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Adolfo de Castro

HISTORY
OF
RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE
IN SPAIN:

OR,

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED
TO THAT NATION'S DECLINE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH OF

SEÑOR DON ADOLFO DE CASTRO,

BY

THOMAS PARKER,

TRANSLATOR OF "A PICTURE OF THE COURT OF ROME," "THE HISTORY OF
THE SPANISH PROTESTANTS," &C. &C.

"Cara patria, carior libertas."

LONDON:
WILLIAM AND FREDERICK G. CASH,
(SUCCESSORS TO CHARLES GILPIN,
5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT.

1853.



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS new work from the pen of Señor De Castro, although written before the institution of the far-famed persecution of Francesco and Rosa Madiai by the government of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, comes before the world with greater acceptance on that account.

The circumstances connected with the trial, sentence, imprisonment, and ultimate release, of those two humble Christians, for the crime of reading and expounding the Bible, are now fresh in the recollection of the world. Nor can it be denied that in putting an end to that persecution, and setting its victims free, the power and influence of Protestant England have been felt and acknowledged, not only in the Palace of Tuscany, but in the Vatican itself.

Señor De Castro is remarkably favoured by circumstances. Just about the time he was finishing his "HISTORY OF THE SPANISH PROTESTANTS," came "the Papal Aggression," which gave an interest altogether

unexpected to that volume of his works. For that interest, and, consequent circulation of his book in the British dominions, he was indebted to Pope Pius IX., and for similar results with regard to this his "HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN SPAIN, &c.," he will, doubtless, be under obligations to Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

How impotent a creature is man. How much more impotent is a Prince. With all his intelligence how little can he, of himself, accomplish! The greater his elevation in worldly dignity, the less his ability to injure the republic of morals. The more critically we examine this proposition, the more shall we be convinced of its truth. The force of it was well known to the Frenchman who said :—

" L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose."

But he was only repeating a well-known fact; for St. Paul had already placed the matter beyond doubt when he said to the Corinthians, "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are."*

In reading the future historians of our own times we shall find, on the same page, the names of persons, places, and things, which formerly had no connexion with each other. Thus Rome, Pio Nono, and the Tiber, if not written with, will naturally remind one of, Cadiz, Adolfo de Castro, and the Guadalquiver. Again: Leopold of

* 1 Cor. i. 27.

Tuscany, priestly domination, bigotry, and tyranny, are names which will stand out in bold contrast with, and so suggest those of, Francesco and Rosa Madiai, Victoria, the Bible, freedom of conscience, and liberty. With the former will be associated gloomy notions of those dark and dreary abodes of the lost in which a ray of light shall never shine, a gleam of hope shall never dawn; for, like Babylon of old, they "shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there."* With the latter will rise up, in quick succession, fair ideas of light, of strength, of security, of sweetness, of beauty, of purity, of intelligence, of angels,—salvation,—music,—and heaven,—in fine, of that happy time, when "the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads."†

Truth is like a spring of water—cool, pure, transparent, refreshing, vivifying. There is no stopping it. It must flow on. It must rise to its source. Obstruct it's one visible medium of egress and it will burst out in fifty.

The Madiai were not the only Protestants in Tuscany, who worshipped God according to his written word and took that word for the rule and guide of their conduct. Nor is De Castro the only Spaniard in the Peninsula, who, in the present day, comes forth to wrestle with ignorance and superstition, to unfurl the flag of religious freedom, and plant, in the midst of his deluded countrymen, the standard of the cross.

There is a great stir among enlightened Spaniards of our times. Silently, it may be, but steadily and surely

* Isaiah xiii. 21.

† Isaiah xxxv. 10.

the work of reformation is going on in the Spanish dominions ; and though all liberal-minded, tolerant, and inquiring, Spaniards, cannot be designated as truly religious, yet there are not a few who do fall under that denomination ; and even those who do not are " valiant for the truth," earnestly endeavouring to compass the regeneration of their country. Numerous are those whose zeal for the cause of religious liberty has carried them beyond the narrow bounds of prudence fixed by the Spanish Government for the expression of their religious views and sentiments ; for a Spaniard, although at liberty to hold, privately, what opinions he pleases in matters of religion, must not dogmatise ; he must not teach. If he does, he brings himself within the penalty of the law : perpetual banishment.

No sooner had " The Spanish Protestants" been published and found its way to Madrid, than it excited attention in the literary world. By some strange occurrence, certainly not by any design of the author, the English translation was published in London some fifteen days before the original Spanish came out in the Peninsula ; and, therefore, the periodicals issuing from the Spanish press had the advantage of the English reviews of the work. In *La Europa* of 17th October, 1851, a newspaper of liberal and enlightened principles which about that time had just appeared, the editor had ventured to review Señor de Castro's performance at considerable length, quoting from an English journal these words : " The country which can boast of a man like De Castro, has yet much to hope for." This was a good stride for a Spanish editor to take in the road towards religious liberty. But the Spanish government determined he should take no more, at least in the pages of *La Europa* ;

and accordingly we find in *The Times* of Wednesday, 5th November, 1851, the following announcement :—

“ SPAIN.

“ The *Gazette* contains the following decree, &c.

“ ‘ Considering the anti-social and irreligious spirit of the journal which appears at Madrid, under the title of *La Europa*, the Queen has ordered, after consulting her council of ministers, the suppression of said journal.

“ ‘ An account of the present measure shall be rendered to the Cortes.

“ ‘ BERTRAN DE LIS.

“ ‘ *Madrid, 28th October.*

“ ‘ To the Governor of the Province of Madrid.’ ”

Thus ended the existence of *La Europa*.

Without any desire to be captious with reference to the title of the present work, I do not think Señor De Castro has been felicitous in the use of the expression “ Religious Intolerance,” although the sense in which he uses it may be well understood. *Slavery of conscience*, and *freedom or liberty of conscience*, appear to my mind, expressions better adapted to convey the meaning intended by the former.

What is religious *intolerance* in the common acceptation of the term ? I consider it is the exercise, by an earthly power, of an assumed authority to dictate to man, the nature, mode, and extent, of the worship he shall pay to his Maker ; nay more : to dictate to the Almighty the nature, mode, and extent, of that homage which he shall be entitled to receive from fallen sinful beings whom he has created ! Señor de Molins, a celebrated Spanish writer says :

“ *Tolerance* is a term which, on examination, cannot be approved any more than *intolerance*. It supposes a grace or favour bestowed by an earthly power with regard to the exercise of a right which is inherent in every human being. Is *intolerance* criminal? *Tolerance* is equally so. Both words have, with very little difference, the same signification. The one arrogates to itself the right to *bestow* liberty of conscience; the other the right to *deny* it. The one resembles the Pope armed with the thunders of the Vatican: the other the Roman Pontiff, conceding indulgences and dispensations. The one is the church-dominant; the other the church-trafficant.”

“ Again: man does not adore himself; he adores his Maker. There are here two very distinct things to be considered: the mortal who pays his tribute of adoration, and the immortal who is adored. Consequently *tolerance* is not a matter between man and man, or between one church and another, but between God and man: between the being who creates and is adored, and the being who is created and adores. Hence the impiety and presumption of daring to prescribe limits to that adoration which the Eternal shall receive.”

“ If, instead of talking or writing about tolerance and intolerance, any one were to bring before the Senate a bill or project of law to prescribe the nature, form, and extent, of worship which the Almighty *ought to accept* from the Jew, or from the Mahometan, everybody would be shocked at so scandalous and wicked a proceeding. It would be said, and with justice, that such a proposition was awfully blasphemous; and yet an instant's reflection will shew that the word *tolerance* signifies nothing else.” What the legislature would be

attempting in the case supposed, the Church of Rome is doing, and has, for many centuries, done, daily. That church, whilst she acknowledges that the sacred Scriptures are the word of God, says, with strange inconsistency, in the index of prohibited books, Rule IV., "*The Bible is prohibited in all its parts, printed or in manuscript, in every vulgar tongue whatsoever!*"

What are the effects of intolerance or slavery of conscience? Ignorance, immorality, and the mental degradation of the human race. The knowledge which the Bible conveys to mankind, but especially to the humble and illiterate, as far surpasses all other knowledge, in nature, variety and utility, as light surpasses darkness. It's pages are adapted to each sex, and to every class, age, and condition: an assertion this, capable of proof, but an assertion which cannot be made with reference to any other book in the world. This fact, when considered, not only stamps the book's authenticity, but proves that it was intended for universal circulation, and accounts for the dread with which that circulation is regarded by the Roman Church. To be ignorant of the Bible is to be ignorant of much that is necessary and ancillary to the proper discharge of the duties of life, and of still more that is essential to our comfort and well-being in the characters we sustain, and the duties we are called upon as citizens to discharge, even in a temporal view, and apart from the higher considerations of our duty to God, to our country, to our neighbours, and to ourselves.

To be unacquainted with a trade, a profession, an art, or a science, may be unimportant to us, if our interests are unconnected with these; but for any man who can read and procure a Bible to remain in wilful ignorance of it's principles and precepts which are closely interwoven

with his present fortunes and everlasting destiny, is pitiable indeed. The dishonour and disgrace attaching to educated men, men in the upper ranks of society, aye, and women too, who would be ashamed to have it even thought they were unacquainted with the latest works of fiction, is as great as it is lamentable. The lower classes are advancing in biblical knowledge just in proportion as their superiors are receding from it. The astonishing fact, recently announced by a minister of the English Crown, that the weekly pence of the children of the poor, contributed towards their own education, now amount, annually, to more than half a million sterling, may possibly stimulate to greater efforts the fashionable and ignorant. But that statement shews more : it shews what, in a political view, might be done by the millions of our adult population, whose children's pence have amounted to so vast a sum, if those millions would but allow themselves and their funds to be properly directed and applied.

Immorality is the companion of moral ignorance. Keep the people in a state of ignorance, and they will continue in a corresponding state of immorality.

It is a mistake to suppose that secular education will much improve the morals of the people. Licentiousness, it is true, may, in that case, have recourse to a *modus operandi* more refined, but the crime is still the same : nay, like refinement in cruelty, refinement in sensuality may be but an aggravation of the moral turpitude : the example, because more fascinating, may be more destructive :

“ Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.”—*Juv.*

Yes;—Education apart from Christian and Biblical

instruction, will avail but little towards improving the moral and social condition of any people. The experiment has been tried and failed. It has been tried and failed in private families, in parishes, in counties, and even in more extended communities.

Degradation of mind, a want of regard for character, a heedlessness of reputation, and a complete prostration of those powers which should resist the evil passions of mankind, are the results of ignorance of biblical truth. Some talk of a sense of right and wrong being in every man, and affirm, what has been frequently said, that secular education is sufficient to induce men to lead moral lives. But such dreamers may be challenged to tell, in what book, or in what series of books, a poor, ignorant, and illiterate, man can find laws, rules, threatenings, and promises, so expressly suited to his wants as in that remarkable book the Bible—a volume containing about sixty-six tracts, written by about thirty-six men, extending over a period of about 1600 years, setting forth certain statements of facts and principles, not contradicting but supporting each other.

But there is another kind of slavery of conscience, or religious *intolerance*, which is not generally treated on. There are those spiritual guides who concede the right to some of, what are called, the educated portion of the laity to read the Bible, but impose on them a restraint on interpretation. These blind guides say: “‘Take the Bible and read it; but remember, you must not understand it, except in the sense in which the church to which you belong understands it.’” This specious proposition, when exposed, amounts precisely to this: Do not read at all. “Now, there are only four classes of persons who can conform to this rule of reading, but not inter-

preting. *First*, those who read in a language they cannot at all comprehend : this happens to some ecclesiastics who read their *matins*, and to the beadle or *sacristan*, who chants the Epistle at Mass, in the absence of the sub-deacon. *Secondly*, those who read in their own language, but who do not know the value, import, or signification, of some words in the matters on which they read : this would be the case with French people, who, having no idea of mathematics, might happen to read this theorem “ ‘ *Le carré de l’hypothénuse est égal à la somme des carrés des deux autres côtés du triangle rectangle ;* ’ ” or with an Englishman who reads the same thing in his own language thus : “ ‘ *The square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the two other sides of a rectangle triangle.* ’ ” *Thirdly*, those who read in a well-known tongue, but who do so mechanically, their attention being all the time diverted from the subject, or who, during such reading, are thinking about something else ; this might occur to all the world. *Fourthly*, those who may happen to read some of the self-evident axioms which people are in the habit of expressing by the most simple and abstract words in the language ; this would be the case with him who reads this phrase : “ ‘ *That which is, is.* ’ ” Now, of these four classes none of the persons interpret, though they all read. If you ask the first three, what they have understood by their reading, they will answer you : “ ‘ Nothing. ’ ” If you ask the fourth, he will be forced to answer by a phrase literally the same as that which he has read. This is he who does not at all interpret.”

