when advanced to the throne in the year 1676, took the most particular notice of him, he lodged him in his palace and shewed him many conspicuous marks of esteem. The humility and moderation which he maintained under such distinguished honours, contributed still more to his reputation, and the effect of his principles soon became visible in the altered manners of the people and the friars. Even the nuns, except those who had Jesuits for their confessors, began to lay aside their rosaries and other devotions, and to attach themselves to the practice of mental prayer. These principles were still farther disseminated by a translation of a French book upon the same subject, which was made by the order of d'Estrées, and by the numerous letters and treatises of Petrucci.

Both the Jesuits and the Dominicans began to be alarmed at the progress of Quietism ; they clearly saw that their trade was decaying and must become totally unproductive, if some stop were not put to this new mode of devotion. In order to this it was necessary to decry the authors of it, and because, of all imputations, heresy is that which makes the greatest impression at Rome, Molinos and

his followers were given out to be Heretics ; and, as it is always of the greatest importance to brand the opposite party with some name of distinction, they gave this new heresy the appellation of Quietism. Books were written against Molinos, by the Jesuits, with their usual art and malignity, but frequently with the greatest show of candour ; they censured many of his doctrines, and misrepresented his views ; his friends defended, his enemies redoubled their attacks on him, so that, at length, scarcely any body was not in some degree interested in the controversy.

These disputes raised so much noise in Rome, that the Inquisition took notice of the matter. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci with his letters and treatises, were brought under a most severe examination : and here the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. It is true, one of the society, as was formerly told, had approved the book ; but they took care that he should be no more seen at Rome. He was sent away it is not known whither, or probably confined somewhere in prison, so careful are they that all their order should speak the same language, or that, if any should adopt a style different from the rest, he may be heard no more. However, in this examination, both Molinos and Petrucci justified themselves so well, that their books were again approved, and the latter shortly raised to the bishoprick of Jessi.

The reputation of the Quietists now rose to the highest pitch, and the malice and industry of their enemies increased in proportion. The greatest falsehoods were propagated against the character of Molinos, the most unremitting assiduity exerted in misrepresenting his views and designs ; it was even suggested, because he was by birth a Spaniard, that he was descended of a Jewish or Mahomedan race, and meant to propagate the false religion with which he was probably imbued.

Molinos made every exertion to vindicate his reputation, he wrote, he disputed, he repelled the false assertions urged against him with spirit, and exposed, with masterly clearness, the false reason-

ings of his adversaries. However, this worthy but unfortunate man, who had withstood the assault of his open enemies, is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the base treachery of one of his pretended friends. It is believed that the Jesuits at Rome proposed this matter to father La Chaise, as a fit subject for the interference of his master the King of France with the Pope, who, they said, was actually cherishing heresy in his own palace, and that La Chaise prevailed upon the King to come into their schemes. It is also believed that d'Estrées, being commanded by the court of France, of which country he was born a subject, to prosecute Molinos with all possible vigour, resolved to sacrifice his old friend, and all that is sacred in friendship, to his passion for advancing his master's glory. He accordingly resolved to supply, by his own invention, the deficiency of evidence against Molinos, and, repairing to the Inquisition, he informed them of many particulars, for which there was no support but his own testimony; in consequence of which, however, both Molinos and Petrucci, and some of their friends, were seized again by this tribunal, in the year 1684. The latter was soon released, but, with regard to Molinos, d'Estrées is accused of having acted the most dishonourable part. It is said, that he explained the doubtful passages of Molinos's writing according to what he said he knew to be the meaning of them from his intimacy with the author. He declared that, having early suspected him of some evil design, he had pretended to adopt his sentiments, in order to discover their true nature and tendency, and that he might be the better able to crush this dangerous cabal.

All this is firmly believed at Rome, though, for the honour of the cardinal's reputation and of human nature, I should hope it is not true. Whatever may be the truth of these particulars, it is certain that Molinos was kept confined in the Inquisition, and so an end put to all conversation about him, until the year 1687, when the affair broke out again in the most surprising manner.



The count Vespiani and his lady, don Pauli Rocchi, confessor to the princess Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, seventy persons in all, among whom were many highly esteemed both for learning and piety, were then seized by the Inquisition. The charge made against the churchmen was, neglecting to say their breviary, and that against the others was, going to communion without previously attending confession, neglecting the exterior parts of their religion, and giving themselves wholly up to inward prayer. The countess acted in so spirited a manner, that the Inquisitors thought proper to dismiss her and her husband, but I cannot express the consternation which prevailed, in Rome, and in many other parts of Italy, where, in about a month, upwards of two hundred persons were imprisoned by the Inquisition; and that, all on a sudden, a method of devotion which had lately passed for the highest elevation to which mortals could aspire, was found to be heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined as criminals. But the most extraordinary part of the story is, that the Pope himself became suspected of favouring this new heresy: so that, on the thirteenth of February, some persons were deputed, by the court of the Inquisition, to examine him, not in the quality of Christ's vicar, or of the successor of St. Peter, but simply as Benedict Odescalchi! What passed at that audience was too great a secret for me to penetrate, but, upon this, there were many strange opinions entertained in Rome. And, while we Heretics were inquiring, Where was the Pope's infallibility? I remember one ingenious answer which was made us. They said, the Pope's infallibility did not flow from any thing that was personal to him, but from the care that Christ took of his church: for a Pope, said one, may be a Heretic, as well as any body else, as he is a private man; but Christ, who said to *Peter, Feed my sheep*, will certainly so order matters that he shall never decree heresy, and so shall never give that flock poison instead of the bread of life. While the Pope's heresy was a personal thing, it could have no other effect but to

damn himself; but if he decreed heresy, this corrupted the whole church, and, since Christ had committed all the flocks to the Pope's care, it ought to be believed that he never would permit him to pronounce heresy *ex cathedrâ*, as they call it. Others replied in different ways, and in the conversations which were held upon the subject, I heard the authority of the Inquisition magnified to such a degree, that some asserted that it was, in some respects, superior even to the Pope himself.

Two days after this event, the Inquisition sent a circular letter to Cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to be sent round Italy to all the prelates, apprising them of the dangerous tendency of the new principles which had arisen, and commanding them to take all possible steps for their entire suppression, and for the restoration of the ancient observances. All the nunneries in Rome were then carefully searched, and, it being found that the nuns had entirely laid aside their beads and old forms of superstition, as they declared, by the advice of their directors, they were instantly deprived of all the books, which they had got, relative to the new devotion, and they were required to return again to their beads and to their former fooleries, which mortified many of them exceedingly.

The circular letters to the bishops produced no great effect, most of them having been unconcerned in the matter or secretly inclined in Molinos's favour. The Pope himself was much displeased, and it was feared that this business would not end without some very great scandal: for the quality of the prisoners was considerable; some of Cardinal Petrucci's domestics, and both his secretary and his nephew were among the number. The Duke of Ceri, Don Livio, the Pope's nephew, was believed to be deeply concerned in the matter, with many more of the very first rank and consequence. However, a severe sentence was expected against Molinos; those who spoke the mildest thought he would be a prisoner for life. It was a terrible thing to have the whole

body of regulars, who, according to the estimate that was made at Rome, were about five hundred thousand, in number, against one. In the city of Naples alone, it was believed that the regulars and other ecclesiastics amounted to twenty-five thousand; it is therefore very likely that, when such bodies and Molinos's self were in the opposite scales, the resolution of Caiaphas might once more be adopted: It is expedient that one man should die, rather than these nations of regulars perish, or their trade and profits be lessened.

Owing to this conduct of the Inquisition and its supporters, this great affair, upon which men long looked with so much expectation, was nearly at an end: and a party, believed to be a million strong, was extinguished, or at least oppressed with a great deal of infamy: and Molinos, who lived there about twenty years, in the highest possible reputation not more for learning than for virtue, was not only considered as a condemned and abjured Heretic, but was said to have been convicted of much hypocrisy, and of a very dissolute course of life. All the party was extremely depressed. Cardinal Petrucci lived at Rome as if he were in a desert; he seldom went abroad, and nobody visited him. It was said that great numbers of their followers abjured in private, and that multitudes went every day to receive penance. The Pope was extremely unpopular; the people said that this was the first time that heresy ever made its seat at Rome, where it nestled for twenty years, while his Holiness turned a deaf ear to all complaints on the subject.

Notwithstanding Molinos's conduct had been uniformly composed and dignified, at the Minerva his behaviour was not that of a man who was very repentant for his heresy, so that the mildness of the censure passed against him, which was perpetual imprisonment, and the saying his creed and the fourth part of the rosary every day, seemed to flow rather from the deficiency of their proofs, than from the gentleness of their tribunal. When he went back

to prison, he entered his little cell with great tranquillity, and took leave of his priest in these words: "Adieu, father, we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear upon which side truth is, yours or mine." However, the spirit which he excited was not entirely extinguished, for one of his followers had the boldness to tell the Inquisitors, to their faces, that they were a company of cruel, unjust, and heretical men, and yet even this man has escaped upon abjuration, which could be only owing to their apprehension from the great power and number of the party. In short, after a tedious imprisonment, this good and excellent man died in the hands of the Inquisition.

Nothing can possibly exhibit, in so strong a light, the tremendous potency and energy of the inquisitorial tribunal, as the foregoing detail. They seem to have exercised, upon this dangerous occasion, a degree of recollection and of vigour that is truly astonishing: but the occasion required the most bold and decisive measures, and without the instant adoption of such, the reformation of the Romish world might have been perhaps compleated. When we behold this tribunal exercising its arbitrary jurisdiction over the sovereign pontiff himself, and arresting the most powerful grandees, as well as the most learned and virtuous men in Rome, we are astonished at the boldness of its behaviour; but when we behold the Pope himself submit to their insolence, and all their enemies sink beneath their power, we shudder at the prospect of the new dangers and the confirmed bondage of mankind: history, however, shews us that this was the hereditary and inveterate spirit of the Inquisition, in every age and in every country: its tremendous arm was outstretched to arrest the progress of light, and to blast the opening blossom of improvement. Nothing so perfectly evinces this as the fate of the celebrated Galileo. In the year 1615, that illustrious philosopher, whose intellectual brightness burst through the surrounding gloom of ignorance, was cited to Rome, to appear before the Holy Inquisition, on a charge of heresy.

The Inquisitors declared as follows: 1. Solem esse in centro mundi, et immobilem motu locali, est propositio absurda, et falsa in philosophiâ, et formaliter heretica, quia est expressè contraria Sacræ Scripturæ. 2. Terram non esse centrum mundi, nec immobilem, sed moveri motu etiam diurno, est etiam propositio absurda, et falsa in philosophiâ. 1. To assert that the sun is the centre of the world, and immoveable as to local motion, is an absurd proposition, and false in philosophy; and expressly heretical, as being directly contrary to Sacred Scripture. 2. To assert that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immoveable, but also has a diurnal motion, is likewise an absurd proposition, and false in philosophy. For differing with the philosophy of these barbarous and ignorant monks, therefore, he was confined in the prison of the Inquisition, till February 1616, on the 25th of which month, sentence was pronounced on him, the Inquisitors declaring that he should renounce his heretical opinions; that he should not defend them either by word or writing, nor insinuate them into the mind of any person whatever. He was not discharged till he had promised to conform to this decree. Upon his publishing, in Florence, anno 1632, his dialogues concerning his Ptolemaic and Copernican systems: *Dialogi delle duo massime systeme dell' mundo Tolemaico e Copernicano*, he was again cited before the Holy Office, by whose command he was committed to the prison of the Inquisition at Rome: and, on June 22, N.S. the congregation assembled, and, in his presence, pronounced sentence against him and his book; and forced him to abjure his errors in the most solemn manner, committing him to the prison of the Inquisition during pleasure; and commanding him, as a penance, to repeat, once a week, during three years, the seven penitential psalms; but reserving to themselves the power of moderating, altering, or annulling, altogether, or in part, the above punishment and penance. He was discharged from his confinement in 1634; but his dialogues

on the system of the world were burned at Rome. The light of this unhallowed fire served only to expose the blackness of monkish ignorance ; reviving philosophy hailed the dawn of true science ; and the succeeding age has atoned, by its well merited veneration, for the injuries of this persecuted sage.

Laurentius Valla, born at Rome in 1415, was famous for his knowledge of the *Belles-Lettres*, and for his elegant spirit of criticism ; but having ventured to expose, in his writings, the bigotry and ignorance of the Romish clergy, he was forced, by their vengeance, to leave his native place, and to retire to the court of Alphonso, king of Naples. As Valla, incensed at his injuries, continued to write against the churchmen, they persecuted him with so much violence, that, had he not been powerfully protected by Alphonso, they would have burned him alive, and he was considered very fortunate in escaping with only being scourged round the cloister of the Dominicans.

Valla had the courage to refute a tradition, highly esteemed in Rome, viz. the pretended donation of Constantine. It is thought that this circumstance served as a handle to the prosecution carried on against him by the Inquisitors, but that the real cause was their vengeance and hatred for that superior virtue and illumination which urged him to expose and censure them. They were, therefore, resolved to destroy him if possible, and, for this end, declared him a Heretic with regard to several important particulars ; as, the mystery of the Trinity, the doctrine of free-will, and many others. Spondanus mentions several of the particulars of his story ; Laurentius Valla Neapoli existens, cum quasdam propositiones hereticus asseruisset, delatus ad Inquisitores, et in carcerem trusus, damnatusque pro heretico, beneficio Alfonsi regis pœnam ignis evasis, propositionibus tamen publice ejuratis, virgis privatim per claustra monasterii prædicatorum manibus revinctis cesus.

The tyrannical conduct of Hanibal Grison, an Inquisitor, over the districts of Pola and Capo d' Istria, in Italy, well deserves a place here. The Romish bishop of Pola, being persuaded of the truth of the Protestant doctrine, and inculcating it from the pulpit, the monks, those strenuous supporters of ignorance, impeached him to the Inquisition. Upon this, Hanibal Grison behaved towards the inhabitants of the district in the following manner: He used to enter their houses in order to search for heretical books; he excommunicated all persons who did not inform against such as were suspected of having imbibed the Lutheran principles; he promised to mitigate the punishment of those who should renounce their heresy, and come to ask his pardon, but vowed to burn, without mercy, those who were impeached before they anticipated the accusers by an humble confession of their crimes.

This violent conduct gave rise to accusations without number; all the ties of nature were violated, husbands became the informers against their wives, parents against their children, servants against their masters. What follows, however, shews, in a most conspicuous manner, the horrid spirit of this tribunal, and the exertions it continually made to check the progress of the true spirit of religion which arose among the people. The Inquisitor above-mentioned, after going through divine service on a certain day, in the cathedral church of Capo d' Istria, spoke thus to his congregation: "You have laboured within these few years under many calamities, sometimes your olive-trees and vines are barren; at other times your harvests are unfruitful; at others, a mortality reigns among your cattle. Know that these evils arise from your bishop, and from the countenance which you have given to his heretical doctrines: unless you take care to root out these Heretics, you cannot expect an end to your calamities." Here we see the true spirit of the Inquisition, they are ever foremost to check the progress of improvement, the people are led to embrace a purer system of faith, but the Inquisi-

tion foresees the ruin of its power, of its authority, and of its wealth, the only gods which it worships, and therefore exerts its utmost energy to check the growing danger.

I shall mention another instance, in addition to those before cited, to shew the dreadful injustice of the Inquisition, and how infinitely more they were interested in plundering the innocent of their property, than in punishing crimes or heresies, or in defending religion, whose sacred name they always pretended to hold up as a screen to their injustice.

Joseph Pereira Meneses, captain-general of his Portuguese Majesty's fleets in India, was ordered, by the Governor of Goa, to sail, with his squadron, to succour the city of Diu, which was besieged by the Arabs. Proceeding in his voyage, he was detained by contrary winds at Baçaim; whereby the Arabs had an opportunity of plundering the city, and bearing off the spoils before the arrival of the succours under Pereira. This commander having returned to Goa, was immediately seized, by order of Antonio de Castro, governor of that place, and a sworn enemy of Pereira. His prosecution was then ordered, and he was accused of loitering purposely at Baçaim, in order to avoid engaging the enemy, and by this neglect and cowardice of having occasioned the loss of the city of Diu. However, as governors are not allowed to put any commander to death, without first obtaining an express order from the court of Portugal, Antonio de Castro could not take away his enemy's life, for which reason he pronounced such a sentence on him as was more intolerable than death itself, to a man of feeling and of honour. Pereira, pursuant to this judgment, was led by the common executioner, through the streets, with a halter about his neck, and a distaff at his side. A herald, walking before, cried aloud, that this punishment was inflicted on him, by the king, as a coward and a traitor. He was then led back to prison, where a familiar of the Inquisition came and demanded him.



This fresh step surprised every body, who knew that he could not justly be accused of Judaism, as he was of an ancient Christian family, and had always behaved himself with the strictest propriety.

The day of the auto da fè was now, impatiently expected, by the people, in order that his crime might be made known to them ; but how great was their surprise, when the prisoner did not come forth in the procession. Pereira had been involved in a quarrel with a gentleman, once his intimate friend, and who had been apparently reconciled to him long before this misfortune. This wretch, however, who harboured a secret resolution to revenge himself, whenever an opportunity should offer, thought this imprisonment of Pereira the most favourable that would probably ever occur. He therefore suborned five of Pereira's domestics, who accused their master to the Inquisition, of having committed a crime, not to be mentioned, with one of his pages, who was thereupon seized. The unfortunate young man having less courage than his master, and dreading a cruel death, in case he should not do every thing he was commanded, and finding no other way to save his life than by pleading guilty, charged himself with a crime of which he was perfectly innocent, and thus became, pursuant to the practice of the Inquisition, a fresh witness against his master. The servant, by this confession, saved his life, and was banished to Mozambique, on the coast of Africa.

In the mean time, as Pereira persisted in declaring himself innocent, he was condemned to be burned alive, and would certainly have been committed to the flames, had not his continual protestations of his innocence, or rather an involuntary esteem which the Inquisitors entertained for him, caused them to suspend his execution, in order to try whether they might not, in time, prevail upon him to make a confession, or find opportunity to clear up the affair. For this reason he was ordered to remain in prison till the next auto da fè. During this interval, the Inquisition exa-

mined the prisoner and the witnesses several times ; when, interrogating the latter separately, whether the moon shone upon the night, in which, pursuant to their oath, their master had committed the detestable crime of which they accused him, they were found to vary in their answers. Being accordingly put to the torture, they denied every thing which they had formerly sworn. The accusers were then seized, and Joseph Pereira, being declared innocent, was let out of prison, but stripped of his property, and ruined without redress, for nothing could force the Inquisitors to relinquish his goods which they had confiscated. This enormous injustice then they were guilty of to an innocent man, as they themselves declared him to be, his chief accuser being banished for nine years to the coast of Africa, and the witnesses sentenced to the galleys for five years. Thus, by the odious constitution of this tribunal, we perceive that firmly maintaining his innocence, only exposed him to the greater danger of destruction, (for the escape of Pereira was merely accidental,) and the dreadful indifference which the Inquisition shewed, in endangering the lives of their fellow-creatures, completes the swollen catalogue of its iniquities. Although the regulations of the tribunal exposed them to the risk of continual injustice, they never would confess that they had been guilty of any.

I shall mention a few instances, to shew how common it was to men to become the victims of their manly refusal to pronounce themselves guilty of crimes, which their consciences were unacquainted with.

A major in the army of the King of Portugal, a man of honour, and a brave officer, universally esteemed for his conduct, both as a soldier and a citizen, happened to inflict some necessary punishment upon an individual of his corps. The soldier, fired with revenge, denounced him to the Inquisition: the major was accordingly arrested and confined for two years in the dungeons. During this interval he was frequently interrogated, but it was

only to ask him whether he knew the causes of his arrest. It was impossible for him to tell, as he was utterly ignorant of the false charges which had been made against him. Nearly three years passed away in this manner. At length they declared that he had been accused and *convicted* of being a Jew, and consequently of having apostatized from the faith. He exclaimed loudly against this iniquitous sentence, indignantly detailed the circumstances of his life, named the numerous respectable persons to whom he was known, and demanded their testimony in his favour. He utterly denied the false charge made against him, and confuted, with the spirit of conscious innocence, the testimony which had been adduced. The Inquisitors, unable to resist the conviction of his innocence, yet unwilling to confess the injustice of their severity, united their utmost efforts to prevail upon him to confess himself guilty; they added promises, then intreaties; they solemnly swore that not only would they save his life, but restore to him the entire of his property.

The grand Inquisitor himself was interested in the fate of this officer; he had known him from his infancy, and was, more than any body, convinced of his innocence, though his monkish pride forbade him to acknowledge it. To all his endeavours to overcome the constancy of the prisoner, the latter replied, with the dignity of a truly honourable man, that he would rather die the victim of his innocence, than save his life by uttering a falsehood. At length the grand Inquisitor, irritated at his constancy, forgot himself so far one day as to say to him, "What! do you think then that we will give ourselves the lie in this affair?" *Ciudes que aveis de ganhar?* This was as much as to say, We are determined to burn you to death rather than confess that we have acted unjustly towards you.

At length, after three years of imprisonment, the day of the auto da fê arrived, the major was condemned, and his sentence read. The dreadful severity of his confinement, and the near

approach of a horrible punishment, shook the firmness of this great man's mind. They gave him a confessor, whose solicitations at length overcame him, he yielded, and determined upon the falsehood. Thus his life was granted, but he appeared at the ceremony with the *samarra* already described, upon which were painted the flames reversed, called *fuego revolto*, in order that the people might suppose him justly condemned, and that, if he had escaped death, it was because he had confessed his own guilt. The Inquisitors thus preserved their credit by means of a lie. While they condemned him to death, they were certain of his innocence; but they were induced, to save appearances, and, in order to effect this completely, beside the stigma which they cast upon him by compelling him to appear at the auto da fè in the costume of a criminal, they confiscated all his property to their own use (the great end of all their industry), and condemned him for five years to the galleys.

A Portuguese, of an illustrious family, but of a new Christian race, Don Luis Pecoia Dessa by name, was arrested by the Inquisition of Coimbra, upon the information of his steward, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty. His first examination turned upon the subject of his property; he declared that he possessed an annual rental of thirty thousand livres in immoveable property, and that his personal estate was corresponding. The Inquisition immediately resolved not to lose so valuable a prize, and, to remove every obstacle to their scheme, they immediately arrested the wife and daughter of Don Luis, his two sons, and several of his relations, whom he generously supported in his house. His wife and daughter died, after a confinement of a few days; his two sons, who were both very young, were forced to confess whatever was required of them, and were then sentenced to ten years exile in the Algarves. However, Don Luis strenuously asserted his innocence, which he demonstrated beyond contradiction.

The Duke of Cadaval was the intimate friend of Don Luis,

and ventured to make some advances to the grand Inquisitor in his favour ; but the latter, according to the rigorous principles of the tribunal, only replied, that if Don Luis persisted in denying his guilt, that he would be inevitably burned. However, he said, as a *special favour*, he would promise him, that if, during the ceremony of the auto da fê, he succeeded in prevailing upon Don Luis to confess, his life should be spared, though it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Inquisition.

He was indeed condemned to the stake, and appeared at the auto da fê in the carrocha, and the samarra covered with flames and devils. The Duke of Cadaval had placed his most intimate friends in his path ; they flung themselves, all in tears, upon the neck of this unfortunate man, and conjured him, by all he held dear and sacred, to save his life. They told him that there was still time, that they had received a solemn promise to that effect : they told him that the loss of his property ought not to give him any uneasiness, that the Duke of Cadaval had commanded them to assure him that he would provide for all his wants even beyond his wishes. Nothing could move him, he said that he would die a Christian, that the accusation, of which he was the victim, was only a pretext made use of, by the Holy Office, to seize upon his spoils, and so continued to proceed.

The ceremony now went on, the sermon was finished, the reading of the sentences was commenced, and but a moment remained. The deputies of the Duke of Cadaval, in despair, threw themselves at the feet of Luis ; “ In the name of God,” they exclaimed, “ save your valuable life.” This ill-fated man, overcome by their earnest prayers, at length yielded. He rose, he advanced towards the throne of the Inquisitors ; “ Come,” cried he in a loud voice, “ let me satisfy, by a falsehood, the wishes of my friends.” He was re-conducted to prison, where he passed two years ; he was then sent to Evora, where he appeared at the auto da fê, in the *san-benito de fuego revolto*, and was then sent to the gallies for five years.

The following story I relate, because it is told by Hierom Bartholomew Piazza, an Italian, who was himself one of the delegate judges of the court of the Inquisition at Osimo, and because it exhibits an affecting picture of the dreadful severity used in punishing the errors of a poor and illiterate man, whose false notions were only owing to the ignorance in which he was kept by those who ought to have taught him, and who it would have been mercy to instruct, as it was barbarity to punish.

According to the severe maxims of the Inquisition, which will not allow of any expostulation, or endeavour to correct the error of a friend or relation previously to conveying intelligence of the matter to the Holy Office ; a poor miller was accused, by his own wife, under several different heads. First, of having uttered words against the almighty power of God ; for, two or three of his children, whom he was extremely fond of, having died within a very short time of one another, he said that *God could never do worse to him*. Secondly, of despising holy images and medals, because she, having once shewed him one of these medals, which bore the image of one of the saints, and which one of his children, who was dead, had been accustomed to wear at his neck, he had flung it upon the ground, with the greatest violence. The third was concerning the immortality of the soul ; for the said miller had been heard to say, “ I think all our preachers tell us so many great things of our souls, only to frighten us, for I have seen several persons dying, who, after their last breath, left nothing behind them.”

This was, in substance, what the miller's wife deposed against him. The witnesses, named by her, were examined, and related nearly the same which she had done : but, being asked about the character of the husband, they declared that he was, as far as they knew, a very honest man and a good Christian, and eminently religious, as they all agreed, by his having always shewed a peculiar respect and consideration for the souls which were suffering in purgatory, according to the Romish doctrine,

as he often gave alms, in order to have masses celebrated for their relief. They also all declared, without being asked about his wife, that she was very jealous of him, and by no means celebrated as an extraordinarily good woman.

I was very unwilling (says the author abovenamed) to proceed against this poor man, as I perceived, by what the witnesses had deposed, that what he had said and done was much more the effect of sudden heat and passion, than of the want of a Christian and true belief. For if he felt that commiseration for the souls in purgatory, which they alleged, it was plain that he believed that souls existed after death, and do not die with our bodies, which I considered the chief point against him. However, the grand Inquisitor ordered me to pursue the cause, and to arrest the man. So, accordingly, the *capiatur* or order for his apprehension was written, as usual, by the chancellor of the courts of Inquisition, and given to the *Barigello* of the same court, who arrested, and carried the poor man to prison. Now the form commonly used in making out this order is as follows,—*Ex mandato Reverendissimi patris inquisitoris, (or admodum reverendi patris vicarii) sancti officii N. Capiatur N. N. et ducatur at secretos carceres pro interesse sancti officii.*

Datum in *Ædibus sancti officii*

Anno      Mense      Die

Viz. By order of the reverend father, the general Inquisitor, or of the right reverend father the vicar of the Inquisition (of such a place), let N. N. be taken and carried to secret prisons, for the benefit or service of the said Inquisition, &c. Here the general Inquisitor, or his vicar, subscribes the order with his own hand, and the chancellor does the same.

The miller being sent to prison, and examined, confessed, immediately, every thing of which he was accused. Now here we should remark one peculiarity which belongs only to the Inquisition. In all other courts, when a person has confessed the crime laid to his

charge, nothing remains but sentence and condemnation ; but, in the Inquisition, that is not the case. In this court they wish to know whether he really believes what he has declared in confession, and the rack is the means ordinarily employed for this purpose.

The poor miller, therefore, having plainly avowed every thing laid to his charge, was next particularly examined about his belief, as is always done before the rack is applied. As to the first head he said, he certainly believed that God was possessed of almighty power, and that he could do every thing that was not impossible in its nature : but that he was so concerned and vexed for the death of his children, that his grief made him think and say, at the time, that nothing worse could happen to him than that. As to flinging the medal on the ground, he said, he believed whatever the Church taught about holy images and medals ; and that he had flung the medal upon the ground, not through contempt of the same, or of any saint, or image, but because the medal used to hang at the neck of his beloved child, and, his wife having shewed it to him on purpose to distress him, he had flung it away through grief and anger. Lastly, concerning the principal point, being asked, whether he believed what the preachers commonly said about the soul, viz. that it is immortal, and never dies, but is eternally happy with God and his holy angels in heaven, or everlastingly miserable with the devils in hell ; or whether he thought that the preachers said these things only to frighten people ; he answered, “ *Sir, I don't believe it with my heart, but sometimes only with my mind,—Non col cuore, ma solo alle volte colla mente.*” And being asked, what he meant by believing with his heart, and believing with his mind, he could not give any better answer, but always replied, that with his heart he truly and indeed believed that our soul never dies ; that it is immortal, and goes either to heaven or to hell, but with his mind he was sometimes believing the contrary. He was a poor ignorant man and incapable of expressing himself better.



Thus the miller was kept confined in prison for a long time, while we were waiting for the definitive sentence from the Holy Office at Rome, to whom the general Inquisitor had sent a statement of the case. I pitied him much on account of his ignorance and simplicity, and because he had children, who, in his absence, were in want of bread ; and I therefore did whatever lay in my power to bring his case to a speedy and favourable termination, but to no purpose. After a great many weeks, there came at last the sentence or *decretum* as it is called, which was expressed in these words ; *Torqueatur super intentione ; et si catholici responderit, præviâ abjuratione de vehementi, damnatur ad carceres, ad arbitrium sacræ congregationis.* That is, Let the prisoner be put to the torture about his intention and belief, and if he return good and catholic answers, let him first be obliged to make the abjuration *de vehementi*, and then imprisoned at the pleasure of the court.

Not being able to endure the thought of inflicting this dreadful punishment, I besought the general Inquisitor to remove him to his own place of residence, under pretence that he possessed greater conveniences for its application. He was accordingly conveyed to Aremo, and racked, according to the decree of Rome, when, having answered exactly as he had done before, he was compelled to make public abjuration, and then confined for twelve months in a close prison, before he could obtain his liberty.

The rack employed here, and generally throughout Italy, is as I formerly described, namely, that in which the sufferer is raised off the ground by a rope, and then let suddenly fall, by which his joints are all dislocated ; but here it is common to suspend a considerable weight of irons to the feet of the unfortunate man, which increases the violence of the shock, and the agony of the torture.

The imagination of the reader is, no doubt, shocked and fatigued with the contemplation of this long series of impious and atrocious cruelties, for impious surely they were, which were perpe-

trated in the name of the God of mercy, and under the pretence of a religion which breathes only humanity, mercy, long-suffering, and forgiveness of enemies. The reader cannot fail to have remarked how very small a part a regard to religion had in many of those unmerciful pretentions; to plunder the wealthy, to abase the great, to secure an unlimited dominion, which they exercised with a barbarity that strikes the mind with horror, to gratify their own fell revenge, or basely to minister to the revenge of others, these were their great and transcendant objects. The means were proportioned to ends so abominable, to arrest the progress of every kind of knowledge, to crush every mind which dared to think for itself, to immerse all ranks of men in a degrading superstition, which placed them wholly at the devotion of a multitude of ignorant, barbarous, and bigoted monks.

These details will elucidate the facts much better than any discussion, however elaborate, or any previous inferences, however naturally they may be deduced from the principles of this dreadful tribunal; but, before I close this part of my narrative, I cannot forbear to relate the following story, because, at the same time that it affords another opportunity of judging of the convenient opportunity which the Inquisition affords of forwarding and encouraging the most abominable villanies, when the slightest suggestion of suspicion was sufficient to cause the arrest and imprisonment of the most spotless character, it, at the same time, presents so engaging a picture of fidelity, spirit, and perseverance, as ought to be known for the honour of our nature.

In the year 1702 Don Estevan de Xeres, a rich inhabitant of Mexico, quitted America in order to reside in Spain, from which he had been absent since his infancy, and at the same time brought with him a considerable part of his fortune. He was now about fifty-four years of age. Some residents obliged the captain of the vessel in which Estevan had taken his passage, to put into Lisbon. However, he considered this accident as of small importance, and

resolved to travel by land to Madrid. He accordingly disembarked his domestics, his effects, his gold, and his merchandize, and took a lodging in Lisbon, intending to pass a few days in that city, in order to recover from the fatigues of his voyage.

The avarice of the landlord of the house wherein our traveller lodged, was inflamed, at the sight of the great riches which Estevan possessed, and he burned with desire to appropriate at least, some part to himself; but how was this object to be accomplished? To accuse him before the Inquisition was indeed a sure method of plundering Estevan of his treasures, but then the Holy Office would confiscate them, and thus become the only gainer. He at length thought that, in the interval between the seizure of his person, and the arrival of the commissioners to confiscate his goods, he should be able to secrete something of value, and run no risk of being brought to any account upon the subject. He therefore determined on this plan. Another difficulty still remained behind. Estevan had been only a very few days in Lisbon; he was a stranger, whose life was totally unknown to him, as to every body else in the city. Upon what was he to found his accusation so as to give it that appearance of probability which even the Inquisition required? It happened that this wretch had a son, as abandoned to all virtue as himself, who had made many travels in America. He was of profligate morals and embarrassed circumstances, and the father expected, by allowing him some small share of the treasures he should secure, to bring him over to second his base designs. He resolved immediately to impart his scheme to him, and went instantly to seek him.

This son, worthy of such a father, accepted the proposal with alacrity. In his travels he had resided, for some time, in Mexico; Don Estevan was not entirely unknown to him; it would be possible to make it appear that a violent passion for an Indian beauty had prevailed on him to gratify his mistress and her friends by some acts of adoration towards the sun. As the country was known to

this young man, he would be enabled to mention the scene where this transaction had happened, and the witnesses who were present upon the occasion. The father was to add, to this information, that Don Estevan, since his arrival in Lisbon, had neglected to attend the churches; that he continued every day, for some hours, shut up in his own apartment, in order, probably, to follow, without restraint, his idolatrous devotions; that this suspicion was farther confirmed by some little figures, of a strange form, which he had brought with him, which he kept constantly in his chamber, and which he had strictly commanded the servants of the house not to touch or to disarrange.

Their abominable and ridiculous plot being thus laid, the two wretches repaired to the *mesa* of the Holy Office, and delivered in their information. It was well received. The riches of the stranger had, during some days, been universally talked of in Lisbon, and the opportunity of seizing upon them was much too favourable to be lost. The next day, late in the evening, Estevan was arrested as he descended from his coach to enter his lodgings. Estevan fortunately had, among the number of his domestics, a young negro of about four-and-twenty years of age, whom he had educated from his infancy, and the faithful youth, by his extreme intelligence, his capacity, and his exemplary conduct, but above all, by his inviolable attachment and affection, which resembled the strongest filial piety, had abundantly repaid the kindness which he had shewn, and the confidence which he placed in him. Zamora, for this was his name, was present when his master was arrested. He knew enough of the Portuguese and Spanish manners to suspect the occasion, but, in order to ascertain the fact, he followed, at a distance, the familiars who conducted his benefactor. He saw them enter the gates of the Inquisition; and from that moment he formed the resolution of saving his life, or of perishing in the attempt. His first reflection was, that without money he could not hope for success. He therefore flew back to

his master's lodging, being acquainted with the spot where the most valuable effects were deposited, from the perfect confidence which was placed in his honesty. He therefore instantly ascended to the apartment, and seized a small chest filled with diamonds, together with a pocket-book which contained the most valuable notes, he then hastened down stairs, and, escaping amid the confusion which the event, which had just passed, occasioned, he went and hired a lodging, for the night, in a remote part of the city. All night he was tormented by the most distressing anxieties, he reflected on the danger to which he should be exposed were he discovered to possess the valuable effects which he had the good fortune to secure out of his master's property. Suspicion would undoubtedly be excited to his prejudice. He would be charged with having stolen them. His great project would thus be rendered abortive, and he would perish as a culprit without any advantage to his benefactor. But where was he to conceal his valuable prize? in whom should he confide? To whom reveal his important secret? At length he remembered that, since their arrival in Lisbon, he had attended his master, more than once, to the house of the French Consul, with whom he had appeared to be upon terms of strict friendship. He reflected, besides, that this person was not subject to the power of the Inquisition, and would be able to act without endangering himself by his humanity.

At the first dawn of day he arose, and, having repaired to the Consul's house, he intreated a private audience. Being admitted, he informed the Consul of the calamity which had befallen his master, of the resolution which he had formed to deliver him, of the means he had used to save part of his property and to provide himself a fund for carrying on of his design, and besought him to take charge of the precious articles which he bore.

The Consul, surprised at the spirit and fidelity of the young stranger, engaged to afford him every assistance in his power, and promised to keep, with the greatest safety, the deposit intrusted

to his care. He desired him to sit down, entered into conversation with him, and asked if he knew any thing about the reasons of his master's arrest. "Nothing in the world," replied the tender-hearted youth with tears in his eyes, "his conduct in the New World was always irreproachable, and, since we disembarked in this city, I have never been absent from him for a moment; I can safely assert that he was never guilty of a single act, or word, or look that betrayed even indiscretion, no, his riches have tempted some wretch to ruin him. In my honest opinion, if I am to speak my entire mind, Don Estevan made choice of a dangerous residence, the master of the house appeared to me to be too inquisitive, he harassed all our people with continual questions, and frequently interrogated myself concerning the life of my master. I do not like the character of this man; his son, whom I was told he had not seen for a long time, has been reconciled to him within a few days, and, during that time, they have had many private interviews and conferences together. I think I observed them to exchange very suspicious looks, as they viewed the numerous trunks and parcels which Don Estevan had brought with him into the house. The day before yesterday they spent the evening together, and yesterday they were never separated. Perhaps I am deceived, but I cannot help suspecting that these men are not unconcerned in the cause of our calamity." "If that be the case," replied the Consul, "I will baffle at least a part of their plot, I will disappoint their avarice, and that of the Inquisition. I know that Estevan has caused a large part of his cargo to be insured at Bourdeaux; I will require that this be sequestered to secure the charges of my countrymen, so that, if you succeed in your generous enterprise, Estevan at least will not be ruined." At these words Zamora could not contain his joy, he embraced the neck of the Consul. "Ah!" cried he, "it was heaven that guided my steps to you." "But how do you mean to proceed," said the Consul, "in this design?" "I know not, but this good fortune is a favourable omen of my success." "Consider the dangers you incur." "They are great

I am aware, but I fear them not." "How do you propose to begin?" "I cannot tell, Providence will be my guide." "But if you fail?" "Then I have nothing for which to wish for life."