“ According to the Church of Rome, no one may translate the Bible but he who may also interpret it ; that is to say, the church alone. This is why no translation,

nor even the original Greek, or the Hebrew, has any authority in that communion. There is but one text, the Latin Vulgate, which, in Rome's estimation, is of any authority ; for that is the translation which she has rendered her own by her approval of it. Every bishop may, for example, reject the French Bible of Sacey, although that is, in fact, a translation from the Vulgate : and he has a right to do so ; for it is not a French text that the Roman church has approved."

"The Christians of Toulouse, who recently petitioned the Archbishop of that city for a commission, composed of persons well instructed in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, to verify the translations of the Protestants, ought to have known, very well, that the Archbishop could not grant their request without imposing, on the persons to be nominated in that commission, the condition of not translating otherwise than the Church of Rome has done ; which, in other words, simply implies that those persons could not be allowed to *interpret* otherwise than in the sense which that church does ; this is what the Archbishop and every Roman Catholic holds to be right."

"The primitive Christians did not consult the readings and explanations of the Holy Scriptures given by the church ; but every individual believer devoted himself to the reading of the Bible in his own private house. Clement, of Alexandria, recounts that the Christians of his time read the Scriptures, before sitting down to table, during their repast, and before retiring to rest. Eusebius narrates, speaking of Quadratus and his companions, that " ' even the laity traversed various countries announcing Jesus Christ to those who had not heard

him speak, and placing the sacred book of the gospel in their hands.'” The same historian tells us of a holy priest, named Pamphilius, who “ ‘ bought a great number of copies, which he distributed, with joy, to both men and women whom he knew to be desirous of reading them.’ ”

“ When searches were made, under the Edict of Nantes, for copies of the Scriptures, in order that they might be burnt, these searches were not limited to the churches ; but they were made, minutely, in private houses, for, according to the accounts of historians, “ ‘ the laity, as well as others, had copies of the Scriptures in their dwellings, they read them assiduously, and even knew them by heart ; the artizans had them commonly in their shops, the children and servants, as well as other people, read them, and heard them read, daily, in their families ; travellers and soldiers carried them about with them.’ ”

But I forbear to pursue these observations, which are, in substance, suggested by an unpublished MS. in my possession, and which will, I hope, shortly appear before the world, in the Spanish, Italian, French, and English, languages, the translations into the two latter having already been completed.*

Scarcely had Señor De Castro concluded and published, in Spain, the first twelve of the following chapters, than he was seized with a brain fever, which, for a time, assumed so alarming a crisis as to forbid hopes of his recovery ; but, thank God, his life is spared, and it may

* *Conversations with my Priest*, MS., by the Reverend Don Juan Calderon, a native of La Mancha in Spain, and Professor of the Spanish Language and of Spanish Literature in King's College, London.

be interesting to his readers to know, that he is again in the plentitude of health and the usual exercise of his pen, having engaged in the laborious task of writing a Dictionary of the Spanish language, in which is given, not only the sense of each word, but the classical authority for its use, according to the plan adopted by Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary of the English language. Specimens of this colossal undertaking have already appeared in the Spanish capital, and been well received in it's literary circles.

I have much pleasure in being able to present my readers with a fine steel engraving, by Walton, from a Daguerreotype portrait taken in Cadiz, of this good, courageous, accomplished, and extraordinary man, and also a *fac simile* of his writing. Boundless is the prospect before him. Much as he has already done, it is nothing in comparison with what he may yet accomplish. Providence, it would seem, has endowed him with gifts eminently suited to the work he has undertaken, and to the prejudices he will yet have to overcome. From such a man, in the prime of life, in the possession of renovated health, and of ample means for the prosecution of his labours, what may the friends of civil and religious liberty not expect? I here offer to him the tribute of my thanks for enabling me to be the humble, but honoured, instrument of placing some portions of his works before the English nation. Long may he live, and continue to disseminate among his countrymen, those liberal, enlightened, and evangelical, principles by which he is actuated. Under the influence of such principles ignorance, superstition, and slavery of conscience, must,

in time, give place to learning, religion, and liberty ; under that influence the Spanish throne must ultimately be established in righteousness. Spain shall then be reckoned great among the nations, and her people shall be numbered among "the excellent of the earth."

THO : PARKER.

Spring Gardens,

18th April, 1853.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE utility of a work containing a true and concise statement, founded on authentic documents, of the causes which, in little more than a century, extinguished the power of Spaniards both in Europe and in America, was lately suggested to me by two English gentlemen who take an interest in Spanish affairs.

Encouraged by that suggestion, and by the good reception which my *History of the Spanish Protestants* has met with, in England, in the elegant translation of my friend Mr. Thomas Parker, I resolved to attempt the task of writing such a statement ; and this book, which I now offer to the world, is the result of my labours.

The undertaking has been difficult ; for, in a country like Spain, the archives have nothing of publicity pertaining to them except the name. In other countries those who devote themselves to history or to political science find great facility of access to documents, but in Spain every obstacle is interposed. The keeper of the archives foolishly imagines that the publication of a paper of the sixteenth century, containing any state-secret, may give birth to a thousand dangers.

That there really exist men of such prejudices seems incredible to those who have not had occasion to refer

to our archives. Happily, however, I have been able to ascertain facts from many curious, and hitherto unpublished, documents in the National Library, one of the few establishments of the kind, in Spain, which do render assistance to those in search of the treasures they contain. Those documents, and others, for the perusal of which I am indebted to the courtesy of some of my friends, form the foundations of my work.

I attach much importance to the documents not before published; because in them, and them alone, is to be found the truth concerning the events and occurrences in our country to which they refer.

Our ancient historians, paid by the Sovereign, wrote to suit the tastes of those by whom our country was oppressed. This accounts for that alteration and confusion of facts which we meet with in their works.

It would seem, if we compare those works with the MSS. in our archives, that, in order to make the history of Spain a true history, it would be necessary to rewrite it, and in a manner, too, almost the reverse of that in which it has been written.

I am aware that most of our authors were afraid of giving a frank and unbiassed judgment of the facts which they profess to record, lest they should incur the charge of going against the current of popular opinion; I know also that they were too willing to be imposed upon, and too unwilling to discard false conclusions. These are some, among many, causes, why not only history but others of the sciences have made so little progress among us.

Many foreign historians who have written on Spanish affairs, although without access to our archives, have performed their task with greater accuracy than those

of our own nation. In the works of the former the force of reason, alone, has discovered much which the latter, through fear of incurring the public displeasure, or of advocating the cause of liberty against their own interests, have been induced to pass over in silence.

Much has been written by Spaniards with a view of refuting the opinions of foreigners touching our affairs, but with little effect ; for the statements of the Spanish historians have seldom passed the Pyrenees, while those of the foreigner have circulated all over the world. This may be accounted for, in some measure, by the fact that while the one has been influenced by a false patriotism which has induced him to flatter ignorance and self-conceit, the other has been guided, entirely, by a love of philosophy and truth.

To love one's country is not to confirm the errors and justify the crimes of one's predecessors ; but, on the contrary, to anticipate other nations in the correction of the one and execration of the other. What purpose will it serve that a few thousands of men shall call infamy glory, if the whole civilized human race besides, in all ages, shall call each by its proper name ?

We have constantly been trained up to the vice of pronouncing Spain perfect, and of designating as bad Spaniards those who, for the public good, have attempted to prove that no such perfection ever did, or does now, exist, without perceiving that those are, in truth, *the* "bad Spaniards" who cannot, or will not, discern real from imaginary glories.

If our *literati*, whose researches are confined, chiefly, to ancient Spanish books, would but examine, with equal diligence, those of other European countries, they would not, in their literary or political labours, continue to uphold and increase the popular delusions.

I am not sure that in this work I have been able, altogether, to avoid the errors to which I have just alluded ; but, in order that I might not fall into the opposite extreme, I have resolved that the propositions put forth in my text shall not go unauthorized, but be vouched by notes at foot, referring to, or quoting, documentary authorities, so that my desire to seek after truth may be accredited. Truth should be the pole-star of every writer who seeks to promote the public good and desires that his works may be useful to his country.

If, however, there should be any one who, doubting my sincerity, dares to say that I am a “bad Spaniard” because I do not applaud and make common cause with authors worthy of that appellation, my answer to him shall be very brief :

CARA PATRIA, CARIOR LIBERTAS.

Cádiz, 1852.

HISTORY

OF

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN SPAIN, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Surrender of Toledo on the invasion of the Moors—Religion of the Christians tolerated—Re-conquest of Toledo by Alonso VI.—Religion of the Moors tolerated—Intolerance of the Spaniards—Ferdinand III. begins the practice of burning Heretics—Pretext for a religious war—The Clergy persecute the Jews—Interposition of the Pope—St. Vicente Ferrer—Intolerance extended to Christians—The MSS. of the Marquis of Villena—Henry IV.—Disorders in his reign—His toleration—Disgusts the Clergy—Their interdict against him—Henry accused of heresy—The clergy place his sister Isabella on the throne—Last moments of Henry—Isabella and Ferdinand crowned—Juana's manifesto—Isabella's policy towards the nobility—Establishment of the Inquisition—Origin of confiscations—Royal and ecclesiastical cupidity—Gonzalez de Mendoza—Hernando Pulgar—Comparison of the Spanish with the Roman nobility.

ON the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, Toledo, after a long siege, was obliged to surrender on certain stipulations. Among these was one ensuring to the Christians the enjoyment of the religion of their forefathers, and the exercise of it in public worship. The conquerors, like wise and honorable men, faithfully observed this condition, and although possession of Toledo was long

maintained by the Moors, the Christians who dwelt in that city lived in the free exercise of their own rites and ceremonies, nor was there any attempt to make them follow the Koran of Mahomet.

In the course of events, Toledo-Arabian was, in turn, constrained to open the gates of her citadel to the victorious legions of Don Alonso VI. of Castile, who, in the adjustment of the terms of that capitulation, restored to the Moors their Great Mosque, in order that in it they might continue to observe the Mahometan religion. In a short time, however, the covetous clergy violated the sanctity of this engagement. The queen, like a weak woman, was too easily allured, by promises of spiritual rewards, to the commission of a base and perfidious crime. With her connivance, the Archbishop of Toledo, profiting by the absence of Don Alonso, took forcible possession of the mosque, and converted it into a cathedral church, which he consecrated with perjury.*

A solemn treaty thus violated by an archbishop, with the assent of a queen, and by the subsequent approval of a king, gave the common people clearly to understand that they were under no obligation to keep faith with those of a different religion.

With so iniquitous an example, intolerance increased. Christians were no longer content to conquer the Moors by means of arms, but, making an infamous use of victory, they even compelled them to become converts to the Christian faith. Violence accompanied the water of baptism, and in due time these new Christians were called on to witness the loss of their religion as well as of their country.

* *Historias del Arzobispo don Rodrigo y don Lucas de Tuy. Crónica General de don Alonso el Sábio.*

To punish those who still preferred living under the Mahometan religion, Ferdinand III., on the suggestion of his wife, the French Doña Juana, introduced the custom of burning those called heretics.

Until that age the laws of Spain* had merely provided that persons guilty of heresy should be admonished and corrected ; and, if still pertinacious, then that they should be expelled and anathematized.

The desire on the part of Spaniards to recover the lands of their fathers, usurped by a powerful foreign army, was, by the clergy, craftily made the pretext of a religious war. The ecclesiastics now began to enrich themselves with the precious spoils taken from the conquered ; spoils which were offered, as acts of grace, in the temples of the fanatical conquerors.