The Consul, still more delighted to behold so warm and tender an attachment, embraced the youth once more; they resolved, in order to avoid all suspicion, that Zamora should only visit him in the night, to give an account of his proceedings, and to receive the money necessary for the furtherance of his plans. The Consul gave him the key of a private door in his garden, shewed him a private staircase by which he might ascend, unnoticed, to his chamber, and agreed with him upon a private signal to be made at the door. After arranging these points they separated, the Consul filled with uneasiness for the fate of the young stranger, and Zamora elated with hopes from the happy event of the commencement of his plans. That very morning the Consul repaired to the lodgings of Estevan, the commissioners of the Inquisition were there before him, and had begun to make an inventory of the goods of the prisoner. The Consul, by virtue of the treaty of commerce which existed between the two nations, exhibited to them the insurance of the company in Bourdeaux, and required, in order to secure the interests of his countrymen, that all the effects of Estevan should be sequestered until the termination of his trial. At the same time, calling to mind the suspicions expressed by Zamora, he required that the entire house should be searched, lest any part of the property of the prisoner should have been removed out of his own apartments. The host, terrified for the consequence of this proceeding, and knowing that the Inquisition was inexorably severe in punishing this kind of peculation, cried that he had intended himself to have made the same demand, because the parcels belonging to the prisoner were so numerous that, in the confusion of his first arrival, they had been placed in every part of the house, and some even in his own chamber, as he took care to specify. By these means this knave, being entangled in the net which him-

self had laid, completely lost the reward of his iniquity, and nothing was left left him but the remorse which followed so atrocious an action. The spirit and presence of mind of the Consul also compelled the commissioners to forego their claim to the immediate possession of the property of Estevan, and they viewed, with the utmost regret, the danger, in which they were, of losing so rich a booty.

Meanwhile Zamora, whose spirits were now considerably tranquillized, exerted all his ingenuity to devise a mode of proceeding which might, finally, conduct him to the event which his heart, so anxiously, desired. His first and most important step was to penetrate into the mansion of the Holy Office, but this attempt was also attended with great difficulty, and perhaps with imminent danger. It depended entirely upon the probability of the pretext which he should make use of, upon the occasion. A thousand different projects occurred to his mind, he compared them all, but no two agreed together. Thus a day passed without his being able to resolve upon any thing. So he returned to his lodging, discharged his debt there, and procured another in a more convenient part of the city. Being now secure of not wanting money, and of being able to make all the sacrifices necessary for the liberation of his benefactor, he however retired to rest once more, uncertain how he should begin, and recruited, by repose, the incessant fatigue, both of body and mind, which he had undergone during the last twenty-four hours.

The moment he awoke, he again began to revolve the ideas which were uppermost in his mind, when one thought occurred to him, which exhibited the possibility of gaining access to the mansion of the Inquisition without giving rise to any suspicion. He instantly rose, meditated upon the part which he was to play, and composed his dress, his figure, his mien, so as best to suit the character he assumed. At length, when he thought himself sufficiently prepared to deceive all observation by an apparent sim-



plicity, and to answer every objection that might be made to his declarations, he sallied forth and repaired to the Holy Office. It was about ten o'clock in the morning. He begged to speak to the grand Inquisitor. The guards and attendants treated him with rudeness. "His Eminence is asleep." "I will wait then." "So you may wait! On whose part do you come?" "On my own." "Your own, indeed, perhaps you belong to some master?" "Yes, to Don Estevan." In a moment the crew was changed; they took him for an informer. "Enter, my good friend, his Eminence shall be apprized of your visit." A messenger was instantly dispatched with the intelligence, and returned back almost instantly. "His Eminence," said the messenger, "is engaged at present, but he has commanded his private secretary, the right reverend father Juan Maria, of the most illustrious order of St. Dominic, to give you an audience." They then conducted him through a number of magnificent apartments, and brought him, at length, to that of the secretary, who was carelessly reclined upon a sofa, after having just finished his chocolate. He was in the act of saluting a young lady, concerning whom we are not to make too many enquiries. "Go in peace," said he, "my dear sister, and sin no more;" a smile was her reply as she left the room. "Well, my son, you belong then to this wretch Estevan? He is a great sinner, is he not? He is a new Christian, his mother was a Jewess, dont you say so? Shall I write down your deposition." "Most reverend and illustri..." "Come, my son; dont tremble so, take courage, you are here in the very temple of justice and of mercy." "I thought so when I entered it, most illustrious! Ah! Don Estevan, he is the cause of my grief. Consider, most reverend father, how frequently, in Mexico, he promised to have me baptised, but some business or other always interfered." "Tell of his impiety, my son, he is an Atheist, he mocks at the Sacraments. Well, my good child, go on..." "Well, reverend father, he promised to secure me this blessing in Europe, but see, he has been arrested, and I am not baptised, and if, by any misfortune, I should now die,

poor Zamora would go directly into hell . . .” “ *Bone Deus!* My son, God will not allow such a thing to happen; but what was he arrested for?” “ I know not, most reverend father, I suppose by the government; but finding myself forsaken and abandoned to myself, I imagined that, as the grand Inquisitor, and all who surrounded him are saints, none were so proper to extricate me from the danger in which I stand.” “ *Gloria patri et filio et Spiritui sancto.* Yes, my dear son, we will rescue you from the claws of the devil. It is God himself who has been your conductor hither . . .” “ Ah! good father, what joy, what happiness for me! there are fifty pieces of gold, it is the fruit of my labour since my childhood, will your reverence condescend to employ this money in having masses said for my salvation? . . .” “ Fifty pieces! *sit nomen Domini benedictum*, I will instruct you, I will teach you your catechism, I will be your sponsor, with my niece whom you saw here just now, and I trust that his Eminence, the grand Inquisitor, will condescend to perform the ceremony; but what business have you at present?” “ None, I have now no place, I have given your reverence all that I had, but I would rather fast than lose my salvation . . .” “ The harmlessness of the dove! . . . Well, I will attach you to the Holy Office, it is the way of Heaven. What can you do?” “ I know a little of cooking and gardening, I can shave well, besides I am active and alert. I have a quick eye, a ready ear and an excellent memory.” “ And discretion?” “ I can answer for that . . .” “ Excellent!” replied the secretary, and rang a small bell which lay upon the table! “ Majordomo,” said he to a man who entered and stood respectfully at the door, “ this young negro is a catachumen whom his Eminence and I take under our special protection, I recommend him to you, you will employ him in whatever he is found fit for, I entrust him to your care, give him a chamber to himself, and see that he be well fed and well treated. Go, and you, my son, follow him, work, and pray that you may not fall into temptation.” The Majordomo and Zamora bent their knees with submission, and his

reverence honoured them with his salutation, *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus.*

If Zamora had dared to give way to the feelings of his soul, to what transports would he not have yielded; but he was obliged to confine them within his own heart. He was anxious, above all things, to apprise the Consul of his success. But for the first days, they might watch his steps, the powerful protection of father Juan Maria had excited jealousy among the domestics of the house. It was necessary that he should deprive them of even the slightest pretext to injure him. He, accordingly, employed the first month in conciliating the good will of every body around him. He studied, assiduously, the catechism of father Juan, he anticipated his desires, he guessed at his intentions, and gratified his smallest wishes. When presented, by him, to the grand Inquisitor, he had been equally successful in recommending himself to that prelate; without being elated by this favour, and without even boasting of his credit among his inferiors, he used his utmost exertions to please them; he assisted their labours, executed their commissions, drank with them, concealed or excused their errors, so that, in a short time, he became the object of universal affection in the Holy Office.

It was, above all, to the alcaide and the guards of the prisoners that he studied to recommend himself. The alcaide had a mistress of whom he was jealous, and Zamora, by executing his business in the house, enabled him to absent himself more frequently. The guards were fatigued with their duty, Zamora watched for them, and passed whole nights in their place. He entertained them with accounts of his travels and of his country, and sometimes a few bottles of wine promoted the hilarity of the evening. Still all this was very far from the object upon which his heart was set. Already, thanks to the confidence which he enjoyed, and to his reason, he had got access to the dungeons of upwards of fifty prisoners, but without entering the only one which he wished to behold. How

was he to discover it? Of whom should he enquire? The most indifferent question might occasion his destruction. However, he went to visit his friend the Consul, who, delighted at his success, supported his courage, but was unable to give him any hint of what he wisd to know. The fatiguing restraint of the part which he was thus obliged to play for upwards of four months, and his increasing anxiety, undermined both his health and his spirits, and he would probably have sunk beneath the weight of his affliction had not Heaven come to his relief.

One morning, as he stood in the gallery with the guards, the majordomo brought a note to the alcaide. The alcaide immediately ordered six of them to take their carbines. This was the usual sign that they were about to conduct a prisoner to the *mesa* or board of the Holy Office. Zamora was going to retire, when the alcaide said to him, "Come you also with us, you will behold a quarter you are not as yet acquainted with." These words made him tremble with anxiety. He followed them. The alcaide then opened a door which, till then, Zamora had always seen shut. They ascended to an upper floor, and came to a gallery less dark than that below. "This is the quarter of the *Hidalgos*, or people of quality," said the alcaide. At last they arrived at one chamber, the bars were withdrawn, the double doors were opened; "You are summoned," said the alcaide to the prisoner within; a person then came forth, it was Estevan himself. What a moment to Zamora! what surprise! Estevan proceeded with his eyes fixed upon the ground: he raised them, and beheld his faithful follower. Zamora shuddering with terror, lest some slight gesture might occasion the destruction of both, placed his finger upon his lips. Estevan understood the signal, and went forward without betraying the least emotion. Zamora being thus set at ease, suffered him to proceed with his escort, and, availing himself of the confidence which he enjoyed in the house, returned, during the

absence of Estevan, to his dungeon, the door of which was left open ; he examined its position, upon what external part of the building the window opened, how many bars secured it, and at what height it stood from the ground. It was over the garden, the elevation about fifty feet. No windows, where any dangerous observation could be made, were directed towards this quarter: this was all he wanted to know. He came forth, and nobody observed him. He then descended and waited Estevan's return. For a long time Zamora had been ready to take advantage of any fortunate event. After a lapse of about two hours, Estevan returned, with the same retinue, their eyes again met, and much meaning was in the glance. Being arrived at the door of his dungeon Estevan entered, the alcaide was about to bolt the door, the officious Zamora offered to spare him the trouble, and, pretending to employ some force, and drawing close the inner door, he passed his hand through the wicket, by which the food of the prisoners is introduced, and let a small billet fall within, then, having shut both the doors, he retired with the guards and the alcaide. Estevan snatched this billet as the palladium of his fate, and read : *Courage, Patience, Silence, Attention, And Above All Tear After You Read.* What a moment ! what transport ! As soon as they had descended the stairs, the alcaide said to Zamora, " He did not recognize you, I observed him attentively, not the least symptom of emotion escaped him." " It was owing to his passing suddenly from darkness into light," answered Zamora ; " and what if he had recognized me ? in coming hither I have done my duty, and let him do his." " That is well said," replied the alcaide, " but when are you to be baptized ?" " I know not, in three or four months, as his reverence promised me : my Godmother is gone to Madrid, and he waits for her return. But, Mr. Alcaide, you must be fatigued, a glass of wine and a biscuit will not be unacceptable, let us ascend to my chamber." " With all my heart."

The evening come, and Zamora, being at length alone, could.

indulge in the excess of his joy, and meditate on what remained to be done, to crown, with success, an enterprize which he had hitherto conducted with so much skill. The most dangerous step was, by unexpected good fortune, prosperously accomplished. Estevan knew that his friend was near, and must suspect his intention; they had seen one another, and no suspicion had been excited. He was therefore free from all apprehension in that quarter, but when would another opportunity of seeing him occur? should he wait until he was again summoned to an audience? Alas! that might not be for a very long time: the Inquisition is slow in its proceedings. His impatience excited him to action, he resolved to depend upon his own address, upon fortune which had hitherto been so propitious, and upon the favour and protection of Heaven, which he humbly hoped would be propitious to innocence.

The next morning he was in the garden, which laid beneath the window of Estevan; he had worked there an hundred times without suspecting he was so near his unfortunate master. The gardener was accustomed to see him there, and never interfered with any work that he did; he knew that father Juan was his protector, and that was enough. This gardener was a man of above sixty years, who was extravagantly fond of brandy, and Zamora took care that he should not want his favourite liquor. He had, by his good-natured attentions, rendered himself equally agreeable to the wife, so that Zamora was like the master of the house. It was necessary to pass through this house in order to enter the garden from the street, into which the outer door opened. None but persons belonging to the Inquisition were permitted to enter there. The confidence of the gardener, the good will of his wife, and the liberty which was necessary for the performance of his work, had enabled Zamora to obtain a key of their door. By day or by night, at any hour that he pleased, he could enter the garden unnoticed, and this had been the case almost ever since he had been in the house. Upon that day, he employed himself in ascertain-

ing which of the windows, that opened into the garden, belonged to the dungeon of his master; he had taken care to count the number of doors which opened into the gallery and, by reckoning the same number of windows, he flattered himself that he had ascertained the right one. However, to remove all doubt, he took a spade, and pretending to dress some beds of flowers, he whistled a plaintive air which is well known to the inhabitants of Mexico. He was not mistaken; by reason of the silence which reigns in the Inquisition, the tune reached the ear of Estevan, who instantly made signal, by coughing within, that he was sensible of the presence of his faithful servant.

Secure on this point, Zamora devoted himself, for some days, to assist the servants, whose business it was to convey their food to the prisoners, in the morning and evening. They at length became so used to his assistance, that they fell into the habit of calling him when this duty was to be performed. It was commonly done at noon and at six o'clock in the evening. Some of the guards always attended the servants, but whatever may be the rigour of the internal discipline of the Inquisition, it happens here, as well as elsewhere, that a duty, frequently repeated, at stated hours, is very apt to be performed negligently and with remissness. By these means he had the opportunity of sometimes approaching Estevan, but the season did not seem to him propitious to his views, the days being still too long. He determined to wait patiently for the autumn, since the darkness of the evenings would then better conceal their correspondence. The autumn arrived, and Zamora now formed his final resolution. He therefore supplied himself with money, which was necessary to forward his enterprize and to provide against every accident. At length, one evening, as he conveyed to Estevan his supper through the wicket, he contrived adroitly to let fall a second billet—*To-morrow, At the same Hour, Caution!* The next evening, at the hour of distribution, he took care to be at hand. His comrades arranged the suppers of the prisoners upon plates,

in order to convey them to their cells. Zamora took charge of the basket which contained the portions of bread. They then set forward. In going along, one piece of bread fell from the basket, or let us at least suppose that it fell. Zamora picked it up and placed it under his arm. This distribution then was made from door to door, and Zamora contrived to introduce, through that of Estevan, the piece of bread which he had picked up. Never, in his entire existence, did he experience anxiety equal to that which he suffered, from the moment when his pretended awkwardness caused the bread to fall from the basket, until that in which he conveyed it to the hand of Estevan. He had substituted it by stealth, in the kitchen, for another piece which he left there, in order that there might not appear to have been a piece too many, which might create suspicions, in such a place as the Holy Office, where the smallest trifles do not pass unnoticed. This piece of bread, which exactly resembled those distributed to the prisoners, had been prepared at the house of the Consul. It contained a file. Let the reader conceive, if it be possible, the anxiety of this faithful youth until he was certain that it was in the possession of Estevan. The sudden transition, from so tormenting a state of inquietude to the rapture which he felt in his success, completely overpowered his spirits, so much that, the moment he had descended the stairs, he fainted away. Every body flew to his assistance, every one was prodigal of attention. Even Father Juan Maria, when informed of the accident, came to see him. He quickly recovered his senses, and, with these, his native presence of mind. He ascribed his weakness to the oppressive heat of the day, and the little food which he had taken. Every word was heard with interest, every thing readily believed, and his precious secret was secure from detection. He then allowed Estevan time sufficient to avail himself of the invaluable present of the file. The festival of Christmas approached, and this was the season which Zamora had made choice of for his enterprise.



In those days the friers, fatigued by the severity of their duties, were accustomed to spend more time than usual at table, in order to recruit their strength and spirits, and were therefore likely to pass their nights in more profound repose. The night then was long and dark, and Zamora took care to choose a time when there was no moon. On the night which preceded the eve of Christmas-day, Zamora cast into his master's cell a third billet—*If you are ready, to-morrow, after dinner, leave some wine in your bottle.* The answer that he wished for was returned: this was on Christmas eve. Upon the day of this festival, Zamora enjoyed a still greater facility of correspondence; at the hour of distributing their supper to the prisoners, the greater part of the servants, the guards and the alcaide were still at church. Zamora then threw in his fourth and last billet—*To-morrow, between midnight and one o'clock, let down the cord and get yourself ready.* How long did this day appear to Zamora and his unfortunate friend! how much anxiety! how many distressing reflections! how many flattering expectations! The evening came; the routine of duty being over about six o'clock, the grand Inquisitor and the majority of the superior members of the Inquisition sat down to table. The wine was not spared, at nine they separated, and in half an hour more they were all buried in a profound sleep. The alcaide then said to Zamora, "Every body is asleep, as you perceive, there are no rounds to go to-night, I will go and spend a few hours with donna Jacintha" (his mistress). "Well," replied Zamora, "I have promised to sup with the gardener and his wife, if you please we will go out together. The alcaide desired the guard to watch well, they promised as usual, and in half an hour after they were as fast asleep as every other person. When the principal fails in his duty, it seldom happens that the subalterns are upon the alert. Zamora and the alcaide then went out, and each repaired to the place of his appointment. Zamora supped with the gardener and his wife, he had supplied himself with excellent wine; joy, laughter, and songs

heightened the pleasure of the repast, bumper followed bumper, and at eleven o'clock the gardener leaned snoring upon the table. The wife soon followed her lord's example, and Zamora was left alone.

The clock now struck twelve. Zamora extinguished the candles, and, on tip-toe, descended the stairs. He entered the garden, it was perfectly dark, and rained violently. He first ran to dig up a rope ladder, which he had concealed beneath a bed of flowers, of which he alone had the care, under the pretence of cultivating them for father Juan Maria. After some search he found it, he flew to the window, a slight whistle was the signal, in a moment after he saw descend a thin cord which he had conveyed to Estevan, he seized it, fastened to it his ladder and then gave it a gentle pull. With the utmost extasy he saw the ladder ascend; the agitation which he endured was now most dreadful. Estevan appeared: and a moment more gave him to the extatic embrace of the delighted Zamora. They flew across the garden, entered the street, and were soon at a distance from this dreadful place. Zamora, unable to speak, again strained his master to the heart, the tears bedewed both their cheeks, and spoke with an eloquence, which it is not in language to express. "Come," at length cried Zamora, "thanks to the Father of all mercies, we are safe." They were then about to enter the street which was adjacent to the garden of the Consul, when a man appeared. It was the alcaide. Oh, heavens, what astonishment! "Is this you, Zamora?" said he; "and this man, surely I know his face?" The moment was dreadful, it was the decisive one. Zamora seized the arm of the alcaide, and put a pistol to his breast: "If you speak," said he, "death! if you are silent, a thousand franks." "Neither," said the alcaide, "you fly, I perceive, let me accompany you, that is all I wish." Zamora hesitated. "Fear nothing," replied the alcaide, "I have lost every thing; Jacintha was false, she is no more: Lisbon is now no place for me." "Come," said Zamora. The meeting, the conversation, the resolution, all passed

in a time much shorter than the description. They then entered the garden of the Consul, flew across it in a moment, reached the door, ascended the stairs, and here had their liberty secure in the asylum of his chamber.

“ Oh, eternal Giver of all good,” exclaimed Estevan, as he bent his knees before the throne of his God, “ hear the prayer of thy unfortunate creature, recompense my deliverer, whom thy mercies have enabled to atchieve his daring resolution.” How shall I paint the transports, the overflowing extacy, the interrupted exclamations of the three friends. Estevan was indebted to one for the recovery of his liberty, and to the other for the security of his fortune. “ How,” he would cry out, every moment, “ how have I deserved such love ?” “ Are you not my father,” replied Zamora ? “ Are you not an honest and an injured man ?” exclaimed the Consul. Again they embraced and mingled their tears together. Thus passed the night. They listened, with delight, to the detail of what Zamora had done in order to attain the object of his hopes. What admirable address ! what presence of mind ! what secresy ! what perseverance ! He repeated his tale over an hundred times, but they seemed never to be tired of hearing it. “ But you, Estevan, how much you must have endured !” “ From the day that I beheld Zamora,” he replied, “ hope resumed her station in my heart, and I ceased to suffer. But why my arrest ? what had I done ? what was my crime ?” Have not your judges informed you ? No, not a syllable. No matter, you are safe, forget your woes, forget your enemies, they have suffered for their villainy. My exertions, in depriving your unworthy host of the booty of which he had robbed you, and which he expected to secure, by your destruction at the auto da fè, rendered him unable to recompense his equally detestable son ; this base accomplice avenged himself by parricide. Flight snatched him from the sword of offended justice, he traversed Spain and reached France, where new crimes

conducted him to the scaffold. At the moment of death he declared the crime which he and his father had been guilty of towards you. This declaration, properly authenticated, had reached me, and if heaven had not smiled upon Zamora, I would have laid it before the grand Inquisitor: but God, in his wisdom, has decreed otherwise. It only now remains that we should convey you to a country, where you may be out of the reach of envy and of danger. I have prepared every thing; there is a vessel ready to attend my orders, in which you may fly from this unpropitious soil. (This casket and these notes, which Zamora entrusted to my care, will secure you from any immediate want; I pledge myself to watch over your property, and to preserve, at least, a considerable part of it. Let us, however, suffer the first commotion, which your flight will occasion, to subside. For know that, by the maxims of the Inquisition, your death alone could expiate the guilt of an escape. You are here in a place of security, and I exult in the thought of being instrumental in your preservation.”

The sun had risen before their interesting conversation was ended. The alcaide, whom they had totally forgotten, now returned to their recollection. On entering, they had, in few words, informed the Consul of his case, who entrusted him to the care of his valet, with orders to watch him carefully. Zamora then hastened to see him. “I expected you,” said the unhappy man; “I can follow you no further, a burning fever consumes me: I have lost every thing that bound me to this life. The faithless—what shall I say? Love—revenge—oh! revenge! if men but knew the horrid remorse by which it is succeeded!”

From the very first day, a violent delirium distracted the miserable sufferer. “Jacintha! O faithless Jacintha!” he exclaimed in his frenzy, his strength decayed, the violence of his disorder increased, all remedy became fruitless, and in that dreadful situation he expired. In order to avoid all dangerous explanations, he was

privately interred in the chapel of the Consul, and it was generally believed, by the Inquisition of Lisbon, that he had favoured the escape of Estevan, and fled in his company.

The Consul suffered some days to pass away, during which he caused a report to be circulated, that Estevan and Zamora had been seen in the mountains of Alenteijo, as they were endeavouring to gain the little port of Lagos, in order doubtless to endeavour to embark thence. This piece of news, passing from one person to another, at last gained the greatest credit, and all the attention of the familiars of the Holy Office was turned in that direction. This was what the Consul had expected, and, accordingly, some spies, who had been observed about his hotel, entirely disappeared. He profited by this moment of calm. The master of the vessel was now ready, he accordingly sailed and brought to near the Cape of La Roca. The Consul set out in the evening with Estevan and Zamora behind his coach, whom he had dressed in his livery, and reached Cascao. The ship's cutter was waiting for them, he caused them to go on board her, and himself conducted the two fugitives to the vessel, where he entrusted them to the care of the captain, whom he officially ordered to answer for their safety to his government. Then, after a tender embrace, they separated.

The Consul returned to Lisbon, while nobody suspected the motive of his short journey. The ship immediately sailed, and, after a prosperous voyage, landed Estevan and Zamora safe at Bourdeaux. Being secure in this retreat, they mutually vowed never to separate, and to make the spot of their delivery that of their permanent habitation.

This is one instance of a prisoner fortunate enough to escape from the dungeons of the Inquisitors, but it is a rare instance, and who could venture to hope they might combine so many fortunate circumstances as providentially conspired to give liberty

to Estevan? But how many unhappy victims have fallen beneath their barbarous tyranny, for one whose happy destiny eluded their watchfulness. Still were their dungeons peopled with the unfortunate whom their redoubled vigilance, and irritated temper, deprived of all hopes of mercy or of indulgence!

## BOOK IX.

*Influence of the Inquisition upon the Manners, Civil Customs, Religious Habits, Literature, Theatres and Amusements of the Spaniards—Its Persecution of enlightened Men—Censure of Books—Exertions to maintain Superstition—Prejudice against Free-Masonry—Two interesting Anecdotes upon this Subject—Bad Policy of the Kings of Spain in protecting the Inquisition—Parallel between its Effect in Spain and Italy—Difference between its Influence in the two Countries—Cause of that Difference—Its Influence in the Councils of Monarchs—Persecution of Ossuna, Macunas, Olavidé and others—The Lisbon Nun—Legend of Saint James, the Patron of Spain—Absurdities of the Panegyrists of the Inquisition—The Inquisition abolished.*

IT is impossible to describe the injury done to religion by the dreadful abuse of its sacred name, in these barbarous spectacles, or to estimate the pernicious effects of an institution which was, for ever, armed against the human species, to plunder and murder them under sanction of the name of that God, whose gospel breathes only mercy, forgiveness of injuries, and contempt of the riches of this world. The fact is, that true religion existed no more in Spain and Portugal. When a people are brought to make their entire worship consist only in ridiculous superstitions, in the public performance of a number of absurd mummeries, and in marks of servile respect for a crowd of indolent, ignorant and dissolute monks; and when, on the other hand, there is no craft, no subterfuge, no means, however scandalous and indecent, which they do not put in practice, to dispense with the real duties imposed by their religion; when they make use of falsehood, corruption and libertinism, to procure the means of testifying their performance of these ceremonies which they must

despise ; when such is the state of the people, it is not too strong to assert that religion is totally abandoned amongst them, There is no real difference between the formal renunciation of a religion, and that hypocrisy which has recourse to absurd and almost impious grimace to deceive the rest of the world, by the semblance of a faith which is, in fact, forsaken, if the frankness of the former conduct renders it less detestable, than the dishonesty and duplicity of the latter.

The history of remote ages represents the Spaniards to us as a religious people ; but when the Inquisition appeared, it effaced, insensibly, this most noble of features in the national character, as it disfigured but too many of the rest, in the manner I have mentioned before. Instead of this piety, common to all the ancient Spaniards, there remained, to the moderns, nothing but superstition, which was the portion of that class who were really devotees, and a shocking hypocrisy, under which the greater part of the rest strove to hide their real want of religion. Thus the Inquisition extirpated every trace of true religion in all hearts ; the weak yielded themselves up to a degrading credulity, in order to calm their apprehension of its vengeance ; hypocrites multiplied, without end, the demonstrations of their piety, in order to guard against its vigilance. The former believed every thing that was required of them, the latter pretended to believe, and thus the line of true faith was entirely forsaken by both.

The maxim of the Inquisitors was, that, by force or by inclination, by persuasion or by violence, in short by all means, whether in themselves lawful or illicit, it was necessary to accustom men to discharge the duties of the Catholic faith, and that, sooner or later, the conviction of their truth and importance would arise in the mind : A maxim as false as it is cruel, but which they succeeded in causing to be adopted by the innumerable clergy of Spain.

It was at the season particularly denominated the holy week,



that the pernicious effects of this maxim were displayed, as stated by the respectable author of "Travels in Spain during the year 1777, 1778." Some days before this, he says, the parson of each parish pays a visit to each of his parishioners, with a register, in which he takes care to inscribe all their names. After the fortnight of Easter, he returns, and each inhabitant of the houses which he has visited, is obliged to present him with a certificate, not only of confession, but of communion. In order to procure these certificates there is no species of stratagem which they do not employ, and it is then that the most impious traffic is made of the most august ceremony of religion. The courtezans and most abandoned women make a sport of confessing and receiving the sacrament at all the parishes in the city, and sell, to their lovers, who are either too scrupulous or too impenitent to communicate themselves, the certificates which they have thus procured. There is nobody, he adds, not even excepting the priests, unworthy of the name, who do not pay, in this kind of money, for the favours of the women whom they desire. The greater number of men are adroit enough to procure themselves, in this manner, certificates of confession, though not always those of communion, either because they have been too late in their application to the dealers in an article so much in demand, or because their avarice causes them to stagger at the price which is demanded of them. So that the greater number go to receive the sacrament without any confession, and, by this violation of all rule, they save themselves half the expence or the trouble of appearing again before the parson. What is the consequence? It is, that, if any man, who has too much religion and too much honesty to descend to these profligate practices, and whose tender conscience, at the same time, scruples to approach the Lord's table, becomes unable to present a certificate to this parson at his second visit, he becomes exposed to the censure of the church, his name is fixed up with ignominy in the public streets; the Inquisition frequently seizes on his person,

and he is ruined. Thus the only man who feels any of the real influences of religion, amid this ocean of corruption and hypocrisy, is the very person who is punished and disgraced.

The monks had so succeeded in degrading the general spirit of the people, that their monastic mummery had even crept into ordinary conversation, and made part of the common courtesies of life. If you entered an assembly, or made your appearance in a drawing-room, politeness required that your first word should be *Deo gratias, ave Maria*, and the master or mistress of the house never failed to reply *Immaculata*. If you saluted one, it was by the words, *May God guard you*. In parting with any body, you always cried, *Go with the protection of the Virgin, of God, and of the Holy Ghost*. When a servant brought in the candles, he would infallibly be dismissed, if he failed to pronounce, *Blessed be the holy Sacrament of the Altar*; and the company replied, in unison, *In æternum*. If you happened to sneeze, you were saluted in the name of *Jesus*. If it chanced to thunder, or to lighten, they crossed themselves and sprinkled the apartments with holy water, they lighted the tapers, and unveiled the Madonnas.

The processions, especially those in holy week, were the very height of extravagant absurdity, not to call it impiety. People then ran about masked, they danced, they sang, they tore themselves with scourges, then, with their faces covered, but naked to the waist, tore their shoulders till the blood gushed out with the rod of discipline. They bore great wicker images representing the Apostles, muffled up in immense wigs made of hemp, well tied and powdered, holding in their hands large missals, and bearing, at the backs of their heads, looking-glasses, to imply that they knew what was to come. This was an exact imitation of the Janus of the heathens. There followed, after these, other colossal figures, representing Christ arrested in the garden, Christ entering Jerusalem, Christ bearing his cross, and the same sacred personage suspended upon the cross. All these images were carried by

*Nazarenos.* These Nazarenos were a species of penitents, whose coats had tails that dragged along the ground for the length of, at least, forty feet; and the most devout was he whose tail was the longest. At all these processions, men masked in the most hideous manner possible, represented the Jews; the people received them with hisses and groans, covered them with mud, and loaded them with execrations. In these circumstances we recognize the abominable spirit of the Inquisition, which strained every nerve to keep alive the hatred of the multitude against these unfortunate men, in order to render them unassailable by mercy or compassion, when they should force them to appear in the acts of faith.

The Spanish women enjoyed a greater liberty during those days of devotion than at any other season of the year: sitting or standing in the balconies of their houses, and covered only with a transparent veil, they received the homage, the glances, and frequently the *billets doux* of their lovers, and thus gave, to the pleasure of being seen, the season which the infatuated populace devoted to their superstitions. However, it is a consolation to reflect that, since the year 1777, the indecency of these processions had considerably diminished.

The Inquisitors, so furious in their persecutions of Jews, Heretics, and idolaters, permitted the Spanish people to indulge in the ceremonies of paganism:—Such as, for example, the devotion which the Spaniards paid to the dead. On certain days of the year, they covered their tombs with flowers, and sprinkled them with holy water, which they purchased for a sum of money from the churches. The preachers, from the pulpit, and the confessors, from their tribunal, never forget to cry; Sprinkle, sprinkle the grave of your parents; every drop of holy water extinguishes a blaze of the fire of purgatory.

Upon the day of All-Saints, every one was anxious to place lighted candles upon the tombs of his parents, because it was said that, on that day, all the deceased made a procession; and that

those, to whom the ingratitude of their children refused a candle, would be obliged to appear there in disgrace, and with their arms crossed. These candles were all disposed of by the churches, and the monks turned them to much better account than the dead.

Upon this same day of All-Saints, in almost all the cities and villages in Spain; there was a public sale or auction made for the benefit of the souls in purgatory. The fraternity of monks, who were appointed to celebrate this ceremony of superstition, made all the preparations for its performance. Ten or fifteen days before the auction, the brothers went round to all the houses of the city and the adjacent country, and received the offerings, which pious credulity was persuaded to make, of corn, vegetables, fruit, ducks, chickens, pigeons, lambs, sheep, &c. The day of the auction being come, they disposed, in the most public place of the city or village, a number of benches or seats for the purchasers, and then they sold, to the highest bidder, all the articles which their diligence had collected. The person who purchased the dearest was esteemed the most holy man. The money which arose from the sale was applied to the celebration of masses, which accounts for the encouragement that monks gave to this ridiculous custom. People went a-hunting upon the account of the souls in purgatory, they gave balls for their benefit. Upon the same great day of All-Saints the most zealous believers caused the best bed in their house to be prepared, and paid a monk to come and bestow his blessing upon it. Nobody was to venture to sleep in this bed on the night which preceded the day of All-Souls, in order that it might serve for the repose of the wandering spirits. So totally had the monks corrupted the minds of the people, that you frequently saw affixed to the doors of the churches; *hoy se saca anima*, "this day, souls are delivered;" and offerings were showered in upon the occasion.

In no country upon earth did masses bring in such a revenue to

the monks as in Spain and Portugal. Those which they said or ought to say daily were innumerable. By a special decree of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, all the masses which a man, at his death, should order to be said for his soul, were privileged, that is, the money required for the discharge of them, was to be paid before any of his lawful debts. Philip IV. by his testament, ordered that all the priests, who dwelt in the place where he should die, should ever repeat a mass upon the day of his decease, for the good of his soul: that, on the three following days, as many as possibly could, should be celebrated, upon all the privileged altars; and finally, by this same testament, he left a fund for an hundred thousand more, with this express condition, that if, by good fortune, there should be more than sufficient to procure the entrance of his soul into Heaven, the overplus should be turned to the advantage of those unfortunate souls of whom nobody thinks!!

Such a king was indeed a king after the monks' own hearts; not like Philip III. who was impious enough to shed tears over the fate of the miserable victims at an *auto da fè*, which he expiated by suffering the grand Inquisitor to have him let blood, which blood was burned by the hands of the common executioner.

The terror which the Inquisition had diffused over every mind, rendered these people entirely slaves to the will of the monks. They penetrated into private houses upon every pretext, where they completely lorded it over the master of the mansion. People stopped in the streets as they passed by, they saluted them with the most profound submission, they kissed their hands, and frequently the bottom of their frock. Was a man seriously ill, or slightly indisposed, two monks came and took up their abode in the chamber of the patient, they tormented him with exhortations, with examinations of his conscience, with preparations for death, and so disturbed the imagination of the unfortunate man by their unseasonable discourses, as frequently to aggra-

vate his disease and to render it mortal. In the mean time these monks lived sumptuously at his expence; they laid the entire house under contribution, all the domestics were subject to their orders; and the heir might consider himself fortunate, if the officious comforters withdrew without having turned to their own advantage, a large portion of the inheritance, and without having forced the dying man to make a will highly prejudicial to the family.

Their pride was fully equal to their avarice: which was particularly displayed when a priest or a monk was carrying the *viaticum*. The first carriage which happened to pass before the door of the church when it proceeded, was seized. The master was instantly forced to alight, of whatever rank or quality he might be. The priest assumed his place, while the proprietor followed behind on foot. Tapers, penitents, and instruments of music composed the procession. The people followed the bearer-of-God (*Porte-Dieu*) as he was styled, who lolled at his ease in the coach of which he had possessed himself. Tapers, oboes, people, and monks, all entered together the chamber of the dying person. The heat, the noise of instruments, the lamentations of the family, the exhortations of the priest, frequently accelerated the approach of the hour of death. The ceremony being over, the retinue set themselves in motion, and the monk again assumed his place in his coach. The patient died, and was then, of necessity, to be clothed in a monk's habit, which was only to be procured at some convent, where the Monks have provided magazines for this purpose. The price was always extravagant, but submission was rigorously required, and the obligation is universal.