At this time the band of oppression followed, as it generally does, in the rear of a prosperous fortune. The clergy, not satisfied with the property of the conquered Moors, began to excite the lower people against the Jews, who, by permission of the laws, dwelt in Castile and had become rich by their commercial enterprise.

In Seville, the Archdeacon of Ecija, (1390 and 1391), preached against the Jewish people, and urged the Christians, as a proof of their faith, to destroy the whole race by fire and sword. Other ecclesiastics, living in important cities in Spain, responded to the discourses of the archdeacon, and soon began to raise a tumult against the miserable Jews. Seville, Cordoba, and Toledo, were stained with blood by the Christians, who did not scruple to sacrifice on the altars of their piety, not only the lives of the Hebrews, but also the fortunes which they had accumulated. "*All was avarice and*

* *El fuero juzgo.*

robbery rather than devotion," according to the chronicler Pero Lopez de Ayala.*

At length the Pope, at the request of the King of Castile, ordered the Archdeacon of Ecija, and the other preachers who followed his example, to forbear exciting the people by their discourses; and deprecated all attempts to exterminate the Jews by such excesses as were then practised. But the haughty archdeacon despised the commands of the Pope: he persisted in preaching as before, and even dared to tell the people he addressed, that the Roman Pontiff himself had no authority to prohibit the clergy from speaking against the enemies of the name of Christ.†

From this time the Archdeacon of Ecija served as a model to the monarchs and ecclesiastics in Spain, from which they might learn to exceed all other nations in religious intolerance.

Whilst intolerance was exercising its rigours in Castile, the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia did not remain idle, nor did the principality of Catalonia. San-Vicente Ferrer, a friar of the order of preachers, devoted himself to the conversion of the Jews. But the fruits of his labours were exceedingly small. The rabble had recourse to violence, and by tragical examples struck terror into the minds of the Jews, who were driven to baptism in order to save their lives and property.

Such are the accounts of Catholic authors who write on this subject.‡

* *Crónica del Rey Enrique III.*

† *MSS. of the Biblioteca Nacional.*

TRANSLATION.

‡ No pudo Fray Vicente convertir sino muy pocos dellos. E las gentes con despecho, metiéronlos en Castilla á espada, é mataron

Friar Vicente could only convert very few of them. And the people with indignation flew to arms in Castile and killed many

The Jews relate that San-Vicente Ferrer collected together a number of riotous people, and went about with them at his heels through the cities, with a crucifix in his hands, exhorting the Hebrews to turn and become Christians ; but as they did not comply with his wishes they were all attacked and overpowered. Some were murdered ; others, in many of the cities of Arragon, Valencia, Mallorca, and Catalonia, were ill-treated by the followers of that friar.*

That intolerance which commenced with embruing its hands in the blood of the Moors and Jews, soon began to extend its dominion over the Christians, and shot the first rays of its ire against two distinguished persons, one of them being the most illustrious grandee of Castile, the other one of its monarchs.

Don Enrique of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, a nobleman devoted to every kind of science, left, at his death, many manuscripts written by his own hand. These were alleged, by the vulgar and superstitious, to be full of necromancy, and therefore the king, Don Juan II., commanded Don Lope de Barrientos, Bishop of Cuenca, that, without any previous examination of their contents, he should consign them to the flames. This good man, wanting the christianity of the monarch for the execution of any such order, carried off the books, at once, to the convent of the Dominicans at Madrid, and thus

muchos . . . Entonces veníanse ellos mismos a baptizar . . . é despues de baptizados se iban algunos á Portugal é á otros reynos á ser judios.—*Bernaldez-Historia de los Reyes Católicos.*
MS.

. . . Then they came of themselves to be baptized . . . and after baptism, some of them went to Portugal and other kingdoms to be Jews.

* *Consolação as tribulaçoens de Israel, composto por Samuel Usque.—Ferrara, 5313. (1553.)*

handed down to posterity the works of a man superior to the age in which he lived. *

Henry IV., a monarch of good understanding, although inconstant and more disposed to rule by mildness than force, succeeded the fanatical king Don John II.

I believe that the true causes of the riots and disorders of his reign, and against his person, have been suppressed by the old historians, and concealed from the light of modern philosophy. But there are such marks and signs in the recollections and memorials of his age, that the faithful and impartial historian can shew to the world why the clergy, the greater part of the nobility, and the lower people, raised a tumult against him.

Henry was, perhaps, as great a materialist as Frederick the Great of Prussia. In his palace, and round about his person, were a number of gentlemen who followed the opinions of Pliny touching the mortality of the soul. Men of such principles as these were greatly favoured by the monarch, as may be proved by authentic documents. †

* Barrientos said in one of his books, addressing himself to Don Juan II. :—

“ Tú como rey cristianísimo mandaste á mí tu siervo y hechura que lo quemase á vuelta de otros muchos . . . En lo qual . . . pareció y parece la devocion que tu señoría siempre ovo á la religion cristiana.”

Fernan Nuñez gives this passage in his notes to Juan de Mena.

† Marina, in his *Theory of the Cortes*, gives (vol. iii.), a petition from the procurators of King Henry IV., in which he says :—

“ Señaladamente es muy notorio haber personas en vuestro palacio, é cerca de vuestra persona, infieles enemigos de nuestra santa fé Católica é otros, aunque cristianos por

TRANSLATION.

Thou as a most Christian king didst order me, thy servant and creature, that I should burn them with many others . . . In which . . . appeared, and still appears, the devotion which thou hast always had to the Christian religion.

Especially is it very notorious that you have persons in your palace, and near your person, who are infidels, enemies of our holy Catholic faith ; and others, al-

The Moors and the Jews experienced, in the court of Henry, a religious tolerance, called by the fanatical clergy an unpardonable crime.* People both of the Mahometan and Jewish religion were, indiscriminately, allowed to go about among Christians, without suffering any persecution instituted by royal authority.†

Henry ordered the archbishops of Santiago and of Seville to be arrested for some disrespect to his person, and sequestered their revenues. The clergy, indignant at this, were induced to lay an interdict and cessation *á divinis* upon all his kingdoms and seigniories. But Henry regarded with contempt these anathemas against his person, and yet, not wishing to suspend the public worship of Catholics among his Christian subjects, he commanded the interdicts to be broken, especially in Toledo, Cordova, and Seville, cities in which the ecclesiastics had become most haughty and daring. To frustrate the designs of the clergy, he seized upon many of the canons and dignitaries of the churches of Seville, Cordoba, and Toledo, and carried them off to his court.‡

TRANSLATION.

nombre, muy sospechosos en la fé, que creen é afirman que otro mundo no hay, sino nacer y morir como bestias," &c.

though christians in name, very suspicious in the faith, who believe and affirm that there is no other world, and that we have but to be born and die like beasts, &c.

* "De la grand familiaridad que V. A. tiene con los moros que en su guarda trae, vuestros súbditos é naturales están muy, escandalizados."

Your subjects and vassals are much scandalized at your great familiarity with the Moors whom you have under your protection.

Peticiones á Enrique IV. — Documentos de los señores Baranda y Salvá.

† Vide *las coplas de Mingo Revulgo con el comento de Pulgar.*

‡ Referring these events in complaining to Henry IV., some bishops and gentlemen said to him :—

"Todo es en muy gran cargo de vuestra anima, é mengua de All is a serious charge against your soul, a disgrace to your royal

Neither before nor after these acts would the king receive, nor did he receive, the sacraments of confession and communion which the church had commanded to be received by all Catholics.*

Irritated by the incredulity of the monarch, by the religious tolerance granted to the Moors and Jews in his dominions, and by the consideration shown to these people, the ecclesiastics lighted the torch of discord in the kingdoms, and many turbulent noblemen and others, friends of novelty and its attendant advantages, conspired against Henry IV.

The king was desirous of checking the first impulses of rebellion ; but the clergy, seeing that he had no disposition to satisfy their wishes, excited the fury of their adherents, and even that of the populace, by declaring the Princess Doña Juana to be, not what she appeared, viz. the daughter of Henry, but that of his private friend, Don Beltran de la Cueva. They proclaimed the king's impotency, and, assisted by the discontented of both the higher and lower orders, they declared, in the fields of Avila, that Henry was unworthy the crown, deposed

TRANSLATION.

vuestra persona real, é en gran oprobio é vilipendio de la santa madre iglesia."—*Baranda y Salvá*—*Documentos.*

* Los obispos, arzobispos, caballeros y señores de España exigieron á Enrique IV. que confesase y recibiese comunión á lo menos una vez en el año, "para evitar la pena que es que el que no confiesa una vez en el año é comulga el día de Pascua, en tanto que viviere debe ser alanzado de la iglesia, é si moriere debe carecer de la eclesiástica sepultura."—*Baranda y Salvá*—*Documentos.*

person, and in great opprobrium and contempt of the holy mother church.

The bishops, archbishops, knights and lords of Spain besought Henry IV. to confess himself and receive the communion at least once in the year, "in order to avert the penalty, which is, that he who does not confess once in the year and communicate on Easter-day, so long as he may live, shall be cast out of the church, and if he shall die he is to be deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture."

him, in effigy, of his royal dignity, and raised the standard of his brother, Don Alonso.

As, in the case of the manuscripts of the Marquis de Villena, was seen, in the flames to which they were ordered to be consigned, a sad presage of the condition to which the clergy were disposed to reduce Spanish philosophy; so also in the ceremony of degrading, in effigy, King Henry IV., was seen that model which, at a later period, the inquisitors were to follow in their *autos de fé*.

The first crime of which Henry was publicly accused, with a view of taking away his sceptre and his crown, was that of heresy, evidenced by the allegation that he had not confessed twice for forty years.*

The pretender Don Alonso died at an early age; but the fanatics did not lay down their arms: on the contrary, they resolved to place the king's sister, Doña Isabel, upon the throne by force.

To the ambition and brilliant genius of this woman was united an extraordinary subtilty. She deemed it imprudent to hazard the accomplishment of her desires to the various chances of a civil war in the lifetime of her brother, but contented herself with being declared heiress to the throne of Castile.

Henry, endeavouring to avoid bloodshed in his kingdoms, appeared to cede to everything, and gave to the

* *Fray Pedro de Rozas*, in his "*Repertorio de algunos Actos y Cosas singulares que en estos Reynos de Castilla acaecieron*," Códice G. 5, Biblioteca Nacional, says:—

"Vinieron al rey don Enrique diciendo como era ereje, ó que en quarenta años no se fallava averse confesado dos veces," &c.

TRANSLATION.

They came to King Henry, telling him that he was a heretic, and that in forty years he had not been found to have confessed twice, &c.

rebels the declaration which their violence demanded. But very transient was the peace bought by a cruel deception, and at the expensive sacrifice of paternal love.

Although the king had consented that Isabella might inherit the crown, he had never positively declared that Doña Juana was not his daughter. Turning, by the impulse of natural affection, towards his own blood, he annulled the declaration extorted from him by the rebels,—obtained from Pope Paul II. a release from the oath he had taken to his subjects, and appointed Doña Juana his successor to the throne of Castile. The Roman court was on that occasion entirely subservient to the wishes of Henry, owing either to his great wealth, or the munificent presents it received at his hands.*

Whilst Henry was using all diligence to establish the peace of his kingdoms, and leave his daughter, Doña Juana, in quiet possession of the crown, he was suddenly attacked by an unknown disease, which in a few hours terminated his existence.

In his last moments, several ecclesiastics importuned him to confess and receive the communion; but he constantly refused; and when an altar was raised in front of his bed to excite him to devotion, he turned away his eyes in token of his contempt.†

On the death of Henry IV., a civil war broke out in Castile. Isabella, and her consort Don Ferdinand of

* Crónica de Enrique Cuarto, que escribió Alonso de Palencia.—Memorial de diversas hazañas, ordenado por Mosen Diego de Valera.

MSS. in the library of my friend don Pascual de Gayangos.

† Idem.

TRANSLATION.

Chronicle of Henry IV., written by Alonso de Palencia. An account of various exploits, arranged by M. D. Valera.

Arragon, were crowned "kings." Almost all the clergy, a great part of the nobility, and all the common people, assisted at the ceremony.

Doña Juana implored the succour of her uncle, the Portuguese monarch, and addressed a letter to the cities and towns of the kingdom, denouncing the crimes of Isabella, committed with a view of ascending the throne, and setting forth the causes which incapacitated her for the inheritance to which she pretended.

The manifesto of Doña Juana declared that her father, Henry IV., with a view of tranquillizing his states, had recognised Isabella as his successor, she having taken a solemn oath to live by his side and marry whomsoever he might approve ;* that Isabella had violated this promise, by retiring from the palace and disposing of herself in marriage to the Prince of Arragon without Henry's permission, and without the apostolical dispensation, which was necessary on account of the near relationship between her and her consort ;—by which acts she had, according to the laws of Castile, incurred the forfeiture of all hereditary rights. It also charged Isabella with having poisoned the king, and made herself mistress of all his treasures, brocades, and state robes,

* This most rare unpublished document appears in the Códice G. 5 of the Biblioteca Nacional.

TRANSLATION.

"La infanta, doña Isabel . . . con grande atrevimiento, en grande ofensa é menosprecio de la persona real del dicho rey mi señor, se quiso de fecho intitular por Reyna destes dichos mis Reynos."

The infanta, Doña Isabel . . . with great daring, to the great offence and contempt of the royal person of the said king my lord, wished to be entitled queen of these my said kingdoms.

Further on, speaking of the offer of Isabel to live with her brother and marry according to his pleasure, it adds:—

"De lo cual todo hizo juramento é voto á la casa santa de Gerusalen solemnemente."

Of all which she took an oath and made a solemn vow to the holy house of Jerusalem.

and carrying her covetousness to such an extent as even to deny any of these things to be used in adorning his funeral, which was consequently entirely without pomp.* It further charged Isabella with offering rewards for obtaining and delivering up Juana's person, with a view to her perpetual imprisonment or the destruction of her life.† And, lastly, in this manifesto, Juana called upon the cities and towns to urge Ferdinand and Isabella to unite with her in convoking the Cortes, in order that the kingdom itself might determine who was the legiti-

* In the MS. letter already cited, we thus read of the Catholic kings:—

“Por codicia desordenada de reinar acordaron . . . de le facer dar, é fueron dadas yerbas é ponzoña de que despues falleció. . . . Todo esto está averiguado é sabido de tales personas, físicos, é por tales violentas presunciones que facen entera probauza, é se mostrará mas abiertamente quando convenga.”

And further on we read:—

“Nunca dieron ni consintieron dar para las honras de su enteramiento é sepultura, lo que para qualquiera pobre caballero de su reyno se diera.”

† Aun desto no contenta la dicha Reyna de Sicilia, trabajó é procuró por muchas é diversas maneras de me aver é llevar á su poder, para me tener presa é encarcelada perpetuamente, é por aventura para me facer matar, ofreciendo muy grandes dádivas é partidos para que yo le fuese entregada. . . . Por donde podreis bien conocer cual aya sido siempre la intencion é soberbia de la dicha . . . contra mí. . . .—*MS. before cited.*

TRANSLATION.

Through a shameful covetousness to reign, they agreed . . . to cause to be given to him, and there were given, herbs and poison of which he afterwards died. . . . All this is verified and known through such persons, from such effects and violent symptoms as make entire proof, and which will show itself more openly when expedient.

They never gave or consented to give, in order to the honours of his funeral and sepulture, what would have been bestowed on any poor gentleman whomsoever in his kingdom.

The said Queen of Sicily, not content with this, even plotted and contrived in a variety of ways to get me into her power, in order to make me a prisoner and keep me in perpetual confinement, and, peradventure, to cause me to be killed, offering many large bribes and favours in order that I might be delivered up to her. . . . From which you will easily perceive what have always been the intentions of the said . . . against me . . .

mate heir to the crown, and thereby avert the horrors of a war.*

But Isabella and Ferdinand rejected the pretensions of Doña Juana, fearful, doubtless, that the kingdom united in Cortes might declare that the latter was, *de jure*, the Sovereign of Castile. They neither desired to observe the laws nor to submit themselves to her sway. By sedition, Isabella had acquired her rights; by arms, and with the help of the vulgar and ignorant, she sustained them.

The Portuguese monarch, overcome by the entreaties of some of the nobles and gentry of Castile, resolved to defend the cause of Doña Juana, and place her on the throne of her father. He entered Castile with a powerful army; took several cities; and, supported by the adherents of truth and justice, vigorously maintained the war for the space of three years. At last he adjusted a peace with Isabella, in the articles of which he compelled her to stipulate for the marriage of Doña Juana with the hereditary prince that she, Isabella, might have by her marriage with Ferdinand, so soon as that hereditary prince should have attained a proper age.

Doña Juana, as great in generosity as Isabella was in

* All the clauses of the documents of the Princess Doña Juana show her strong desire for peace. We find in the same letter before quoted the words following:—

“Luego por los tres estados destos dichos mis reinos, é por personas escojidas dellos de buena fama é conciencia que sean sin sospecha se vea é libre é determine por justicia á quien estos dichos mis reinos pertenecen, porque se escusen todos rigores é rompimientos de guerra.”

TRANSLATION.

Wherefore, by the three states of those my said kingdoms, and by persons of good fame and conscience who may be without suspicion, let it be seen, decided and determined on, in a court of justice, to whom those my said kingdoms do pertain, in order to avert all the rigours and ruptures of war.

talents and ambition, was unwilling that civil discord should any longer rage in the Castilian territory ; and, although she counted under her banners many brave generals and nobles who were resolved to die in defence of her rights to the throne, and notwithstanding the reluctance of the Portuguese Sovereign to lay down his arms, she could no longer endure to contend for a sceptre and a crown which were to be purchased at the expense of the tears and blood of her subjects. Wickedness and injustice were allowed, for once, a temporary triumph ; Doña Juana retired to the cloister, and for some time assumed the habit of a nun.

Isabella was a woman of great capacity. No sooner was peace established, than she began to occupy the minds of her turbulent nobles in wars with the Moors, whose dominion in Spain had become reduced to the kingdom of Granada. She knew that the royal power came from the people, and that the grandees and gentry who, at Avila, had, in effigy, deposed Henry IV., believed themselves still possessed of the faculty and power to dispose of sceptres and crowns. That which had so much pleased her, and served her interests, whilst she herself was among the number of the rebels, now inspired her with great fears. She dreaded that the old conspirators might retrace their steps, and throw down the same power which they had been instrumental in setting up. In the name of a religious war, therefore, she sent her army against the Moors ; and thus, prompted by the daring spirit of a heroine, she cleverly contrived to divert the minds of her ambitious nobles, and at the same time to extend the dominions of Castile.

Meantime, the friars and clergy were grieved to dis-

cover that the new Christians, who had been converted through violence and fear, were returning either to the old Mosaic usages or to the Mahometan customs. They therefore besought Isabella that, in order to punish the wanderers from the Catholic faith, the tribunal of the Holy Office might be established.

Ferdinand and his consort allowed themselves to be persuaded by the clergy, in reference to this important proceeding; but especially was Isabella overcome by their persuasions, if we may credit the testimony of cotemporary Jews, in treating of that great political crime, the establishment of the Inquisition; and they, being the victims of both of those Catholic sovereigns, were more likely on that account to be impartial than modern historians, who have blindly idolized the name of the queen.*

The clergy and the crown, by the punishment of those who returned to the religion of their forefathers, found a legal pretext for exercising dominion over the riches of the delinquents, under colour of confiscations.†

* Samuel Usque, in his before-cited book, *De Consolação as tribulaçoens de Israel*, says:—

“Achando os inimigos de minha prosperidade aparelho em el rey é muito mas a reinha Dona Isabel de os perseguir,” &c.

TRANSLATION.

“The enemies of my fortune finding in the king, and *much more* in the queen, a disposition to persecute,” &c.

In the face of this, however, Christian authors of the present century, merely out of conjecture, believe that the queen did not wish for the Inquisition, but that it was to be attributed entirely to her consort.—THE AUTHOR.

† Pulgar, in his *Crónica*, speaking of those victims, says:—

That “sus bienes y heredamientos fueron tomados y aplicados al fisco del rey é de la reyna.”

“Their goods and inheritances were taken and applied to the king and queen’s exchequer.”

Doubtless, he remembered Pliny’s panegyric of Trajan, “The exchequer is never in bad condition, except under a good prince;” and

The plebeians, from that period, became accustomed, in their zeal for the Christian faith, to raise a tumult against the new converts, attack and plunder their houses, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Thus, in the reign of Henry IV., the streets of Cordoba, Jaen, and other cities of Andalusia, ran with the blood of Jews, recently converted to the faith, and invaders of the domestic circles carried off the spoils with impunity.*

These examples soon excited the royal and the ecclesiastical cupidity; and, by compact, the altar and the throne in their united efforts to restrain the impetuosity of the rabble against the recent converts, sought to bring these seditions and disturbances in the streets and squares within some legal limits; so that the penalty of death, on those who hated a religion violently forced upon them, and in the name of which they were punished for having received it, might be inflicted by proper recognised executioners; and that the property, formerly divided among the murderous rioters in the streets, might now go to enrich the exchequer of the crown and the coffers of the churches.

Ferdinand and Isabella never respected those laws of

also the advice of Tacitus, that the prince ought not to appropriate to himself the goods of criminals, lest he should thereby furnish matter for belief that, out of covetousness, he had persecuted the innocent.

* Alonso de Palencia (Crónica M.S. of Henry IV.) and Valera (in his MS. Memorial) say: —

“Don Alonso de Aguilar . . . mudó el propósito, dando lugar á que ninguno de los conversos fuesen defendidos, mas *fuesen robados*. . . . Se hizo *robo general*, y los que pudieron huir por los campos . . . si eran vistos de los labradores, luego eran *robados* y muertos.”

TRANSLATION.

Don Alonso de Aguilar . . . changed his intention, so that none of the victims might be defended, *but robbed*. . . . There was a *general plunder*, and those who were able to escape to the fields . . . if they were seen by the labourers were at once *robbed* and murdered.

Spain which stood in the way of their purposes. For this reason, therefore, the Cortes were not consulted with reference to the establishment of the Inquisition, lest the voice of humanity should have prevailed against this attempt to enslave conscience.

The Spanish nation itself never founded so execrable a tribunal ; the kings and priests were its authors, in spite of the opposition of many towns, which, sword in hand, resisted its establishment.

The Inquisition, availing itself of flames, tortures, and confiscations, as well as attainders, began to feed itself with the miserable objects of its hatred. In Seville, its cruelties exceeded, if that were possible, even the limits of *in-humanity*. No lips were permitted to complain ; none to offer consolation to the persecuted.

One voice alone, in all Spain, was heard in defence of the victims of the clergy and friars. The Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, desirous of knowing the opinion of Hernando del Pulgar (a sage of the brightest genius and most exalted piety, and whose works do honour to the literary history of Spain) touching those sanguinary executions, wrote to him on the subject. Pulgar, wrestling between the compassion with which he beheld those ravages and the fear he had of incurring the hatred of the inquisitors, dared not, at first, to give an answer ; but at last, overcome by the importunities of the archbishop's secretary and other persons, he addressed to the cardinal the following curious epistle :—

“ Illustrious and most reverend señor : yours I received. Your secretary has also written to inform me what I have learned from several other persons, viz :—

that you are waiting to see what I have to write touching the things now going on in Andalusia.

“Truly, my lord, many days have passed since I have had written in my mind, and even with humiliating ink, the ignorance so blind, and the blindness so ignorant, of that people who see plainly that the only fruit they can expect to reap is that which ignorance, of itself, ever must produce.*

“It appears to me also, my lord, that our lady the queen does what she can, and what a most Christian queen is bound to do, nor ought she to do more than God requires . . . † All the fire comes from her ministers; for, as you well know, the course they take with a few relapsed persons is not that which can be pursued with a great many. To a few the punishment may adapt itself; but the more it does so to the few, the more dangerous is it, and even difficult in application to a multitude, who, as St. Augustine says, ought to be judged as our Lord judgeth every one of us; for although he knows us . . . and is waiting for our conversion, yet he has mercy upon us . . . This is found in an epistle which he wrote to the Emperor Marciano ‡ on the relapse of the Donatists, admonishing him to pardon them . . . for otherwise there would not be found wood enough to burn them.