If religious nations have been often a prey to the most ridiculous superstitions, they have, at least, in general, avoided to associate the exterior acts of their devotion with profane pleasures. It remained for the Inquisition so far to pervert the reason of the Spanish people, as to make them display, in their streets, in their amusements, in their very voluptuous enjoyments, this monstrous

assemblage of contradictions. Of all the forms of devotion used among the people, that paid to the Blessed Virgin is the most universal, and consequently the most exposed to profanation. The Dominicans had persuaded the Spaniards that the scapular and rosary were the gifts of the mother of God to mankind; and the various privileges, indulgences, and extraordinary properties ascribed to these scapulars and rosaries, caused them to regard these gifts of the Virgin as the greatest blessings bestowed upon the human race. There was no passion to which they might not freely give way, no forbidden pleasure in which they might not indulge, no fault which they might not commit, provided they took care, in order to obtain forgiveness, to have recourse to the scapular. With the scapular you were sheltered from the vengeance of the devil, with the rosary you disarmed the anger of God; these were the talismans which made you invulnerable. The women in their dress regarded the rosary as an indispensable article, and few men went abroad without wearing it at their neck. They repeated it to render a mistress indulgent, or to prevent jealous intruders from disturbing a *tête-à-tête*. It was, by invoking the Virgin, that you prepared for an assignation, that you commenced a serenade, that you expected to win at play, that you got ready for a ball. The moment the angelus sounded, every individual in the drawing-rooms, in the streets, and in the public walks, uncovered his head, knelt and prayed: the coaches stopped, the coachmen, the lacqueys, the masters, all crossed themselves; all, even to the courtezans, quitted their occupations to pray to the Holy Virgin. The theatres were not exempted from this devotion; if, in a theatrical exhibition, the devil was to be chained, it was by means of the rosary, and when curbed of its magic power, he poured forth the most frightful howlings, to the infinite edification of the faithful. We find several pieces of the celebrated Calderoni dedicated to the Holy Virgin. The titles of these dedications are whimsical, they are generally in such words as these; *To the*

*Mother of the best of Sons, To the Daughter of the best of Fathers, To the Immaculate Virgin, To the Queen of Angels, To the Star of the Morning, &c.* The body of the epistle dedicatory turns entirely on the rules of the theatre, upon dramatic poetry, and literary criticism, and a thousand other topics, in the consideration of which the Blessed Virgin is doubtless entirely occupied in her present state, whatever it be; in fine, he terminates his epistles with that form of politeness used in Spain when you write to a lady, which is, *that he places himself at her feet, &c.* This example of Calderoni has been imitated by a multitude of authors, and you find thousands of works in Spain with similar dedications. But this is not all; the traveller whom I have before cited, relates that he saw, at Seville, a representation of the *Universal Legatee*, a piece translated from the French by Don Carlos Gordoni. This representation was for the honour and profit of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He gives us a copy of the bill, which was as follows: “To the Empress of Heaven, Mother of the eternal Word, the faithful Centinel and Rampart of all Spaniards, the most Holy Virgin Mary. For her profit, and for the augmentation of her worship, the comedians of this city will exhibit this day a most entertaining comedy, entitled *The Universal Legatee*, by Don Carlos Gordoni, the author of *Marguerite*. The celebrated Romano will dance the Fandango, and the house will be illuminated.”—“A la Imperatrice de los Cielos, Madre del Verbo eterno, fiel Centinela, y antemural de todos Espanoles, Maria Sanctissima: Consagra a beneficio, y para aumento de su mayor culto la compania de comicos do esta ciudad una nuova comedia jocosa intituleda el *Hereditario universal*, del mismo autor que la *Marguerita*, nombrado D. Carlos Gordoni: el Famoso Romano baylera il fandango; se previene se ilumina la casa con aranas.”

The Dominicans had, by their ingenuity, rendered miracles common in Spain, and the monks of the other orders rivalled them, not unsuccessfully, in this respect. It would be difficult even to enu-



merate not only the miraculous Virgins, but the Christs, the Saints, the images of every description, which the monks had at their devotion, in order to confirm the people in their credulity. The Madonnas, these crucifixes and images laughed, wept, wrote, covered and uncovered themselves at the pleasure of these impostors or according as their interest required. Did a man escape any danger, did he discover any thing which he had lost, was the harvest prosperous, or did a vessel arrive safe in harbour, it was always to such a Saint, or to such an image of the Virgin, that the blessing was owing, and it was but right that the gratitude of the favoured person should display itself in some offering or benefaction to the monastery which possessed this benignant image. On the other hand, were you deceived in your expectations, did misfortune attend your enterprizes, or disappointment trouble your peace, it was always because your sins prevented the Saint from being propitious to you, and it became, in consequence, necessary to appease his anger by masses, by gifts, and by pious legacies. The good or bad fortunes of their flocks were the same to these monks; both were equally productive. Besides the daily tribute thus levied upon the credulity of the ignorant, this crowd of miraculous images helped to people the dungeons of the Inquisition. Did a Jew happen to pass before this or that crucifix, without saluting it, did a new Christian neglect to pay his devotion to such a Saint upon the day which was dedicated to his honour, did a pilot escape from a tempest and neglect to carry his *ex voto* to such a church, the familiars of the Inquisition instantly seized upon their victim, and then years of imprisonment and the confiscation of his property were the usual consequences that followed.

These miraculous images brought, to their respective convents, no inconsiderable revenue. Of this I shall cite only one instance, which is that of the *most Holy Christ*, which was the gainful property of the Augustin monks of Burgos. A chapel, situated in

a cloister of the convent, was dedicated to the image. The altar of this chapel was of gilt silver, the balustrade which surrounded it was silver, the canopy over the altar was of the same metal, fifty silver lamps were suspended from the vaulted ceiling, which were lighted upon solemn occasions. The sacred image was not exposed to the eyes of the people except upon days of peculiar devotion, being, at other times, concealed by curtains embroidered with pearls, rubies, and diamonds, which never were removed without the utmost solemnity. All these riches were the fruits of the credulity of the faithful. The author of the sanctity of this *Christ* was, in the opinion of some men of lax faith, the disciple Saint Nicodemus; but the opinion of the true believers, and that to which alone *an honest man* should attach his credit was, that it had fallen directly from heaven. The possession of any great treasure naturally excites the envy of mankind: the other monks, jealous of the good fortune of the Augustins, two different times stole from them this most valuable image, but the image, of its own accord, as often returned to its favourite seat, and by this miracle the gains of the Augustins were doubled.

Owing to the universal ignorance of priests and laity, objects the most strange and irrelevant were found combined together in the temples of the eternal and only God. Thus, for example, in the superb church of this same city of Burgos, while a multitude of reliques were offered for the veneration of all true believers, among others a bone of the prophet Zachariah, a part of the rod of Moses, vases filled with the blood of the innocent Saints, and a thousand others equally precious; the clergy or the chapter quietly sang the praises of the Lord in stalls of magnificent inlaid work, the subjects of which represented figures of Bacchus, Silenus, satyrs, fauns, shepherds, dryades, bacchanalians, the huntresses of Diana, groups of animals, heathen sacrifices, and a multitude of licentious images, the mere presence of which, in the oratory of

a new Christian, would have been sufficient to have caused him to be accused before the Inquisition, and burned, as a profane despiser of holy things, and as a man infected with paganism.

The Spanish nation, however, still produced many eminent men; they lamented the degradation in which the people were sunk, but the dread of the Inquisition chained their tongues, because, at that accursed tribunal, truth was always a crime, and learning an unpardonable insult to its ministers. Every thing was infected with the absurd spirit of monkery, even the institutions founded for the reward of bravery and merit. When we discover this mixture of monkish devotion and chivalrous valour in the orders of knighthood created in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and even later, the manners of the age explain the phenomenon, and there is even something interesting in the contrast; but who would have believed that, at the conclusion of the eighteenth century, even in the year 1771, amid the general illumination of Europe; who would have believed that Charles III. when he created a new order, to which he gave his own name, would have dedicated it to the Virgin, in the mystery of the immaculate conception; that the obligation to defend, with arms always ready, this mystery, would be an essential part of the oath of the knights; and that one of the principal duties, to which they were to bind themselves, was that of receiving the sacrament every year on the eve of the immaculate conception! Undoubtedly all the duties of religion, imposed on those who profess it, are to be treated with respect, and the man, who should turn into ridicule the establishment of rational devotion, is deserving of the highest censure. This indiscreet and ill-placed introduction of religious duty is only a snare for the conscience, and exposes men to an unfair temptation, urged as they are by ambition to aspire to an honourable distinction, which then imposes on them the obligation of defending a mystery which is profaned by such treatment. When such was the unfortunate spirit of the nation, thus sanc-

tioned by the royal authority and cherished by the innumerable bands of monks of all denominations, how can it be expected that any man would be bold enough to assail the Inquisition, the great and supreme defender of superstition and absurdity! When men hardly dare to speak their thoughts even to their most intimate friends, how could any be expected to attack the monster in their writings? The vigilance and severity of the Inquisitors, on this head, were inconceivable.

Brother John Francis Torquemada, the author of a most valuable Spanish work, which treats of the discovery of America, the origin of the wars with the people, of their conversion to Christianity, and their manners and customs, most narrowly escaped being seized and burned with his book, for having given reason to think, by his work, that if he wanted more accurate information upon the fourth quarter of the globe, it was owing to the ignorance of the monks, and the principal bishop of Mexico, Don Juan Cumarraga, who took for magical characters the hieroglyphics used by the Indians in writing their history, and accordingly caused all the books they could find to be burned, as treating of the art of sorcery.

It was through this same spirit of ever-waking vigilance, which always took the alarm at even the weakest efforts for the dissemination of truth, that the Inquisition determined to prohibit the "Civil History of Spain from 1700 to 1733," in three folio volumes, written by a frier of the Order of St. Francis, father Nicholas Juan Belando. In the history of the year 1715, he gives an account of the disputes of Spain with the Court of Rome, and enters into some of the details of the affair of Macanas, of Cardinal Judice and Alberoni. This article could not, in any degree, impeach the orthodoxy, while it did the highest honour to the honesty, the wit, and the candid simplicity of the author. The qualities of the history and of its author made no impression upon the Inquisitors. This father Belando lived to a very advanced age,

and, although he demonstrated, with the clearest evidence, that his book contained nothing of a dangerous tendency, and employed the interest of the most powerful persons to remove the interdict laid upon it, he never could succeed, and died without having enjoyed that satisfaction.

Nevertheless, a Spanish writer, in the last century, ventured to write with great freedom, and he probably owed his security to the dignity of his employments, and to the estimation in which the order that he belonged to, was held throughout the different courts of Europe. The person alluded to, was father Feijoo, general of the Benedictins, and a member of the council of his Catholic Majesty. This monk rendered himself justly celebrated by his work, in fourteen volumes, entitled, *A critical and universal Examination of the common Errors which prevail on different Subjects*. This man, who was a true philosopher, inveighed, in this book, with a degree of boldness hitherto unknown in Spain, against the dreadful effects which superstition had produced, and was still producing in this country. He was persecuted by faction, and maligned by calumny, but he expected both, and was not disconcerted. His having attempted, says Mr. Chary, to instruct mankind, to extirpate ignorance and false philosophy, the prejudices of his country, the abuse of pilgrimages and of exorcisms, the uncertainty of the reigning science of medicine, and the superficial knowledge of the greater number of Spanish physicians, was sufficient to give rise to all the violent and satirical abuse, the calumnious and defamatory libels, which were showered upon him from all quarters, in proportion as he continued the publication of his, *Critical Examination*. The hatred of the Inquisition towards this great man was so much the more violent, as he avoided, with the most consummate address, affording any occasion for his arrest, and that, without endangering his liberty, he contrived to procure the reading of those modern authors which are prohibited by its ignorant jealousy. At first he thought himself obliged to reply to such attacks as merited any

attention, but, seeing that they only increased, like the heads of the hydra, and that the prejudice against him was carried to that excess, that several booksellers would not sell his books unless the purchaser would take, at the same time, those in which he was calumniated, he resolved to reply to them no more, and caused his book to be printed at his own expence. The rage of his enemies increased, and extended itself even to those who approved his writings. The father Sarmiento, one of the most learned of the Benedictins in Spain, was the most severely treated by them, and he took his generous vengeance by publishing a book in which the baseness of this cabal, and the noble views of Feijoo are set forth, and asserted with all the energy of truth. These satellites of ignorance could not pardon Feijoo for having spoken favourably of Chancellor Bacon, Des Cartes, Newton, Locke, Libnitz, and many other celebrated men; to have even named them was objected to him as a crime, some of them, as the monks declared, being unbelievers of the true religion, and others, men of absurd ideas, as they rejected the doctrines universally received, in Spain.

This man, so harassed and persecuted by monkish and inquisitorial malevolence, was nevertheless a profound theologian, a professor whose talents had done honour to every chair in which he presided, a member of the university of Salamanca, and a person honoured by the esteem of all the learned in Europe. He was intimately connected with those, amongst others, whose labours shed a lustre over the order of Benedictins, such as Montfaucon and la Rue, and, in spite of the league of ignorance and fanaticism against him, his work, in 1745, had already gone through nine editions. In the eyes of these bigots, the greatest crime of this man, who was at the same time an eminent, natural, and moral philosopher, a profound mathematician, and an elegant critic, was, that he not only assailed their most productive miracles, but added physical proof to the written demonstration. It

was thus, for example, that he completely put an end to a miracle which had operated, from time immemorial, in a chapel consecrated to St. Lewis. This chapel belonged to the Franciscans, who persuaded the people that, upon a certain day of the year, miraculous flowers fell in abundance upon the great altar during the celebration of high mass. The crowd never failed to run together, and gold was showered upon the holy men who possessed this sacred spot. Don Feijoo examined these flowers and soon discovered their true nature. He first secured the protection of the bishop of the diocese, and of the minister. Then, the evening before the miracle was to take place, he caused both the inside and the outside of the chapel to be carefully swept, he surrounded it completely with centinels, high mass was said, but the miracle did not happen. These pretended flowers were only small insects with white wings, which the heat of the sun used to hatch at this period, and which did not now appear, because the broom had dispersed and destroyed their eggs.

The name of Feijoo deserves to be handed down to posterity; he was the first who dared, with courageous hand, to raise the veil which ignorance had spread over Spain. He died in 1764. We may conceive, in some degree, the profound ignorance in which the Inquisition had kept men's minds, even as to the most simple elements of science, and especially that of natural philosophy, by recollecting that, in this same year, 1764, the appearance of an aurora borealis kept all the inhabitants of Lisbon out of their beds on the night of the 5th of March. While the monks were calling the people to the churches to beseech God to avert the threatened calamity, the wise personages of the city explained the phenomenon, by the passing of an immense dragon across the horizon, whose monstrous eyes, glistening with flame, shed that bright light over the vault of heaven. Many, perfectly satisfied with this explanation, asserted that they had seen the shadow of the body of this monster, and that they had heard the noise of

his wings. To what a condition then was literature reduced among the people of Spain, who are so well calculated, by their sagacity, their wit, and their acuteness, to distinguish themselves among its votaries ! Behold the circle within which this pernicious institution had circumscribed it ! Mystical books were almost the only works of Spanish literature, and the infinite number of them shews what this nation might have effected had their genius received a proper direction and due cultivation. Besides these, they possessed fables, histories or novels, comedies or imbroglions, *autos* in which the monks and the devil were the principal performers ; a great number of poems, frequently well imagined, but, in general, foreign from reasoning, taste, and nature. This is the only career which the deadly influence of the Inquisition left open to authors. The French and the Spaniards are neighbouring people, but mark the difference of spirit in the two people ; the troubadours, the first poets of France, sang of love ; Beauty was the muse who inspired them : the first Castilian poet was a monk by profession, Gonzalo Bercio ; he sang the praises of St. Dominic, and Bacchus was his Apollo. Nevertheless, it is among this enormous heap of mystical nonsense, of tales too often licentious, and of barbarous comedies, that we behold the illustrious Michael Cervantes : but Cervantes was the victim of persecution.

The proximity of France was ever a source of the utmost uneasiness to the Spanish Inquisition. The productions of almost all the celebrated French writers were prohibited with the most rigorous severity, and every possible precaution was taken to guard against their introduction into the Peninsula. The list of books prohibited by the Inquisition, and published by them, formed, at the commencement of this century, two enormous folio volumes, which it was necessary to read in order to discover what you were forbidden to peruse ; this was a novel species of study, the study of what you were to avoid studying. They, weekly, affixed to the doors of the churches the names of such French



books as it pleased the Inquisitors to interdict. From the drawing up of these lists and from the strange medley of names which they contained, it was easy to perceive that these monks neither understood the language in which these works were written, nor the matter which they contained, while, with the names of certain licentious productions, the titles of which were always exhibited in large characters, you beheld joined those of grave and philosophical works, which were undoubtedly much surprised to find themselves in such company. This likewise appeared from the motives of the different prohibitions which these monks frequently set forth in their sermons. Thus, for instance, a Dominican having one day seized, in the warehouse of a bookseller, a number of bad romances, he discovered one which decency does not permit to name. The monk, in a discourse, forbade the reading of it, because St. Theresa, said he, who was the person of the tale, was insulted by an improper epithet attached to her name in the title-page; and in this same discourse, reciting the catalogue of these books, he was very near recommending another, of a tendency not less immoral, as most proper to form the minds of young ladies to politeness, being deceived by the sense which he attributed to the word "academy," with which the title commenced; "But," said the preacher, "I am not in haste to bestow this counsel, as the matter of this work may be made the subject of another sermon."

It was not, however, impossible to impose upon these Inquisitors, who were so proud, so vindictive, and so jealous of their authority, their extreme ignorance exposing them to deception in spite of all their vigilance.

A French vessel happened to put into Lisbon; the Marquis de Pombal\* was then minister of Portugal. Some young men, belonging to this vessel, went on shore to view the capital of that kingdom. The presence of a Frenchman always excited the utmost

\* Some interesting anecdotes of this great minister are given in the *Travels of the Duke de Chatelet in Portugal*, 2 vols. 8vo. translated by Stockdale.

vigilance in the familiars of the Inquisition. These young men had all the heedlessness natural to their age, and that inexperience in the manners of different nations, which is pardonable in youth, though a common source of errors and indiscretion. They spent the entire day in examining the different parts of the city, they visited the churches, the monuments, the palaces, and, as they were constantly watched, not one of their actions or words passed unobserved, while they were entirely unconscious of their danger. In the evening, as they were preparing to return on board their ship, they went into a coffee-house to take some refreshment, and to rest themselves after their fatigue. Their conversation turned upon what they had beheld during the day. Some light or perhaps ironical expressions escaped them with regard to the infinite multitude of monks whom they had met upon their way; one of them had the boldness to repeat, on that subject, some lines out of Voltaire. It seemed as if this were the signal for their apprehension, for instantly, twenty alguazils entered, and surrounded them. Being young and armed, they determined not to submit; they therefore resisted boldly, and, having fought their way to their boat, which was near at hand, they had the good fortune to escape, all but one unfortunate man, who, less alert than his companions, was wounded, overpowered, and made a prisoner.

The French ambassador happened to be absent, from Lisbon, and M. B——, Consul-general, acted as *chargé d'affaires* in the interval. The next morning, being informed of the transaction of the preceding night, he repaired to the house of the Marquis de Pombal, to demand that the young man should be delivered up to him, engaging at the same time to have him punished, if the fault should be found to be on his side. "This business," replied the Marquis, "is indeed of itself of little importance, in other places it would be without any consequence, but, here, it is above my power to interfere. Were I to attempt to exert my authority, I can neither foresee nor foretel what may be the disagreeable result to myself.

Your only resource is to wait upon the grand Inquisitor: all that I can promise you is to join my solicitation to yours; but I will not conceal from you that I am of opinion that both will be ineffectual."

This reply naturally gave great uneasiness to M. B——, who, however, determined to persevere, hoping, by his spirit and firmness, to obtain his end. He therefore went immediately to wait upon the grand Inquisitor; but his Highness was not to be seen: he returned upon the next, and on the succeeding day, but always received the same answer. He then plainly perceived that the Inquisitor sought to elude his visit, and he therefore had recourse to a more decisive measure. He ordered his state-coach to be got ready, and, followed by all the retinue which is appointed to attend an official visit, he once more repaired to the palace of the grand Inquisitor, and demanded an audience, in the name of the king of France his master. The Inquisitor at length condescended to receive him. Monsieur B. publicly declared the object of his visit, and demanded the enlargement of the young man. The grand Inquisitor loudly exclaimed against such compliance; the terrible words, heresy, atheism, and philosophy, were the arguments which he made use of. "What," said he, "grant freedom to this rash man, who has ventured publicly to profess the impious maxims of Voltaire. Voltaire! sir, whose very name is blasphemy. No, sir! a signal reparation is requisite for such a crime, a reparation adequate to the offence." Mr. B. replied, without catching the infection of his Highness's wrath: "If this young person were a Portuguese, that he would be as culpable as you affirm, I do not deny, but you ought to consider that he has not been educated in conformity to your manners. He thought himself still in his own country, whence he is absent now for the first time. In France, sir, that, which you consider as a crime, is far from being looked upon in the same heinous light. The verses of Voltaire are there in the familiar use of all well-bred people. To read them, to be acquainted

with them, to quote them, is there the mark of politeness and good breeding. His merits and his beauties are there appreciated as they deserve ; his faults indeed (for faults he has) are the subject of regret, but they ought, in justice, to be attributed rather to the levity of his manner than to any culpable depravity of mind."

The grand Inquisitor, not a little surprised at this eulogium, fixed his regard attentively upon Mr. B. ; he then took him by the hand, and, with the utmost gravity, and without uttering a word, he led him into another chamber, and shut the door with the greatest precaution. As soon as he was secure against being over-heard ; " You behold, sir," he said, " that sacred image of the Redeemer of mankind," shewing him a large crucifix which stood at one end of the chamber ; " swear to me, before that image, that you will keep secret that which I am going to say to you." " Depend upon my discretion," replied Monsieur B. " Well then," continued the Inquisitor, " know that I am entirely unacquainted with the works of Voltaire, and that I have long felt the greatest curiosity to read them. The Consul immediately perceived how favourable this circumstance might be made towards the attainment of the object which he had in view. " It is easy," he replied, " to satisfy your Highness in this particular, and I will cheerfully undertake to gratify your wishes." After these words, Mr. B. without adding any thing farther, took his leave, and in an hour afterwards he dispatched to the grand Inquisitor a complete set of the formidable works of Voltaire. He thought it right to let some few days pass before he renewed his solicitations ; he wished to give the Inquisitor full time for reflection, the result of which he hoped would be favourable. However, days and weeks rolled away : and no reply was made by his Highness. Mr. B—— became impatient, he waited upon the Inquisitor ; he was received with politeness, but could obtain nothing but unmeaning words, vague promises, and deceitful hopes. Several visits terminated in the same unsatisfactory manner. Mr. B. now thought it right to make use of those means which the curiosity of the grand Inqui-

sitor had placed in his hands, he therefore, a second time, assumed all his official state, and, attended by the same retinue as formerly, he repaired to the palace of his Highness. "I have already," said he, "had the honour of claiming from your hands, in the name of my sovereign, a native of France, whom you have arrested contrary to the law of nations. This person has committed no offence against the Portuguese government, and consequently nobody possessed the right to take him by force out of my protection. I consider his arrest as an affront to my public character; I have hitherto passed the affair over in silence, in order to avoid the disagreeable consequence which may result from it. I again, this day, repeat my demand in the name of the King of France; if you refuse to deliver up his subject to me, my courier is ready, and I will instantly dispatch an account of the matter to Versailles. The grand Inquisitor, rather alarmed, and hesitating, wished to recur to his ordinary delay. "I intreat that there may be no farther procrastination, sir," said the Consul, "my master, I perceive, must decide the business. He will consider whether the Inquisition of Lisbon has a right to oppress his subjects, and whether a childish quotation of a few verses of Voltaire, deserves to be punished with such severity by the grand Inquisitor, whose favourite reading is the works of that author:" and having thus spoken, he withdrew. His Highness, frightened by this menace, and alarmed for the consequence, if it should be discovered that, violating the rigour of his own laws, he had suffered to penetrate, even into the palace of the holy Inquisition, books which were so severely prohibited as the works of Voltaire, the reading of which he had himself frequently interdicted under the penalty of the greater excommunication, hastened to appease the threatened storm. He immediately set the young man at liberty, causing him to be conducted to the consul-general, whom he entreated to have him sent instantly to France. He added that he expected that, in consideration of the celerity with which he had hastened to comply with his desire, the entire affair

should be kept an inviolable secret. Mr. B. promised to comply with this request, and it was not till a long time after his return to France, that he imparted the anecdote to some of his intimate friends.

To prevent the introduction of French books, although they were those against which their hostility was principally directed, was not the only object of inquisitorial vigilance. They regarded, with the same malignant and suspicious eye, the works of every nation which contained the two great objects of their hatred, truth and wisdom. If Montesquieu, Helvetius, d'Alembert, and so many others, were as unsuccessful as Voltaire, in their efforts to scale the Pyrennees, we need not be surprised to find that the eminent writers of Holland, of Germany, of our own country, were not in greater favour with the Inquisitors. I shall mention only one instance to this effect, which will serve to shew that the baneful influence of these persecutors of learning, had not ceased to operate even in our own days.

There is no friend to truth and eloquence who has not enjoyed the highest delight from perusing the pages of Robertson. His history of Charles V. and still more that of America, have been read and admired all over the face of Europe. When this latter work appeared, the learned men, who then composed and who still compose the Royal Academy of history at Madrid, immediately took notice of it. They examined it with a discerning eye, and hastened to do justice to a work, in which the cool impartiality of the author never damps his genius; in which truth is always secured by the profundity of his researches; in which the conquests of the Spaniards are commented on with a spirited and liberal impartiality, and in which the beauties of the style are only surpassed by the excellence of the matter.

The royal academy conceived that they should render an essential service to their country, by placing this admirable work within the reach of every Spaniard. They accordingly invited one of

their members, don Ramon de Guevara, who was highly esteemed in Spain for the purity of his diction, and the chaste elegance of his taste, to undertake the translation of the works of Robertson ; and, being anxious, at the same time, to bestow upon the respected stranger a high proof of their esteem, they directed their perpetual secretary, Mr. Campomanes, to inform him that the academy had admitted him to a place among its members. “ I assure you sincerely,” says Campomanes, in the close of his letter, “ that very few books have obtained, among the learned of my country, so large and so solid a portion of regard, as that of which you are the author.—Yo me o fresco a V. S. con todas veras, y puedo asegurarle, sin lisonia que pocos libros hould podido grangear una estamacion tan solida, entre las gentes de letras de este pays entre tanto.”—The reply of Robertson to this high compliment is replete with the modesty which always accompanies true genius. “ I felt,” he says, “ all the difficulties, which a stranger must necessarily experience in undertaking a work of this nature. I have endeavoured to compensate for them, by searching, with all possible industry after truth, in the original authors, and public records of your country, taking care to guard, as far as was in my power, against the prejudices which are but too apt to rise in the mind of a man, who lives under a system of government and manners so different from those of the country whose transactions he undertakes to describe. The honour which the academy does me, by approving of my writings, encourages me to hope that I have fallen into fewer errors than I, at first, apprehended, if it is not that the respectable personages, who have done me the favour to associate me with themselves, have cast a favourable eye upon my faults, in kind consideration of the efforts which I have made to avoid them.”

However, this proceeding of the academy became known ; their design of publishing the works of Robertson was divulged ; the purity of their motives prevented them from making it a mystery. All the friends of taste and of knowledge congratulated them-

selves in the expectation of seeing Spanish literature enriched with so important an accession: but the Inquisition formed its judgments upon different motives. That the production of a man, who was an enemy to the true religion, should become common in Spain, was an idea they could not endure to contemplate; it might enlighten some minds, or remove some prejudices, and thus assail the outworks of their authority. They therefore exerted all their power of intrigue and cabal; they excited alarms in the minds of the superstitious, they beset the court and the government; they besieged the public offices, the ministers, the grandees, the king himself; and the result of their industry was that, in the month of January 1779, an edict appeared, forbidding to read a book, the acknowledged excellence of which had laid open to its author the doors of one of the first academies in the kingdom. By this edict all the custom-house offices were commanded to prevent its introduction, into Spain, in any language whatsoever; the academy were forbidden to publish the translation which they had made, and they were moreover directed to nominate two of their members to criticise and to condemn the works, in order that the censure might be disseminated through all his Majesty's states. The conduct of the academy, upon this delicate occasion, deserves the highest praise. They behaved with that respect which, as subjects, they owed to the head of the state, but with the dignity which became them as the votaries and patrons of learning. They replied, that, in obedience to the order, they would nominate the two persons for the purpose required, but, at the same time, besought permission to appoint two others, to undertake the defence of the work. The enemies of learning did not insist upon this odious and insulting requisition they had made, the censure was not required, but the translation, which had been completed, remained buried in the study of don Ramon de Guevara.

When we reflect upon the fundamental principles of the Inquisition, that avidity for riches, which was its ruling passion, and that



jealousy of unbounded power, which kept it for ever on the watch to suppress every thing that could, however remotely, tend to endanger it; when we reflect upon its general spirit, which may be sufficiently discerned in the foregoing relations, we shall not be surprised to find it ever in arms against any species of writing which could tend to enlighten the people. The reader will naturally enquire how, with all these dreadful shackles, did Spain produce so many eminent men? The fact is indeed astonishing. What would have been the progress of this nation, which enrols, in its literary annals, an Ercilla, a Quevedo, a Luis de Leon, a Lopez de Vega, a Velasquez, a Villegas, a Cervantes, a Mariana, a Sorlis, an Embrera, a Sandoval, an Augustine, a Calderone, and so many other justly celebrated men, if she had been at liberty to follow the bent of her genius. Can we imagine that her poets would have been exposed to the sneering reflections which are passed upon them by the wits of other nations, for their want of a chaste and true taste, for preferring wild images and extravagant metaphors to thoughts really elevated and sublime; for having always sought rather to amuse than instruct, if they had been at liberty to cultivate, unrestrained, the treasures which nature had bestowed upon them? Let us for a moment transport our great men, who have flourished beneath the protecting wings of freedom, as well as the great writers of other kingdoms, to the dominions of the Inquisition: let us place them beneath this sword of Damocles, the hair of which was so often cut, that it might fall upon the head of him who dared to think for himself; and let us ask ourselves whether they would have pursued a more noble career than those whom I have just enumerated. The auto da fè would have offered up, in its impious orgies, that Newton, that Bacon, and that Locke, of whom England is so justly proud. The noble freedom of our poets and of our divines, who have cultivated elegant literature, who have chased away the darkness of superstition, and who have exhibited religion in her native beauty, would have expiated, in the dungeon, or

on the rack, the excellence, the virtues, and the learning which adorned them. The thunders that were hurled by Bossuet and Bourdaloue, in France, against those levities which disgraced the solemn office of the priesthood, would be the most inexpiable crimes in the eyes of Inquisitors, blinded by ignorance and intoxicated with pride: and Boileau, who, in his incomparable satires, lashed the vices and the degeneracy of the clergy of his time, how could he have escaped the persecution of this dreadful tribunal? When we consider the different state of manners in the countries where these great men have flourished, we cannot but wonder that Spain should exhibit such claims, as she certainly deserves, to the applause of the literary world. Spain which, oppressed for five hundred years beneath the tyranny of the Inquisition, resembles a ship where pestilence destroys the crew, and if some hardy constitutions escape the ruin, we admire their fortune, and wonder at the event.

The difficulty of publishing any work in Spain, even the most orthodox, by the judgment of the Inquisitors, was extreme. In order to obtain permission for this purpose, it was necessary to solicit and to obtain a number of approbations. Edward Clarke, in his letters, expresses his apprehension of being below the truth when he counts but three. That of the Inquisition was never obtained. It reserved to itself the power of approving or condemning, after the publication, as it should think proper. In the want of other prey, the unfortunate tribe of authors supplied victims to glut their bloody appetite. Who is ignorant of the persecution excited against the admirable Cervantes, for daring to combat prejudices, ignorance, and absurdity? Who does not remember that Juan Mariana, the best of Spanish historians, languished twenty years in prison, and yet his account of the Spanish monarchy is only brought down to the epoch of Ferdinand and Isabella? How must his mournful example have chilled the heart of him who should venture to continue his history? Let us also recollect that

the doctor Isla expiated, in the dungeons of the Inquisition, the guilt of writing a ludicrous pamphlet, entitled *Frey Gerundino*, upon the monks and friers, whose scandalous excesses required detestation rather than ridicule.

Hardly as literature, which is the medicine of the mind, has been treated in Spain, the science of the medicine of the body had equal reason to complain. In a country where the monks had persuaded the people that, by means of saints, and miracles and masses, they could cure the most inveterate maladies, it is no wonder if practical medicine were discountenanced by them. To prefer the assistance of a physician to the invocation of a saint, or to the seeing of a priest for his intercession, would be to endanger one's self to the terrible imputation of heresy.

The other sciences were as badly treated and as ill received. The Inquisition had subjected, to its own quackery of imposture, the entire order of the universe. The planets could not move, the sea could not swell, minerals could not act, nor vegetables unfold themselves, but in conformity to the ideas which they had disseminated among the people for the support of their authority and their interest. Did an eclipse take place, did a comet appear, did the thunders roll, did meteors gleam in the atmosphere, woe to the natural philosopher who should dare to explain the true cause of the phenomenon. It was more lucrative to the monks, that people should see, only in the appearance, the manifestation of God's wrath, because the wrath of God was only to be turned away by prayers, and justice required that those should be well paid for their pains, whose prayers were employed to avert these calamities from the people. Are you a naturalist, do you explain any appearance of nature? beware of the vengeance of those whose gains you thus endanger. Do you describe the growth of plants, and the admirable circulation of the sap, and all the other wonders which the delightful season of spring displays in the vegetable kingdom? Alas, the monks set but little value on such studies; what care they

for spring, with all its benignant influence, without the lucrative procession of Rogation week? What do the ever-adorable institutions of the Author of nature, by the revolution of the seasons, contribute to the riches of the harvest? St. Medard is the all-powerful patron of this season, if you will reap your harvest with prosperity, you must load with gifts the altars of this saint! If the Inquisition thus proscribed all the sciences which tended to enlighten mankind, it was not less decidedly hostile to every institution which contributed to the civilization and to the delight of society.

In Europe there are but few states in which the society called free-masons has not numerous members. It is of little importance here to investigate the origin of this ancient society, or to enquire after the motives which have caused the free-masons to assume the veil of secrecy. In fact, of what importance is it to ascertain the greater or less antiquity of the establishment, or to ask why they have thought proper to adopt certain private signs by which the members are able to recognize one another? It is of more consequence to know whether, in their assemblies, morals, government, and religion are respected; whether the individuals who assemble venerate the laws of their country; whether they discharge the duties of good citizens, virtuous parents, dutiful children, and sincere friends; and these are points upon which nobody entertains the smallest doubt. No one is ignorant that, strangers to every political and theological discussion, their great object, the moral virtues which they principally cultivate, is humanity or charity; that this charity is not only exercised towards all classes of individuals, but also amongst themselves by mutual counsel, with regard to their faults, by paternal advice concerning the conduct which they ought to pursue, in order to command the esteem of the world, by praises wisely conferred upon those who distinguished themselves by their attachment to their sovereign, by their services to their country, by their useful labours, and by benefits which they have conferred upon the unfortunate. Such are the men

whom the Inquisition has persecuted with the most atrocious cruelty whenever it has been able to lay hands on them. Its ministers have accustomed the people of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, to regard them as the children of the devil. To believe that magic, sorcery, and profaneness were the design of their assembling; the secrecy which they observe was branded as a crime, without previously considering whether this secrecy were any thing more than a simple precaution, taken by honest and prudent men, anxious to be secure of good behaviour, sociable dispositions, and rectitude of heart, in those whose inclination led them to enter into their society, into which, without these precautions, any individual might penetrate under the mask of an engaging exterior, beneath which is frequently concealed a corrupt and profligate heart. How many strangers who have been led into Spain and Portugal, either by the interest of commerce or by a taste for travel, have fallen a sacrifice, without other reason, to the simple circumstance of their being free-masons.

In 1710, Nicholas Augustin de Seras, a merchant of the town of Cette, and in 1722, John Liburn, wore the san-benito, the former at the auto da fè of Valladolid, the other at that of Lisbon, for having, as it was declared in their sentence, as sorcerers and free-masons, assisted at a number of nocturnal assemblies, at which the demon *Gamaliel* presided in person; for having eaten and drank meats and drink which were prepared in hell, and for having then entered into a compact with him, to devote themselves to his service, and to obey implicitly his commands.

This will perhaps strike the reader as scarcely credible for absurdity and wickedness; in order, therefore, to demonstrate more particularly the persecuting spirit of the Inquisition towards this most innocent and respectable class of men, the following narrative is offered to his consideration.

It is taken from an account published by a Mr. Coustos in the

year 1746, a man of the most respectable character, and undoubted veracity.

“The Inquisition of Lisbon,” says he, “had been long the bitterest enemies of the society called free-masons, whom they determined not to tolerate upon any account, in which indeed they only imitated the usual practice of the tribunal. The king of Portugal had strictly forbidden any of his subjects from entering into their society, and the Pope had published, in Lisbon, the most violent denunciations to the same effect. They charged them with the most enormous crimes, and had proceeded to such terrible threats, that nobody dared any longer openly to profess himself of the fraternity.

“I was by birth a citizen of Berne in Switzerland, and had come to Lisbon in order to obtain passports for the Brazils, where I wished to settle, but being unable to obtain them, I resolved to take up my residence, and to pursue my profession, which was that of a lapidary, in Lisbon. I happened to be a member of the society of free-masons, and being ignorant of the prohibition of uniting with this fraternity, I, as well as several others, were in the habit of meeting occasionally, at one another’s houses, for the purpose of exercising the secrets of our society.

“In a short time this circumstance came to the ears of the Inquisitors, and being determined, as well to take vengeance upon those who dared to violate their injunctions, as to discover the secrets of this celebrated society, they determined upon arresting some of its principal members. This design they accordingly executed by seizing first a Mr. Monton, a Roman Catholic gentleman of the greatest respectability of character, and in a few days after, arresting myself, who was the master of the free-masons’ lodge in Lisbon.