“I believe, my lord, that there are (in Andalusia)

* Alluding to the want of caution with which the converts were returning to Judaism.

† Words used to avoid drawing down openly upon Queen Isabel the terrible complaints against the proceedings of the Inquisitors. Pulgar was the chronicler of “The Catholic Kings,” and as such constrained to show a certain respect to his patrons.

‡ There is no such Marciano. St. Augustin wrote upon this subject to Boniface, the pro-consul of Africa, and at the same time to Donatus, who also occupied the same office.—A. de C.

some who are very great sinners : and others, still more numerous, who follow their example, but who would, if permitted, be followers of good men. But as the *old* converts are such bad Christians, so also the *new* ones are consequently such good Jews. I believe, my lord, that there are at least ten thousand young women of from ten to twenty years old, in Andalusia, who from their birth have never been absent from their homes, or heard of or known any other religion than that which they have seen and heard practised under the parental roof. To burn all these would be a most cruel act, and even a very difficult one to perform, for they would be driven away in despair to places beyond the reach of all correction, which *would be both dangerous* to the ministers, and a great sin as well.

“ I know of a certainty that there are some who run away to escape the enmity of the judges rather than from the fear of their own conscience.

“ I do not say this, my lord, in favour of the wicked, but rather with a view of providing a remedy for those who have been amended, which remedy, it appears to me, would best be provided by sending into that locality some notable persons, accompanied by a few of the same nation, who by an exemplary life and holy conversation may, by degrees, correct the former and amend the latter, as has already been done in the kingdom and out of it. All other means appear to me to make them obstinate and not to amend them, which greatly endangers the souls, not only of those who are punished, but of those also by whom the punishment is inflicted. Diego de Merlo and Doctor Medina,* are very good

* Merlo, assistant of Seville, and commissioned by the Catholic Kings to establish the Inquisition.

men ; but I know that they, with their flames, will never make such good Christians as will the Bishops Don Paulo and Don Alonso, with their water,* and not without reason, because these men were chosen by our Lord and Saviour Christ for that purpose, while those were chosen by the licenciate, our chancellor, for the other.” †

This document proves that, amid the triumphs of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny in Spain, there were not wanting some, disposed at least, to raise their voice in defence of those sacred rights of conscience, which were iniquitously trampled under foot in the name of a God of mercy.

Pulgar hearing of such frightful crimes, spoke in some passages of his letter with a caution which the oppression of the times rendered necessary, but in others with a boldness worthy of being imitated by all who would promote the felicity of the Spanish nation. But what imitators could he expect to find when even he, charged with heresy, was called upon to exculpate himself for having written this very document ? ‡

* Don Pablo de Santa María, Bishop of Burgos, after his conversion to christianity, baptized a number of Jews (xiv. century) ; and Alonso, of Carthegena, Bishop also of Burgos (xv. century), and a convert, did the like. These are the men to whom Pulgar here alludes.

† Mariana in his History of Spain, notices this letter. Llorente in his *Memoria Sobre la opinion de España acerca de la Inquisicion*, says, that this document has not been handed down to our day. He was, however, mistaken ; for it exists in MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Codice F. 133. I have taken from it the translation in the text of the present history.—A. de C.

‡ Among his printed letters there is one in which he says to one of his reproachers :—

“ No es maravilla que su Alteza haya errado en la comision que hizo, pensando que cometia bien, y ellos en los procesos pensando que

TRANSLATION.

It is no wonder that your Highness may have erred in the commission which you authorized, thinking that you were acting

Some of the Spanish grandees and gentry took up arms, in various cities, to oppose the establishment of the Holy Office ; but the majority of the lower classes either abandoned them in the enterprise, or, led on by the satellites of fanaticism, contributed to overthrow those brave men who contended for liberty of conscience. At last the nobility, being conquered, became the abettors of tyranny. The incensed plebeians in assisting the oppressors, were in fact but forging their own chains ; nay more, they compelled the higher classes, who, in defending their own, also defended the rights of the common people, to seek, through adulation, the permanent control of their own property, the preservation of their rank, and even the security of their lives.

Thus as the Roman nobles, descendants of the Camilos, the Scipios, the Metelas, the Fabricios, and the Brutus', the ancient virtue being lost, converted themselves into flatterers of the imperium, and into servants of the nefarious Cæsars ; so, in imitation of them and their followers, in every species of vice, the grandees and gentry of Spain abandoned the lofty examples of those who had achieved the independence of their country against Mahometan warriors, and, following the cruelties and caprices of tyranny, exchanged their swords for wands of the *familiares* of the holy office—the defence of justice for the persecution of heretics and Jews ; and those hands which had contended with the lance in support of innocence and feminine weakness, became

TRANSLATION.

no se informaban mal : *aunque yo no dije ni afirmo cosa ninguna de estas.*"

well, and they, in the prosecutions, thinking that they were not ill-informed, *although I neither said nor affirmed anything of the kind.*

instruments by which even unoffending women were to be imprisoned and reduced to ashes.

Almost always have we found the ignorant and vulgar following under the banners of tyrants. Despots, in their struggles with the defenders of civil and religious liberty, have in their train persons of timid and undecided minds, and men who seem to have been born for slavery.

CHAPTER II.

Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella—Their Edict against the Jews—Torquemado—The Jews expelled—The queen's ingratitude—The Pope confers on Ferdinand and Isabella the title of "The Catholic Kings"—Depopulation of Spain—Intolerance of Ximenez Cisneros—Isabella's fanaticism and inconsistency—Liberty of conscience abolished—Military orders in Spain—Corruption of elections—Power of nobility destroyed—Comparison of the Spaniards with the Romans—Lebrija the first Christian victim—Death of Isabella—Persecution of Talavera—His letter to Ferdinand—Juana, wife of Philip I., ascends the throne—Contempt of the people towards Ferdinand—Philip's reception—His attempt to abolish the Inquisition, and sudden death—Juana's insanity—Return of Ferdinand as Regent—Supports the Inquisition—Character of Cisneros.

AFTER many a severe combat with the Moors, Ferdinand and Isabella conquered the city of Granada, the last fortress on which waved the standard of the crescent.

Victories gained by tyrants, even over a foreign enemy, are, in reality, misfortunes to the people who groan beneath their yoke.

The Catholic Kings, elated with the success of their arms against the Moors, thought there was now nothing to check the impulse of their own will. They found the laws the most formidable opponents to their despotic designs; but pride on the one hand, and priestly counsel on the other, prepared the mind of a woman, grasping at absolute dominion, to tread under foot esta-

blished privileges, break through royal engagements, and utterly disregard all sense of right and reason.

Shortly after the conquest of Granada, "The Catholic Kings" published an edict requiring that at the expiration of a given time, all un-baptized Jews should quit Spain for ever, and leave behind them their gold, silver, and precious stones.

The instigators and counsellors of this edict were Friar Tomas Torquemado, Inquisitor-General, and Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville.*

According to these divines the consciences of Ferdinand and Isabella, on the commission of this great political crime, remained in the utmost tranquillity.

From remote ages the laws of Spain had conceded to the Jews the right of having a permanent residence in that country, and the free worship of God according to the Mosaic religion. The kingdom united in Cortes, in Toledo, in 1480, had resolved that both Hebrews and Mahometans should be permitted to inhabit certain districts separated from those of the Christians, and there erect their synagogues and mosques.

As the barbarous edict which abolished liberty of conscience among the Jews was in direct violation of

* In the Chronicle of Cardinal Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, by Dr. Salazar (Toledo 1624) we read :—

TRANSLATION.

"Consideraron juntamente que no se habia sacado hasta entonces tanto fruto de la institucion del Santo Oficio, como se habian prometido, de que estaban muy bien informados del *Inquisidor general* por cuyo consejo y á perpétua instancia y persuasión del cardenal se determinaron, á echar de todos sus reynos los judios, &c.

They considered that up to that period they had not derived so much fruit from the institution of the Holy Office as they had promised themselves upon the information of the *Inquisitor-General*, by whose persuasion and constant advice they had determined to expel the Jews from all their kingdoms.

the laws of the kingdom, those monarchs did not venture to consult the Cortes on the matter; and although there was a law commanding that, on all affairs of importance, the sovereign should assemble the kingdom in Cortes and proceed according to its deliberation and counsel,* yet Ferdinand and Isabella resolved to disregard that law, and everything else that interposed between them and their absolute desires, without caring what the Spanish nation might wish or say on the subject.

The Catholic Kings, in their anxiety to extend and increase the sovereign power, made justice subservient to their own convenience, and thereby incurred the just indignation of the world; and yet, still, there was no attempt on the part of their subjects to vindicate the laws by recourse to arms. A great number of the people, many of them through violence, were induced to abjure the Mosaic religion; and, of the rest, *one hundred and seventy thousand* departed from Spain. This grievous outrage against those of an adverse religion, was regarded with indifference by those who had men such as Torquemado for their masters.

* By a law sanctioned and published in Medina del Campo in 1328, and in Madrid in 1329, it is provided:—

TRANSLATION.

“ Por que en los hechos árdus de nuestros reynos es necesario el consejo de nuestros súbditos naturales, especialmente de los procuradores de las nuestras cibdades y villas y lugares de los nuestros reynos, por ende ordenamos y mandamos que sobre los tales hechos grandes y árdus se hayan de juntar Córtes, y se haga consejo de los tres estados de nuestros reynos, segun lo hicieron los reyes nuestros progenitores.”—Law ii.; Title vii.; Book vi. of the *Recopilacion*.

Because in all the important affairs of our kingdoms it is necessary to have the advice of our natural subjects, especially of the deputies of our cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms; to this end therefore we order and command that upon such important matters the Cortes may be assembled, and that the opinion of our three states of our kingdoms be taken according to the practice of our progenitors.”

During the war, many of those Jews had assisted Isabella with large sums of money at a time when she was in want of everything for the maintenance of her army. But for them, indeed, she must have abandoned the enterprise of conquering Granada, or seen her soldiers perish of hunger.

Despots are wont to look upon benefits as injuries, when those benefits are no longer required. The poor unhappy Jews, therefore, who had thus succoured their queen in the time of her distress, were recompensed by the edict of expulsion, and the loss of nearly all their property.

The Pope admitted into Rome many of those Hebrew fugitives, and permitted them to dwell with their brethren in the pontifical states. He, however, in due time, conferred on Ferdinand and Isabella the title of "The Catholic Kings," doubtless for having shewn a desire to be more catholic than even Popes themselves,—at all events, so far as regarded their treatment of the Jewish race. This title was the reward which those two sovereigns received for the depopulation of Spain, and for the dishonour brought upon the gospel all over Europe, and even in Asia and Africa ; accompanied, as it was, by the just complaints of the victims persecuted in the name of a religion of peace and mercy.

Too often those who violate the laws without being overtaken by punishment, go on from crime to crime heedless of either fear or shame for the consequences.

Having obtained an easy victory over the Hebrews, the Catholic sovereigns next resolved that not an individual should continue in Spain whose opinions were not in accordance with their own in matters pertaining to the faith. Proud of their conquests, they imagined

that, because they were conquerors, they had a right, not only to rule the cities and their inhabitants, but to be masters of the consciences of their new subjects.

History furnishes but few examples of such folly. The republic and the imperium of Rome became great, because they never compelled the conquered to believe in the religion of the conquerors. They knew, at once, how to make a conquest, and how to maintain it in peace.

The Moors of Granada, as we have already stated in the first chapter, on surrendering to Ferdinand and Isabella, did so on condition that their religious liberty should be conceded to them—that no Mahometan should be constrained to embrace Christianity.* Besides this, the Moors, being fearful that the sovereigns might punish the renegade Spaniards living with them in Granada, obtained for them also the like stipulations; and, furthermore, that neither they, their children, nor their descendants, should be molested on account of their religious opinions.†

* Que sus Altezas y sus sucesores para siempre jamás dejarán vivir á todo el comun, chicos y grandes, en su ley, y no les consentirán quitar sus mezquitas, &c.” “Que ningún moro ni mora serán apremiados á ser cristianos contra su voluntad.” — *Marmol.* — *Historia del Rebelion del reyno de Granada.*

† Que no se permitirá que ninguna persona maltrate de obra ni palabra á los cristianos o cristianas que antes de estas capitulaciones se hovieren vuelto Moros; y que si algun Moro tuviere alguna renegada por mujer, no será apre-

TRANSLATION.