“I was apprehended” (he continues in his narrative) “at night, as I was leaving an hotel, where I had supped with two gentlemen,

who, upon beholding the officers seize upon me, instantly forsook me and fled. I was then dragged to the prison of the Inquisition, stripped and searched ; and, after being plundered of every article which I had about me, was plunged into one of the dungeons which are prepared for the prisoners. After I had remained for a whole day and two nights in this dreadful abode, where my ears were every moment assailed by the cries and groans of the miserable inhabitants, I was summoned to attend the Inquisitors. Being conducted to their presence they commanded me to kneel down, and, placing my right hand upon the bible, to swear that I would speak truly with regard to such things as they should ask me."

" Their first questions were, my Christian and sur-names, those of my parents, the place of my birth, my profession, religion, and how long I had resided in Lisbon ? After I had satisfied them upon these heads, they told me that they knew, by the best authority, that I had spoken disrespectfully of the Holy Office, and accordingly exhorted me to make a confession of all the crimes I had ever committed since I was capable of distinguishing good from evil. I replied that I never had spoken any thing against the Inquisition, or against the religion of Rome, and that I had never been accustomed to confess my sins to any one but to God alone. Upon which they told me they would allow me time to examine my conscience, and in the mean time remanded me to my dungeon, intimating, that, should I continue obstinate, they should know how to employ such means as were placed in their hands to compel me to a confession.

" Upon my next examination, which took place three days after, they questioned me very particularly about the society of freemasons, its origin, constitution, and design. I replied to all these particulars as accurately as my knowledge permitted me, to which they listened with some degree of attention ; but when I mentioned that charity was the foundation and soul of this society,

which linked all the members together in the bonds of paternal love, and made it an indispensable duty, to assist, in the most generous manner, without distinction of religion, all such persons as were found to be true objects of compassion, they exclaimed that I was a liar, and that it was impossible a society should profess the practice of such good maxims, and yet be so jealous of its secrets as to exclude women. They then ordered me to withdraw from their presence, and to be immured in another still more dreadful dungeon."

"During my confinement in this place I was frequently summoned into the presence of the Inquisitors. They did every thing which lay in their power, by means of intreaties and threats, to force me to reveal the secret of the society, which they accused of assembling for the most abominable purposes, and loudly exclaimed against my audacity for daring to practise the mysteries of my profession in Lisbon, after it had been so strictly forbidden. They said that, not only had his Portuguese Majesty forbidden any of his subjects to become free-masons, but that there had been fixed up, five years before, upon the doors of all the churches of Lisbon, an order from his Holiness, strictly enjoining the Portuguese in general not to enter into this society : and even excommunicating all such as then were, or should afterwards become members of it. I answered, that if I had been guilty of any offence by practising masonry at Lisbon, it was entirely through ignorance, as I had resided in that city but two years ; to which they seemed not inclined to make any reply. I was examined many times after this, in which examinations I had several disputes with my judges upon those points upon which they thought proper to charge me with heresy, in addition to the crime of being a free-mason. At first they endeavoured to allure me, by promises of favour, to abjure my errors, as they called them ; and finding these means ineffectual, they next denounced the entire weight of their vengeance against me, should I continue obstinate. At length, perceiving that



my constancy was not to be shaken by any means that they could devise, they informed me that my trial must proceed, but let me know, as they dismissed me to my dungeon, that, if I turned a Roman Catholic, it would be of great advantage to my cause, otherwise I might repent of my obstinacy when it was too late. Accordingly, in a few days more, I was ordered again to audience, when the fiscal proctor read my charges, which contained the following heads."

"That I had infringed the Pope's orders, by belonging to the sect of free-masons ; this sect being a horrid compound of sacrilege, sodomy, and many other abominable crimes ; of which the inviolable secrecy observed therein, and the exclusion of women, were but too manifest indications ; a circumstance which gave the highest offence to the whole kingdom : and the said Coustos having refused to discover, to the Inquisitors, the true tendency and design of the meetings of the free-masons, had persisted, on the contrary, in asserting, that free-masonry was a good thing in itself ; that, for these reasons, the proctor insisted, that the prisoner may be prosecuted with the utmost rigour ; and, for that purpose, begged the court to exert its whole authority, even to tortures, to extort from him a confession, that the several articles here mentioned are true. The Inquisitors then gave me the above heads, which they ordered me to sign, but this I absolutely refused to do. They therefore commanded me to be taken back to my dungeon, without permitting me to say a single word in my justification. It was not until six weeks after, that I was again summoned to make my defence, with a detail of which I shall not trouble the reader. It consisted, almost entirely, in a recapitulation of the answers which I had made upon my former examinations, and a refutation of the charges urged against me, all which were utterly and absolutely false."

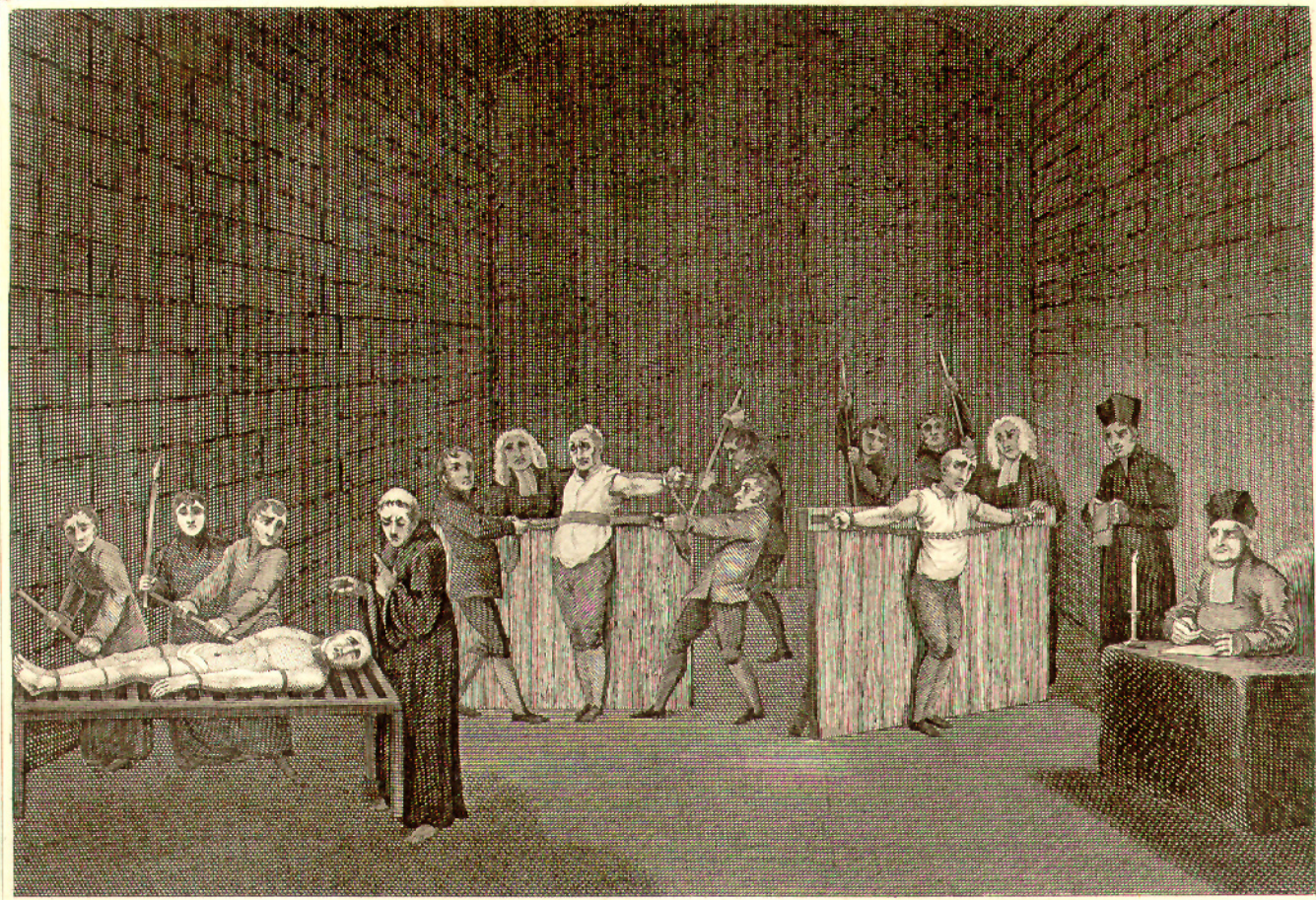
"After making my defence I was ordered to withdraw, doubtful of the effect which it had made upon my judges. But my doubts were, a few days after, removed, when the president again sent for me, and ordered a paper to be read which contained a part of my

sentence. I was thereby doomed to suffer the tortures employed by the Holy Office, for refusing to tell the truth; for my not discovering the secrets of masonry, with the true tendency and purpose of the meeting of the brethren. Upon this I was instantly conveyed to the torture-room, built in form of a square tower, where no light appeared, but what was given by two lamps; and, to prevent the dreadful cries and groans of the unhappy victims from reaching the ears of the other prisoners, the doors were lined with a kind of quilt. The reader may conceive the horror with which I was filled, when, upon entering the door, I was instantly surrounded by six executioners, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped me almost naked, and laid me on my back upon the floor. When I was in this posture, they first put round my neck an iron collar, which was fastened to the scaffold; they then fixed a ring to each foot; and, this being done, they stretched my limbs with all their might. They next wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh, which ropes passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, and were all drawn tight, at the same time, by four men, upon a signal made for this purpose.

“The reader will believe that my pain must have been intolerable, when I solemnly declare, that these ropes, which were of the size of one’s little finger, pierced through my flesh quite to the bone; making the blood gush out at the eight places which were thus bound. As I persisted in refusing to disclose any thing more than I had before declared, the ropes were thus drawn together four different times. At my side stood a physician and a surgeon, who often felt my temples, to judge of the danger I might be in, by which means my tortures were suspended at intervals, that I might have an opportunity of recovering myself a little.

“While I thus suffered, they were so barbarous as to insult me by declaring, that, were I to die under the torture, I should be guilty, by my obstinacy, of self-murder. In fine; the last time the ropes were drawn tight, I grew so exceedingly weak, occasioned by the

COUSTOS undergoing the TORTURES.



Pub<sup>d</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> April 1720 by J. J. Stockdale at Pall Mall.

Wool 55. Stroud.

circulation of my blood being stopped, and the torments I endured, that I fainted quite away ; so that I was carried back to my dungeon, in a state of utter insensibility.

“ These barbarians, finding that the tortures above described could not extort any further confession from me, were so inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose me to another kind of torture, more grievous if possible than the former. They made me stretch my hands in such a manner, that the palms of my hands were turned outwards : when, by the help of a rope, which fastened them together at the wrist, and which they turned by an engine, they drew them gently nearer to one another behind, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and they stood exactly parallel one to the other ; whereby my shoulders were both dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from my mouth. This torture was repeated thrice ; after which I was again taken to my dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeons, who, in setting my bones, put me to exquisite pain.

“ Two months after, being a little recovered, I was again conveyed to the torture-room ; and there forced to undergo, two different times, another kind of punishment. The reader may judge of its horror, from the following description. The torturers turned, twice round my body, a thick iron chain, which, crossing my stomach, terminated at my wrists. They next set my back against a thick board, at each extremity of which was a pulley ; through which a rope ran, that was fastened to the end of the chain at my wrist. The tormentors then, stretching these ropes by means of a roller, pressed and bruised my stomach, in proportion as the ropes were drawn tighter. They tortured me upon this occasion in so horrid a manner, that both my wrists and shoulders were put out of joint.

The annexed print combines a representation of three kinds of the tortures which Coustos underwent, and it is left to the readers indulgence to suppose, that they were not inflicted all at one time on the same person.



“The surgeons, however, set them presently after; but the barbarians, not having yet satiated their cruelty, made me undergo this torture a second time; which I did with great pain, though with equal constancy and resolution. I was then remanded to my dungeon, attended by the surgeons who dressed my bruises; and here I remained until the celebration of the next *auto da fè*.

“The reader may judge, from this faint description, of the dreadful anguish which I must have endured, the nine different times they put me to the torture. Most of my limbs were put out of joint, and bruised in so shocking a manner, that I was unable, for many weeks, to move my hand to my mouth; my whole body being also dreadfully swelled by the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations.

“The day of the *auto da fè* being come, I was made to walk in the procession, with the other victims of the tribunal. Being come to the church of Saint Dominic, my sentence was read, by which I was condemned to the galley, as it is called, during four years.”

The writer then proceeds to relate the manner of his release from this cruel slavery, of which some account has been already given, and which the humane reader will be happy to hear took place in a short time after; but as this part of his story is more interesting to himself than to the generality of other persons, and does not so immediately tend to elucidate the point under consideration, the repetition of it here may be dispensed with. What I have mentioned is sufficient to set, in the clearest light, the iniquity of this horrible tribunal, which thus, under the pretence of religion, was made the engine of the most dreadful barbarity, and the most iniquitous oppression.

The fury of their fell spirit of fanaticism did not extend only to those who were themselves free-masons, but to those who served them in any manner or capacity, even in the regular performance of their trade or profession.

Some young men, belonging to the *Ecole de France*, thought

proper, about twenty-five years ago, to establish, at Rome, a masonic society. They applied to a countryman of their own, who had resided in Rome for a great number of years, who was married there, and had a number of children, directing him to paint and arrange for them, according to a pattern which they delivered to him, the room in which they proposed to assemble. This man was not himself a free-mason, nor in the slightest degree acquainted with any of the secrets of the fraternity. The design of these young men became known, by some means or other, and the Holy Office was apprised of it ; but the Inquisitors were puzzled to determine upon whom their holy wrath should be made to fall. The names of the young men were not known to them, because they, being apprised of the danger which hung over them, had taken care to evade all possibility of detection. No object therefore remained for their fury but the unfortunate painter ; he never thought of making a secret of a business in which he had been paid in advance, and of the design and the consequences of which he was equally ignorant. However, he was arrested and conducted to the Holy Office, where he was instantly pillaged of every thing he had, and plunged into a dungeon ; and his hands and legs were loaded with irons. The Inquisitors then repaired to his house, they ransacked all his papers, they seized on his scanty furniture, and left his wife and his children, which were still in the cradle, without a bed and without food. The first intention of this barbarous rigour was to frighten the prisoner, and to force him to reveal the names of those by whom he had been employed. They brought him to an examination, and demanded of him by what antichristian audacity he had dared to work for masons ? This word discovered to him the real state of the case ; his residence in Rome had made him acquainted with the customs of the Holy Office and its inveterate hostility to the free-masons, so that he perceived, that, if he should reveal the names of his employers, they would be ruined without possibility of escape. He therefore adopted the

generous resolution of concealing them, and, the better to remove all suspicion, he replied that he believed them to be Italians, but was unacquainted with them, and that he had been paid in advance. They replied, that they were Frenchmen, and that he must have known it; he answered that such might possibly be the case, but that he could not discover it, as they had expressed themselves to him in Italian. They then threatened him with their most severe anger if he persisted in refusing to disclose them. "You may," said he, "treat me as you think proper, but how can I name men whom I never beheld but once, and whom I do not think I should know were I to meet them by accident in the street? and how shall I," he added, "name a set of men to you at random, with the risk of endangering persons who may, after all, be found innocent?" Enraged at their ill success, they reconducted him to prison; they loaded him with heavier chains, which they fastened to a ring that was fixed in the wall, so that he could neither lie nor sit down, and allowed him no other food but bread and water. They suffered him to remain two months in this dreadful state of torment, during which time they interrogated him frequently, but always received the same answers. Meanwhile the weight of the irons had ulcerated his arms and legs, and the almost constant want of sleep, which he could only procure by leaning against the cold and damp wall of his dungeon, added to the rest of his sufferings, and seriously endangered his life.

At the end of sixty days they again brought him up to be examined, but without being able to obtain any thing that they wanted. He complained of the hardships he had endured, but they told him that much worse still awaited him, if he persisted in his obstinacy, and barbarously remanded him to confinement, in this state of dreadful anxiety.

Night came on, and he was alarmed at a noise made by drawing back the bolts of his prison. A number of persons entered, they took off his chains, and commanded him to follow them,

but being unable to walk they bore him in their arms. Arrived in a large hall, they put upon him a miserable garment, and commanded him to depart from Rome. He begged permission to visit his wife and children, but this favour was denied. He then intreated to know what was become of them, but they told him they were entirely unacquainted with any thing concerning them. They then counted out to him twelve sequins, and taking him from the house, they placed him upon a wretched horse, upon which he was obliged to proceed upon his journey, attended by two familiars of the Inquisition. He was forced to support these persons along the entire way to the frontiers of the Pope's dominions. As soon as ever he passed them, his companions took their leave and returned back. Scarcely had they left him when he perceived that they had stolen from him the remainder of the twelve sequins ; he was compelled, however, to bear it with patience, considering himself happy in being safely delivered out of their hands. He was soon joined by his unhappy wife and distressed children, whom the officers of the Inquisition had plundered of every thing they had, and left them nothing but the clothes which they wore.

In order to exhibit another instance, as striking as any which I imagine is to be found in history, of the odious impostures which the Inquisitors blushed not to originate or to countenance in order to thicken that gloom of ignorance and superstition which alone could veil the enormity of their usurpations upon the rights of mankind, as well as of that base subserviency to the gratification of the passions of those whose favour it was their policy to court, I insert the following story of the Lisbon Nun. It is extracted from Geddes's Church-History of Ethiopia, page 481, and its truth is beyond the reach of cavil. This account, which would only be deserving of contempt, for the absurdity of the imposture which it discloses, becomes important from the proof which it affords, how readily this odious tribunal sacrificed all its re-



gards, and all its zeal for religion, when her interests, falsely indeed so deemed, came in competition with those of its own aggrandizement: how soon, what they considered, the cause of God was forgotten, when it became an obstacle to views of an usurper and a tyrant.

“ Maria, of the Annunciation, was born at Lisbon, and, at the age of thirteen, was put into the Dominican convent of the Annunciation in that city; in which, so soon as she was of age to do it, she professed herself a nun; which she had not done long, before she began to have miraculous visions, and to be daily visited by Christ in person; whom she still saluted with the doxology thus, ‘Glory be to the Father, and to Thee, and to the Holy Spirit.’ Whenever she received the sacrament, her soul was in a rapture, and was honoured with the vision of the heavenly choir of angels; and when she embraced the crucifix, which she still called her husband, it constantly darted out beams of light much brighter and stronger than those of the sun.

“ One day, as she was at her devotion, Christ appeared to her, and made her a promise to visit her again upon St. Thomas Aquinas’s day, and thereon to do her the greatest honour that any creature was capable of.

“ Maria having acquainted Antonio dela Cerda, the provincial of her order, who, upon her name being so high for miracles, was become her confessor, with the promise that had been made her, she was directed by him how to prepare herself for the reception of so great a favour; whose directions she punctually observed, for never was any creature more submissive to a confessor.

“ Thomas Aquinas’s day being come, and all the nuns and friers being assembled to mattins, while Maria was in a most profound fit of devotion, Christ crucified appeared to her; and, in the sight of the whole congregation, printed all the wounds of his head, side, hands, and feet, upon the same parts of her body: she had two-and-thirty (such as thorns use to make) on her head, and in

her side a gash that resembled a wound made with a spear, and on her hands and feet the wounds were of a triangular figure, as if made by a nail ; and, in order to excite the devotion of the absent as well as present, the rags she laid to the wounds on Thursdays, had always the five wounds of Christ printed on them in the form of a cross ; and happy was the Roman Catholic prince or princess who could obtain some of those sacred rags. The Pope had one, and the King of Spain, who was strangely devoted to her, had another ; and the Empress had one sent her against she lay in ; neither was there a Roman Catholic prince or princess in Europe, but what had obtained one of them by some interest or other. Paramus, in his history of the Inquisition, saith, That he being at that time an Inquisitor in Sicily, saw one of them which had been sent to the Viceroy Don Henrique de Gusman's lady, who, he saith, adored it as the most sacred relick in the world. And Philip II. to satisfy the world that he firmly believed all that was reported of the sanctity and miracles of the Lisbon Nun, had the royal standard of the Armada, which came against England in the year 1588, blessed by her.

“The Inquisition, whose business it is to enquire severely into the truth of things which are reported to be miracles, having summoned her confessor, and all the rest of the friers who belonged to the convent, to appear before them, was fully satisfied, by their depositions and oaths, as eye-witnesses, of the truth of the whole matter, as it was reported. Whereupon Gregory XIII. wrote her a very godly letter, exhorting her to humility, thankfulness, and perseverance in her devotions ; and, as there was no Roman Catholic that did, in the least, doubt of the truth of what was reported of her by her confessor, who published a large account of her miracles ; so the poor Protestants were triumphed over strangely on that occasion, as the most perverse Heretics that ever were in the world, for neither believing those reports, nor going to Lisbon, where their own eyes would convince them of the truth of them.

So Petrus Matheus, in a bullary he printed in France at this time, and which I have now by me, after a long encomium of the Lisbon Nun, adds, *Nihil est quod possit hujus historiæ veritati in ficiari, vivit enim beata Virgo vivunt sorores testes, locus visitur, et clarissimorum theologorum oculato testimonio probatur et confirmatur*: that is, Nothing can be offered in contradiction to this story, for the blessed Virgin is still living, as are the sisters also, who are her witnesses; the place is visited, and the whole is proved and confirmed by most eminent divines, who were eye-witnesses to it. After all this, one would little have expected that this fraud could have miscarried, or, at least, so far as to have been owned and condemned as a mere cheat, by the Inquisition itself: but so it was; for the lady-abbess (which, for her greater mortification, the nuns and friers had forced her to be), when she wanted nothing but to have died, to have been canonized a saint for her extraordinary piety and miracles, finding all that she said was received by every body as an oracle; she began to mutter, that it was revealed to her that Philip II. had no title to the crown of Portugal, but that the right thereof was in the Duchess of Braganza: the consequence whereof being, that Philip must either resign that crown or the title of the most Catholic, or look upon her, he had expressed so great a veneration for, as an impostor; he chose the latter, the Inquisition striking the oracle dumb so soon as it began to antiphilipise: for the Inquisition having thereupon ordered her wounds, and other pretensions, to be searched to the bottom, they were at it quickly; her wounds being found not to lie so deep as her skin, and, upon examination, to be nothing else but marks made thereon very artificially with red lead. Whereupon she was condemned by the Archbishop of Braga and Lisbon, the Bishop of Guarda, and the apostolical Inquisitors, of whom, at that time, the cardinal Archduke of Austria was the chief, as an hypocrite and impostor, upon the eighth day of December 1588, being in the thirty-second year of her age, to the following penances.

“ 1. She was to be a prisoner during her life, in some nunnery out of Lisbon, and which must not be of the Dominican order.

“ 2. For five years after the day of her sentence, she was not to have the sacrament administered to her, excepting on the feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, or unless the receiving thereof should happen to be necessary to the partaking of the benefits of a Jubilee.

“ 3. On every Wednesday and Friday of the year she was to be brought into the chapter-house of the nunnery, and there to be whipped publicly before all the nuns, all the time the *Miserere Mei Deus* was reading.

“ 4. At meals she was not to be suffered to sit at a table, but must have her meat given her sitting on the pavement of the refectory; neither must any person eat what she leaves; and, both before and after meat, she must lie across the door of the refectory, where the nuns must tread upon her as they come in and go out.

“ 5. She must, during her life, keep the ecclesiastical fast, and must never be chosen Abbess, nor bear any office in the nunnery, but must always be the lowest in the convent.

“ 6. She must not be suffered to speak with any body within, nor without the convent, without the Abbess's leave.

“ 7. All the rags stained with blood which had been distributed by her, and all her false relicks, and all pictures of her, must be brought into the Inquisition; or, where that cannot be done conveniently, must be carried to the next prelate.

“ Lastly, She must never be suffered to cover her head with her veil; and, on all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year, must be fed with nothing but bread and water; and must every day, in the refectory, make a public confession of her crime before all the nuns.”

In this narrative we trace the true spirit and principles of the inquisitorial tribunal. That authority, which a tyrannical pontiff

has placed in their hands, to be exerted for the maintenance of his threatened dominion, was only to be supported by the principles and policy upon which it was founded. The daring attempts to keep the minds of men in thralldom could not be supported, without obscuring, with the mist of superstition, that ray of divine intelligence which, darted from the eternal throne, threatens, every moment, to enlighten them. That ambitious wish to extend the boundaries of this empire of darkness could not rest, without constant endeavours to rivet these chains of prejudice, which time itself had a tendency to loosen and to consume. But the favour of the gloomy and ferocious tyrant, the countenance of the enterprising minister could, in a moment, effect more in favour of these designs, than years of labour and of perseverance; and the Inquisitors, consequently, never failed to sacrifice their most favourite schemes, or even (as we here see) to invalidate their own previous decrees, for the purpose of attaining so valuable an auxiliary.

After this specimen of imposture and absurdity, the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased, if I insert the following. Though not immediately connected with the Inquisition, it will serve to shew the sources whence it derived that spirit of falsehood of which it made so great a use in confirming its authority. Bad ends can only be attained, and evil establishments only supported, by bad means, and, in the measures of any body of men, we may generally read, with a tolerable degree of certainty, the nature of their views, and the tendency of their policy. The Legend of St. James, the Patron of Spain, is thus related in the second volume of Geddes's Tracts, page 221.

“ Saint James, the son of Zebedee, having, presently after St. Stephen was martyred, been commanded by Christ to go and preach his gospel in Spain; he would not begin that long voyage before he had the blessed Virgin's blessing and licence: which having been begged by him with many pious tears, she said to him, ‘ Go, son, and obey thy Master's commands, and in that city of Spain,

in which thou shalt make the most Christians, be sure to build a church to my honour, and I will direct thee how it is to be built.'

"Having thus received his last dispatches, St. James, according to the custom of the Apostles, took to himself twelve disciples, who were to attend him into Spain; and having with them landed in Galicia, though he might have landed in Spain some hundreds of leagues short of it, he wrought many stupendous miracles; and, among others, he raised an old prophet to life, who had been dead and buried near six hundred years; and having baptized that ancient Spanish prophet, and given him the name of Peter, he consecrated him Archbishop of Braga.

"From Braga, St. James went to Cæsarea Augusta, now Saragoza, where, as he was at prayers one night, he heard an innumerable company in the air singing the Ave-Marys; and having looked up to heaven, he beheld the blessed Virgin coming down, sitting on a pillar of jasper, betwixt two quires of thousands of angels; and she having called him to her, said to him, 'Son James, this is the place which is dedicated to my honour; and the pillar I sit upon, is sent down to you from heaven, by your Master; and about it you are to build a church and an altar, before which many miracles shall be wrought; and this pillar is to remain here until the end of the world, neither shall this place ever be without Christians in it.'

"St. James went presently about building a church, and, having finished and consecrated it, he dedicated it to the blessed Virgin; and this was the first lady-church that was in the world. But St. James, after he had built that church, being much grieved, that, in the fifth year which he had been in Spain, he had made but seven proselytes, besides the old heathen prophet he had raised from the dead; he returned to Jerusalem, with his twelve disciples, taking France and the Isle of Britain in his way; and having been

soon after beheaded there, his twelve disciples took his body, and carried it to Joppa; and, at that port, having either met with a ship, ready made to their hands, of marble stone, or built such a ship there themselves, in that slow sailor they passed all the long southern and western coast of Spain, without touching any where, before they came to the city of Flavia, near the Cape of the End of the Earth, in Galicia: neither, had they put in at the first port of Spain, which was in their way, could they have been more inhospitably entertained; the king of that country, when they came a-shore in their marble vessel, having, notwithstanding the rarity of it, persecuted them most furiously; and Queen Lupa, who well deserved that name, was yet more savage than her husband: but in the end, the disciples having, by miracles, vanquished the rage of those two princes, they carried their master's body to the place where Compostella now stands, but which was then a thick wood, and having dug a vault, they laid his body in it, in a marble coffin.

“ But though the memory of St James's body having been interred in that place, did last near three hundred years; yet, during the whole time of the five hundred years following, the memory of it was quite extinguished in Spain, until it was restored again about the year eight hundred and thirty, by some miraculous lights that appeared over the place where it lay; and which having been seen for several nights by the country-people, they went and acquainted Don Theodemire, the bishop of Iria, with it; who went presently to the wood, and having seen the same lights, he set all hands to work to dig for the treasure he concluded was hid there; and they had not dug long before they came at a cave, made with hands, in which they found a marble coffin, and in it St. James's body: for which invention, the Bishop having returned solemn thanks to heaven, he waited on the King, and acquainted him with the unexpected treasure he had met with: the King, being overjoyed at

the news, went presently to visit the place, and having paid his devotion to St. James's body, he built a church over it, and endowed it with great lands and privileges.

“It was not long before the Spaniards were abundantly rewarded for the honour they had done to it; for, after that, St. James appeared armed cap-a-pie, mounted on a stately prancing white horse, in most of the battles which they had with the Moors, mowing down those infidels before the Spaniards by whole squadrons; but most signally in that battle which Don Ramiro had with the whole power of the Moors, upon his having denied to pay them the customary yearly tribute of an hundred Christian virgins; neither was that tribute, after St. James had once entered the lists, as the champion of so many distressed damsels, ever demanded any more by the Moors; whose posterity will, to this day, tremble, if St. James and his white horse be but named to them.

“And as this chivalry of St. James's gave birth to the rich and numerous military order, which is called by his name, and to his being made patron of Spain; so it gave rise likewise to all that night-errantry which afterwards over-ran that kingdom, so that Don Quixot has not been able to cure the Spaniards wholly of it.

“The first church which was built at Compostella by King Alonso Casto, being but a mean edifice, it was taken down in the year 900, and a more sumptuous church was built in the place of it by Don Alonso the Great: for a Greek bishop, whose name was Stephen, having happened to come in pilgrimage to the first church, he laughed at the Spaniards, when he heard them relate St. James's great military feats: saying, in railery, ‘I thought St. James had been a fisherman, and not a warrior!’ but St. James did not suffer this Greek pilgrim to lie long under that mistake, for, the very next night, he appeared to him armed and mounted just as he used to be when he beat the Moors, and having a couple of



keys in his hand, he held them out to the Greek, and said to him, ' You see now I am a warrior, and to-morrow I will, with these keys, open the gates of the city of Conimbra to my dear Spaniards: ' and that city having, after an obstinate siege, been surrendered on that day, by the Moors, to King Ferdinand, St. James's name was raised high in Spain by that vision, which helped Compostella to that new church.

" Until the year 1080, the Spaniards had only St. James's body, but not his head ; but his head having been sent at that time from Jerusalem to the King's daughter, she was so kind as to give it to Don Diego de Gilmorez, the first archbishop of Compostella ; who, with great solemnity, joined the head and the body together, after they had been parted a thousand years : that archbishop did likewise take down the church which had been built by Don Alonso the Great, and on the same ground did build that magnificent church which is now standing.

" And whereas, until this time, St. James's body had lain open in the marble coffin it was first found in ; but so as not to be shewed to any person but the King, if he desired to see it ; Archbishop Gilmorez built it up so in a vault under the high altar of his new church, that it should never be seen any more by any person whatsoever : for which action, that Archbishop's prudence is highly extolled by the Spanish historians ; who say, that relicks, though they may not lose their miraculous virtue by standing open, yet may lose their reverence, and especially with eyes which are not so full of superstition as not to have something of curiosity in them."

We have seen the dreadful effects of the Inquisition in these countries in which it flourished, and the system of manners which it introduced : but it has often been repeated that, if the kings of Spain and Portugal protected or pretended to protect the Inquisition, such was their policy, and this is urged to account for their conduct, if not, in some measure, to excuse it. But if, by

their policy, be meant the employment of all those springs which were likely to increase the power of the crown, and to augment that of the state, we may affirm that the Inquisition was the greatest possible obstacle to the attainment of their end. Is it to govern, to have in the state a power totally independent of the supreme civil power, and superior to the Sovereign's authority? Is not, to govern the affections of his people, the most important part of the policy of every monarch? To attain this end, how can an institution serve, whose iron hand, oppressing all the ranks of the state, leaves it not in the power of the Sovereign to succour its victims, whose hearts he wishes to possess? Is his more rigid policy to make himself to be feared? If this motive causes him to caress a body which carries the system of terror to its utmost perfection, ought he in wisdom to reveal, by so doing, his own wickedness? When a king wishes to cause himself to be feared, it certainly is not prudent to exhibit to his people that he possesses not himself the means of effecting it! Perhaps his design is to establish a despotic power; then it is hardly prudent to suffer to exist, under his very eyes, a power which entirely lords over the opinion of free people, and which is able, at any moment, to excite a rebellion against him in the sacred name of God, and to sanction the attempt under pretence of religion. Does a monarch, as he ought to do, generous and wise, wish to establish his power upon the prosperity of his subjects, the civilization of his people, their gratitude for benignant intentions, upon the cultivation of commerce, of arts, and of industry? Then surely it is the grossest folly to suffer to remain, at the very gates of his palace, a powerful and united force, which proscribes, without appeal, all liberal ideas, which preaches ignorance, because they find their advantage in it, which persecutes to death all the patrons of knowledge, banishes all strangers by the apprehension of their vengeance, and which will ever labour to perpetuate the universal misery with greater activity than he can exercise in promoting the general welfare. Under

which ever of these points of view we consider the kings of Spain, it never could have been their policy to encourage the Inquisition. Perhaps some may give the name of policy to the measures, which were the effect of that personal fear, in which they were themselves held, but such is the policy, not of a king, but of a slave.

The conduct of Philip II. in his protection of the Inquisition, was sacred in the eyes of his successors, Philip III. Philip IV. and Charles II. but imbecility itself sate enthroned beside these monarchs; the two first beheld the dismantlement of this vast monarchy, and the latter passed his entire life in making his testament. The thralldom in which the Inquisition held all minds was now sufficiently manifest. These princes thought that they exercised the highest prerogatives of royalty, when, after the example of Philip II. they solicited, from the grand Inquisitor, the favour of being made spectators of an auto da fè. It is to be known that Philip II. happening to arrive at Valladolid in 1559, a few days after an auto da fè, in which thirty victims had been burned, besought the grand Inquisitor to gratify him with a second exhibition of so holy a ceremony, and his prayers were more than granted. Philip beheld forty of his people expire at the stake: one only flung himself at his feet, to implore his mercy, which the pious monarch refused to grant. Philip III. and Philip IV. begged the enjoyment of beholding a similar ceremony and they obtained it, the one at Cuença, and the other at Murcia. Charles II. was treated with more consideration, they transferred the place of exhibition from Toledo to Madrid, in order that he might behold it without the trouble of the journey. Philip V. who began a new dynasty, and from whom we might have expected sentiments somewhat more merciful and liberal, did not think himself justified in departing from such high precedents. In the years 1720 and 1721, he permitted two acts of faith to be celebrated in his capital. The monarchs who succeeded were kept in the same dis-

graceful vassalage, and tainted with the same horrible spirit, as the history of their reigns but too clearly demonstrates.

The universal and deadly influence, which the Inquisition, ever since its establishment, had exercised over the nations that admitted it, has been now shewn, and some detail of its internal constitution, and of the tyrannical barbarity of its conduct towards the unhappy victims that came within its grasp, entered into. A sketch of its unremitting exertions, to confirm the people who lived beneath its sway, in their prejudices, their ignorance, their credulity, and their fanaticism, has been given; the motives of this conduct, which were to retard the progress of light, which could not fail to expose the dark wickedness of its nature, have been pointed out, and, in the languid state in which the arts, industry, and literature continued in Spain and Portugal, has been exhibited the proof of its lamented success. It now only remains to say a few words, concerning the dominion which it, but too frequently, exercised over the councils of princes, and to mention the vengeance which it called down upon the heads of the courageous ministers who ventured to contend against its sway.

Before entering upon this last part of the subject, it is necessary, in this place, to reply to an objection, which may be stated against what has been advanced. It is hardly indeed to be supposed, that, in the age in which we live, any voice should be raised in favour of so pernicious an institution, but certain reflections may arise in the reader's mind, which, if not combated, may diminish the impression which this narrative is calculated to inspire. It has been asserted that the Inquisition was fatal to the progress of science, of arts, and of industry: it may be objected that, since its establishment, letters, arts, and commerce have flourished in Italy, and if this objection remained without an answer, it might be concluded that, if it were otherwise in Spain, the causes ought to be sought somewhere else, and not in the Inqui-

sition, which did not produce, in Italy, the effects ascribed to it beyond the Pyrennees.

The state of the two countries, however, was very different, and must be so in the very nature of things. The popes created the Inquisition, the kings of Spain and Portugal adopted it; but the popes were too wise to suffer it to be independent of their power in Italy; they were themselves its chiefs, they were the standing grand Inquisitors. Thus it was necessary that, under each pontificate, the Inquisitions of Italy should take a tinge from the character of the sovereign who bore the tiara. Haughty, violent, rash, and tyrannical, under the rule of these pontiffs, whose bold, turbulent, and despotic spirits scrupled no means to subject the minds and inclinations of all, and to perfect their system of universal domination: moderate, cunning, artful, and hypocritical, when subservient to those whose timidity naturally led them to substitute intrigue in the place of violence, and whose less enterprising temper, made them dread to shock the public opinion, and recommended to them a policy more gradual, more wary, more guided by circumstances, and more dependent upon the events, which arose beyond their influence. Thus a thousand circumstances in this country intermitted or relaxed its operation. In Spain, on the contrary, it experienced none of these *interregna*. Here governing independently of the monarch, it was but of little consequence what his character or temper might have been. Here it advanced steadily in its career, regardless of the varying dispositions of the kings: flattering them when it experienced their favour, making them tremble when they ventured to circumscribe its powers. Nothing distracted it from the pursuit of its great object, which was to rule by opinion, by falsehood, and by terror; and thus its influence, upon the prosperity of the country, and the manners of the people, was unrestrained and unimpeded. If, as has been shewn, its

principles demanded ignorance to eternize its power, it is evident that all the evils which this ignorance draws after it, especially when reduced to a fixed and regular system, ought to be attributed to it, and are in reality of its creation.