That their Highnesses and their successors for ever, shall allow to live . . . all the community, small and great, according to their law, and not permit them to be deprived of their mosques, &c. That no Moors, male or female, shall be urged to become Christians against their will.

That it shall not be permitted that any person shall maltreat by word or deed the Christians, male or female, who before these stipulations had become Moors again; and that if any Moor should take a renegade for wife, she shall not

The Catholic sovereigns took an oath to observe the terms of this treaty ;* but what oaths—what engagements—could be expected to bind those who had been accustomed to consider their own will as superior to all laws ?

There was a Franciscan friar who soon rose to be, not only Archbishop of Toledo, but a cardinal to boot. I allude to friar Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros—a man of great learning, who, in order to carry out his ambitious projects, became devoted to the service of tyranny.

This man persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella that they were under no obligation to tolerate the Mahometans ; for that they and their children belonged to the Catholic Church, and, as such, she had a right to claim them.†

miada, á ser Christiana contra su voluntad . . . y lo mismo se entenderá con los niños y niñas nacidos de Christiana y Moro.—*Marmol.*—*Historia* already cited.

* Os prometemos y juramos por nuestra palabra real, que podrá cada uno de vosotros, salir á labrar sus heredades . . . y os mandaremos dejar en vuestra ley, &c.—*Marmol.*—*Historia* already cited.

† In the National Library there is (in Codice M. 145) a satire against Ferdinand the Catholic and his councillors, disguised under the allegory of a shepherd, some wolves, some mastiffs, and a flock. In the margin of the following verses, it is said that they allude to Cardinal Cisneros.

“ Traes un lobo rapaz
En hábito de cordero,
Que en son de poner en paz
Nos muerde mas de ligero.

TRANSLATION.
be urged to become a Christian against her will . . . and the same shall be understood as to boys and girls born of Moor and Christian.

We promise and swear to you by our royal word, that every one of you shall have power to go out and work your estates . . . and we shall order you to be left in the use of your own law, &c.

A wolf, whose cravings never cease,
Thou bring'st, in lamb's skin, to decoy ;
But he, instead of making peace,
Is swift to worry and destroy.

A mere shadow of pretence is enough, in the mind of a tyrant, to justify a breach of the law, or the violation of an oath; and to warrant him in establishing, on the ruins of reason and justice, his own absolute will. "The Catholic Kings," therefore, did not scruple to follow the counsels of the cardinal, Cisneros. Doubtless this friar also promised them, as a reward for such wicked services, rendered, as they believed, to God, not only eternal glory, but the earthly praises of future generations. Just as though those haughty tyrants, by their wicked deeds, could restrain the curses of an injured posterity, and hold the human mind and conscience in perpetual slavery.

Cisneros, armed with royal powers, arrived at Granada, and began to persecute those persons who had renounced Christianity and were living in the practice of their own Mahometan rites. So flagrant a violation of treaties and oaths exasperated the renegade Spaniards and Moors. They flew to arms and opposed themselves to the cardinal's infamous proceedings.

These people were judged as seditious when, in truth, those only who were guilty of sedition were the sovereigns and ministers themselves, in daring to violate the faith of solemn capitulations. A people which thus rises, to defend its privileges and pre-eminences, cannot be guilty of sedition; because, in defending these,

"En la cueva dó yacia
Raices crudas comia,
Y despues se entró lamiendo,
Y en tu ato está mordiendo
Los mastines cada dia."

As in his den, stretched out, he lay,
The crudest roots were once his
food;
But to thy fold he forced his way,
Where, e'en our mastiffs, he doth
slay;
And now he licks our very blood.

they are but defending the laws from being set at nought or abolished.

Cisneros, notwithstanding the boldness of the Moors, did not swerve from his purpose ; on the contrary, he turned even that to the account of the Catholic Kings. He gave these to understand that, as the Moors had broken the treaty themselves, by their rebellion, the Christians were absolved from the compact.

Ferdinand and Isabella commanded that the renegades and ancient Moors should immediately receive the water of baptism, forgetting that they themselves were the first to break the stipulated conditions. These sovereigns had indeed the power, by force of arms, to qualify those conditions, and they did so to their own profit, as they foolishly believed ; but, in effect, it was only a momentary triumph of their own vanity, and was, in truth, the origin of many disasters which were brought upon Spain.

More than a century of inquietudes and wars followed the execution of these orders of the Catholic Kings, and the policy of Cisneros.*

Isabella was not mistress of herself, in spite of her great understanding ; for her fanaticism touched on the borders of madness. With strange infatuation, she grievously deplored a wounded conscience, for having assisted, by her presence, at a bull-fight, witnessing the death of brutes ;† and yet, with complacency, she could give up the unfortunate Jews and Moors to be consumed alive in the flames !

A poet of that time, moved with a zeal for the public

* *Marmol* : already cited. *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza : Guerra de Granada.*

† *Clemencin—Elogio de Isabel la Católica.*

good, took occasion to advise Isabella to serve God, not by fastings and penances, nor by discontinuing the use of pillows and sleeping on the ground, nor by afflicting herself by wearing *silicios*,* but in punishing the delinquents *without mixture of cruelty*; and to leave the repeating of prayers in canonical hours to those who lived in monasteries; and that, in order to the good government of the people, she ought to postpone those observances, inasmuch as the account which she would have to give to God, as a queen, would not be one of repeating prayers or enduring penances, but of the justice or injustice done by her whilst the government was in her hands.†

It always happens that subjects, but especially the clergy, imitate the defects of their sovereign. The ecclesiastics—believing that Isabella was much attached to devotion and to devoted persons, and being desirous of gaining her favour—began to feign, in the exterior of their conduct, if not all the virtues, at least the

* Shirts or girdles made of hair.

† In the *Cancionero General*, compiled by Hernando del Castillo (Toledo, 1520); in the same (Toledo, 1527); and in the *Cancionero de Anvers* (1573) there is a work entitled *Regimiento de Príncipes*, in which its author, Gomez Manrique, says to Isabella the Catholic, that she might contrive to serve God,

“No con muchas devociones
Ayunos ni disciplinas,
Con estremas devociones
Saliendo de los colchones
A dormir en las espinas.
No que vistades silicio,
Ni hagades abstinencia.

* * * *

Al mayor de los mayores
Con sacrificios plazibles
La sangre de los nocibles
Cruelles y robadores.
Esto le sacrificad
Con gran deliberacion ;
Pero, señora, guardad

*No se mezcle crueldad
Con la tal ejecucion.
El rezar de los Salterios
Y el dezir de las horas
Dejad á las rezadoras
Que están en los monasterios*

* * * *

Cá no vos demandarán
Cuenta de lo que rezais :
Si no vos disciplináis,
No vos lo preguntarán.
De justicia si hicistes
Despojada de pasion,
Si los culpados punistes.....
Desto será la cuestion.”

principal ones. Hypocrisy was substituted for truth ; religion was counterfeited by fanaticism.*

Liberty of conscience was abolished, and even civil liberty received a mortal blow at the hands of "the Catholic Kings." They knew that Spain required order and peace, and, with a view to her enjoying both, the disorders which had previously existed among the nobility and the lower people, as demonstrated in the streets and public squares, were transferred to the palace. In order that that revolution might not endanger the state, the monarchs themselves became rebels. If in former times the will of many insurgents gave veneration to the laws and obtained victory in favour of the king, now the will of only one was to be held as superior to all rights (*fueros*) and to all subjects.

There were three military orders in Castile, of which the national army was composed. The heads of these were denominated *masters*. To weaken the power of the nobility, the Catholic Kings united to the crown the *maestrazgos* (grand masterships) of Alcantara, Calatrava, and Santiago. They fortified their jurisdiction and their power by perpetuating the *corregidores* (chief magistrates) of the cities and towns, they multiplied the tribunals of justice, and extended the royal authority as

* Lucio Marineo Siculo, in his book on the memorable things of Spain (1539), says :—

"Lo cual fué causa que muchos de los que hablaban poco y tenían los cabellos mas cortos que las cejas, comenzaron á traer los ojos bajos, mirando la tierra, y andar con mas gravedad y hacer mejor vida, simulando por ventura algunos mas la virtud que ejercitán-dola."

TRANSLATION.

Which was the cause of many of them speaking little, and having the hair cut as short as the eyebrows, they began to turn the eyes downwards, looking upon the ground and walking with more gravity and leading a better life. Some of them *dissimulating virtue rather than practising it.*

far as the power of despotism could reach, but yet not quite so far as their ambitious desires extended.

The name of the nobility has always been odious to the people, whilst at the same time monarchs, who in opposition to the laws, have attempted to acquire absolute dominion, have found in the nobility not only enemies of tyranny, but zealous defenders of the rights of the people. It was the nobility who compelled King John, Lack-land, to sign *Magna Charta*, the foundation of English liberty : it was the nobility who, in Flanders, opposed, resolutely, the inquisitorial power of Spain : it was the nobility who founded the republic of Holland, preferring to be clad in the meanest attire, or even to perish in the field of battle, rather than live in luxury and opulence but in slavery of conscience : it was, in fine, the nobility who, in Arragon, dared to oppose, though with infelicitous success, the power of Philip II. by taking up arms against him in defence of the rights and privileges of that ancient kingdom.

The Spanish nobility, in the middle ages, never opposed itself to the liberties of the people, as is generally supposed by men who judge the events related in our ancient history by the events which have occurred in a neighbouring nation. Even in times when the power of feudalism in Spain was at its height, the vassals had the right of meeting in the *juntas* called *behetrias*, and by common consent, if they were not able to tolerate the yoke of their lord, to put themselves under the dominion of another who might rule over them with more reason and justice.

In Arragon the nobles, through the plebeians, and the plebeians through the nobles, enjoyed great immunities and franchises. The *Córtes* of that kingdom was

composed of the nobility, of the clergy, and of the yeomanry. All had a voice and a vote in defence of their interests, and in framing the laws of their country. The Arragonese government was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. None of these predominated, but both noble and plebeian were subject to the law of suffering, in the tribunals, the severe test of being put to the torture ; and, if under the power of the king's judges, they suffered any wrong, they found at once a remedy in the *fuero de la manifestacion*, by which the *Justicia mayor* took sole cognizance of the cause, and the injured culprit succeeded in obtaining the protection of the laws, the benignity of a magistrate without pride or passion, and consequently a less rigorous sentence.

In this way, the plebeians had, in Arragon, almost as many political rights as the nobles ; for the former saw in the acquisition and faithful observance of *fueros* by both, the well-being of their country, and the most firm defence against that spirit of pride and despotism which is wont to menace a free people.

The wealthy and powerful nobles in Castile were designated by the title of lords, or *señores* : those of more moderate fortune, were styled knights, or *caballeros*. The former answered to the Roman patricians, and the latter corresponded with the equestrian order, introduced by Romulus.

It may truly be said that the ancient Spanish knights, or *caballeros*, if we consider their great number and their circumstances, composed what, now-a-days, we call the middle class. On the occasions of cities being conquered and taken from the Moors, the kings were wont to grant their royal letters to the inhabitants,

whereby these obtained the title of *caballeros*. When Ferdinand III. took Seville, he made nobles of those living near the suburbs, who, on account of their exemptions and liberties, were called *francos*.

Each community, each *ayuntamiento*,* each council, enjoyed great privileges; so that the dwellers in the cities, towns, and villages, could not be charged with greater burdens than such as were sanctioned by the authority of the population; true contracts between the monarch and his subjects.

From the time of Don Alonso X. the sovereigns were desirous of diminishing, in Castile, the liberties of the country, under the false colour of equalising the laws.

The attempt to destroy the power by which the people defended themselves was begun by Don John II., who endeavoured to corrupt the office of *procurador* or deputy in the *Córtes*, elected by the councils. He corrupted the municipal troops, delivering them over to the command of those who offered most money for them, and converted Castile into a sort of public mint for making and disposing of the most important offices. With greater insolence, he dared to reserve to the crown the nomination of the *procuradores*, or deputies, whenever he saw fit; by which means the monarch had the faculty of appointing, at pleasure, the representatives of the people!

The nobility has, as I before stated, always been opposed to despotism. It has for many centuries humiliated the arrogance of kings, and on many occasions

* A provincial assembly, or town-council.

manifested itself to be a lover of the well-being and liberties of the people.*

The Catholic Kings, pandering to the passions of the vulgar, who are generally on bad terms with the rich and the intelligent, began by degrees to destroy the power of the nobles and gentry of Castile. The plebeians did not perceive that absolutism was marching against both great and small, and overthrowing all power which might be likely to oppose it.

Thus it has ever been. The Roman nobility, in defending their own rights, secured also the liberties of the people, by whose support they were enabled to contend with the Cæsars, who were sustained by the prætorian troops. But it is remarkable that the plebeians, blinded by the false hope of seeing the power of the nobles destroyed, assisted in exterminating the patriots of their country. Under the rule of the nobility, the plebeians were admitted, through the medium of the tribunes and leave of the assembly, to take a part in the government

* Don Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, says, in 1444, to the Marquis de Santillana (MS. in the library of the Escorial):—

‘ Non guarda la república quien desirve á su rey, nin sirve á su rey quien daña al pueblo . . . que non guarda bien el cuerpo del hombre quien le fiere en la cabeza, nin le guardaria bien la cabeza quien le firiese en el cuerpo, cá todos los miembros son coligados.’

TRANSLATION.

The republic does not protect those who do not serve their king, nor do those serve their king who injure the people . . . he does not guard the body of men who wounds the head, nor would he guard well the head who wounds the body, for all the members are united together.

The Marquis de Santillana, in his *Proverbs*, says:—

“Antepon la libertad batalloso á servitud vergonzosa.

Prefer a war-bought liberty to a shameful slavery.

¡ Ó que bien murió Catón, si permitiese nuestra ley y consintiese tal razon !”

O ’tis well that Cato died if thoughts like this our laws permit and sanction !

of the republic. Under the yoke of the emperors, these assemblies, the foundations of popular rights, were abolished, and the power incident to the tribune was usurped by the same imperial hand which was almost idolised by the people.

In the course of time, that sanguinary religious persecution, which at first had been directed exclusively against the Jews and the Moors, began to extend itself to the Christians. Antonio de Lebrija, a wise and learned man, remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the oriental languages, thought fit to correct several errors which he had found in some copies of the vulgate translation of the Bible ; errors resulting, probably, from mere carelessness on the part of the copyists. No sooner had the fruits of his labours appeared, than certain divines denounced the author to the Inquisition for, what they were pleased to call, this sacrilege. The object of those divines was not so much to reprove the labours of Lebrija, as to dismay him by persecution, in order that he might not dare to write anything relating to matters of the faith.* The envious have often persecuted the learned as delinquents against religion, and have even awarded to them the punishment provided for sacrilege. Thus, through envy, Anaxagoras was branded with impiety, and died in exile. For the like cause Socrates was poisoned at Athens.

The Inquisition had not yet acquired sufficient power to oppress Christians. This was the first step which it took to clip the wings of philosophy, and keep the mind in a state of thralldom. The tribunal, therefore, was

* Non tam ut probaret improbarete, quam ut auctorem á scribendi studio revocaret.—*Antonius Nebrissa.—Apologia.*

content with consigning the manuscripts of Lebrija to the flames. "It is not enough," says this wise man, "that out of obsequiousness to the faith, I must hold captive my understanding; but I must even be constrained to consider as false that which I plainly discern and believe to be true. What species of slavery must that be which prohibits me saying what I feel respecting things which have nothing to do with Christian piety? To speak did I say? Nay, to write, or even to think my own thoughts within the walls of my own dwelling!"*

Thus commenced, in Spain, the persecution of reason and conscience, while the light of philosophy, assisted by the divine art of printing, was diffusing itself over the world.

On the death of Queen Isabella, the Inquisition signalled out a new victim in the person of the Archbishop of Granada, Don Hernando de Talavera, a sage much favored by that sovereign.

Talavera, at the age of eighty years, was proceeded against by the Holy Office, in consequence of his having opposed the establishment of that tribunal, first in Castile, and then in the kingdom of Granada. Fanaticism is ever wakeful; when unable to execute its vengeance, it waits the change of time and circumstances.

In the midst of his tribulation, Talavera wrote to King Ferdinand a letter, complaining of the way in which he now saw himself abandoned, and of the outrages which his rivals were preparing to inflict upon him. He accused the monarch with his persecution,

* An mihi non sit satis in iis quae mihi religio credenda proponit captivae intellectum in obsequium Christi, &c. Quae malum haec servitus est quae te non sinat, pietate salva libere quae sentias dicere? Quid dicere? Immo nec intra parietes latitans scribere . . . aut . . . cogitare.—*Nebriſſa*.—*Apologia*.

and the indifference with which the latter regarded the proceedings that had been so scandalously instituted against him.

“Through neglect,” says he, “of my king and my lord, of my son and my angel, the King Don Ferdinand ; and I say *through neglect*, because I cannot bring myself to conclude that it is *through malice* . . . although all who open their lips about it say the contrary. But I rather wish to be thought a fool, and to be one than . . . believe any such thing. It is true there has been very great neglect, and this has afforded ground for imputing all to anger and malice.

“I know not what excuse your highness may be able to give to God, who has been and still is, offended by such neglect ; and so are all the people, from the least to the greatest, and from the enemy to the friend, all are much scandalized. Your Highness will have to perform miracles, ere they can love and esteem you as at first ; and as I, in my conscience, feel that you ought to be loved and esteemed ; and as I, though you may kill me, do love and esteem you. O my king, my lord ; God forgive you, Amen, that ever you should consent to have such a stain on your glorious reputation! . . . Oh, unwary sovereign, you are greatly deceived and injured by bad servants and bad company ! Oh ! idle, and, therefore, disliked and disparaged, king, for not taking the trouble to see and examine for yourself that something on which a pretext is founded . . . For then, they say, your Highness would remedy the matter by entreating the Inquisition to place itself under the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Toledo . . . I ought to know it, in order to purge my innocence, and to go out to meet the wolf at his encounter, as did my Redeemer those who

came to take him : of which innocence I have for my principal witness . . . your own royal person, *let them say what they please*. Let them say of you in heaven, *what I desire that they may say of you on earth* ; princes have need of a good reputation on earth, in order to obtain the glory of heaven From Granada, 28 January, 1505."*

The persecution of the venerable Talavera is one of the greatest stains on the character of Ferdinand the Catholic ; and the letter of the archbishop is proof of the energy of which an octogenarian was capable, when falsehood, envy, and perversity conspired against his dignity and his innocence. Those who in the person of Lebrija persecuted learning, intended, in the person of Talavera, to persecute virtue and a zeal for the public good.

At the end of three years of outrages, after being stained with the charge of heresy, and witnessing the persecution of all his relations and friends, this venerable prelate was absolved by the Pope.

He was a man superior to the age in which he lived, and survived the sentence but a short time. Nor could he, in descending to the tomb, be much comforted by the proclamation of his innocence, seeing that he was leaving his country in the hands of his persecutors.

Ferdinand was at last obliged to abandon Castile ; he was almost expelled. His daughter Doña Juana, who was married to the Archduke of Austria, Philip I., ascended the throne. On the king's return to his own states of Arragon, he was received every where with proofs of the hatred with which he was regarded.

* These fragments of a hitherto unpublished letter, so curious and notable, are copied from the Codice G. G. 96, of the National Library.

Whilst he could command force, that force was respected; but that lost, he was looked upon by the Castillians as a vile and despicable tyrant. They refused in the cities and towns, even to lodge him.* Nay, such was the indignation of the people, that their very gates were closed against him.

Philip I., a prince not accustomed to assist in the horrors of Spain, received with great humanity the complaints of those who suffered under the yoke of the ministers of the Holy Office, and he suspended the inquisitorial jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Seville and that of his council.

This king prepared the way to abolish the tribunal of the faith, and free the Spanish nation from its power; but death intercepted his design a very few months after the commencement of his reign, and in the very spring-tide of his existence. The flatterers of the Inquisition attributed his untimely death to a chastisement from heaven.† I attribute it to the vengeance of men.‡

* *Zurita, in his life of this king, says that he was driven from the kingdoms of Castile so ignominiously, and so persecuted, that—*

TRANSLATION.

“Algunos pueblos, por donde él pasaba se usó de tanta descortesía y villanía que le cerraron las puertas y no le quisieron recibir en ellos.”

Some of the towns through which he passed, treated him with so much discourtesy and rudeness, that they closed the gates against him and refuséd him admittance.

† Zurita, in his book already cited, says:—

“Se atribuyó comunmente al juicio de Dios . . . que tratándose las causas y negocios de la fé . . . con tanta irreverencia . . . aquel gobierno se acabase en tan breves dias.”

It was commonly attributed as a judgment from God . . . for meddling with things concerning the faith . . . with such irreverence . . . that his reign was so short.

‡ Sancho Cota, in his *Memorias de Carlos V.*, (MS. which is in the possession of my erudite friend Don Pascual de Gayangos,) says:—

“El Emperador (Maximiliano), no estimó tanto las cosas de Cas-

The Emperor (Maximilian) did not like things in Castile, and

The king, Ferdinand, owing to the insanity of his daughter Doña Juana, returned to Castile as regent named in the will of his wife, in the event of that insanity which happened. His entry into this kingdom was with all pomp, in which he made his new consort, Germana de Fox, participate. He sought to revenge former offences by compelling the people to acknowledge this lady, (who was not queen of Castile,) and receive her with the same respect and public honours as were shown to Isabella by the cities in her own dominions.*

To such a wretched condition does a nation arrive under the perpetration of continued outrages, that it loses, by degrees, its love of civil liberty.

In the kingdoms of Don John II. and Henry IV., so great were those outrages, and so prostrated the royal dignity, that the greater part of the Castilians were divided into parties, some maintaining one thing and some another, like the English in the time of their Charles I., or the French in the time of Louis XVI.†

TRANSLATION.

tilla, en especial por que creia que *habian muerto con ponzoña* el rey don Felipe.”

especially because he believed *they had poisoned King Philip.*”

* Sancho Cota in his *MS. Memorias*, cited in the preceding note, says:—

“Que la gobernacion del rey pesava á muchos en Castilla, asi cavalleros y señores, como a cibdadanos é á otras gentes que decian haber fecho grandes agravios . . . trayendo consigo à la Reyna Germana, su muger por los mismos lugares y con tanto triunfo como á la Reyna Doña Isabel.”

That the king's rule was heavy upon many in Castile, as well lords and knights, as citizens and other people who complained of having suffered great wrongs . . . bringing the queen Germana, his wife with him, through the same towns, and with the same pomp as he had caused to be shown to Queen Isabella.

† As a proof of the manner of thinking touching political liberty and the royal power in the time of Henry IV. and the beginning of Isabella's reign, only read what Fray Pedro de Rozas says in his *MS. Repertorio*, already cited:—

“Decidme agora, reyes de la tierra . . . amigos de soberbia, com-

Tell me now, ye kings of the earth . . . friends of the proud

In order to the security of his power, the king wished to strengthen the Holy Office. He named as Inquisitor-general Cisneros, then Archbishop of Toledo, who had always condemned the proceedings of that tribunal against illustrious persons, and among these Lebrija and Talavera. It happened with him, however, as with all ambitious aspirants for power: they show themselves enemies to the very thing which is the object of their ambition; but that once attained, they do not hesitate to burn cities and stain the country with blood in defence of the same systems they formerly disapproved.

Cisneros was opposed to the proposition that the royal authority should be taken away from the Inquisitors, and that in causes of the faith, the names of the witnesses should be published in order to destroy the iniquitous mystery of secret denouncements of persons to that tribunal.* The Holy Office was thus secured in Spain.