If, by its constitutional forms, it were independent of the sovereign authority of Spain, it was otherwise in Italy, where it was compelled to acknowledge, in the sovereign, its supreme head, and consequently was the instrument of his government. When it pleased the popes, who patronised learning, to receive in Italy those Greeks, the depositaries of the knowledge of antiquity, who were banished from their country by the conquests of Mahomet II., the Inquisition dared not find fault with that generous hospitality, which has been followed by consequences so important, beyond what these pontiffs themselves, in all probability, expected.

Let us change the scene, let us suppose that these learned fugitives had made Spain their asylum, instead of Italy, can we conceive that the favour of its monarchs would have rescued them from the danger of that persecution, which the dread of their presence and of their information, in the minds of the Inquisitors, would have raised up against them? It is not difficult to perceive what would have been the fate of those, who should have, for the first time, introduced into the dominions of their tyranny, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucretius. When the pontiffs of the house of Medici, and some of the other popes, who imitated their example, laid open all the paths of glory and emolument to the fine arts; when Bembo, Sadolet, Lascaris, and so many others commenced the cultivation of letters in Europe; which of the Italian Inquisitions could venture to oppose the revolution, which the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gave rise to in Europe? These literary pontiffs would have speedily imposed their command of silence on its proceedings.

This dreadful tribunal was obliged to watch the favourable moments to exert its ferocious sway. When it condemned the

illustrious Galileo, it was during the reign of the turbulent and fanatic Paul V. Under the government of Leo X. or Bennet XIV. (had heaven been pleased to make that the æra of his fame), this admirable philosopher would have experienced a fate more worthy of his merits.

Thus, if the arts and literature flourished, in Italy, in spite of the Inquisition, it was because the popes were its supreme head, and because they were, consequently, possessed of power to curb, or to enlarge its authority, according to their individual characters and dispositions ; while, if it were quite otherwise in Spain, it was because the power of the Inquisition resided entirely in itself, and borrowed nothing from the royal authority. In Italy it was forced to be dependent upon circumstances, in Spain circumstances were enslaved to its will, and their results were dependent upon its pleasure.

As to its comparative influence upon industry and commerce, it is sufficient to reflect upon the different political organization of the two countries. In Spain, since the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, the monarchy of the entire Peninsula was united under one head. In Portugal, the principles of this tribunal were the same as in the neighbouring country. The Moors had taught industry to the Portuguese and Spaniards, and the distant voyages of these enterprising and enquiring people had instructed them in the arts of commerce ; but who were the enemies which destroyed, in these countries, the Moorish families, the great supporters of their industry ? They were much less the swords of the warriors than the flames of the Inquisition : for the sword, after the violence of the combat, is sheathed in peace, but the faggots of persecution blazed, while a victim remained for their fury. The Inquisition, by exterminating, without mercy, this unfortunate people, destroyed thousands of husbandmen and artisans, and robbed the Spaniards of the masters who had formed them to industry. And how did it supply their place ? Not by natives, who always

dreaded to enrich themselves, for fear of exciting the avarice of their tyrants; not by industrious foreigners, to whom the ever-impending danger of oppression and of ruin operated as a prohibition to their establishment. The conquest of the New World, and the discovery of the coasts of Africa and Asia, trained the Spaniards and Portuguese to commerce, but what dreadful persecutions were there not exercised against the miserable natives of Peru and Mexico; and the conduct of the Portuguese at Goa has been, already, sufficiently explained. It was the spirit of the Inquisition which gave birth to these horrid scenes; this is the cause that other nations alone have been enriched by these great and important discoveries. The fault is in the bloody intolerance and stupid prejudice of these monks, which were as cruel as they were impolitic.

How different was the aspect of Italy. This beautiful country was long divided into a number of states, of different extent, subject to different laws, and animated by different, and, frequently, by opposing interests, disagreeing in their political views, and many times excited to arms against one another, by the spirit of rivalry: Italy, by reason of this singular organization, did not afford the Inquisition the same facility of exercising, or of extending its power, which it possessed in Spain. Its actions wanted unity; its means were as divided as the states in which it existed; its projects of dominion, circumscribed within so many petty circles, wanted that harmony necessary to its success; and its powers, modified by the different spirit of the various governments, were unable to pursue one uniform tenor of conduct.

The smaller states are, the more the bodies, of which they are composed, lie open to the eye of the government, and if their views be injurious to the interests of the whole community, the more quickly are they repressed. We have seen the feebleness of the Inquisition at Venice, where commerce and industry were always protected against it. At Milan it was less restricted, but there



were, nevertheless, occasions in which the reason of state refused to bend to its caprice, and the interest of the country corrected its violence. Matthew Galeus, after shewing his contempt of its excommunication frequently lanced against him, braved its vengeance even to the time of his death. Which of the kings of Spain dared to attempt so much? In Florence, in the middle of the fourteenth century, a severe punishment was inflicted upon the grand Inquisitor Pedro Aquila, who menaced his fellow-citizens by his insolence, and pillaged them by his avarice. The annals of Castile present no such example. During the long wars which ambition excited, between Florence and Pisa, the Inquisition never dared to assume that part which it so often arrogated to itself upon the banks of the Manzanares: and when the Medici united, around themselves, all the various elements of human knowledge, no cry of atheism was raised against them, as never failed to be the case in Spain, upon the least appearance of innovation. The Inquisition then was less fatal to Italy than to Spain, not because its members were more enlightened, more liberal, or more humane, but because the division of its powers, and the resistance it experienced in the opposing interests of so many states and persons, impeded that uniformity of exertion which it elsewhere enjoyed.

To return to the point from which we digressed.—The imperious character of Philip the fair is generally known, and how well his despotic principles accorded with those of the Inquisition: but when it attempted to injure his authority, his predilection for its employment was forgotten in his regard to his prerogative. The historian of Languedoc relates that the prelates, the other ecclesiastics, the counts, the barons, and all the principal persons of that country, united to carry, to this monarch, a complaint against the vexations, injustice, and cruelty exercised by Foulques de St. George, a Dominican and Inquisitor of the faith at Thoulouse. The king issued an edict, to put a period to these disorders, and commanded this Inquisitor to be deposed. The council of the

Inquisition paid no regard to the edict, and protected Foulques in his resistance, by continuing his authority. Philip, enraged at this resistance, sent the Vidame of Amiens, and the archdeacon of Lisieux, to command the seneschals of Thoulouse, of Carcasone and of Agen, to take charge of the prisons and of the prisoners of the Inquisition, and to suspend all the functions of Foulques. The Dominicans were alarmed, they repaired to court, and they insinuated themselves into the favour of the members of the council, whom they caressed, flattered, and deceived. They said that they were the victims of false accusation, that their actions breathed nothing but charity, mildness, and a tender regard for religion; they were the comforters and the benefactors of the people. The council, at length, seduced by these arts, calmed the resentment of the prince. William de Morieres was put in the place of Foulques, the Inquisitors returned in triumph to Languedoc: the entire body of the nobles, the clergy, and people were compelled to be silent, and their severities and cruelties recommenced.

The Inquisition was never established in Naples; but this did not prevent the popes from frequently dispatching, into that kingdom, commissioners, who were always of the Dominican order, and these men executed the office of Inquisitors. If any complaints were raised against them, and they were apprehensive of such complaints being carried to the foot of the throne, they took care to secure every avenue by which they might approach; they even lavished gold, and contrived to obtain the countenance of ministers, to secure their impunity; and Limborch informs us that, by means of their indefatigable perseverance and art in this course, as long as the house of Anjou reigned, the Inquisition, in fact, subsisted in France, though it was never recognized by law.

According to M. de Thou, when the revolution of the Low Countries, occasioned by the edict of Charles V. for the establishment of the Inquisition in Flanders, took a serious turn, and the confederate troops, under Henry de Brederode, and Louis de Nassau,

had entered Brussels, Philip II. consulted the Inquisitors of Madrid upon the line of conduct which he ought to pursue. They declared that, generally, all the people of the Low Countries, and all the orders and estates of Flanders, were apostates, criminals, heretics, and guilty of high treason: not only those who had openly revolted from God, from the church, and from the obedience which they owed to their king, but even those who, calling themselves Catholics, had been wanting in their duty, and, by a false prudence, had neglected to oppose the sectaries, and who had not repressed them, as they might easily have done at the commencement. They declared, beside, that all the nobles who had presented, to their prince, requests or remonstrances against the Holy Inquisition, were guilty of high treason against God and his Majesty.

Philip acted in conformity with their advice, and he lost these invaluable provinces. "What," replied the estates of the Hague, in 1590, to the deputies of the diet of Francfort on the Mayne, "what can be more odious and more insupportable for a people, than this Inquisition, an invention worthy of barbarism, which Spain wishes to introduce under the false pretence of religion! What can be more impious than to forbid her faithful worshippers the reading of the word of God in his holy books, and to substitute in its place, condemnations of propositions, and anathemas, to impose upon the simple, and to establish an institution nursed in blood, and a tribunal which saps all the foundations of Christian liberty! To what tend these novelties? To the abolition of the most sacred rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs of nations, &c." Such was the exasperation which the absurd compliance of Philip, with the advice of the Inquisition, had excited in every bosom.

It was the Inquisition that extorted from Philip II. that celebrated and most destructive edict, issued in the year 1609, which commanded all the Moors, under pain of death, to quit Spain. In order to prevent every opposition to this dreadful decree, under the

fatal effect of which that kingdom languishes to this very day, and which, in one day, deprived the country of nearly a million of valuable subjects, the utmost efforts of the Inquisitors were necessary. Their activity, however, and their audacity were fully equal to the occasion. They intimidated, over-powered or corrupted all the members of the council according to the different characters, passions, and tempers of the individuals who composed it. One man alone had the courage, the wisdom, and the virtue to oppose this most disastrous measure; it was the duke of Ossuna. The Inquisition made it a capital crime, and harassed this great man with the most unrelenting persecution. Every means that malevolent ingenuity could devise, were employed for his destruction, and his escape was owing only to his high credit, his exalted birth, and the eminent rank which he possessed in the state.

Under Charles II. when the vexations and cruelties were carried to an excess of which we can happily form no idea, and had excited universal indignation, and when the ministers, at the imminent risk of their lives, directed the attention of the monarch towards their proceedings, he gave orders that his council should enquire into the innumerable abuses with which that tribunal was charged. Don Joseph de Ledesma was ordered to exhibit them in a memorial. The author of the travels in Spain, whom I quoted before, gives us some fragments of this work, which deserve to be recorded. "It has resulted," says Ledesma, "from the complaints urged by the provincial councils and tribunals against the Holy Office, that, in all the territories of your majesty in which this tribunal is established, the Inquisitors have constantly laboured, with indefatigable zeal, to embarrass the other jurisdictions, in order to extend their own. Scarcely have they permitted the least exercise of the royal authority, or left the smallest shadow of power to those who are charged to administer it. There is no affair, however foreign from their legal cognizance, that they have not the art, upon some pretext or other, to bring under their own jurisdiction. There is no indi-

vidual, however independent of their authority, that they do not treat as their immediate vassal, subjecting him to all their orders, their censures, and inflicting upon him even imprisonment, fines, and infamy. The slightest offence offered to one of their domestics, they punish as a heinous crime against religion. They have not only exempted, from every kind of public impost or contribution, the goods and the persons of their ministers, but they have privileged, with every immunity, even the houses which they inhabit; so that whatever criminal, however atrocious his offence, flies to them for refuge, he is perfectly secure against the pursuit of justice, because, at the smallest step taken against him by the judges appointed by your majesty, they are exposed to the most violent ecclesiastical censures of the Holy Office."

"Of this evil a striking instance happened in the city of Cordova. A negro slave of the treasurer of the tribunal, introduced himself, in the night, into a house contiguous to that of his master, in order to gratify a disorderly passion for a female domestic. The mistress of the house having heard some noise, and, in consequence, presented herself upon the staircase, this negro twice stabbed her, with a poignard, in the breast. The husband ran, with several others, to the place, alarmed by the cries of his wife, and having secured the assassin, he was delivered up to justice; and, his crime being fully proved, he was condemned to death. He was already led to the chapel in order to prepare for his execution, when the tribunal of the Inquisition issued an order to the judge to hand over the criminal to themselves. The judge having replied that the man had been tried and condemned by the regular course of law, the Inquisition repeated its orders, which were speedily followed by ecclesiastical censures; so that the judge was intimidated, and yielded up the prisoner. The council of Castille, apprized of this outrage, carried a complaint, upon the subject, to the foot of your majesty's throne. Your majesty commanded the Inquisitor-general to issue an order to the Holy Office of Cordova to restore the

criminal to the secular judge. That order was not obeyed. Your majesty repeated your command three different times, and the Inquisitors, perceiving themselves unable to resist any longer, suffered the prisoner to escape, thus leaving your majesty's laws without execution, and the criminal at liberty. This fact will let your majesty see the spirit and system of the Inquisition."

"It is a thing of unheard contradiction, that the royal authority should be unable to punish, even with imprisonment, the servants of the Holy Office, while the latter enjoys a general power of subjecting the soul to its spiritual thunders, and the body to exile and other penalties."

"The corregidor of Toledo, wishing to proceed against a butcher belonging to this tribunal, whose dishonesty was well known and a subject of general complaint, and having caused him to be arrested, the Holy Office, in its turn, commenced a proceeding against the corregidor himself, in order to force him to drop the prosecution, and to deliver up the prisoner. Without more ceremony they excommunicated the corregidor, and caused his name to be affixed to the door of the church of his parish. The officers of this magistrate, who had arrested the criminal, were cast into the dungeons of the Inquisition, and when they were brought forth, after some days, to make their confessions, their heads and their beards being previously shaved, they were forced to appear bare-footed before the judges, and, after having undergone a tedious examination, upon their lives, their conduct, and that of their parents, they were then condemned to banishment."

This memorial, which contains a variety of other circumstances not less revolting, and not less derogatory to the supreme authority, made a lively impression upon the king and his council: but the Holy Office contrived to avert the storm. It was not difficult to terrify the pusillanimous Charles, who, as we have said, had the deliberate barbarity to intreat of the Inquisition to favour him with the sight of an act of faith, and had even degraded himself by the

perverted ambition of being allowed to supply a faggot for the pile in which his subjects were to be sacrificed. The sticks of this faggot were gilt, and it was tyed with ribands, festoons, and garlands; it was presented, on the day of the ceremony, by the Duke de Pastrana to the King, who himself went to shew it to the Queen Louise-Marie de Bourbon, and then brought it back to the Duke, commanding that it should be the first that was placed on the pile.

The Inquisitors easily contrived to efface the salutary impression which the memorial of Don Joseph de Ledesma had made upon the mind of their king. They then had the art to sow division among the council, by which means, they rendered ineffectual the opinions of those whose patriotism gave them ground of alarm, and caused the measures which they proposed to prove abortive. Nothing was decided, nothing was done, and, proud in their impunity, they continued to exercise their illegal and oppressive authority with increased violence.

The performance of signal services to the state did not obtain a larger share of respect from these persecutors of all worth, but was another title to their enmity. Of this, the fate of the unfortunate Don Melchior de Machanas is a proof. He had been minister plenipotentiary from Spain, at the congress of Breda, and was considered as eminently versed in the canon law. Some differences having arisen between the Holy See and Spain, his reputation for learning procured him the honour of being entrusted with the examination of the disputed points. His genius and his integrity rendered him odious to the court of Rome, and she armed, against him, the Inquisition of Spain. The king had the baseness to abandon him, and this faithful servant, this generous defender of the rights of his master, persecuted, oppressed and banished, wandered, for ten years, upon the frontiers of his country, in vain soliciting justice at the foot of the throne, while his only crime was having defended it: but his real transgression was that he had thwarted the ambitious views of the Cardinal de Judicé, archbishop of Montreal, protec-

tor of the kingdom of Sicily, and Inquisitor general of all the dominions of his Catholic Majesty ; at the same time a traitor to the king, who had loaded him with benefits, and whose secrets he sold to the Pope. This truth Macanas revealed to Philip V., the interesting and curious details of which business, are to be found in the memorials which he addressed to this prince, but unfortunately without success. It may be just mentioned, that, in one of these memorials, St. Theresa is said to have been confined in the Inquisition.

The celebrated Olavidé was the last of these illustrious victims which, from time to time, were devoted to its vengeance, and whom it destroyed, principally to display its power, and to manifest its superiority to the authority and the protection of its kings.

Paul Olavidé was a man of considerable genius ; he was born in Peru, but came, at an early period of life, into Europe. He travelled through France, Germany, and Italy, where he enjoyed the acquaintance and the friendship of the men most eminent for learning, from whose intercourse and conversation he derived that knowledge and that enlightened philosophy the application of which was so destructive to him in Spain. He there opposed abuses and superstitions, and turned the absurdities of the monks into ridicule ; a crime for which they never forgave him.

His talents occasioned him to be usefully employed by the court of Madrid : he was one of the principal instruments which that court made use of in the expulsion of the Jesuits. He was afterwards nominated governor of Seville, intendant-general of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, and superintendant of the Colonies, which, according to his advice, were then planted in the Sierra Morena.

The prosperity to which these colonies attained, in a very few years, evince his capacity and his excellent administration : but the great proprietors, who had been accustomed to pasture their flocks in the Sierra Morena, being deprived of this advantage, by



the new establishment, looked upon Olavidé with an evil eye, and some regulations which he made, with regard to the ringing of bells in the churches, displeased father *Romauld* of Fribourg, a capuchin and overseer of the Germans, who came to be established in the new colony ; and this person accused him to the Holy Office.

It was then the general opinion that the Inquisition was but the shadow of itself, and that the spirit of toleration, and of wisdom, which were become universally diffused, had penetrated even within its walls. Its inactivity, for a considerable period prior to this time, gave countenance to the supposition. However, it now made one great effort to retrieve its reputation, and to re-establish its declining authority. It ventured even to exert an extraordinary act of boldness, by causing Olavidé to be arrested, at the very moment that a medal was struck, in his honour, by the king's order. It was on the 14th of November 1776 that a grandee of Spain, the Count de Mora, in his quality of *alguazil mayor* or grand serjeant of the Inquisition, undertook this infamous commission.

Olavidé continued in prison for more than two years. The Inquisitors were very anxious to make him appear in a public auto da fè, but, by the advice of the court of Rome, they were obliged to be contented to exhibit this ceremony in private : thus manifesting at least some small regard to public decency, and to the feelings of mankind. They accordingly assembled a number of spectators from among the principal persons of the state, and Olavidé was brought forth, before this assembly, not clad in the san-benito, which was another mark of their indulgence, but in his ordinary habit, decorated with the insignia of the Order of St. Jago, and holding a torch in his hand.

The enumeration of his crimes is indeed curious. They accused him of having associated, in foreign countries, with Voltaire, Rousseau, and other free-thinkers ; of having received several letters from the former, and one, amongst the rest, in which he said, " It is indeed to be wished that Spain possessed forty persons who think

as you do:" likewise, of having said that St. Augustin was a simpleton, and that Peter Lombard, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventur, had retarded the progress of the human mind, by the vain and trifling subtleties which they introduced into the schools; of having tried all means of discovering the purport of the depositions which had been made against him before the tribunal; of having advanced that many of the Roman emperors have a more solid claim to our esteem, than a crowd of persons, to whom the appellation of saints had been given; of having called the Carthusians a barbarous institution; of causing a picture of himself to be painted, holding in his hand a print, which represented Venus and Cupid; of having suppressed, in the Sierra Morena, the contributions which were to be employed in prayers for the dead; of having prevented the ringing of bells upon those occasions upon which the church has commanded it.

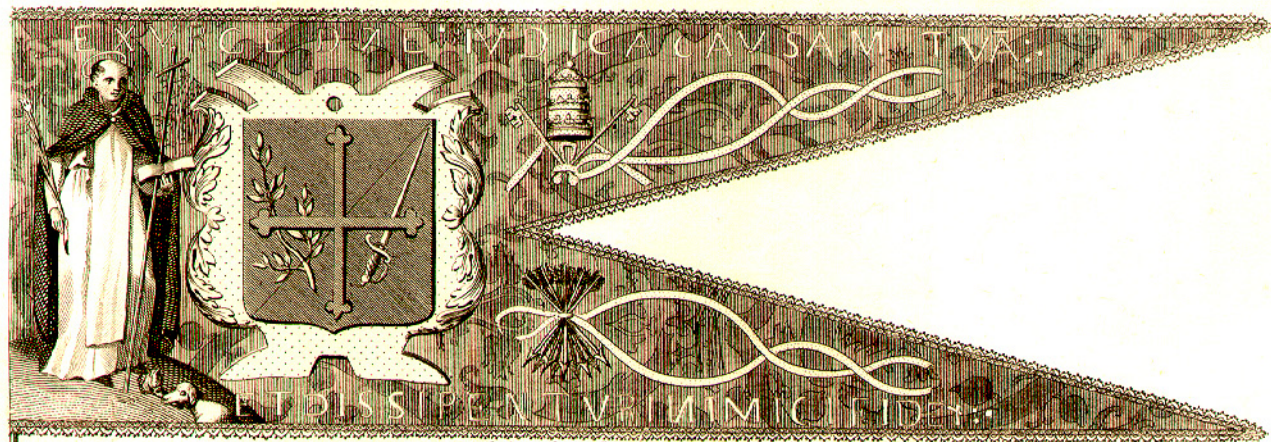
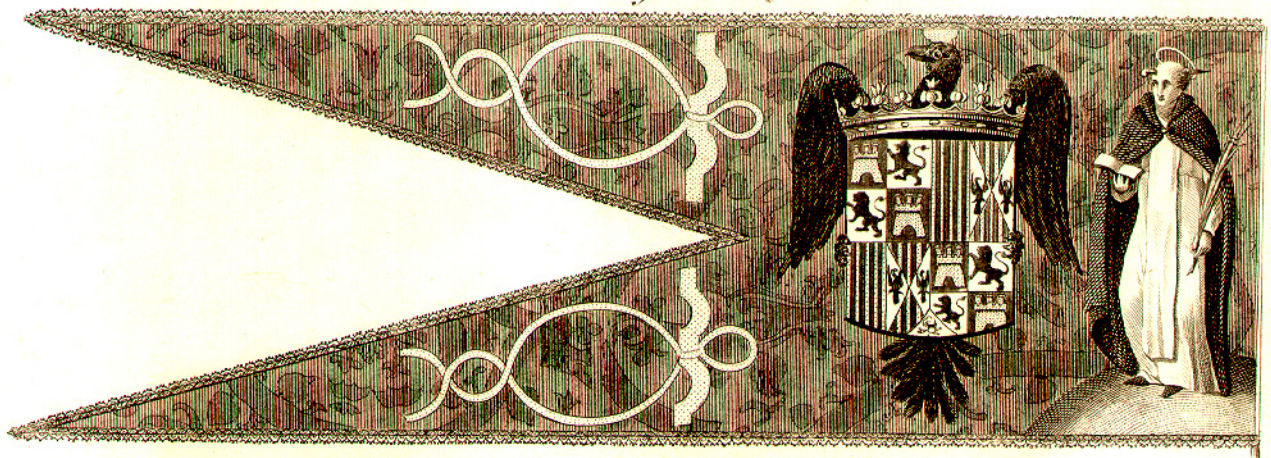
In consequence of all these crimes, he was formally pronounced a heretic, and incapable of bearing or of exercising any employment. His property was confiscated by the Inquisition, and himself condemned to exile from the court of Spain, from Lima, where he had been born, and from the city of Seville, of which he was governor, and to be confined, for eight years, in a convent, where he should be obliged to read the *Test of Faith*, by brother Lewis of Grenada; the *Unbeliever inexcusable*, by father Seriorè, and, besides, to go to confession every month.

It can hardly be necessary to enlarge upon the injustice of the sentence, but surely the very nature of the punishment is in itself highly absurd. To impose, as a penalty for crimes committed, the perusal of religious books, and the frequent attendance upon an holy sacrament, (for such is confession considered in the Romish church,) is sure to dishonour the latter, by making it the instrument of punishment and irritation, when its design is to bestow peace and comfort to the mind; to hold up the former in no respectable point of view, and to brand their contents with the censure of dul-

ness and stupidity. Reason seldom presided over the decrees of the Inquisition. Absurdity was its characteristic. This glares forth upon every occasion; it is visible even in the emblems with which its banners were covered, its crosses, the seals which were made use of to authenticate its acts, and even its letters. Of these there is an exact representation in the plates which illustrate this volume, and which are stated to be accurate imitations of the originals.

The banner is that of the Inquisition of Valladolid; it is made of red damask; its height is about nine feet; and the standard, from which it used to be suspended, was probably about double that length. Upon one side of this banner is a figure of St. Dominic, clad in the habit of his order, and standing upon the globe of the world; in his left hand he holds an open book and a long cross; in the other he bears a lily. At his feet is the head of a dog, which holds in its mouth a lighted torch. In order to understand this allegorical representation, the reader ought to be apprized that the Spanish historians of the life of St. Dominic relate that his mother, when with child of him, dreamed that she brought forth a dog with a lighted torch in his mouth. An invention of this kind, coming from the enemies of the Saint, would not appear surprising, but that his panegyrists should be the authors of what may, evidently, be made the most violent satire against his ferocious and bloody disposition, is not a little extraordinary. By the figure of St. Dominic is a large escutcheon, bearing a Lorraine cross, with a sword upon one side, and an olive-branch on the other. Lower down, in the two angles of the banner, were represented the tiara, with the three crowns, the keys of St. Peter, bound together by a ribbon, and a bundle of arrows tied in the same manner. Along the edges of the banner, are painted, in letters of gold, these words: **EXURGE, DOMINE, ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM, ET DISSIPENTUR INIMICI FIDEI.** "Arise up, Lord, and judge thy cause, and let the enemies of the faith be scattered." Upon the reverse is represented St. Peter, as a Dominican and a

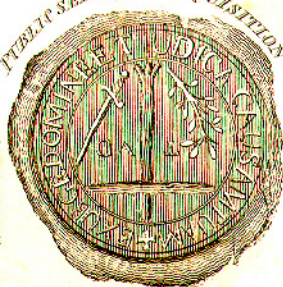
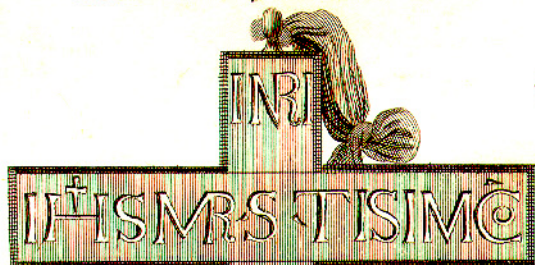
ROYAL STANDARD of the INQUISITION.





*CROSS carried by the CONDEMNED*

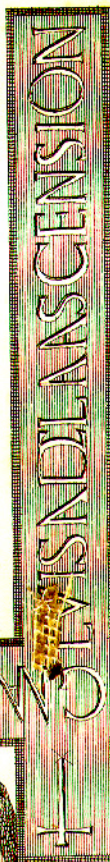
*PUBLIC SEAL of the INQUISITION*



*LATERAL SIDE*



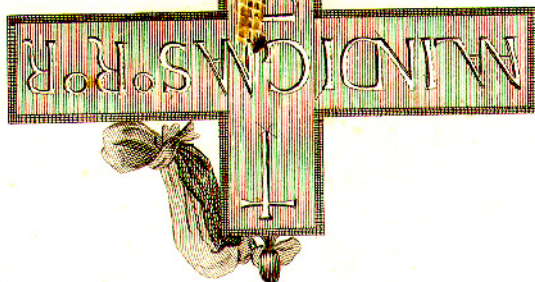
*OBVERSE*



*REVERSE*



*LATERAL SIDE*



*Pub. 5 March 1870 by J.J. Stockdale 41 Pall Mall.*

*Keble sc. Stroud.*

martyr, standing in the same manner, upon the globe, bearing a branch of palm in his left hand, and a book in his right. This saint has his head transpierced by a poignard, the point of which comes forth at his forehead. Farther are the arms of Castille, supported by a spread eagle; there are likewise visible two yokes, similar to those used in yoking oxen. This banner, Mr. Lavallée describes as very ancient, if we are to judge from its appearance; the edges of it are adorned by old gothic silver lace, and it is of the form of the oriflambe, or royal standard of the ancient kings of France. From the manner in which the figures and the escutcheons are placed, we should be led to imagine that it was attached horizontally to the standard, for, if suspended in a vertical position, they would have been placed in an absurd manner.

The seals of the same Inquisition of Valladolid, are represented of their actual size. One was used to seal their public acts, the other their private letters. The words, EXURGE DOMINE, are found in the greater with the cross, and in neither is the poignard omitted. The cross and the poignard are surely a strange combination! These seals are engraven in a block of steel, of a round form, and very antique appearance; from the clumsiness of the workmanship, we should be led to think them coeval with the origin of the Inquisition itself. The cross, with its reverse, which are engraven in the same plate, are also of the size of the original. I have seen (adds the same author) two of the crosses, both bearing the same inscription; they differed only in the materials which composed them; one was entirely made of iron, the other of wood, with a slight frame of that metal. This latter is thicker than the other, so that they were enabled to engrave certain words upon the sides of the upright part of the cross. These are the inscriptions; at the top of the cross I N R I, *Jesus Nasarethæ rex judæorum*; upon the arms I H I, the name of Jesus, or Jusus as it is represented in the eucharist; SMR, S, TISIM. Sanctissima Maria. The word CONCEBIDA, of which the first syllable is placed upon the

arm of the cross, is continued on the upright part, so that the line runs thus: CEBIDA SIN PECAD°. ORIGI: Conceived without original sin. Upon the back part, at the head of the cross, is a small cross irregularly engraven; upon the arms, first a double letter, too much defaced to admit of explanation: then the word INDIGNA S° R° R, Unworthy sister; the sentence is thus continued upon the upright standard; LUISA DE LA ASCENSION; Louisa of the Ascension; upon one of the sides SCIAVA DE MI DUL, Slave of my: the word *dulcissimo* is thus continued on the side; CISIMOIHSM, *Sweetest Jesus Maria*. The iron cross, which, in order to avoid useless repetition, has not been engraved, bears equally the two inscriptions of, *Most Holy Virgin Mary conceived without original sin*; and, *Unworthy sister Louisa of the Ascension*; the word “*slave*,” in the sentence *Slave of my sweetest Jesus Maria*, is expressed by the word, ESCLABA, and the sentence is concluded by the word JOSEPH, which is not found in the former. On this second cross is also this inscription; ALABADOSEA EL SANCTISSIMO SACRAMENTO, *Praised be the most holy Sacrament*. This greater number of inscriptions, while the crosses are of the same dimensions, is owing to there being two lines upon the arms of the latter. The explanatory legend, which I have obtained, relating to these crosses, (continues Lavallée,) which have both a ring, intended no doubt to fasten them to some part of the clothes, do not enable me, precisely, to explain their use, as the accounts differ. Some say that all persons belonging to the Inquisition bore these crosses, that they exhibited them in order to make themselves known, either to the persons whom they arrested, or to whomsoever should venture to oppose them in their duty. Others say that the unfortunate persons who were brought forth at the auto da fè, used to bear them suspended from their necks; those of wood were used by such as were not doomed to death, and those, which were made of iron, were reserved for the victims who were condemned to the stake; and that, after the flames were

extinguished, discovering them among the ashes, they used to hold them up to the admiration of the people, exclaiming, *Behold, every thing is consumed, except the Cross of our Saviour, which is imperishable.* Others will have it, that they were the simple decorations of the domestic servants of the palace of the Inquisition. All their explanations still leave us in uncertainty. If, for example, the words, *unworthy sister of the Ascension,* designate the person who bore these crosses, they would not answer to either the first or the third; they would agree better with the second account, as it may be supposed that this person had appeared twice at the auto da fê, first to receive absolution, and afterwards as relapsed, and, consequently, condemned to the flames.

The words, *Arise, O Lord, and judge thy cause,* were so familiar to the Inquisition, that they were almost always used as the text of those who preached at the ceremony of the act of faith. The translation of a few passages, from one of these sermons, may serve to give some idea of the talents, and of the spirit of the preacher. "It is most just," says the orator in his exordium, "that men should dedicate, at least, one day to avenge God of the offences committed against him, since God has endured our iniquities for so many ages," but alas, how ill the Inquisition imitated the patience of that merciful God! "The holy tribunal this day displays its zeal for the glory of the Lord, and this stage, filled with criminals who are about to suffer, is a striking image of what we shall one day behold in the valley of Jehosaphat." He then compares the presence of the king, at the auto da fê, to the coming of Christ at the end of the world. "As, in his universal judgment, the King of heaven and earth will come and judge mankind, and all his saints along with him; so do we behold, assisting at this judgment of the holy tribunal, the greatest miracle of the earth, with his councils and all the grandees of his kingdom. When the Hebrews, as the Scripture informs us, elected a king, they entrusted



to him, with the crown, the book of the law ; which signifies that, with the same hand, in which he held the sceptre, he was to force his subjects to observe the precepts of their religion." (A happy and appropriate citation at a ceremony, at which the victims were the descendants of those very Hebrews, whose crime was the constancy with which they maintained the principle made use of by the Inquisitor to authorise their punishment. " But hast thou not, oh Lord ! other enemies besides the Jews, Mahomedans, and Heretics ? Are they the only criminals who insult thee ? Do not the rest of mankind daily offend thee by a multitude of vices and sins ? Yes, doubtless ; but God says all these are light faults ; it is the Jews, the Mahomedans, and the Heretics whom alone I abhor, because they attack my reputation, my honour, and my glory." These shocking expressions require no comment. " Thus David rightly says to the Lord, Arise from the lethargy in which pity restrains thee ; arise, oh Lord, and judge thy cause, overwhelm, with the weight of thy wrath, these impious unbelievers. This is done to-day by the holy tribunal of the faith." After having blotted the names of these unfortunate persons from the book of life, he proceeds to insult their calamities : " To maintain, that the faith of men ought to be free, and that heresy ought not to be punished, is to maintain that we ought not to punish rape, sorcery, and murder. The joy which you exhibit, ye miserable wretches, at the sight of the faggot, is not a true joy, it is but madness. In spite of this madness, this pile will not deliver you from your sufferings ; the holy tribunal will consign you over to hell, there you will burn, and the spectators will shudder with horror ; your fate will be to them a terrible lesson. And thou, most holy tribunal of the faith, continue immoveable through the lapse of ages, preserve us pure and steadfast in our religion. Oh ! what a glorious testimony is here exhibited of the zeal of the Inquisitors ! Your greatest triumph is this multitude of criminals !

I may say of you, what the Holy Spirit says of the church, *Pulchra est anima mea, sicut tabernacula cedar et sicut pelles Salamonis*. This day is, for the holy tribunal, a day of triumph and of glory. *Sicut tabernacula cedar, sicut pelles Salamonis*. He punishes the wild beasts who are enemies of the faith, and clothes himself in their spoils," (such is his interpretation.) "We behold all these dreadful animals ranged upon this stage. Condemned as they are to the flames, they will go straight into hell: God will be avenged, the holy tribunal will exult, and we shall be confirmed in the faith, which, aided by grace and good works, will secure everlasting happiness, &c."

The auto da fè, at which this sermon was preached, was made the subject of a painting by Francisco Ricci, which was preserved at the Buen Reteiro. Such absurdities are familiar to all the historians and panegyrist of the Inquisition.

If any one be anxious to read concerning the real antiquity of this institution, he should consult a book, *De Origine et Progressu Officii. S. Inquisitionis, by Lewis de Paramo, an Archdeacon and Canon of Leon, and an Inquisitor*; a work printed at Madrid, A. 1598. The author tells us that God was the first Inquisitor, and Adam and Eve the first Heretics. In the conduct of God he finds the type of that of the Inquisitors. *Adam ubi es?* This is the plan of citation. Adam presents himself. This evinces the obligation of appearing when summoned. God interrogates the criminal alone. Therefore the examination of prisoners ought to be secret. It was Adam's first transgression. God condemns and banishes him: for the same reason, the Inquisitors make exile the first punishment. God takes from him the terrestrial Paradise which he had bestowed upon him: in the same manner, the Holy Office confiscates the goods of those whom it condemns. God deprived Adam of the dominion which he had possessed over the animals: consequently the Inquisition deprives Heretics of all authority, natural, political, and civil. God, in quality of grand Inquisitor, also judged Cain,

Nimrod, the builders of the tower of Babel, and the inhabitants of Gomorrha. Once he celebrated an auto da fê by water: this was the deluge; upon this latter occasion it was by fire, and the Inquisitors have adopted the latter mode as the least troublesome.

When God laid down the office of grand Inquisitor, Sarah, wife of Abraham, succeeded him, and condemned, to exile, the heretic Ishmael. Isaac succeeded his mother, and condemned his son Esau, as an abettor of simony, because he sold, for a mess of pottage, his birth-right, to which the priesthood was attached.

The Levites composed the first Supreme Council of the Inquisition, and began by putting thirty thousand men to death. God thought proper to assist them, by swallowing up Corah, Dathan, and Abirun, with their wives, their children, their flocks, and their riches. David was afterwards grand Inquisitor, and made a glorious auto da fê of the gods of the Philistines. Jesus Christ followed him, and commenced his mission by the death of Herod. St. Paul succeeded to Christ, and so it went on, from age to age, down to his own time.

These absurd and impious comparisons, thus displayed, in this book of Paramo, will suffice to give an idea of the matter of the numerous volumes written by the Inquisitors and their defenders: such persons had the censure of books, and of learning in their own hands, so that it may be easy to conceive the species of trash which they patronised.

The reader must have remarked that, in delivering this large, and rapid exposition of the general and particular conduct of the Inquisition and its members, their private characters has been respected. Only one anecdote has been mentioned which reflects upon them, and which was, in some degree, necessary to complete the picture. Though it is true that their manners were not always free from reproach, to exhibit to view the disorders of a few monks, would add but little to the interests of a work of this

description. It is a history of the Inquisition, and not of the private lives of the individuals who composed it, that is herein given to the public.

This institution presents, in itself, full and sufficient grounds of reprobation, without seeking to render it more odious by a number of licentious stories, which are besides, in general, of very dubious authenticity. If some of those Inquisitors were guilty of deviations from that line of decency which their situation enjoined, it is certain that they concealed their vices under the closest veil of mystery. Were the numerous materials, which it is not difficult to collect upon this subject, to be made use of here, they would only expose excesses which are but too common among all classes of society, and exhibit a picture that would be without either utility or instruction. The Inquisitors were but men, and they had all the failings of their nature; their riches were immense, their power unbounded; temptations, frequently, too strong to be resisted. In addition to that before mentioned, one more instance of the internal splendour of their palaces, and of the pleasures which were there united, will suffice.

A traveller, who is respectable for his rank and his veracity, and who (as M. Lavallée assures us) resided at Paris in 1809, happened to have some business which led him to Lisbon some years previously to the French revolution. As he was to pass through Madrid, a man of rank at the court of Versailles gave him a letter of recommendation to the grand Inquisitor of Spain. Our traveller, on arriving at Madrid, finding himself fatigued by his journey, and intending to set off the next day for Lisbon, sent one of his servants to the house of the Inquisitor, with the letter which he had received, and entreating his highness to excuse him for not doing himself the honour of waiting on him, which the urgency of his business, and his extreme fatigue prevented him from doing. The grand Inquisitor came, in person, to the hotel at which he had stopped, and, declaring that he would admit of no excuse, our traveller consented to spend the evening at

his residence. He was astonished at the magnificence of the apartments, the beauty of the pictures, the richness of the furniture, and the multitude of the attendants. As soon as some noblemen, who were at the house of the Inquisitor, had withdrawn, his highness conducted the stranger to shew him his own bed-chamber. Never was any thing more sumptuously magnificent. It was upon the ground floor; paintings of the most admirable execution, exhibiting various subjects of pagan mythology, decorated the ceiling. Four orange-trees, which were planted in soil, prepared beneath the inlaid floor, and which seemed to grow from the marble of which that floor was composed, arose to the view, covered, at the same time, both with blossoms and fruit. They occupied the four corners of the chamber, and appeared to be refreshed by four fountains, whose limpid waters fell, in beautiful cascades, into basons of porphyry, and lost themselves, with gentle murmurs, beneath the marble of the floor. The bedstead occupied the middle of this enchanted scene. The Loves supported the silver gauze that formed the curtains of the bed, which were raised to a small distance from the ground, in order to prevent the approach of insects. It was in this place, worthy of the palace of fairy beings, that his highness recreated himself in slumber, after the sacred toils of the day.

As soon as the traveller had satisfied the curiosity which naturally rose in his mind on beholding this voluptuous retreat, which he was very far from suspecting to be in a palace where he thought he should meet only the severe emblems of devotion, he was about to withdraw. The Inquisitor however detained him; "Is it possible," said he, "that, at your age, you can be so sensible of fatigue?" He then made a signal, a Dominican appeared; this was no doubt his confidential minister; the grand Inquisitor spoke a few words to him in the Spanish language, and, in a few moments after, he conducted the stranger into a saloon, which was more retired, where the splendor of innumerable wax lights almost rivalled the brightness of the day, and where he beheld six

females, all possessing every possible attraction of figure, grace, and accomplishments. A magnificent supper was then served, and these ladies, the grand Inquisitor, with some monks, his peculiar favourites, and our traveller, seated themselves at the table. Agreeable conversation, music, poetry, songs, and gaiety, which was increased by the delicacy of the viands, and the excellence of the wines, rendered the night truly enchanting, and they protracted these delights till sun-rise. His highness then insisted upon the stranger's remaining for some days with him, and every night brought with it some novel entertainment.

At length, he bade adieu to his magnificent host, enchanted with his courtesy, and highly edified by the ingenious manner which he had devised, in order to console himself for the painful nature of the duties imposed on him by his office. However, this courtesy towards strangers was not so unlimited as to extend itself equally to all. The epoch of the French revolution exhibited instances of considerable deviation from this splendid politeness. The Inquisition, alarmed at the progress of affairs in France, thought proper, in the year 1796, to seize the books of M. M\*\*\*, the French consul at Gijon ; of Mr. C\*\*\*, consul at St. Andero, and of a M. G\*\*\*, vice-consul at Seville. The French ambassador was obliged to interpose warmly, to effect the restriction of these violent proceedings, and to obtain, from the Spanish government, a formal prohibition to the commissioners and familiars of the Inquisition, against disturbing the French agents in their functions, or employing menaces against them. This however did not prevent the Inquisition of Seville from commencing a process against a M. R. de Saint L\*\*\*, commissioner of the French government for the part of St. Domingo, which was ceded to France by Spain. They at the same time shut up, in the convent of the Carmelites, at Ceres, Jean Pons, a French soldier, and prisoner of war, and transported him to Africa. They also condemned to perpetual imprisonment, another Frenchman,

and his sentence imports, that it was passed upon him for having professed the impious and infamous maxims then current in France. In this instance the severity might not, perhaps, have been unnecessary.

Such is the history of an institution, which an abandoned and profligate policy lays an entire claim to, and which religion, pure religion, must altogether disown, renounce, and abhor. At the time of its creation (I quote the words of the French author) what man would have ventured to call in question the *spiritual* power of the popes? The assistance of the Inquisition was therefore of no use to establish or to strengthen this authority; nobody assailed or opposed it. As that authority was then in the full plenitude of its greatness, it was not menaced by any danger, it had no need of allies or auxiliaries to sustain or to restore it. The Inquisition was therefore of no benefit to the popes, with reference to their *spiritual* power, but it was not so with regard to the *temporal* sovereignty which they laboured to arrogate to themselves. It is only under this point of view that we are to consider the inquisition. This was the true motive of its creation. It was in consequence of the powerful aid which it afforded to their ambitious views, that they fondly caressed it as their grand master-piece of policy. The more that aid was important, constant and successful, the more evidently does it appear that the institution itself is to be ranked among those great conceptions and schemes of which human policy is the basis, the end, and the support.

Upon every occasion, when the popes pretended to the right of disposing not only of ecclesiastical dignities, but of the goods, the revenues and the treasures of all the churches in the world; when their interest led them to assume a superiority over general councils; when their extravagant pride ventured to dispose of the temporal authority of kings, to take away or to confer crowns, and to bestow kingdoms upon their creatures, or to absolve a nation from their oaths of fealty; whenever motives of an entirely human

stamp influenced their conduct, the Inquisition was forward in lending its assistance. What had religion to do with these enterprises of the popes? The Inquisition, that warm protector of their most ambitious pretensions; the Inquisition, whose unremitting endeavour it was to bend the minds of all mankind beneath the yoke of papal authority, and to punish, as the greatest crime, a doubt, even the very slightest, of the reality of their pretended rights; the Inquisition was then always the instrument of their worldly ambition, and religion was made the pretext for its enormities and its persecution: but this, like every other wicked means, defeated the end which it was designed to promote; by persecuting the seceders from the church of Rome, it confirmed them in their hostility and rendered their reconciliation impossible. By its detestable cruelties it rendered these men interesting in the eyes of the most virtuous and religious of the Catholics, and united, in their ranks, all those whose hearts sympathized with their sufferings and their wrongs. The horrible spectacle of its rage, wafted to both the Indies, became an invincible obstacle to the conversion of idolaters. From the banks of the Oroonoco to the banks of the Ganges, every ear was deaf to the voice of a religion, whose priests signalized its solemnities only by acts of the most barbarous cruelty. The inhabitants of these countries naturally took the Inquisition for the religion; and its dreadful spirit of intolerance, penetrating even to Japan, gave rise, in that distant empire, to the most dreadful catastrophe with which human vengeance, inflamed by the excess of fanaticism, has ever desolated the earth. Thus did it prove the most dangerous enemy of a religion, whose name it assumed only to sanction its cruelty and injustice. It was also the enemy of every government; using the most daring insolence towards all monarchs, it outraged them, and, too often, with impunity. Were they weak? It kept them in the most disgraceful thralldom. Were they vigorous? It excited against them the weight of public opinion, and, powerful in the ignorance and absurdity of the people whom it had degraded, it braved, without apprehension, their just



indignation. It shook off the yoke of all laws, and exhibited every where the example of disobedience, insubordination and revolt. During a period of five hundred years, according to its interest and caprice, it harassed the repose of states ; and laboured, with indefatigable industry, to break all the ties by which the social order unites people with their governments, for the purpose of binding them, in the chains of servitude, to the throne of St. Peter.

Such was this dreadful tribunal beneath which the world so long groaned, which, for the boldness of the original conception, the immense extent of its power, the audacity of its attempts, the greatness of its success, and the length of its domination, finds no parallel in the records of the world. The annals of antiquity, so fertile in instances of the most atrocious tyranny, offer nothing that can be compared to that which it exercised ; and doubtless the superstitious patience, with which so many generations supported its bloody yoke, will occupy many pages in the ample history of human weakness and human folly.

As the reader may wish to see the edict by which Buonaparte, assuming the dominion of Spain, thought proper to abolish this institution, I insert it here.

“ Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, decrees—

“ Article I.—The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as derogatory to the sovereign power, and to civil authority.

“ II. The property belonging to the Inquisition is sequestered and united to the royal demesne of Spain, in order to serve as a security for the VALEES and the other *articles of the national debt.*”

## APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF

### EXTRACTS FROM SIX PROCEEDINGS,

*The Translation of which was made from the original Documents by  
M. Lavallée.*

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THESE pieces will serve to give an idea of the spirit of intolerance with which the Inquisition was animated, of its mode of proceeding, as well as of the terror which it inspired, and which is visible in the manner of expression of the informers and witnesses. They are extremely curious, for there is every reason to believe, that this is the first time that the original proceedings of the Inquisition have ever been made public. On the contrary, it was the custom to envelope them in the most profound secrecy.

We have seen how violently the Inquisition of Lisbon opposed the orders of the Pope himself, when commanded, by him, to send to Rome, the originals of six different proceedings. When compelled at length to obey, they sent only two, and those were selected from the least important.

Want of time (says M. Lavallée) has not permitted him, who has been occupied in these researches, to select, from the archives of the Holy Office, any proceedings of greater interest; he took them at random, as they happened to come to his hand.

The first cause is of the date 1489, the second 1519, the third 1570, the fourth 1676, the fifth 1806, and the sixth 1808. In order to

avoid the tediousness and fatiguing repetition of the interrogatories, I have given only extracts from four of these proceedings, two alone are given completely perfect, in order to convey an accurate idea of the forms which were pursued in the Inquisition. In the last, propriety required the suppression of the name of the informer. The date of this proceeding is so recent that it is natural to suppose that the parties concerned are still living. The name of the accused therefore only is given.

*The Proceedings against Albaro-Rodriguez, Rector of Villalba, in the year 1489, had in the City of Aranda.*

The said Albaro-Rodriguez having been accused, a short time after his decease, of having administered the sacrament to sick persons with unconsecrated host, and of having suffered some of it to be lost by negligence and an evil inclination, the supreme tribunal of the Holy Office pronounced, against the delinquent, the judgment here following.

After having seen and maturely examined the entire of the proceedings instituted by André Barthel, the fiscal proctor, upon the one part, and upon the other the nephews who are his heirs, and the advocate of the said Albaro-Rodriguez, against the said Albaro-Rodriguez, rector of Villalba, who, under the name and appearance of a Christian, has proved himself to be a Heretic, a Judaizer, and an apostate from our holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, and who, in contempt of our holy faith, has injured and insulted our Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrifice of the mass every time that he said it, turning into ridicule the functions of religion, administering the sacrament to the sick with unconsecrated host, and frequently suffering the host to be lost.

After having heard the arguments on this subject, the depositions of the witnesses, and the defence of the advocate, we declare

that the said Albaro-Rodriguez is convicted of having been a Heretic and Apostate to the period of his death. We are therefore bound to deliver, and do hereby *deliver to infamy his reputation and his memory\**.

*The Proceedings against Anthony de Pajaréz de Camora, condemned at Valladolid in 1519.*

He was condemned to offer a wax candle to the mass, and to pay an hundred gold ducats for having accepted the office of majordomo of Camora. He knew neither how to read nor write, and imagined that the formula, which he had received from the Cardinal, gave him a right to accept of it : he was, moreover, forced to this step by menaces.

*Criminal Process of the Fiscal of the Holy Office, against Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish Woman, of the Kingdom of Grenada, and Slave to the Countess of Andrara in 1570 †.*

EVIDENCE.

I, John de Montfort, an inhabitant of this city, and a native of Guadix, in the kingdom of Grenada, think myself bound to declare, for the disburthening of my conscience, that, in the house and in the service of the Count of Andrara, there are two slaves, who are of the number of the new converts of the kingdom of

\* The reader will remember that a judgment of this description was attended with infamy to all the relations of the criminal, both on the father's and mother's side, and also with the confiscation of all his goods for the benefit of the Holy Office.

† This process will serve to prove that every species of art was allowed in order to cause new converts to fall into the snares that were continually laid for them, and afterwards to procure the means of their condemnation.

Grenada, and who have the name and title, and make all the external demonstrations of being good Christians ; but yesterday, which was Friday the 30th of March, in this year 1570, being in the house of the said Count, with my brother Nicholas de Montfort, who was just returned from the kingdom of Grenada, and from the cities Almeria, Cordova, and Madrea, the Count happened to direct the conversation to the subject of the murders and excesses committed by the new converts in the beginning of the rebellion, and which they were still committing every day :—

Upon this occasion, the Count mentioned his having two slaves, from the kingdom of Grenada, one of whom, named Madeline, was a native of Almeria, and the other, whose name was Bernardine, received her birth in the country of the Alpuxarras. He ordered them to be called, and the said Nicholas de Montfort demanded of the said Madeline the country in which she was born. She replied that she was born near Almeria, and that she was the daughter of a villager, a Moor of Castille, whom the said Nicholas declared that he knew, and believed to have fallen in a battle fought upon one of the mountains of Grenada. He asked them both if they were good Christians, to which they replied in the affirmative : and the Countess, who was present, declared that they had both confessed and fasted. She added, that it was not proper to administer to them the holy sacrament of the eucharist, because they were certainly as much Moors now as they were before their captivity, and because, in the kingdom of Grenada, it is not usual to administer this sacrament to any of the new converts, except to those whose virtue and zeal for Christianity were very well attested by the rectors.

The Count enquired of the said Nicholas, whether he had brought with him any servant who understood the Moorish language ; he replied that he had, and sent a page of mine for him to an hotel in the city, at which he had left his horses. As it was then late, we agreed that I should bring, on the following day, this servant, whose

name is Martinez, a native of Almeria, in order that he might converse with the said Madeline and Bernardine, and whom we determined to prevail upon to conceal his real sentiments, for the purpose of discovering the opinions of the said Madeline and Bernardine, and of ascertaining whether, in fact, they were Christians or Moors. In consequence, I this day conducted the said Martinez to the house of the Count, who summoned the said slaves into his apartment, and there the said Martinez conversed, for some time, with them, in the Moorish language, in pursuance of the orders which we had given him; and, after they had returned to their mistress, the Count demanded of Martinez what they had said to him. He replied, that they were undoubtedly Mahomedans, from the counsel which they had given him, which was the following; to be extremely on his guard, and to conceal carefully his mode of thinking, and frequently to make the sign of the cross, as, without this precaution, he would be exposed to much contempt and insult, and be, very probably, seared with a hot iron. They said, with regard to themselves, that they endured the greatest vexation from being compelled to fast every Friday, and through the entire Lent; that they were forced, every evening, to repeat the prayers and the doctrine of Christianity, after which, they went to bed and wept bitterly; that they were also obliged to attend confession, where they knew not what to say; that, in other respects, their mode of life was agreeable enough, having nothing to do but to work at the needle. They likewise said that, although they were thus placed in the midst of their enemies, their reign must, some time or other, have an end, and could not last for ever: they added also several other expressions of a similar tendency, which fully convinced the said Martinez that the above-named slaves are Moors, and he consequently *denounces* them as such. He swore, in due form, and before God, that his declaration was true. This, I, John de Montfort, affirm in like manner,

according to the tenor of this narration, solemnly declaring that I am not influenced, upon this occasion, by any motive of hatred or enmity.

*RATIFICATION of Martinez against Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish Woman.*

In the city of Valladolid, on the 6th of April 1570, by order of the Holy Office, we summoned to appear, before us, Martinez, an inhabitant of this city, who took the accustomed oath to tell the truth.

Question. Whether he remembers having deposed before any judge of this Holy Office?—Answer. Yes.

Q. Against whom, and upon what account? A. Against a Moorish slave of the Countess of Andrada, called Bernardine Lopez, because she was not a Christian, and followed, on the contrary, the religion of Mahomed.

He was ordered to listen to the reading of his deposition, and the fiscal of this Holy Office told him that he presented him as a witness against Bernardine; that therefore, if he had any thing to add, or to take away from what he had said, he should do it, in order that the truth might remain unaltered. His declaration being read to him, he declared that he heard and understood it; that it contained the exact truth; that he affirmed and ratified it anew; and that he had nothing to add or to retrench. After being sworn to secrecy, he signed.

(Signed) MARTINEZ.

THE DECREE OF ARREST.

We, the Apostolic Inquisitors of this city of Valladolid, in consequence of the accusation deposed at the Holy Office, against Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish woman of the kingdom of Grenada, and a slave of the most illustrious Countess of Andrada, command,

that the said Bernardine Lopez be seized in her proper person, taken from the house of the said Countess, and carefully conducted to the prison of this Holy Office, where she shall be placed in the hands of the alcaide.

At Valladolid, this 3d Day of April, 1570.

CERTIFICATE OF THE ARREST.

On the 3d day of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Jublanquez, an alguazil of this Holy Office, brought in prisoner Bernardine, who is mentioned in the above order, towards whom I Francisco Dersanés have discharged the usual formalities, without omitting any thing; and have given to the said Jublanquez a certificate of his having delivered, into my hands, the said Bernardine, which I have signed.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DERSANES.

INTERROGATORY.

In the city of Valladolid, on the fourth of April 1570, in the morning, his Lordship Don Diego Gonzalez, Inquisitor, summoned before him Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish woman, of the kingdom of Grenada, and slave to the Countess of Andrada, and she swore, in due form, to tell the truth.

Question. What was her name, where she was born, and how old she was?—Answer. Her name was Bernardine Lopez, a native of Veria near Alpuxarras, and her age about sixteen years.

Q. Who were her father and mother?—A. Graniel Lopez, a silk-weaver, and Isabella de Moutesino, a Murcian slave.

Q. Her ancestors, on the father's side?—A. She knew not.

Q. Her ancestors, on the mother's side?—A. Garcia de Moutesino.

Q. Her aunts on the father's side?—A. Leonora Lopez, wife to Garcis de Herrera, a retail merchant; and Isabella Lopez, wife to Lewis de Pliego.



Q. Her aunts by the mother's side?—A. Louisa Moutesino, and Maria Moutesino.

Q. Her brothers and sisters?—A. Fernando Lopez, aged 15 years; Leonora Lopez, aged 20 years; and Maria Lopez, aged 17 years. Bernardine confessed that all the above-mentioned persons were descended from Moorish ancestors; she said that none of them had been imprisoned, summoned, punished, or condemned by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. She made the sign of the cross, and repeated the prayers of the church. She said, in the last Lent, she had confessed, in the house of the Countess Andrada, to the Countess's chaplain, and that he administered to her the holy Sacrament; and that, in the preceding years, she had confessed, to a person of the name of Banegas, rector of the above-named place. She declared that she could read and write, but imperfectly.

Q. Whether she knew or suspected the cause of her imprisonment?—A. Yes, that she suspected she was confined in consequence of a certain conversation which she had held with her companion Madeline Castellana, in the house of the Countess Andrada, her mistress, and a young man of the middle size, who, when conversing with her and her companion, had said that he had been a Mahomedan, that he had become a Christian, that he had been made a prisoner and confined in Almeria; that, nevertheless, he was a Mussulman in his heart and would die in his faith; all which he said in the language of Arabia, which he spoke perfectly well. He demanded of her and her companion whence they derived their origin, and they told him the place of their birth. He enquired whether they were Mahomedans. She answered in the negative: that they were Christians; that they fasted in the last Lent, that they made use of the Christian prayers.

She was told that in this Holy Office we arrested nobody, but for having either done or said something against our Holy Catholic faith, and the Christian religion; or for having witnessed

other people act in this manner. That we let her know that she was arrested for having expressed opinions which gave cause to suspect that she was attached to the religion of Mahomet, and for having heard other persons express them : that we exhorted her to tell the truth with regard to every thing she knew, through the fear of the Lord, or else that she could not hope to be treated with mercy.

Having declared that she had nothing more to say, the fiscal put an end to the audience, and she was remanded to prison before me, the fiscal of the Holy Office.

In the city of Valladolid, on the fifth day of April, before his lordship, the said Inquisitor Diego Gonzalez, at the evening audience, the prisoner Bernardine was again summoned. When she arrived, she was ordered, if she recollected any thing else, to declare it, laying open the entire truth, as she had engaged to do by the oath which she had taken. She replied that she remembered that the Moor, of whom she had before spoken, had asked her, in the Arabian language, whether she was a Mahomedan, and that she had answered that God knew what she thought in her heart, and that she had said nothing more.

Q. What it was that she thought in her heart?—A. That she was a Christian and not a Mahomedan, as she had told the said Moor. She was exhorted the third time to tell the truth. She answered that she could remember no more. After this declaration she was conducted back to prison.

#### STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSATION.

Most illustrious and most respectable lords, I Diego de Haedo, fiscal of this Holy Office, make known to you, as I am bound to do by the duties of my office, that certain persons have *denounced* before you, and criminally accused, Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish woman, who is born of Heretical parents, who are known and confessed to be Mahomedans and enemies of our holy Catholic faith ;

which Bernardine Lopez was born at Veria near Alpuxarras, and is now confined in the prison of the Holy Office. The above-mentioned person, having received the baptism and the name of a Christian, among the faithful Catholics who fear God, is, to the great offence of his divine majesty, become a Heretic and an apostate from our holy faith. She has always been and she now is in the false religion of Mahomet, and I accuse her specially of the following crimes.

1. Of having, after she had fallen into the hands of Christians, and during her captivity, being instigated by a perverse and diabolical desire of persisting in her false belief, of having, I say, openly and outwardly professed to be a good Christian, and, under this disguise, pretended to confess as such, though she was the very contrary in her heart and soul.

2. The above-named person having, though a Moorish Heretic, pretended and feigned, by her outward conduct, to be a good Christian, nevertheless, in speaking to a person whom she thought to be a Mahomedan and a captive like herself, discovered herself to be really a believer in the religion of Mahomed, and an enemy of our holy Catholic faith, by saying that she was disgusted at being obliged to confess every week, and that she knew not what to confess, because that which she thought in her heart she could not reveal to any body. That she had been compelled to fast all the Lent, and upon every Friday, and to make the sign of the cross upon every occasion; that she had been taught prayers which were regarded by the Mahomedans as ridiculous fables; that she was continually exhorted to be a good Christian, and tormented by every thing that she was ordered, taught, and obliged to practise; and that, in the midst of her enemies, she found herself, as it were, in a flame of fire: meaning, by these expressions, the Christians under whose power she was.

3. That, persevering in her abominable opinion, and discovering her firm resolution, to maintain it, to the person with whom

she conversed, thinking that person to be a Mahomedan like herself, she said that she had been made a Christian in spite of her inclinations; that she was obliged to pray for a long time before she went to bed, and that when she awoke she wept at the bad treatment which she received; and moreover, that, though it was contrary to her inclinations, she resolved, at least, to pretend and to say that she was a good Christian, with a view to put an end to her persecutions, but still retaining her false belief.

4. The above-mentioned prisoner, going still farther in her conversation with the aforesaid person, encouraged and consoled him, by saying: "And you, for the love of that God who protects you, do whatever your master commands, and endeavour to please him; take care that he does not brand you with a hot iron; for all those who have been brought hither, have been so branded under the idea that they were Moors. But this cannot last; God will find a remedy; this land will not always belong to our enemies, and one time or other we shall be free."

5. In the same Mahomedan and impious opinion, the prisoner said to the above-named person that she had confidence in God, that he would deliver her from her enemies, meaning the Christians; and she engaged him to visit her again, because he consoled her.

6. That the prisoner has declared, and been guilty of all these heresies against our holy Catholic faith, through an attachment to the religion of Mahomed; that, consequently, she appears to be an Heretic and a Mahomedan, and has therefore incurred the penalties inflicted by the laws of this kingdom, and those which are enacted in such cases by the rules and statutes of the Holy Office.

From all these considerations, declaring the above-named Bernardine Lopez to be a Heretic and a Mahomedan, we condemn her to suffer the punishment of her crime, and decree that this punishment be executed upon her person, and we deliver her over to

the secular power, ordaining that she be, previously, put to the question, until she accuse herself.

(Signed) DIEGO DE HAEDO.\*

(Bernardine demanded and obtained a sheet of paper, in order to confess the truth.)

THE CONFESSION OF BERNARDINE.

I, Bernardine Lopez, a Moorish woman, of the kingdom of Granada, now confined in the prison of the Inquisition, confess that, being very young and inexperienced, I have not declared, till the present moment, the evil way in which I have lived, as I feared that, if I should go forth from this Holy Office with the penitential garb, the Count and Countess, my master and mistress, would be unwilling to receive me, and that, in consequence, I should continue without employment in this city. Now that God has given me his grace and enlightened my soul, and has placed me among true Christians, I am determined to confess the truth, as to the fathers of my soul, throwing myself upon their mercy; I accordingly declare and confess, for the ease of my conscience and the hope of salvation, that, at the age of six years, my father Graniel Lopez, and Isabella Moutesino, my mother, began to instruct me in the religion of Mahomed, telling me that all my ancestors had been of that faith, and had all lived in that law. That my duty, as a Mahomedan, was this, to fast as they did for three days and then to eat in the evening; after that to fast three days more, and to continue this discipline during the whole month of April. They shewed me the prayers which my faith enjoined, ordered me to repeat them three times in the day, and directed that, at each time of prayer, I should wash my whole body. If at any time I neglected

\* We are to suppose that she was put to the question accordingly, and that her tortures forced from her the confession which follows.

to come in to prayers, they chid me severely, saying that, if I did not fast with patience, they would renounce me as being the prey of the devil. They also recommended to me, when I should be at mass and see the priest elevate the host, to bow my head, but never to go there except when I could not help it, because they only went there to avoid paying the penalty; and, whenever I returned from the mass, they warmed some water and washed their entire bodies, and then I went in with them to repeat the prayers of our own religion. They also strictly enjoined me not to eat pork, nor to drink wine, conformably to the precepts of Mahomed, who, they told me, was the prophet of God. In fine they ordered me to turn away from the road where Christians walked, and carefully to avoid meeting them.

After my father's death, which happened five years ago, I remained under the direction of my mother, and of my grandfather Garcia de Moutesino, my mother's father. They continued to educate me and my brothers in the law of Mahomed: they told us continually that they were Mahomedans; that at the last hour of their lives they would say their three prayers; that then they should go to heaven; where they should fare sumptuously and live in the most delicious enjoyments.—This she declared was the sum of her confession. Then follow the opinions of the different Inquisitors, which were more merciful than the conclusion to which Diego de Haedo had come, and, amongst the rest, the advice of the Inquisitor, Diego Gonzalez, which was the most important of all, and conceived in the following terms.

In this affair of Bernardine, it appears that this criminal is 16 years of age, and a native of the town of Veria, where she was instructed in the Christian faith, being lectured, upon the week-days, by Juan Xuarez the rector; and, upon Sundays, by Vanegas, an ecclesiastic. Upon Sundays also and holy-days she heard a sermon from a monk of the Order of St. Francis. She was then instructed from the age of 7 years, and, at nine, she was well acquainted with

the doctrines of Christianity, as appears from the confession which she made on the 6th of May in this present year. She was not ignorant that the Inquisition of Grenada used to punish the Moors, and that, at the time at which that city was formed, one half of the inhabitants were condemned to bear the dress which distinguishes Heretics. From these considerations, there is not a doubt that she ought to be admitted to reconciliation, into the bosom of the church, seeing that, even since she has been of an age of discretion, she has been imbued with the errors of Mahomedanism. It is therefore indispensably necessary to pronounce her goods confiscated, for although she has now no property as being a slave, she has nevertheless a right to that of her father and mother. I quote, as my authority on this head, the law of Seville, which directs that the goods of Heretics be sequestered during the process against them, and confiscated, if condemnation ensues. With regard to her abjuration, I appeal on this point to the law of Valladolid, which imports, that all those who shall be guilty of heresy, at an age of discretion, shall abjure all the errors and impostures of which they have been guilty since their arrival at that age. The same law fixes the age of discretion at twelve years for females, and at fourteen for males: and, as this criminal is sixteen years of age, it is evident that, by right, and in conformity with the instructions of the Holy Office, she ought to be admitted to a public reconciliation and abjuration. Since the said laws were passed in the year 1484, a time in which there was so great a number of Jews and Moors newly converted, still more ought they to be enforced at a period in which so much pains are employed in the instruction of the new converts.

The punishments which the Inquisition inflicts in this kingdom, are so well known, that nobody can pretend ignorance of them, and this, the confession of the accused evidently shews, with regard to herself. She could only urge, in her exculpation, that her parents had instructed her in the religion of Mahomed, and had prejudiced her against the opposite instructions which she might

receive, by commanding her to resist what they called a corruption, and that she had been deceived by them : and such is the tenor of the said Bernardine's confession.

From this I conclude, that we ought to act with mercy towards her, according to the opinion of the doctors and of St. Augustin, when he speaks of the manner in which parents ought to teach and instruct their children in religion. I think that this criminal ought to be admitted to abjuration and reconciliation, according to the forms prescribed by the Holy Office.

(Signed) DIEGO GONZALEZ GALICENDO, a Doctor.

In consequence of these different opinions, Bernardine Lopez was admitted to reconciliation in form, in the hall of audience ; it was decided that she should not bear the penitential garb, and that she should be restored to her master and mistress. This process is short, it had begun on the 31st of March.

*Proceedings of the Fiscal Proctor against Martin-Juan de Salinas, a Comedian by Profession, for Bigamy, who was condemned to receive two hundred lashes, &c. at Valladolid, in the year 1676.*

We order that the criminal should appear this day before our tribunal, with the other penitents, holding a taper in his hand, with the usual marks of one guilty of bigamy, and an inscription, in which the present sentence shall be inserted, &c. &c. ; that he shall not kneel, except from the reading of the preface till the time that the mass is concluded. He shall then present the taper to the priest who has said the mass ; he shall also make abjuration and be severely reprimanded. On the following day, he shall be led through the public streets of this city, through which it is customary to lead criminals, preceded by the public crier. He shall receive two hundred lashes, and be banished from this kingdom for



ten years, the five first of which he shall pass in the galleys, as a rower without pay ; and, as to the marriage tie, we refer the consideration of this point to the ordinary judge, who may and ought to take cognizance of it.

#### FORM OF ABJURATION.

I, Juan-Martin de Salinas, here present before you, illustrious Inquisitors, who are established for the suppression of heresies, of depravity and apostacy, in this Holy Office of Valladolid ; in presence also of that sacred sign of the cross which is placed before mine eyes, and with my hand upon the holy gospels, acknowledge the Catholic and Apostolic faith. I abjure, detest, and anathematize every species of heresy, contrary to what is prescribed by the Holy Catholic faith, and the evangelical law of Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer, and every thing that is contrary to the Holy Apostolic See, and the Roman church, and especially those crimes of which I am suspected and accused before you. I swear to hold and to maintain, for ever, that holy faith which is taught and maintained by the holy mother-church ; to be always obedient and submissive to our holy father the Pope, and to his canonical successors in the Holy See, and to conform to all their decisions. I regard all the enemies of this Holy Catholic faith as worthy of being condemned ; I promise never to unite myself with them, to oppose them with all my might, and to *denounce*, to every Inquisitor, or priest belonging to the holy mother-church of the place in which I may happen to be, the heresies which shall come to my knowledge. I swear and promise to receive, with all humility and resignation, the chastisement which is to be inflicted on me, and to use my utmost endeavour to complete it to its full extent. If ever it should happen to me, upon any occasion, to admit an inclination to displease God, or to commit any action contrary to the above promises, I consent to be considered as impenitent, to be prosecuted as such, and I submit to the punishment which the

Holy Office shall judge fit to inflict, even to the utmost severity of the sacred canons. I acknowledge them to be just, I confess that they ought to be enforced against me, and against all those who, after having abjured heresy, fall again into incredulity, and I resign myself, beforehand, to suffer all their rigour, in case that I am convicted of having infringed the said canons.

(Signed) MARTIN DE SALINAS.

*Proceedings of the Fiscal Proctor of the Inquisition, against Joseph Ortiz, Cook in the Seminary of Palencia, had in the Palace of the Inquisition of Valladolid, on the 30th of August 1806.*

#### ARTICLE I.

A Letter of *denunciation*, dated August 9th, 1806, addressed, by Jerome Calsada, to the holy tribunal of the Inquisition of Valladolid, against Joseph Ortiz, a domestic, belonging to the seminary of Palencia; by which he declares that the said Ortiz, cook to the said seminary, asserted that there is no such place as hell, and that, after his death, the worst that could happen to him, would be to become a prey to dogs, &c; and that he persisted in using the same sort of language, in spite of the remonstrances which were made to him by one of the members of the seminary.

#### ARTICLE II.

By which the Inquisitors Linares, Charucas, and Eleuteris Varonas, submitted the denunciation to Don Manuel Roman, a priest and chaplain of the cathedral church of the said city of Palencia, in order that he might make inquiry concerning the said Ortiz, and that he might hear the said Calsada and the member of the seminary mentioned in his deposition.

#### ARTICLE III.—*The Examination and Interrogatory.*

In the city of Palencia, on the 27th of November 1806, I, Manuel Roman, a chaplain of the cathedral church of this city, by

virtue of the commission which the Holy Inquisition of Valladolid has condescended to entrust to me, on the 30th of last August, have caused to appear before me, Geronimo Calsada, a domestic in the college and royal seminary of this city, who swore, in due form, to tell the truth, as to every thing that should be asked him, to the full extent of his knowledge, and whatever he should have heard said to the offence of God our Saviour, and against our Holy Catholic faith, as well as against the just and free exertion of the power of the Holy Office, without concealing any thing, or giving false evidence.

I caused him to promise that he would observe strict secrecy. He said that he was aged 24 years.

Question. Whether he knew or suspected for what reason he was summoned?—Answer. That he supposed it was in consequence of a letter which he had sent to the Holy Office at Valladolid, in which he *denounced* Joseph Ortiz, cook in the above-mentioned seminary, because he had heard him assert that he did not believe that there was either a God or hell.

He was told that the Inquisitors had received a letter signed by his hand; it was shewn to him, and he was asked whether he knew it to be the same that he had written and addressed to the holy tribunal; and if its contents set forth the exact truth; he was told that if there was any thing that he wished to add or to change, he should do it, according to the oath which he had taken. He answered that the letter was his own, that he knew it to be such, and that it contained every thing which he intended to state.

Question. When the event happened which is stated in his deposition, at what time, how often, and in presence of what persons?—Answer. That, as he was taking his repast, in the kitchen of the seminary, about three months before, the above-mentioned Joseph Ortiz had uttered once only the expressions which he had laid to his charge, in presence of himself, the deponent, and of Saint-Vincent Aguado, a member of the said seminary.

Q. What gave occasion to Joseph Ortiz to make use of such expressions?—A. That he did not remember that any particular motive occurred to cause him to utter the expressions, but that, as they were conversing together about indifferent matters, in the middle of the discourse, he suddenly asserted that there was neither a God nor a hell.

Q. Whether any body took up the discourse, and what did he say, what answer did the accused make, and whether he persisted in this assertion?—A. The above-named Don Aguado, hearing such extravagant assertions, took up the conversation, and said to him, “What is that you say?” To which Ortiz made answer, “What is said is said;” and upon this they separated.

Q. Whether, at the time that the accused held this language, he was in his sober senses, or had he been drinking wine?—A. That although he was much given to drunkenness, nevertheless, upon the present occasion, the deponent believed him to have spoken with perfect deliberation.

Q. What were the age and description of the accused?—A. That he appeared to be about forty years of age, that he was small of stature, but corpulent, marked with the small pox, of a dark complexion, and that he had the accent of a foreigner.

Q. Whether he had any thing else to say or to add, with regard to the above-mentioned Ortiz, or any other person, or any further communication to make that related to the Holy Office?—A. That he knew nothing more than he had declared, and had no further deposition to make against any person whatsoever, and that every thing which he had deposed was strictly true.

The interrogatory being then read to him, he affirmed, that it was exactly conformably to his declaration, that he had not acted, upon this occasion, through hatred or malice towards the said Ortiz, but purely for the discharge of a duty to which he was in conscience bound. He then promised secrecy and signed his name. (*Signed*) MANUEL ROMAN AND GERONIMO CALSADA.

ARTICLE IV.—*The Ratification.*

In the city of Palencia, on the 31st of October, 1806, before me, Overseer of the Holy Office, appeared Geronimo Calsada, aged 24 years, a domestic of the seminary of St. Joseph, in this city, in presence (See Article 6th.)

Q. Whether he remembered having deposed before any judge, against any person, with relation to matters of faith?—A. That he remembered having deposed, before the present overseer, against Joseph Ortiz, cook in the said seminary. He related in substance the contents of this declaration, and requested that it might be read to him. He was informed that the fiscal proctor of the Holy Office presented him, as a witness, in a process, instituted against the said Joseph Ortiz; he was desired to be attentive, as his deposition was about to be read to him. He was ordered, if he had any thing to alter, to add, or to retrench in that deposition, to do it, so as to state the entire truth, to affirm and ratify it, since, upon what he was about to say, depended the opinion of the tribunal with regard to Ortiz. After this his declaration was read to him word by word, the said Geronimo Calsada declared that he heard and understood it well, that he found it conformably to what he had stated; and that he again confirmed the truth of the whole. He was made to promise secrecy in form, which having done, he signed his name. (*Signed*) DON MANUEL ROMAN; ANTONIO ROLDAN; DON RAMON-ANTONIO DE PIERRA, AND GERONIMO CALSADA.

ARTICLE V.—*Deposition of Don Vincent Aguado.*

In the city of Palencia, on the 29th of October, 1806, I, Manuel Roman, priest and chaplain of the holy cathedral church of this city, by virtue of the commission to me directed by the Holy Office, caused to appear before me, Don Vincent Aguado, treasurer of the royal seminary of St. Joseph, in this city, who swore, in due form, to answer, truly, to all such questions as should be asked him, with regard to every thing that he knew, or had

heard said, offensive to the Lord our God, and against our Catholic faith, or against the just and free exercise of the powers of the Holy Office, without concealing any thing, or bearing false testimony. He promised also to preserve strict secrecy with respect to every thing that he should be asked. He said that he was 24 years of age.

Question. Whether he knew or suspected the cause of his being summoned?—Answer. He supposed it was to give information upon a fact which happened in the seminary relative to Joseph Ortiz, who then held the place of cook temporarily. That he believed that this took place on the 7th or 8th of the month of August, in this present year, at which time he heard the said Joseph Ortiz say, that there was no such place as hell, and that, consequently, it was indifferent to him whether he was buried, or his body thrown in the highway.

Q. Where was this language uttered, how often repeated, and before whom?—A. In the kitchen of the said seminary; it was during the time of his dinner that the said Ortiz uttered this expression once, in his own presence, and in that of Francisco Badillo, a member of the seminary, and Geronimo Calsada, one of the domestics of the said seminary.

Q. What preceded and gave rise to this expression of Ortiz?—A. As it was a festival day, one of those who was present asked him whether he had heard the mass; he answered, “What good is mass or any thing else of the kind to me who do not believe in a hell?” Upon which the deponent reprimanded him, saying, “Take care what you say, for if that be your belief, I am under the necessity of declaring the matter to the Holy Office;” to which he answered, “What is said is said, and in truth the whole business appears to me to be very doubtful.”

Q. Whether, when the accused thus expressed himself, he was sober, whether he might not have been intoxicated, and whether such language might not have been the effect of madness?—A.

That, although he had often seen him drunk, at this particular time he appeared to be perfectly sober and cool, but that he did not know whether he was deranged or not.

Q. What was the age and description of the accused?—A. That he took him to be about six or eight and thirty years of age; that he was short, fat, dark-complexioned, marked with the small-pox, with a large nose, high forehead, and small eyes.

Q. Whether he had any further declaration to make with respect to the said Ortiz, or any other, or any deposition to make that it was competent to the Holy Office to receive?—A. That he did not recollect any thing else beside what he had declared, which was perfectly true, and according to his oath. The interrogatory being then read to him, he said it was strictly agreeably to his declaration, and, having solemnly declared that he had not made such declaration through enmity or malice towards the said Ortiz, but solely for the peace of his conscience, he promised secrecy, and signed in form.

(Signed) DON MANUEL ROMAN and VINCENT AGUADO.

#### ARTICLE VI.—*Ratification.*

In the city of Palencia, on the 3d of November, 1806, there appeared before me the above-mentioned overseer of the Holy Office, Don Vincent Aguado, treasurer of the seminary of St. Joseph in this city, aged, as he declares, 24 years, in presence of certain honest and religious persons, Don Antonio Roldan, and Don Ramon-Antonio Sierra, priests and chaplains of the parish of St. Michael in this city, who, after having sworn to secrecy, received the oath of the above Aguado, to tell the truth. (The rest is the same as in the 4th Article, except the signature of the deponent.)

ARTICLE VII.—*Letter addressed to his Lordship the Inquisitor Fiscal of the Holy Office of Valladolid.*

Most illustrious your Lordship,

I have waited for some time to see whether Don Francisco Badillo, a pupil and pensioner in the seminary of St. Joseph, in this city, would present himself before me, but he has not appeared; and as I have not the slightest knowledge of his place of abode, in spite of all the exertions which I have made to discover it, I add to this letter all the information which I have received, in consequence of the commission which you condescended to address to me. I can assure you that the persons from whom I have received it, are respected for their good characters and understandings, and that, therefore, their evidence is deserving of unreserved credit. Moreover I assure you that they have not been influenced by motives of hatred; that there existed no enmity between them and the accused, and that they have been guided, only, by the desire of discharging the duties of Christians.

It appears, by their depositions, that Joseph Ortiz, during the three months that he filled the situation of cook to the seminary, caused himself to be remarked for a man devoid of faith or of religion; that he never attended mass either on holidays or Sundays; and that, when he was ordered to go, he used to repair to some public house, where he remained as long as he thought he might have been occupied in the duties of devotion. He never was seen to repeat his rosary, nor to exercise any work of piety. It was, principally, for this that he was dismissed from his employment in the seminary, and at present nobody knows what is become of him. This is all that I have it in my power to communicate at present.

May our Lord grant you a thousand years of life and of happiness. At Palencia, the 15th of November 1808. (*Signed*) Don Manuel Roman.



## ARTICLE VIII.

The fiscal Inquisitor, in the process against Joseph Ortiz, cook to the seminary of Palencia, upon occasion of some expressions of false doctrine, says that, since the informer asserts that these expressions were only heard by the other witness Vincent Aguado, while this latter, on his part affirms, that at the time of uttering these dangerous principles, besides the informer, there was a third person present, named Don Francisco Badillo, it seems just that this last mentioned person be duly examined, his place of residence being previously ascertained.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Mahamud. Inquisition of Valladolid, 19th November 1806.

## ARTICLE IX.

Conformably to the desire of the Holy Office, that Don Francisco Badillo, who was a pupil in the seminary of Palencia, should be examined, touching certain particulars of a conversation held in the said seminary, we charge you, during his absence, to take, with all possible care, every information which you can collect in the said seminary. You will inform us of the result, which you will annex to the bottom of this letter, the entire addressed to the Holy Office.

May God grant you a thousand years.

From the Inquisition of Valladolid, 9th December 1806.

(Signed) Don José Eleuterie Varonel, secretary.

## ARTICLE X.

By virtue of the order of the Holy Office, notified in the above letter, I have made diligent enquiry, and I have learned that Don Francisco Badillo resides at present at Burgos, whither he has been sent by his uncle Don Ignacio Mathe, priest and rector, in the city of Froniesta, in order that he might pursue his literary studies in the college of Burgos; for this reason I have suspended the verification, and the informations required to be taken in the said letter, which I submit to the tribunal, and await its orders.

Palencia, the 13th of December 1806.

## ARTICLE XI.

In this Holy Office, information has been received that Joseph Ortiz, cook in the seminary of Palencia, upon a certain day in the month of August, being interrogated whether he had attended mass, answered; To what purpose serves mass and all such things, if I do not believe that there is any hell? That he added, that, when once dead, the worst that could happen to him, would be to be devoured by dogs; that, consequently, after his death, they needed not take any concern about him, but might throw him in the highway. Upon which he insisted, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by one of the by-standers, saying, moreover, that there was no God, and that what was said was said.

Among other persons who witnessed this conversation was Don Francisco Badillo, then a pupil of the said seminary of Palencia; and now residing in this city for the pursuit of his literary studies. In order to comply with the commands of the said Holy Office, it is necessary that the said Francisco Badillo should be examined, in consequence of the said Ortiz having uttered these expressions in his presence. As we confide in your prudence, your capacity, your love, and your zeal for whatever concerns our holy religion, we charge you, on the receipt of these presents, to summon before you the said Francisco Badillo, and to receive from him, first, the oath, established by our Holy Office, to answer truly to all your questions, and to preserve a strict secrecy upon every thing that he shall be asked. You will then take his declaration in form, and have care that he answer with precision, and that he specify the very exact words which he heard from the said Ortiz. You will then ask him who were the persons present, who replied, and who denounced Joseph Ortiz, and you will omit nothing to discover the truth from him upon this subject. Four days after you will ratify, *ad perpetuum*, this declaration, joining with yourselves a priest of your own choice, who shall perform the office of notary, after having, previously, taken the two oaths *in scriptis*, of fidelity and

secrecy; in all which you will conform to the printed instructions of the Holy Office, which we send, with these presents, for your direction.

We recommend to you to use all the dispatch which is possible, and transmit the entire to us; informing us, at the same time, of the degree of credit due to the testimony of the said Badillo. You will send back this letter, as well as the instructions, to the Holy Office, and for this purpose we give you our order in form.

Given in the Inquisition of Valladolid, January 20th, 1807.  
(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Don José-Ignacio Antolegny, D. Don Jose-Chata Linares, Dr. Don Francisco-Xavier-Sainz Escalera, D. Jose-Eleuterie Varona.

To Don Ramon Fernandez Alonzo, parochial curate and a prebendary of the holy Inquisition in Burgos.

#### ARTICLE XII.

In the city of Burgos, on the 19th January 1807, the above-mentioned Ramon Fernandez Alonzo received the commission above stated, and swore, before Don Frutos-Santocildes, an ecclesiastic and prebendary of this holy church, and notary of this commission, to conduct it with zeal and fidelity; in virtue of which I have signed it in this city, on the day, month, and year as below.

(Signed) Don Ramon Fernandez Alonzo. [Written by the same hand.]

In the city of Burgos, on the 19th January 1807, Don Frutos Alonzo-Santocildes, a prebendary of this holy church, swore to discharge, with fidelity and zeal, the office of notary in the above-named commission, and he accordingly ratifies and signs this.

(Signed) Dr. Don Frutos Alonzo-Santocildes.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

In the city of Burgos, on the 19th of January 1807, at eight o'clock in the morning, Don Ramon Fernandez Alonzo, by virtue of the commission of the Holy Office, with which he was charged,

and which he accepted, summoned before him Don Francisco Badillo, professor of theology, who swore, in form, to tell the truth.

Q.—Whether he knew or suspected the reason of his being summoned?—A. He supposed it was to declare what happened last year between Joseph Ortiz and Geronimo Calsada.

Q.—What it was that happened between these two persons?—A. That he happened to hear Joseph Ortiz say, in the kitchen of the seminary of Palencia, while he was eating his dinner, (he knew neither the day, nor the month, nor his motive for so saying,) that there was neither a God nor a hell; and that, when he died, all was over, and that therefore there was no difference between the death of a man and that of a dog.

Q.—Whether this was said in argument, in anger, or in jest?—A. That there was no argument, and, as far as he could judge, from the appearance of the said Ortiz, he spoke the words in jest.

Q.—Who were present?—A. Geronimo Calsada, Don Vincent Aguado, and the deponent himself.

Q.—Whether any one replied to him?—A. Yes; but he did not remember whether it was Geronimo or Don Vincent, but, whichever it was, that the said Ortiz replied that what was said was said.

Q.—Whether he was in his right senses?—A. That he did not appear to be otherwise.

Q. His age and description?—A. Thirty or forty years; that he was stout, fat, and had a slight cast in his eye.

Q. Had he any thing else to add to the above evidence?—A. No; and that every thing which he had said, was true and agreeably to his oath.

After the above was read to him, he declared that it was agreeably to his declaration, that he had no hatred nor animosity against the said Ortiz, and that he had borne this testimony for the ease of his conscience. He first promised secrecy and signed his name.

(Signed) Francisco Badillo. Before me D. Frutos Santocildes.

## ARTICLE XIV.

The fiscal Inquisitor, in the trial against Joseph Ortiz, cook to the seminary of Palencia, for irreligious conversation, requires that an examination be made of the register of the tribunal of this city, to discover whether there be any thing to the charge of the said Ortiz, and that the other fiscal proctors be directed to examine their registers.

## ARTICLE XV.

Nothing appears in the registers of this city against the said Ortiz, as we inform you, in reply to the letter you have written to us. We pray to God to grant you a thousand years.

(Signed) Mahamud. Inquisition of Valladolid, 26th January 1807.

## ARTICLE XVI.

Inquisition of Corte, May 5th, 1807. The same form as above.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Don Antonio Maria, Dr. Don Caya-Rubin de Galauza.

## ARTICLE XVII.

Inquisition of Valencia, May 8th, 1807. The same form.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> D. Nicolas Rodriguez, Don Dr. Pablo-Liedo-Rico Laso.

## ARTICLE XVIII.

The Inquisition Logreno, May 11th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Don Juan Archuzuncaz.

## ARTICLE XIX.

Inquisition of Cuenza, May 8th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) L. Dr. Don Fernando de Sirnicoja, L. J. Dominguez, Dr. A. Martinez Delavéga.

## ARTICLE XX.

Inquisition at Cordova, May 3rd, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Dr. Don Juan de Vargas.

## ARTICLE XXI.

Inquisition of Santiago, May 9th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Asiste Solo, Dr. Don Fernando Guisano.

## ARTICLE XXII.

Inquisition of Liniera, May 13th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) D. Don Francisco Maria, Dr. Don Pedroni-Contassa Martinez.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

Inquisition of Zaragoza, May 14th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Don José-Marian Villafano, Assiste Solo.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

Inquisition of Murcia, May 22d, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Dr. Don Ramon de Nibernez, Lic<sup>do</sup> Don Manuel-Sanchez Vilasco.

## ARTICLE XXV.

Inquisition of Séviglia, June 3d, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Don Francisco Rodriguez, Dr. Don Ramon-Vincente de Carassa.

## ARTICLE XXVI.

Inquisition of Barcelona, June 9th, 1807. Same form.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Don Manuel de Nerra, Dr. Don Juan de Radal Pancagua, Dr. Don Josef Llosen.

## ARTICLE XXVII.

The Inquisitor fiscal, in the process against Jopeph Ortiz, who was cook in the seminary of Palencia, for irreligious conversation, demands that, this conversation being notified, the censure which it deserves may be pronounced.

In the Inquisition of Valladolid, July 11th, 1807.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Mahamud.

The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth articles are not to be found among the rest.

## ARTICLE XXX.

A certain person, of obscure rank and profession, held the following discourse. Being one day at dinner, he said that there was no hell, and that, after death, the worst that could befall him was to be eaten by dogs, and, although reprimanded by a person

who was present, he persisted in the assertion, saying, that what was said was said, and adding, with an asseveration, that there was no God. Although this man was a little inclined to drunkenness, yet he spoke these words in his sober senses.

#### ARTICLE XXXI.

In compliance with the order of the Inquisition which we have directed to you, we, the undersigned, after having frequently read and maturely considered the conversation mentioned above, feel ourselves bound to pass, and do accordingly hereby pass, the theological censure which follows:

1. That there is no hell. This assertion is scandalous, and directly heretical. It is scandalous, because it leads to every kind of sin, as it removes that great cause of apprehension which, the most, of all things, restrains men from sin; and it is heretical, because it is in direct contradiction to the Old Testament: *Quis ex vobis habitabit cum ardoribus sempiternis*, Isaiah: and also to the New, in this passage, *Ite maledicti in ignem ternum, &c. Ibunt hi in supplicium ternum.* St. Mark, c. iii.

2. That, when dead, the worst that could happen to him would be to become the prey of dogs. This expression might be interpreted favourably; for have there not been many martyrs, whose bodies were devoured by dogs, by birds of prey, and even by hogs? Sapor, king of Persia, persecuted the Christians, and delivered their remains to ignominy, without protracting their pains beyond death, as he had the barbarity to persuade himself, and without being able to tear from them, in the midst of their torments, the firm hope of a glorious resurrection, though he put them to death, in the certainty of being deprived of the rites of sepulture: but this expression, uttered as a consequence of the former, can be only truly understood as savouring of materialism, and can only come from the lips of a man who reasons like those people mentioned in the Old Testament, *Edamus atque bibamus, eras enim moriemur.* This sentiment is absolutely heretical, it expressly con-

tradicts an infinite number of passages in the Old and New Testament, and, particularly, the assertion of Solomon, in the 12th chapter of the book of his Wisdom, *Revertatur pulvis in terram suam unde exiit & spiritus redeat ad deum qui dedit illum*. It destroys all the whole system of revelation: it is also scandalous, because it tempts men to sin with the most unbridled licentiousness. In fine, this sentiment degrades the reasonable nature of man, and sinks him to a level with the brutes: *Comparatus est jumentis, &c.*

3. That there is no God. This opinion is the most monstrous, the most scandalous, and the most heretical, that could be uttered. It comprehends every heresy in itself, because, if there be no God, there is no revelation, the Old and New Testament are false, all divine tradition is absurdity, the religion of the ancient Hebrews, as well as that of the Christians, is a tissue of fabrications; even natural religion is destroyed, for, if God exist not, its precepts want sanction, and nothing remains but a blind destiny to govern the world. As to what motive excited the said Ortiz to utter these opinions, we can hardly imagine that he acted thus from ignorance, obstinate error, or want of instruction; for the propositions are of such a nature, that nobody can be entirely ignorant of them, especially the latter, at least in this kingdom of Spain, where they are preached and taught to every child as divine truth, the very foundation of all religion. Neither can we well imagine that he could use such language with a sincere conviction of its truth, because, although he may endeavour to force his reason to adopt the depraved idea, yet this faculty could never obey, unless it were previously convinced. We suppose, that he uttered these sentiments with a wish that they might be true, which is very inexcusable, and, conformably to the law, he is punishable as if he really believed them; particularly as he persisted to maintain them in spite of the remonstrances made against them. This is our opinion, which we sign in our house of St. Francis, at Valladolid, this 10th day of November 1807.



(Signed) Celestino Respiso: Fr. Man. Velasco.

ARTICLE XXXII.

The Inquisitor fiscal, in the process against Joseph Ortiz, accused of uttering expressions of a false doctrine, orders that the residence of the accused be discovered, by inquiring whether he be returned to the seminary of Palencia, or whether any information concerning his abode can be obtained in that seminary.

Inquisition of Valladolid, August 6th, 1808.

(Signed) Lic<sup>do</sup> Mahamud.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

A letter from Manuel Roman, a member of the Inquisition of Palencia, directing him to inquire, with the utmost care and diligence, in the seminary of this city, for the residence of Joseph Ortiz, and concerning every particular of his conduct, and, after inquiry made, to transmit the result to the Holy Office.

Inquisition of Valladolid, October 14th 1808.

(Signed) Dr. Don Eleuterie Varonas.

ARTICLE XXXIV. AND LAST.

Illustrious your lordship; Having inquired, according to your letter, for the residence of Joseph Ortiz, I find that this person, after leaving this college for the abbey of Benevivere, near Carrion, died, in that house, about two years ago, in the situation of cook, and that, in the last-named place, he was buried under the name of Joseph Rodriguez, a name which he had assumed, according to a custom which he had adopted. I have no doubt that the above person was the same, concerning whom you directed me to inquire, which I hasten to communicate to you.

May God grant you a thousand years.

Palencia, November 5th, 1808.

(Signed) Don Manuel Roman.

At the suit of the Inquisitor fiscal of Valladolid against Don Pedro Gasca, captain in the regiment of Arragon, September 28th, 1808.

## No. I.

*Aranda, October 8, 1808.*

Sir; after the departure of the courier of last Wednesday, there was addressed to me, in my office of vicar and president of this corporation, an affair which had been previously submitted to his reverence of this convent. The transactions relative to the French have obliged him to be absent now four months. I do not know exactly when he will return, but I suppose it will be about the end of this, or the beginning of the following month. I have therefore thought it right to send you the letter which explains the circumstance, and not to wait for the return of the prior, because, it appears to me, that your powers are competent to take cognizance of it.

May God be with you, and grant you a life of a thousand years.

I kiss your grace's hands, and am your most devoted servant, brother Linan, president. [Returned to the commission on the 9th of the same month.]

## No. II. LETTER OF DENUNCIATION.

*Aranda, August 10, 1808.*

Inquisitors of the faith;—I have the honour to inform you, for the repose of my conscience, that, in my house, in a familiar conversation, Don Pedro Gasca, a captain in the regiment of Arragon, said, with the accent and gestures of derision, upon occasion of the misfortunes which have befallen our country from the French; *Let us put our trust in God.* This happened before me, and in presence of another ecclesiastic of this diocese, of Don . . . . ., companion of the said Gasca, and other bystanders. He added to this, other propositions so licentious and unchristian, that at length he addressed himself to . . . . . in these words, “Your . . . . . takes me perhaps for a Jew, in consequence of what I have just said, but that would be an unfair opinion. I have uttered these paradoxes only to procure myself the pleasure of hearing him confute them.” But I consider this language as a subterfuge,

because, in another place, he held the same language, to the great scandal of his hearers.

Believe, sage Inquisitors, that it is not through hatred, or a desire of revenge, that I inform against the man before the holy tribunal of the faith, but for the sake of that correction with which you will judge proper to repress his licentiousness, to prevent the scandal which he may cause to others, and for the tranquillity of my soul.

That you may enjoy many years under the happiest auspices, is the wish of him who humbly kisses your hands, Don . . . . .

No. III.

Knowing your zeal, your prudence, and your love for our holy religion, we address to you the letter of denunciation, which is attached to this, which has been received by the Holy Office written and signed (as you will see on inspection) by Don . . . . against Pedro Gasca, captain in the regiment of Arragon, and we charge you, on the receipt of these presents, to join with yourselves a priest of your own choice, to discharge the duties of a notary in the proceedings, of whom you will require the oaths of secrecy and fidelity. He shall take care that the said Don . . . . . shall acknowledge the above-mentioned information, having previously taken an oath to answer truly, and in all things act conformably to the instructions which we add to this effect. Four days after he shall ratify his declaration, according to the direction of the usages, which we also send you. Those formalities being attended to, he shall examine the other witnesses, who shall be cited separately, so that the deposition of the one be not heard by the rest, as the instructions, which we send, relative to the examination of witnesses, directs. He shall cause these declarations to be ratified in the same manner, and with the same forms. Then you will transmit the entire to us, informing us of the degree of credit that ought to be given to the evidence of each witness: and, if you have any knowledge of the opinion of the accused with regard

to religion, inform us, according to the dictates of your conscience. Also let us know whether any hatred or ill-will has subsisted between the informer and the accused, that we may be able, equitably, to discharge the duties of our office.

(Signed) Joseph Chata-Linares : François-Xavier San-Escalera : François-Manuel de Velasco.

#### No. IV.

I have received the above commission ; I have named a notary, Don Angel Mencía, a priest of this city, who accepts the functions of the office, after taking the oath of fidelity and secrecy.

(Signed) at Aranda de Duero, October 13th, 1808, J. Linan, and Angel Mencía.

#### No. V. INTERROGATORY.

In the city of Aranda de Duero, on the 3rd of October 1808, in the evening, brother Joseph Linan, by virtue of the commission of the Holy Office, summoned before him, who swore, in form, to tell the truth, and said that his name was . . . . . a priest of this city, aged 27 years.

Q. Whether he knew the reason of his being summoned ?—A. He supposed on account of a letter, which he had written to the Holy Office. He was told that the Holy Office had received his letter, which, being shewn to him, he declared was his own, and that its contents were true.

Q. Whether he wished to add or to alter any thing ?—A. That, besides what he stated in his letter, he had heard : . . . . . say that Don Pedro Guasca had advanced heresies ; that Don . . . . . had heard the said Guasca declare that God had fallen asleep over the success of the French, and that although he . . . . . had heard him utter many such things, he could not recollect any more with sufficient precision.

Q. Where these discourses were held, when, how often, and before whom ?—A. The words were spoken at the house of his relatives, on the evening of the first day of May, in presence of

(he names four persons, mostly united to him by the ties of blood.)

Q. The motive of Guasca for this language?—A. The conversation had turned only on the situation of our affairs with the French.

Q. Did the said Pedro Guasca utter these words as containing his own opinion or that of another; was he urged to the assertion by the warmth of debate, and did he speak with anger or in jest? A. He spoke his own opinion boldly, and with an air of derision.

Q. Did any body reply to him, and who; what did the accused answer, and did he persist in the same expressions?—A. That he himself recommended more decent language, but that he persisted obstinately in reiterating what he had advanced.

Q. Was the said Guasca, when he uttered these words, in his sober senses, or was he intoxicated or mad?—A. He appeared sober and in his right mind.

Q. The age and description of the accused?—A. He appeared to be about 40 years of age, of tall stature, and well made.

Q. Had he any thing more to say with respect to the said Guasca, or any other person?—A. No: That every thing he had spoken was true, and that he was free from any hatred or ill-will to the said Guasca. He then signed his name.

(Signed) Joseph Linan, Proctor of the Holy Office—Done in presence of Don Angel Mencia, Notary.

#### NO. VI. SECOND INTERROGATORY.

In the city of Aranda de Duero, on the 24th of October 1806, before the solicitor of the Holy Office, Joseph Linan, appeared Don . . . . . a priest, with whom were present Don Francis Alonzo, and Don Carlos Araouzo, religious and respectable persons, priests of the same town, who received the oath of the said . . . . . to tell the truth.

Q. Whether he remembered having given information before any judge, against any person, with regard to matters of faith?  
A. He remembered having done so before the brother Joseph

Linan, against Don Pedro Guasca, who is the person of whom he spoke in his letter, and in his deposition. He was told that the proctor of the Holy Office presented him as a witness in a process which was commenced against the said Guasca.

His interrogatory was then read to him, which he declared to be all perfectly true. He then promised secrecy and signed his name.

(Signed) Don M . . . . . Joseph Linan ; Don Francesco Alonzo ; Don Carlos Araouzo ; Auguste Mencia, Notary.

No. VII.

In the city of Aranda de Duero, October 24, 1806, the brother Joseph Linan, by virtue of the commission of the Holy Office, summoned before him a person named F . . . . . a student and inhabitant of this city, who swore to tell the truth.

Q. Did he know or suspect why he was summoned?—A. He neither knew nor suspected the cause.

Q. Did he know, or had he heard, that any person had said or done any thing which is or appears to be against our Holy Catholic faith, and that holy evangelical law which our holy mother-church preaches, or against the just and free exercise of the powers of the Holy Office?—A. That he neither knew nor had heard any thing of this description.

Q. Did he know, or had he heard, that any body had set forth any heresy?—A. He knew nothing of the kind.

He was informed that there was, in this Holy Office, an information, importing that, in the month of May in this year, in presence of certain persons, a certain man had said that God had fallen asleep over the successes of the French, and that he had added many heretical expressions, of which he was said to have been a witness, and that, for the glory of God, it was incumbent on him to recall the circumstance to his memory and to tell the truth.

He then said that he remembered, some time ago, having heard an officer utter expressions which were discreditable to every man

of honour and every Christian, but that he did not remember that it was at the house of Don . . . . . or of Don . . . . . in presence of other persons, both whose persons and professions were unknown to him.

Q. The age and description of the accused?—A. He was about 40 years of age, of large stature, and light hair.

Q. Had he any thing more to add with respect to the above-mentioned or any other person?—A. No. That every thing that he had said was true; and that he was not influenced by hatred or malice. He promised secrecy and signed his name.

(Signed) Don F . . . . .: Joseph Linan, Solicitor; Angel Mencia, Notary.

#### No. VIII.

In the city of Aranda de Duero, October 29th, 1808, the brother J. Linan, by virtue of the commission of the Holy Office directed to him, summoned before him, Don F . . . . . a student and inhabitant of this city, who swore, in due form, to tell the truth, in presence of the respectable and religious priests, Don Francesco Alonzo and Carlos Araouzo, who likewise swore to secrecy.

Q. Did he remember having given evidence, before any judge, against any person with regard to matters of faith?—A. He remembered having deposed, before the brother J. Linan, against an officer in the regiment of Arragon. It was notified to him that the fiscal proctor of the Holy Office presented him as a witness &c. (See the 6th No. to the end, which, word for word, corresponds with this). F . . . . .; J. Linan; Francesco Alonzo; Don Carlos Araouzo; Angel Mencia, Notary.

#### No IX.

Interrogatory of Donna . . . . . aged 25 years, and daughter of J. M . . . . . and of J . . . . . made the 26th of October, in the same form as No. 5, with this difference, that, upon the question being put to her, Whether she had heard any body say that God was indifferent to the events of the proceedings of the French?

she answered, that she remembered one of the officers of the volunteers of Arragon, named Pedro Gasca, in speaking of the conquest of the French, say, that we should no more see St. Jago arm himself in our defence, and that we should gain no more victories. That these words were uttered once only, about four or five months before, in the house of her parents, in presence of her mother, of Don . . . . . her brother, and of a companion of the accused, whose name she did not remember.

Q. What preceded this conversation, was it uttered in anger, in dispute, or jocosely and in mirth? — A. that he pretended to have uttered the words in order to sound her brother, whom he considered as very scrupulous on these points, and that, after the conversation, having addressed himself to her, he told her that her brother appeared to be a man of sense and a good Catholic.

Q. His age and description?—A. Forty or fifty years, large, and of a full complexion.

Q. &c. &c. as in No. 5.

(Signed) . . . . . : Joseph Linan ; Angel Mencia, Notary.

No. X.

Interrogatory of the same person, before the solicitor of the Holy Office, assisted by Francesco Alonzo and Don Carlos Araouzo, exactly resembles No. 6, with the single change of the name of dona . . . . . and of her signature.

No. XI.

Interrogatory of dona J. . . . . wife of don . . . . . notary, living at Aranda, on the 26th of October 1808. This lady gave the same evidence as her daughter respecting Pedro Gasca, adding that he said that St. Jago manifested his power no more, and would continue at least a thousand years, without taking any interest in their affairs. The remainder corresponds exactly with No. 5, and is signed by dona . . . . .

No XII.

Second interrogatory of the same, on the 28th October, before the



solicitor of the Holy Office, assisted by the commissioners already mentioned. See No. 6.

(Signed) dona J . . . . .

#### No. XIII.

Interrogatory of Don Mathæo Logarto, deacon, an inhabitant of Villalba, aged 25 years, done at Aranda, October the 26th, 1808, in the morning, before the solicitor of the Holy Office, as in No. 5, down to these words:—

Q. Did he hear any one say that God had fallen asleep, and that Saint Jago did not appear to love this nation as formerly? —A. Remembered having heard the expression, but could not recollect by whom, or in what place they were uttered. The remainder of the interrogatory is the same as in No. 5.

(Signed) Don Mathæo Logarto; Joseph Linan; Angel Mencia.

#### No. XIV.

Second interrogatory of Logarto, before Don Carlos Araouzo, &c. in every thing the same as No. 6, signed by the same names, and also by that of Logarto.

#### No. XV.

Interrogatory of M. . . . . aged 33 years, wife of A. . . . . an advocate of Aranda, done October 28, 1808, like No. 5, down to these words: He said he had heard Don Tomas de Cyres, a captain of volunteers of Arragon, say, “that God had fallen asleep, and paid no attention to what was passing;” that this was spoken once, in the month of April, in presence of her husband.

Q. Did he say this of his own accord, in anger, or jocularly?—A. That, from every thing she could observe, and from the conversation which had preceded, he had said the words at his own suggestion, being urged thereto by grief and indignation at beholding the French invaders triumphant, and the martial glory of his country humiliated. She was informed that the Holy Office had been apprised that, in the month of April or May, certain persons, speaking of the event of the war, had added still other expressions.

She replied that she had heard J. . . . . and her daughter complain that Don . . . . . had a dispute with the captain Pedro Gasca, because the latter had made use of expressions against religion ; but she declared that she had no recollection of this discourse.

Q. The age and description of the above-named Tomas de Cyres and Pedro Gasca?—A. Tomas was about 40 years of age, elegantly made, upright, and of a florid complexion ; that Pedro Gasca was about 50, large, lean, with projecting eyes. This interrogatory terminated like No. 5.

No. XVI.

Second interrogatory of M. . . . . exactly conformable to No. 6, and signed by the same persons, with the addition of the name of M. . . . .

No. XVII.

For the discharge of our duty in this present commission, we, the undersigned, attest, that the witnesses, whom we have examined, are persons of irreproachable conduct, and such whose depositions are entitled to full credit. Conformably to the direction given us, in the above commission, we do not know any thing of the opinion of the accused persons, with respect to religion. We also declare that Don . . . . . is a man of good character, sensible and religious, nor do we know of the existence of any enmity between him and the accused. We sign our names, in due form, in this house of the convent of St. Dominic of Aranda de Duero, October 29, 1808.

(Signed) J. Linan, and Don Angel Mencia, Notary.

It appears that the decree of arrest against Don Tomas de Cyres and Don Pedro Gasca, was not issued, and that the progress of the French in Spain put an end to the proceedings.

## A D D E N D A.



THE Chevalier de St. Gervais, in his peculiar style, gives the following account of his arrest and examination by the Inquisition of Barcelona. (Voyage en Espagne.)

“ After dinner, I went to take a walk on that beautiful terrace which extends along the port, in that part called *Barcellona*. The sides of this walk, which is named the *Lonja*, are adorned with fine buildings. I was tranquilly enjoying this delightful place and the serene evening of a fine day, wrapped in dreams of my projects, of my future destiny, and of the beautiful Seraphine. The sweetly pensive shades of twilight had begun to veil the face of the sky, when, on a sudden, six men surrounded and commanded me to follow them. I replied by a firm refusal; whereupon one of them seized me by the collar; I instantly assailed him with a violent blow upon the face, which caused him to bellow with pain; in an instant the whole band pressed on me so closely that I was obliged to draw my sword. I fought as long as I was able, but, not being possessed of the strength of Antæus or Hercules, I was at last compelled to yield. The ruffians endeavoured to inspire me with respect and dread of them by saying that they were familiars of the Holy Office, and advised me to surrender, that I might escape disgrace and harsh treatment. I submitted to force, and I was taken to the prison of the Inquisition.

“ As soon as I found myself within the talons of these vultures, I began to ask myself what was my crime and what I had done to

incur the censure of this hateful tribunal. Have these jacobin monks, said I, succeeded to the Druids, who called themselves the agents of the Deity, and arrogated to themselves the right of excommunicating and putting to death their fellow-citizens? My complaints were lost in empty air.

“On the following day, a Dominican, shrouded in hypocrisy, and with a tongue of deceit, came to conjure me, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to confess my faults, in order to the attainment of my liberty. “Confess your own faults first,” said I to him, “ask pardon of God for your hypocrisy and your injustice. By what right do you arrest a gentleman, a native of France, who is exempted from the jurisdiction of your infernal tribunal, and who has done nothing in violation of the laws of this country?”—“Oh, Holy Virgin,” said he, “you make me tremble! I will go and pray to God in your behalf, and I hope he will open your eyes and turn your heart.” “Go pray to the devil,” said I to myself, “he is your only divinity.”

“However, on that same day, Mr. Aubert, having in vain waited for me, at the dinner hour, sent to the hotel to enquire about me. The landlord informed him that I had disappeared on the preceding evening, that my luggage still remained in his custody, but that he was entirely ignorant what was become of me. This obliging gentleman, uneasy for my fate, made enquiries concerning me over the whole city, but without being able to gain the smallest intelligence. Astonished at this circumstance, he began to suspect that some indiscretion on my part might have drawn upon me the vengeance of the Holy Office, with whose spirit and conduct he was perfectly acquainted. He begged of the captain-general to demand my enlargement. The Inquisitors denied the fact of my detention, with the utmost effrontery of falsehood; but Mr. Aubert, not being able to discover any other probable cause for my disappearance, persisted in believing me to be a prisoner in the Holy Office.

“Next day, the familiars came to conduct me before the three Inquisitors; they presented me with a yellow mantle to put on, but I disdainfully rejected this satanic livery. However, they persuaded me that submission was the only means by which I could hope to recover my liberty. I appeared, therefore, clad in yellow, with a wax taper in my hand, before these three priests of Pluto. In the chamber was displayed the banner of the Holy Office, on which were represented a gridiron, a pair of pincers, and a pile of wood, with these words; *Justice, Charity, Mercy*. What an atrocious piece of irony! I was tempted, more than once, to singe, with my blazing taper, the hideous visage of one of these jacobins, but my good genius prevented me. One of them advised me, with an air of mildness, to confess my sins. “My great sin,” replied I, “is to have entered a country where the priests trample humanity under foot, and assume the cloak of religion to persecute virtue and innocence.”

“‘Is that all you have to say?’ “Yes, my conscience is free from alarm and from remorse. Tremble if the regiment to which I belong should hear of my imprisonment; they would trample over ten regiments of Spaniards to rescue me from your barbarity.” ‘God alone is master; our duty is to watch over his flock as faithful shepherds; our hearts are afflicted at it; but you must return to your prison, until you think proper to make a confession of your fault.’ I then retired, casting upon my judges a look of contempt and indignation.

“As soon as I returned to my prison, I most anxiously considered what could be the cause of this severe treatment. I was far from suspecting that it could be owing to my answer to the mendicant frier concerning the Virgin and her lights\*. However,

\* A mendicant having come to his chamber, with a purse, begging him to contribute something for the lights or tapers to be lighted in honour of the Virgin, he replied, “My good father, the Virgin has no need of lights, she need only go to bed at an early hour.”—St. Gervais, *Voyage en Espagne*, page 135, vol. i.

Mr. Aubert, being persuaded that the Inquisition alone had been the cause of my disappearance, placed spies upon all their steps. One of them informed him that three monks, of the Dominican order, were about to set out for Rome, being deputed to the conventual assembly which was to be held there. He immediately wrote to Mr. de Cholet, commandant at Perpignan, to inform him how I had disappeared, of his suspicions as to the cause, and of the passage of the three jacobins through Perpignan, desiring him to arrest them, and not to set them at liberty till I should be released.

“ M. de Cholet embraced, with alacrity, this opportunity of vengeance, and issued orders, at the gates of the town, to seize the three reverend personages. They arrived about noon, in high spirits and with keen appetites, and demanded, of the centinel, which was the best hotel. The officer of the guard presented himself, and informed them that he was commissioned to conduct them to the Commandant of the place, who would provide for their lodging and entertainment. The monks, rejoiced at this lucky windfall, overflowed with acknowledgments, and declared they could not think of incommoding the commandant. “ Come, good fathers, M. de Cholet is determined to do you the honours of the city.” In the mean time he provided them an escort of four soldiers and a serjeant. The fathers marched along with joy, congratulating one another and delighted with the politeness of the French. “ Good fathers,” said M. de Cholet, “ I am delighted to have you in this city, I expected you impatiently. I have provided you a lodging.” ‘ Ah, Mr. Commandant, you are too good, we are undeserving.’ “ Pardon me, have you not, in your prison at Barcelona, a French officer, the Chevalier de St. Gervais ?” ‘ No, Mr. Commandant, we have never heard of any such person.’ “ I am sorry for that, for you are to be imprisoned, and to live upon bread and water, until this officer be forthcoming.” The reverend fathers, exceedingly irritated, exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations, and then

said that they resigned themselves to the will of Heaven, and that the Commandant should answer before God and the pope for the persecution which he was about to exercise against members of the Church. "Yes," said the Commandant, "I take the responsibility upon myself, meanwhile you will repair to the citadel."

"Now behold the three hypocrites, in a narrow prison, condemned to the regimen of the Pauls and the Hilaries, uttering the loudest exclamations against the system of fasting and the Commandant. Every day, the purveyor, when he brought them their pitcher of water and portion of bread, demanded whether they had any thing to declare relative to the French officer. For three days they persisted in returning a negative, but, at length, the cries, not of their consciences, but of their stomachs, and their weariness of this mode of life, overcame their obstinacy. They begged an interview with Mr. de Cholet, who instantly waited upon them.

"They confessed that a young French officer was confined in the prison of the Holy Office, on account of the impious language he had held respecting the Virgin. "Undoubtedly he has acted wrong," said Mr. de Cholet, "but allow the Virgin to avenge herself. Write word to Barcelona to set this gentleman at liberty. In the interim I will keep you as hostages, but I will mitigate your sufferings, and your table shall be less frugally supplied." The monks immediately wrote word to give liberty to the accursed Frenchman.

"During this interval, vexations, impatience, and weariness, took possession of my soul, and made me weary of life. At length the Inquisition, reading their brethren's letter, perceived themselves under the necessity of releasing their prey. One of them came to inform me that, in consideration of my youth, and of my being a native of France, the Holy Office had come to a determination to set me free, but that they required me, for the future, to have more respect for La Madonna, the mother of Jesus Christ. "Most reverend father," replied I, "the French have always the

highest respect for the ladies." Uttering these words, I rushed towards the door, and, when I got into the street, I felt as if I were raised from the tomb once more to life."

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The following letter is extracted from a Dutch paper :

"Madrid, January 20 ;—On the last day of the year 1809, a fire broke out in the palace of the Inquisition at Valladolid. The principal officers of the French army, and the established authorities, repaired to the spot, but they could not prevail on the people to assist in extinguishing the flames. They refused to give any aid, saying, ' It ought to have been long ago reduced to ashes.' This is a proof that superstition is not so general in Spain as has been imagined. When it was evident that the flames could extend no farther, the people witnessed, with pleasure, the annihilation of this remnant of barbarism, in which were found the machines that an ingenious cruelty had employed to torture its victims. It cannot therefore be doubted that the enlightened Spaniards now consider the destruction of this court, no less contrary to justice than injurious to the progress of human reason, as an inestimable benefit."

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#### *Mode of Burning the Convicted at an Auto da Fè.*

After the ceremony of the auto da fè (of which an account has been given in book vii.) is at an end, iniquity, barbarity, and absurdity having displayed their horrid union, neither justice nor mercy could reasonably be expected to preside at the execution of the victims. The sentence being read, the prisoners are handed over to the civil magistrate for execution.

Some might suppose that, in the last scene, insult, at least,



would be spared to the unhappy sufferer, and that his pangs would not be aggravated by contumely. The fact, however, is otherwise, as will be seen from the following extract from Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. a work of much information on the subject of the popish faith.

The concluding sentence is as follows :

“ ‘ We, the Inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious N. lord archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy, N. called on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging, with the holy gospels lying before us, that so our judgment may be in the sight of God, and our eyes might behold what is just in all matters betwixt the magnificent doctor N. advocate fiscal on the one part, and you, N. now before us on the other, we have ordained, that in this place, and on this day, you should receive your definitive sentence.

“ ‘ We do therefore, by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare, and sentence thee N. of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic, and to be delivered, and left by us as such, to the secular arm ; and we, by this our sentence, do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court, as a convicted, confessing, affirmative and professed heretic, and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court ; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence, as not to touch thy blood, or to put thy life in any danger.’

“ The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate, than they are loaded with chains, and before the eyes of the Inquisitors ; and being carried first to the secular gaols, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the lord chief justice ; who, without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them one by one, In what religion they do intend to die ? If they answer, that they will die in the communion of the Roman church, they are condemned, by him, to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes : But if they say, they will die in the Protestant, or in any other faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenced, by him, to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

“ At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furz about them : The stakes of the professed, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of their top ; the negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt ; the profest go up a ladder betwixt the two Jesuits which have attended them all day, and when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits

do spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the profest to be reconciled to the church of Rome ; which if the profest refused to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends, and having turned the profest off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, that they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies. Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladders, the cry is, Let the dogs' beards, let the dogs' beards be made, which is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to a long pole, against their faces ; and this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal ; and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion ; a bull feast, or a farce, being dull entertainments to the using of a professed heretic thus inhumanly.

“ The profest beards having been thus made, as they call it, in jollity, fire is set to the furz which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the profest are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the seat they sit upon : and if there happen to be a wind, and to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reacheth so high as their knees : So that, though there be a calm, the profest are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furz is set on fire ; yet if the weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death : but though out of Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*, ‘ Mercy for the love of God ;’ yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction as are not, on any other occasion, to be met with.

“ And, that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty that is in those people's disposition, and not of the spirit of their religion, he may rest assured, that all public malefactors, besides heretics, have their violent deaths no where more tenderly lamented, than among the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

“ Within a few days after the execution, the pictures of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their breast when they were brought to the stake, are hung up in St. Domingo's Church, whose west end, though very high, is all covered over with these trophies of the Inquisition hung up there in honour to Dominic, who, to fulfil his mother's dream, was the first inventor of that court : Dominic's mother, when she was ready to be brought to bed of him, having dreamed that she was delivered not of a human creature, but of a fierce dog, with a burning torch in his mouth.”

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The following cases and legends are selected from the history of the Inquisition of Italy by Hierome Barthelemi Piazza, an Italian, formerly professor of philosophy and theology, and one of the DELEGATED JUDGES OF THAT TRIBUNAL; afterwards a proselyte to the church of England. The cases are such as came judicially before himself, and the legends are extracted from a latin book in his possession, “ of a great authority, the church being both approved of and confirmed by the pope and the sacred congregation (as they call it) of the rites, so that they cannot be denied by the Roman Catholics.”

*Case 1.*—A priest, who was curate of a town a few miles from Osimo, was ordered to be arrested, for having taught erroneous and heretical doctrines. A person answering his description was taken up in the market-place of Osimo, some time afterwards, and underwent an examination accordingly. On the following morning, being again brought up and ordered to swear, as before, to the truth of his answers, he, trembling from head to foot, refused any other answer than “ *Quod dixi, dixi; quod scripsi, scripsi* : What I have said, I have said; what I have written, I have written.” At last he was discovered to have been perfectly innocent; but the wretched man lost his senses from the fright.

*Case 2.*—Two ladies and their maids having confessed some superstitious practices of which they had been guilty from ignorance, were refused absolution by their confessor, who recommended them to avow their *innocent* guilt to the Inquisition, which they did accordingly. They were in consequence ordered, first to make private abjuration of the errors of which they had been suspected, then *de vehementi*, whereon they obtained absolution, but with the added penance, “ that, for a whole year, each of them should, to the honour and glory of the true and almighty God, fast every Friday, and receive the holy sacrament every first Sunday of the month, and that, every morning, as soon as they should awake, they should repeat these words, ‘ Blessed and

praised for ever be the names of the Lord our God, of his son Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Virgin.’

*Case 3.*—A black frier of St. Austin endeavoured to seduce a gentlewoman while in the act of making confession, but his suit being rejected, fearful of the consequences, he mounted his horse, and while she was denouncing him at Osimo, he went to the general Inquisitor at Ancona, and obtained impunity by voluntary confession.

*Case 4.*—Of a poor miller, from the same work, is already given at page 324.

*I. Of eleven thousand English Virgins martyred together at Cologne.*

The legend of these virgins and martyrs tells us, that, in the days of emperor Gratianus, Flavius Clemens Maximus, being the chief general of the Roman army in England, so cunningly behaved himself, that he was, by the officers and soldiers of the whole army, proclaimed emperor, whilst Gratianus was still alive. After this the same Maximus, being gone with a great number of troops into France, and having been well received and acknowledged as emperor by the forces of Gratianus, which were in that country, and thereby grown stronger; among his other exploits there, he drove out of the French Britain all the inhabitants thereof, who were disaffected to him, and divided that fertile province to the English troops he had brought along with him. Then, in order to people the new colony, by the advice of the general of the same English troops, he sent for as many English virgins or maids as were the new inhabitants of the conquered province. Thus, out of several shires of England, eleven thousand virgins were chosen, whose chief was Ursula, appointed to be married to the English general. All of them then went on board at London for France, but, by a great storm of contrary wind, were driven upon the coasts of Germany, near Cologne, where the army of Gratianus unluckily happened to be, which he had sent against the usurper Maximus. Those barbarous people that were on Gratianus’s party, seeing so numerous and so fine a company of virgins, and burning therefore with an impure fire, fell upon them; but every one of them having, by Ursula’s exhortation, stedfastly purposed rather to die, than ever to suffer the least blemish of their virginity, were all put to death together, each of them carrying so a double crown, viz. of virginity and martyrdom into heaven. This is the legend, of which every one may believe what he pleases; sure I am that it is very favourable to the English ladies and all their sex; wherefore I thought it should have the precedence before all others.

## II. *Of Francis Xaverius, a Jesuite.*

This Romish saint is called Xaverius from the place where he was born. His legend says, 1st. That he having got Ignatius the founder of the Jesuites for his ghostly father at Paris, in a very short time, so much improved in the Christian piety and perfection, that, in the contemplation of divine and heavenly mysteries, and especially in saying the mass, he was often seen by a multitude of people to be lifted up from the ground by way of trance. 2nd. That he arrived to these delights of mind by the extraordinary merits of his bodily penance and mortification ; for, besides his constantly abstaining, not only from meat and wine, but from wheaten bread also, he would oftentimes eat nothing at all for two or three days together, used commonly to lie on the ground instead of a bed, and to torture his own body with several kinds of iron instruments. 3dly. That, being sent by pope Paul III. to preach and propagate the gospel in heathen countries, as soon as he arrived there, he presently received the miraculous gift of speaking several hard languages ; nay, very often preaching in one only tongue to different sorts of people, every man heard him speak in his own language ; that he was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and wrought a great many surprising miracles, among which he raised several dead bodies to life, restored the blind to their sight, and sweetened, only by making the sign of the cross, a great quantity of sea water, which, being afterwards conveyed into several countries, did miraculously cure a great many diseases.

## III. *Of Alexius, a Roman Nobleman.*

Alexius was one of the chief nobility of Rome. The very first night of his wedding, says his legend, for Jesus Christ's sake, he left his spouse unenjoyed, went secretly out of his house, and undertook a pilgrimage through all the world, in which travels having spent the space of seventeen years, at last he came home again, was received by his father, to whom he was unknown, as a common and ordinary poor man, and having obtained from him, out of pure charity and hospitality, a little place near the porter's lodge, he was there for a great many years incognito to all his nearest relations and friends, especially to his lady, living only upon the remains of the servants, whose laughing-stock he was become, and by whom he was very often basely abused and reviled. Lastly, having thus shewed himself for a long while an example of an extraordinary patience and humility, he died in the same place, leaving behind him a writing of his own name, family, and the whole course of his life. I myself saw at Rome, in the Monte Aventino, one of the seven hills, in a church consecrated to this saint, an old wooden staircase, under which they pretend Alexius lived in his father's house after his travels, and which is kept now with a great veneration in the said church, as a relict to amuse people's devotion.

#### IV. *Of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The main pretended merit of Thomas Becket, as every true English churchman knows, was, that he would exempt all ecclesiastics from the secular power, both in civil and criminal causes; which principle is surely destructive of all sorts of good government, by exempting from the king's obedience the first of the three estates of the realm, that has, or ought to have the greatest influence upon the people, and transferring their allegiance to another sovereign, which is the highest treason by the laws of all well governed nations, as well by the laws of God. And yet Thomas Becket, for asserting this (which in his legend is called, Asserting the liberties of holy church against a very wicked and irreligious king), was canonized in the Church of Rome; and for not giving way to it, the king, viz. Henry II. was whipped by the monks of Canterbury, to which he was forced to submit in those truly miserable times of the Popish slavery.

#### V. *Of Raymund Pennafort.*

Amongst many other miracles which Raymund's legend ascribes to him, the most remarkable and particular, I think, is this, that he made once a very surprising voyage of a hundred and sixty miles from Majorca to Barcellona in six hours time without any ship, but only by spreading his cloak upon the sea, and thus being, as it were, on board the same: and that afterwards, having taken up his cloak, which was not so much as wet with water, he went home, and finding the doors of the house locked, he went in for all that, the doors being never opened by any body to him.

#### VI. *Of Gundisalvus of Amaranth.*

Gundisalvus was commonly called of Amaranth, not that he was born there, but because he led in that place, for a great while, as an hermit, a very austere and solitary life. This Anchorite, according to his legend, having undertaken to build a bridge over the neighbouring river in a certain place appointed to him by an angel, drew very often out of a rock a great plenty of very good wine, in order to quench the thirst of the workmen; as to satisfy also their hunger, and thereby the better to encourage them to work, he called many times to shore the fishes of the river, which were always ready at, and obedient to his call.

#### VII. *Of Blase, an Armenian Bishop.*

In Blase's legend I find, that whilst the Emperor Diocletian cruelly persecuted the Christians, he retired, and hid himself in a cave, where all sorts of wild beasts used

daily to resort, in order to wait on him, and receive from him his blessing, without which they would never depart from thence. Having there been discovered and found out by the governor's hunters, he was carried to prison, where a great many sick people were by him miraculously cured, among whom was an only son of a gentlewoman, who had been given over by the physicians, and was already a dying, because of a bone which stuck very dangerously in his throat. Hence is the custom superstitiously observed now-a-days among the Roman-Catholics, that all they that have got a sore throat, go, upon Blase's holy-day, to church, to be blessed by the priest in his name after the mass; and many others also that are well, do the same, to prevent, as they fancy, that kind of troublesome illness; for the reader must here know they have in the church of Rome saints for all diseases; so St. Blase cures the sore throat, St. Cornelius the falling-sickness, St. Roche the plague, St. Apollonia the tooth-ache, &c. As they have likewise particular saints for all beasts and cattle, St. Loy presides over the horses, St. Anthony over the swine, &c. And they bring them accordingly to the door of the church to be blessed by these saints on their respective and particular days.

#### VIII. *Of Agnes of Monte-Pulciano.*

The legend of this she-saint, as well as those of the two next following, are very surprising. In the former I read, that the very birth of Agnes was by wonders and miracles distinguished and illustrated; a great many heavenly lighted flamboys appearing in her mother's room when she was born; that, being only nine years old, she took the habit of a nun in a cloister; and being not yet fifteen, was by the Pope's order chosen for superior and president in the same; that the bare ground was her bed, a hard stone her pillow; and for the space of fifteen years bread and water only in a very small quantity, and once a day, her ordinary meal; that when she was a praying, her body was in extasy lifted up from the ground, her clothes were bedewed with a certain white and divine liquor, where several drops bore the sign of the cross; and the place where her knees had been, was presently adorned with extraordinary fine and fragrant flowers; that she often received in her arms from the Virgin Mary's hands Jesus Christ under the shape of a babe, from whose neck she once took a little cross, which was hanging on it; that she was also miraculously presented with some of the ground died with Christ's blood on his passion, and likewise with a bit of the vessel wherein the same Jesus Christ was, in his infancy, washed by the Blessed Virgin; that the holy apostles Peter and Paul were so kind as to give her, for a great favour, some relics of their own clothes; and lastly, that an angel did often minister to her the blessed sacrament.

IX. *Of Catharine of Siena.*

Catharine's life is said, in her legend, to have been very austere and extraordinary. She did fast sometimes from Ash-Wednesday to the Ascension day, taking no other nourishment but the sacramental water, which she used to receive almost every day. For about eight years together she lived upon a juice of some few herbs; she wore an hair-cloth to her skin, and lying commonly on some boards, so short was her sleep, that very seldom she rested above two hours in the whole natural day. Being once in a great extasy, she saw our Saviour crucified come to her, and print, both in her hands, feet, and heart, the sacred scars, for which uncommon favour she sensibly felt in those places so great a pain, that had not God moderated it, she thought she should very shortly die for it.

X. *Of Rose of Lima in America.*

Rose, as her legend says, had her name from a wonderful and miraculous rose, into which her face, whilst she was yet in a cradle, was seen to be transformed; to whom the Blessed Virgin added afterwards the surname of St. Mary, bidding her to be called, thenceforth, Rose of St. Mary. Being only five years old, she made a vow of virginity, and when she became of riper years, lest she should by her parents be constrained against her will to marry, she cut off, with her own hand, her most beautiful hair. She often fasted the whole lent, abstaining even from bread, and living only upon five little orange pippins a day. Out of an excessive desire of suffering, she had put several little and sharp pins into a very rough hair-cloth, she used to wear at her skin; and following, in a literal sense, the advice of the gospel (Luke xii. 35.) she had girded her loins thrice round about with an iron chain. Her bed was very strangely made up by her own contrivance, of several uneven and knotty stumps, whose empty spaces between she had filled up with broken pieces of earthen ware, where she commonly laid rather to suffer than to rest. She was very often honoured with heavenly apparitions, not only of her guardian-angel, Catharine of Siena, and other saints, but of the Blessed Virgin, nay Christ himself also, from whose very mouth she was so happy as to hear these kind and loving words, 'Thou Rose of my heart, thou art my spouse.'

XI. *Of Dominique, the Founder of the Dominican Order.*

This saint's legend begins by a dream. His mother, it is said therein, being big with him, did once dream she bore in her womb a dog, which, having a lighted flambeau in his mouth, enlightened the whole universe. The meaning of which dream, says the legend, was this, that by the light, both of the life and doctrine of



the child who was to be born, all the nations of the world should be excited and guided to Christian piety and perfection. The whole course of his life was without any deadly sin, and his abstinence so great, that he never would eat any meat, nor lay aside, not so much as in time of sickness, his continual fastings. He spent whole nights in the church, either praying, or making with an iron chain a severe and bloody execution upon his own body. So careful and diligent a moderator he was of his tongue, that all his words were either with God, or of God. A great many miracles at last are said to have been wrought by him, even whilst he was alive, among which he raised from the dead three different bodies, at three different times, at Rome.

## XII. *Of Saint Mary of the Snow.*

Among the basilicks or great churches of Rome, there is one very stately and magnificent, called, Saint Mary of the Snow, about which I find this very particular and curious legend, viz. While Liberius was pope in the first century of the nativity of our Saviour, a certain Roman nobleman, whose name was John, and his lady, having no issue to inherit their great riches, did both unanimously vow to appoint the Virgin Mary heiress of whatever they had, daily and instantly praying to her, she would but vouchsafe to let them know her will and pleasure thereupon. The Blessed Virgin did kindly declare to them her mind and desire by the following miracle; for about the fifth of August, when the heats are usually the most excessive and violent at Rome, so great a quantity of snow fell in the night time, that it covered a great part of the hill called Exquilin, and in the same night, the nobleman and his lady were in a dream warned by the Virgin Mary, that in the place which they should find covered with snow, they should build a church to be consecrated to her name, for thus she was willing to be their heiress. The nobleman went and told the pope their dream, who answered, that he had dreamt just the same thing himself; wherefore they came in great solemnity and procession, with all the clergy and other people to the hill, which they found, according to the dream, covered with snow, and there they designed a great church, which being built at the charge of the nobleman, was by the pope dedicated and consecrated to the Virgin Mary. This church was called by different names; sometimes it was called the Basilick of Liberius, from the pope that consecrated it, and in whose time it was built: sometimes, Saint Mary of the Manger, *Sancta Maria ad Præsepe*, from the manger they pretend to keep there still, wherein Jesus Christ was laid when he was newly born: sometimes Saint Mary of the Snow, *Sancta Maria ad Nives*, from the miracle aforesaid of the snow: and sometimes, nay commonly now, from the stateliness of the edifice, which surpasses all other churches of Rome called by the name of Mary, it is called Saint Mary Major, *Sancta Maria Maggiore*.

XIII. *Of Thomas Aquinas, a Doctor of the Roman Church.*

One of the most particular things in Thomas's legend, which happened when he was yet a babe, is, that his nurse being about to wash him, he took up from the ground a bit of paper, where something was written, and held it very fast with his hand; and the nurse having, with much ado, taken it from him that she might wash his hands, he cried so bitterly, that she was forced to return it to him presently, and went to tell the story to his mother, who, out of curiosity to know what it was, opening, though with a great deal of difficulty, the hand of the child, they found, that the *Ave Maria*, or angel's salutation to the Virgin Mary was written in that paper, which the child having by much crying and many gestures obtained again from his mother, he did immediately put it into his mouth, and swallowed it down. Another very remarkable circumstance is, that Thomas's relations having sent to him a young lady, who should endeavour to dissuade him from the monkish life he had designed to undertake, he drove her away, and put her to flight with a fire-brand; after which, kneeling down and praying before a sign of the cross he had made upon the wall with the same fire-brand, he fell into a trance, and sensibly felt his loins to be miraculously girded by an angel; from which time he was through all his life entirely free from the lusts of the flesh, like an angel; hence it is that he is called in the Roman church the angelical doctor. The last surprising thing to be observed in this legend, is, that whilst Thomas was once at Naples, praying before the image of a crucifix, he was, by a miracle, raised a great height from the ground in a trance, and heard the crucifix speaking to him and saying these very words, *Benè scripsisti de me, Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies?* Thomas, thou hast well written of me; what shall then be thy reward? To which, it is said, he answered, *Non aliam, Domine, nisi teipsum*, Nothing at all, Lord, but yourself.

XIV. *Of Peter Nolasco.*

What we must observe in Peter's legend, is, that during his infancy, whilst he was crying once in the cradle, as for a presage of his future virtue, a great swarm of bees alighted upon his right hand, and wrought there a honey-comb. Moreover that, he being come to years of maturity, and praying one night very earnestly, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him, saying, it would be very acceptable both to her son and herself, if he should found an order, whose chief care should be to rescue the poor Christian slaves from the tyranny of the infidels; which he did, obliging all of his order to a particular vow of putting themselves as an hostage under the power of the Pagans, if it should be necessary for the redemption of their Christian brethren. Lastly, that, having been assured of the approaching hour of his death, received the sacraments of the church (says the legend, for a dying man in the church of Rome has several sacraments to receive of their own making, besides that of Christ's institution), exhorted his fellows to charity towards slaves, repeating, with a great deal of devotion, the hundred and

eleventh psalm, at those words of the ninth verse, He sent redemption unto his people ; he gave up the ghost.

*XV. Of Bennet and his Sister Scholastica.*

Bennet led a solitary life for Jesus Christ's sake in a very deep and secret grotto for the space of three years. He wholly checked the lustful temptations of the flesh by turning many times his naked body in a thorn-bush. By making only a sign of the cross he broke the cup, wherein some wicked and licentious men had presented him a poisoned liquor. By the spirit of prophecy he foretold many things to come, and revealed some other very secret ones ; which Totilas the king of the Gothes having heard of, and being willing to try whether it were true or no, he sent to him one of his gentlemen disguised in the royal habit, and thus counterfeiting himself a king ; to whom, as soon as Bennet saw him, he said, " Throw off, sir, throw off, what you have on, for it is not yours."

His sister Scholastica used to go and see him once a year, and he met her a little way out of his monastery, where they entertained one another upon divine and celestial subjects. One day their conversation being longer than ordinary, it grew very late, so that she desired him to spend there that night also in her company ; which he denying, she laid her joined hands on the table, and her head on her joined hands, in order, and in a disposition to pray. Then after having been thus a little while, and lifting up her head from the table, there was immediately, and all of a sudden, so great a storm of lightning and raining, that it was not possible for her brother Bennet to part with her, or go away that night. Three days after this accident, Bennet being in his cell, and happening to lift up his eyes, he saw the soul of his sister Scholastica under the shape of a dove, which, having left her mortal body, was then going up into Heaven.

*XVI. Of Frances, a Roman Matron or Lady.*

Frances being eleven years old made a vow of virginity to God Almighty, though she married afterwards in humble obedience to her parents. Her husband being dead, she went to a monastery which had been before built and founded by herself for the Roman Matrons, and being prostrate on the ground with bare feet, a rope about her neck, and abundance of tears, earnestly entreated them to be admitted into their society ; and although she was the mother and mistress of them all, yet she chose to be called by no other name nor title, but by that of a mean woman, and common maid-servant. Among the many wonders, I find in her legend, to have been done by her, one in imitation of our Saviour's miracles is, that a few bits of bread, which scarce had been sufficient sparingly to feed two or three of her nuns, were so multiplied by her prayers, that fifteen of them having been satisfied therewith, they gathered a great basket full of fragments, which remained over and above to them ; as some-

times also she plentifully treated them upon the month of January with fresh and new grapes, she had miraculously obtained hanging on a vine-tree.

### XVII. *Of Ambrose Sansedonius.*

Ambrose Sansedonius was born at Siena in Tuscany, about whom, what is most to be observed in his legend, is, that very often, whilst he was a-preaching, he was seen by the whole congregation to be lifted up from the ground, as it were beside himself, and to have a dove waiting and speaking at his ears.

### XVIII. *Of Francis of Assisi, and Francis of Paula.*

The former was born at Assisi, a town of Umbria in Italy, and following at first the business of his father was a merchant : but his covetous father being not able, says the legend, to bear with his great charity towards the poor, carried him to the bishop, that he might in his presence give up his right of inheritance, which Francis did so willingly, that, stripping himself naked, he returned to his father the very clothes he had on, saying, he might thenceforth with a greater reason than before say, Our Father which art in heaven. Having heard that advice of our Saviour to his Disciples in the Gospel, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses," he chose it for a rule of his own life, as well as that of the order he founded, and retiring to a high mountain called Alvernia, after forty days spent there in fasting and praying to the honour of the archangel Michael, he was thought worthy to receive the sacred scars. Not long after this heavenly favour he fell very sick, was carried, as he desired, into church, and having there exhorted his monks to adhere stedfastly to the belief of the Roman church, he died pronouncing the last verse of the 142d psalm, *Bring my soul out of prison, &c.* which in the vulgar translation is thus expressed, *Educ de custodia animam meam ad confitendum nomini tuo ; me expectant justii, donec retribuas mihi.*

The latter was born at Paula, a little village of Calabria, and was called Francis, because his parents, after having been very long childless, at last obtained him, as his legend says, by the prayers and intercession of Francis of Assisi, to whom they had made a vow (he having been already dead about two hundred years before) to call the child after his name, if they could but have one. He walked very often bare-footed through ice and snow, mountains and rocks, nay thorns and briars, without receiving from thence any harm at all. He used to lie on the ground, to wear very rough clothes, and eat but once a day after sun-set bread and water, and sometimes, though very seldom, some few herbs or fishes. He foretold many things to come by the spirit of prophecy, and wrought several miracles, amongst which he went a great way with his companion on the sea of Sicily, only his cloak serving them instead of a ship.

### XIX. *Of Vincent Ferrerius.*

Vincent Ferrerius was a Spaniard, born at Valentia. So excellent a preacher he was, that, according to his legend, above a hundred thousand sinners were by his preaching reduced to repentance, and five and twenty thousand Jews and eight thousand Turks converted to the Christian faith. He often laid his hands on sick people, and they presently recovered; he gave sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, and hearing to the deaf; he cast out devils, healed them that had the palsy, and raised about forty persons from the dead. By the spirit of prophecy he foretold things to come, knew the secrets of hearts, and had the state of many deceased persons revealed to him, whose souls he delivered by his prayers out of the purgatory-flames.

### XX. *Of Margaret of Castello.*

The most particular thing in Margaret's legend is, that she was incessantly affected with so tender a devotion towards the mystery of our Saviour's incarnation through all her life, that by a very strange miracle there were in her heart found after her death three globules, whereof the one represented the image of the infant Jesus lying in a manger, the other that of the Blessed Virgin his mother; and the third those of Joseph his reputed father, of Margaret herself kneeling upon her knees, and a dove upon her head. Another remarkable thing is, that whilst they were about to anoint her corpse with sweet spices, such an abundance of fragrant liquor like balsam came out of one of her sides, that a great many vials were then filled with it, some of which are still kept unto this day.

### XXI. *Of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross.*

The legend of the invention of the cross is this. Helen, the mother of the emperor Constantine, having been thus admonished in a dream, went to Jerusalem, and removing from the place where the holy cross was concealed, a marble statue of Venus, which, in order to abolish the memory of the same cross, the Infidels had for the space of an hundred and fourscore years past erected there, found under the ground buried three crosses together, with the title of our Saviour's cross lying by itself; but there being no appearance which of them it belonged to, they took a dead body, and applying to it successively two of the crosses, death remained always inexorable; but as soon as the third touched the dead man, he rose presently to life, by which miracle they understood, that was the cross whereon our Lord had been crucified. Part of the same cross was left there in a church built by Helen, and part of it was carried by her to her son Constantine at Rome, which is kept still at present in a church called the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. Upon which cross this great miracle God Almighty is

said to have wrought; that although several bits were daily thence cut off, yet it remained always the same, without the least diminution in the world.

The legend of the exaltation of the cross is as follows. Chosroas the king of Persia, in the latter days of the emperor Phocas, having subdued Egypt and Africa, taken Jerusalem, and slain there a great many thousand Christians, carried away the cross, viz. the part of it which Helen had left there on the mountain Golgotha, into Persia. Heraclius the successor of Phocas being willing to free the empire from all the troubles and miseries of war, sued for a peace, which Chosroas, being then flushed with his success, would upon no conditions grant him. Wherefore Heraclius, having both with fasting and praying recommended his cause to God, gathered an army, offered battle to Chosroas, and overcame three of his chief generals, defeating their respective armies. Chosroas, flying away from the danger he was in, designed, in his distress, to take into the partnership of the kingdom his younger son Medares; at which Siroes, the eldest son, being deservedly incensed, put both his father and brother to death, and obtained from Heraclius the kingdom upon certain conditions and articles, whereof the first was, that he should return the cross of our Lord and Saviour. This happened fourteen years after the cross fell into the hands of the Persians, which the emperor Heraclius, after his return to Jerusalem, carried again upon his own shoulders with great solemnity into the same place, where it was before. Which ceremony was attended by a great miracle, for Heraclius, being at first clothed with his imperial habit adorned all over with gold and jewels, could not stir from the gate, which led to the mountain Golgotha, but the more he endeavoured to go on, the more he seemed to be kept back. Whereupon all the people, and Heraclius himself, being in a great amaze, Zacharias the bishop of Jerusalem said to the emperor, "Your majesty must take care, lest in carrying the cross of Christ you little imitate perhaps with such magnificent raiment Christ's poverty and humility. Then Heraclius having laid aside the imperial habit and put on an ordinary one, being moreover barefoot, could go on very easily all the way to the appointed place.

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*Mention of the Inquisition House of Grenada. (From Semple's Second Journey in Spain, p. 157.)*

The office of the Inquisition is still preserved at Grenada, but the power, or the abuse of it, has fortunately fled, let us hope, for ever. It is easy for strangers to procure admission, and I did not neglect the opportunity of visiting these once dreadful walls; which now, however, inspire no interest, except through the recollection of the past. We were conducted into three halls, one opening into another, and in the last, to which we descended by a few steps,



INQUISITION HOUSE OF GRENADA.



Pub. 4<sup>th</sup> March 1870 by J. J. Stockdale of Pall Mall.

View of Strand

stood the chair of the grand Inquisitor, most pleasingly covered with dust. From a window we were shewn the dungeons in the yard below, or rather the spot where they were said to be. When asked if there were any prisoners then confined in them, our conductor answered, in that solemn and mysterious tone which the Inquisition still affects, that "it was not known." Even these feeble remains of this horrible institution create a sort of secret fear in the soul. One and one only object of infinite importance was shewn to us. It was a small crucifix of silver, with an image of Jesus Christ, about the size of a little finger. This, we were informed with great gravity, had, some hundreds of years ago, been put into an oven by a most incredulous Jew, to be baked in a pie, out of hatred to, and contempt of, Christianity. No sooner did this rogue of a Jew shut the door of his oven, than blood began to flow from the image: this it continued to do in such an astonishing quantity that the oven was presently filled, and the blood came out in spite of all the Jew's efforts, until it fairly ran into the street! This of course immediately excited alarm and inquiry, the blood was traced to its source, the most sacred image taken out in triumph, and the villanous Jew put in its place!!!

*Escape of Joseph Pignata from the Inquisition of Rome.*

Amidst the numerous instances of suffering, which the bloody and iniquitous annals of Inquisitorial persecution afford, I cannot forbear mentioning the case of Joseph Pignata, who furnishes an instance, among the very few which occur, of a person who had the good fortune to escape from the tyranny of that merciless tribunal. The story is too long to insert in this place, but the reader will find a detailed account of his adventures in a small work entitled "Les Aventures de Joseph Pignata, échappé des Prisons de l'Inquisition de Rome," printed at Cologne in 1725. After a tedious confinement of several years, in which he experienced all the miseries and privations to which people in that calamitous situation were always



subject, he was at length brought to trial. The tremendous sentence of perpetual imprisonment, a thousand times more dreadful than death, was pronounced against him. Distracted at the hideous prospect which such a condemnation presented to his view, he determined to escape or to perish in the attempt.

He accordingly laboured with incredible industry and perseverance, and, at length, having penetrated through the arched roof of his prison, he effected his deliverance by means of a window in the chamber above, descending by a rope composed of the bed-clothes of himself and his fellow-prisoner. His companion, Alphonsi by name, less fortunate than himself, having broken his leg in his descent, was deprived of his liberty at the moment that he expected again to enjoy it, and Pignata was necessitated to fly alone from the vengeance of his pursuers.

Having endured hardships almost incredible, which nothing but the inherent love of liberty and the horror of the Inquisition could have enabled him to endure, and having, by the most providential good fortune, eluded the vigilance of the numerous agents of the papal court who beset his path on every side, he effected his escape into the kingdom of Naples. He then passed over from Policastro to Messina, where he thought himself secure from further persecution and danger; but being recognized by some musicians who had known him at Rome, he was forced to fly from this asylum and return to Italy. He then resolved to make for Otranto, and thence to sail for Constantinople, but ill fortune still pursued; he was assailed and robbed by two ruffians, who beat him in the most dreadful manner, and then escaped, leaving him for dead. However, he at last set sail for the place of his destination, but he met with a dreadful tempest which obliged the ship to put in at Zara in Dalmatia, whence, renouncing his eastern expedition, he resolved to sail for Vienna. After having experienced similar disasters in this second voyage, he at length arrived at the place of his destination, where he received some assistance from his brother, who re-

sided near that place. By this means he was enabled to traverse Germany, though from the scantiness of his pecuniary supplies, and his ignorance of the language, he suffered the greatest inconvenience. At length he arrived at Amsterdam, and finding that even there the vengeance of his implacable enemies was exciting all possible efforts for his ruin, he set sail for the Indies, and thus rescued himself from the pursuits of their malignity.

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From the preceding history a clear insight into the spirit of the Inquisitorial Tribunal has been attempted, and with what success remains for the reader to decide. The influence of these horrid establishments, upon the manners and intercourse of society, may also be inferred with some accuracy. The picture has been completed by the authentic documents of individual sufferings, which, if they in some instances excite disgust, cannot fail also to excite considerable interest.

When religion is maintained only by force and by corruption, it cannot appear otherwise than hateful to all who do not reflect how inconsistent such means are with its true spirit, and who mistake the pernicious follies of mankind, for the decrees of Omnipotence.

These serious truths ought to be clearly evinced by the facts and reflections which abound in this volume, and if any human evidences were requisite to give force to the assertions of Holy Writ, how clearly must these prove, with the inspired apostle James, chap. i, ver. 20, that "THE WRATH OF MAN WORKETH NOT THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD."

**finis.**