TRANSLATION.

pañeros de la cobdicia, padrastras de la humildad, contrarios de la razon, cuya libertad es cautiverio, cuya señorio servidumbre, cuya grandeza congoja, cuyo poder persecucion, ¿ De qual buena andanza os podeis alabar? ¿ De qual prosperidad presumir, cuando ni el retrete vos descansa? . . . ¿ De qual singular excelencia vos place ser coronados? ¿ De qual renombre mas digno quereis aver perfeccion, quando ni, siendo mayores, gobernais á vosotros, ni regis vuestros pueblos, ni siendo señores, procurais libertad, *ni la dais á ninguno?* Basté, pues, saber de vosotros, quanto mas grandes mas sojuzgados, é quanto mas altos mas abatidos.

companions of the covetous, step-fathers of humility, opponents of reason, whose liberty is captivity, whose sway is slavery, whose grandeur is anguish, whose power persecution; for what good action can you praise yourselves? On what prosperity can you presume, when even the retirement of the closet does not afford you repose? . . . For what singular excellency does it please you to be crowned? To what greater renown or perfection do you wish to attain, when, being superior to all, you neither govern yourselves nor rule your subjects; and, being lords, you neither procure your own liberty *nor give it to any one?* Enough, then, to know of you, that when greatest you are least, and when most elevated you are most abased.

* Quintanilla.—Vida del Cardenal Cisneros.

This friar, by all the means in his power, endeavoured to abolish every remaining vestige of civil and religious liberty.

Cisneros, who from the humble habit of San Francisco reached the mitre of Archbishop of Toledo, (the primacy of all Spain,) and even the cardinal's purple, as well as the insignia of Inquisitor-general, followed in the track of almost all those who, from the fisherman's hut, the shepherd's cabin, or the artisan's shop, by their superior intelligence, ascend to the occupation of the most important posts in the state. Proud at having attained that eminence which but few attain, they become inflated with their position and an assumed superiority of mind; they imagine that they are entitled to receive homage from their inferiors, who can never rise like them to play such lofty parts in the theatre of the world. Such persons are instinctively qualified to become the allies of despots, when they themselves cannot exercise absolute dominion over their fellow-men. Among the many examples which history offers in confirmation of this truth is found that of the Cardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros.

CHAPTER III.

Ferdinand V. in prospect of death—His will—Intrigues of Cisneros—His comparison of his own translation of the Bible with the Greek and the Vulgate—His oppressive acts—Militia—Charles I. compels him to retire to Toledo—Charles covets the German crown—Goes in quest of it—Revolt of nobility and democracy—They demand to be more fitly represented in Córtes—Attempt to recover lost liberties—Prepare heads of a constitution—Are overthrown—General pardon—Charles, now emperor, makes Spain subservient to his ambition—The Pope's alliance with Francis I.—The Duke of Bourbon's conduct in Rome to Clement and the clergy—Charles' clemency to the Pope—Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's anonymous memorials to Charles—Review of Charles' clemency in liberating Clement without taking away his temporal power—Reflection on the Popes—Their limited dominions—ability to extend them compared with that of Sparta, Greece, Macedonia, France, Castile and England—Charles asks Clement to crown him—Napoleon followed his example—Pope Pius IV.—Reflections on the Reformation.

FERDINAND V., as the end of his existence approached, resembled the greatest despots that ever lived. Tiberias of Rome, and Louis of France, accustomed to absolute dominion, imagined that, by the mere exercise of their will, they could prolong life, at the very time when it was about to terminate.

The Catholic King, by a testament which he directed to be prepared, left the government to his second grandson, the Infante Don Ferdinand, during the absence of Carlos, the eldest son of Doña Juana the lunatic, and then residing in Flanders.

This being known to the Cardinal Ximenes Cisneros and his friends, they became desirous of working upon

the conscience of the dying man, and thereby preventing the government from falling into the hands of the Infante. But their first difficulty was in making the king believe that the end of his earthly career was really approaching. The confessor wished to see the monarch on his knees before him asking absolution from his sins, and for this purpose had recourse to every expedient. Ferdinand was firm. He refused to have any conversation with the confessor; knowing "*that he came to him more with a view of negotiating state affairs than of discharging his conscience.*"*

The king's pertinacity did not long continue. The strength of his understanding began to fail, and he seemed to be on the very brink of the grave.

It is not difficult to draw from a dying man, when his faculties are impaired, any thing that is desired; nor to make him speak and act as he would not do whilst in the full enjoyment of his mental powers. Ferdinand confessed; and the result of that confession was, that he called his narrators to his council.† The

* Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, a councillor and chamberlain of the Catholic Kings, in his *Historia de lo Sucedido despues de la Muerte de don Fernando*, MS. in the possession of my friend Senor Gayangos, says:—

"Estando el rey en Madrigalejo, le fué dado á entender que estaba muy cercano á la muerte... no queria ver ni llamar á su confesor; puesto que algunas veces... (este) lo procuró; pero el rey le echaba de sí diciendo que venia mas con fin de negociar memoriales, que entender en el descargo de su conciencia."

† "Y de la confession resultó que mandó el rey llamar al Licenciado Zapata y al Doctor Carvajal, sus relatores, &c." — *Galindez de Carvajal*.—MS. already cited.

TRANSLATION.

The king being at Madrigalejo, was given to understand that he was near his death... wished neither to see nor to call his confessor; at least, very seldom... when the latter contrived to get an interview; but the king sent him away, saying that he came more with the object of negotiating, *i.e.* presenting, petitions, than to discharge his conscience.

And the result of confession was, that the King ordered the licentiate Zapata and Doctor Carvajal, his relators, &c., to be called in.

extreme youth of the Infante was discussed, and it was considered that the charge of governing, during the absence of Carlos from the kingdoms, ought to devolve on some person of practical experience in the business of the state. One of the council suggested Friar Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros ; but the king not only heard the proposal with displeasure, but intimated that it was not proper to leave the government in the hands of an archbishop and an inquisitor. At last, however, these aulics overcame the King's scruples, and he ceded to their wishes.*

Although a dying man may have very little energy of mind to insist on his own will, in consequence of the fear of death ; yet, in that hour he is undeceived. He knows perfectly well his own errors, and he remembers the accomplices of his crimes. The regard which Ferdinand bore towards Cisneros for services rendered in carrying out his tyrannical acts, was changed, at the hour of death, into fear of leaving power in the hands of a man who had already used it so much to the injury of the nation.

During the government of Cisneros, he ruled by force, and not according to the laws of Castile.

TRANSLATION.

* "Fué nombrado por uno del consejo que allí estaba el Cardenal don Fr. Francisco Ximenes, Arzobispo de Toledo, y luego pareció que no habia estado bien el rey en el nombramiento, y dixo de presto : *Ya conoceis su condicion.* Y estuvo un rato sin que ninguno replicase, &c." *Galindez de Carvajal.*—MS. cited.

Cardinal Don Fr. Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, was named by one of the council who was there, and immediately the king was displeased at the nomination, and said hastily : ' You already know his position.' And he remained for a while without any one answering, &c.

It is worthy of note, that the historians who eulogise Cisneros, suppress this circumstance, which is attested by a servant of the Catholic King. But such is the way in which the history of Spain has been written.

The man who had opposed the translation of the Bible into Arabic, lest the Moors, who had been converted to the Christian faith solely by coercion, might know something of the foundations on which it rested, wished everybody to follow his orders, without seeking for causes, or enquiring whether those orders were founded in reason or justice.* Whatever measure he projected as beneficial to his country was, if not in itself absolutely injurious, yet in consequence of some extravagant condition or other annexed to it, rendered of no useful effect. Intending to publish an edition of the Bible in various languages, he assembled a number of wise men, collected a great many manuscripts, and purposed that their labours should serve to form a monument to his own glory. But these labours (as is generally believed by the wise men of Europe) went to corrupt the Greek and Hebrew texts, in an attempt to make them correspond with the vulgate. Cisneros compares the vulgate, which neither followed the Greek nor the Hebrew Bibles, and was printed in his book between the two, to Jesus Christ crucified

* Cipriano de Valera, in the preface to his edition of the Bible in the Spanish language, says :—

“Para que . . . estos moros recien convertidos, fuesen bien instruidos en la religion cristiana, el primer Arzobispo de Granada . . . fué de parecer, que la sagrada escritura se trasladase en lengua arábiga . . . A este tan pio intento se opuso Fray Francisco Ximenes, Arzobispo de Toledo . . . y así se impidió la traslacion que tanto bien hubiera hecho á aquellos pobres ó ignorantes Moriscos.”

TRANSLATION.

In order that . . . those Moors, recently converted, might be well instructed in the Christian religion, the first Archbishop of Granada . . . was of opinion that the sacred scripture ought to be translated into the Arabic tongue. . . . This pious attempt Friar Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, opposed . . . and thus was frustrated the design of that translation, which would have done so much good to those poor and ignorant Moors.

between two thieves.* Such were the effects of the fanatical madness by which Cisneros was actuated. He soon began to dispossess the grandees of Castile of the property given them by the Catholic Sovereigns as a reward for their services ; and this he did under the pretext that such property pertained to the crown, and that those Sovereigns could not bestow more than its usufructs. The grandees resisted, and even demanded to know by what authority he was proceeding thus resolutely in so hard a case. The answer of Cisneros was significant enough : he merely pointed to some pieces of cannon and some troops which happened at the moment to be in the square in front of his palace. His intention was evidently to put down a class which had in its own hands the power of opposing his arbitrary will.†

The Cardinal's next step was to arm a permanent militia, under a belief that the lower orders of the people would assist him in his oppression, although he pretended that by such a force he was only anxious to

* As I do not wish that, on perusal of this extravagant comparison of Cisneros, I should be accused, by fanatics, of calumny, I give the very words of the Cardinal, from the preface to the polyglot:—*Mediam autem inter has latinam Beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter synagogam et orientalem ecclesiam posuimus : tamquam duos hinc et inde latrones mediam autem Jesum hoc est romanam sive latinam ecclesiam collocantes.*"

† As a proof that the nobles of the sixteenth century made the cause of the people their own, in order to oppose tyranny, let us read the words of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, an author related to many of the nobility of Spain, in his *Diálogo entre Caronte y el ánima de Pedro Luis Farnesio, hijo del Papa Paulo III.*, MS., of which there are various copies in the national library:—

"La indignacion del pueblo maltratado pone armas en la mano del noble."

"El clamor de la injuria del pueblo despierta é incita á la venganza el ánimo del noble."

TRANSLATION.

The indignation of an ill treated people puts arms into the hands of the noble.

The clamour of the people's wrongs rouses the soul of the noble and incites it to vengeance.

protect the monarchs from being oppressed by the nobles ; but his attempt was abortive. The lower orders rose against that very species of slavery under which the Cardinal wanted to bring them, and, seeing this, he was obliged to cede the point, in spite of his pride, before the orders of the sovereign who commanded the suspension of a project which was much reprobated by all classes.*

When Charles I. came to Spain, Cisneros received, from the hand of despotism, the proper punishment for his own despotical acts. He imagined that because he had taken a part in the government of Spain, during the reign of the Catholic Kings, he would therefore under the new sovereign, continue to domineer over the Spanish nation ; but he was deceived. Charles wrote a letter desiring to see him, and to learn from his own lips the state of affairs, requesting also that he might afterwards betake himself to his own episcopal palace in Toledo. This contempt was unexpected. It was not what the Cardinal was accustomed to. His mind was much disquieted, for he was unable to endure the thought of being deprived of the government. To a person whose will, for so many years, had been respected as law, from the royal citadels even to the shepherd's hut, it was painful to contemplate his future condition. He who had commanded with kingly authority, was now to submit to be commanded. Despots like Cisneros, in con-

* Galindez de Carvajal, in the MS. before cited, says that Cisneros :—

“A las veces erraba los negocios por que no iba por medios derechos : antes creia que como una cosa él concebía, que así avia sin remedio de ser producida.”

TRANSLATION.

At times he entangled affairs because he did not proceed by the right means : on the contrary, he believed that as he conceived a thing to be, so it accordingly, and without fail, was to be produced.

templating their loss of power, have a constant dread that the enemies and victims who have outlived their domination will rejoice in their fall, and seek to be revenged for past offences. Never was the valour of Sylla duly appreciated, until it was known that he had abandoned the dictatorship, and had the courage to live as a plain citizen among the families and friends of those great men, whom he had persecuted in the days of his power.

Charles I., as a sovereign, did not depart from the ways of his forefathers. He, like them, persisted in governing against the laws. Covetous of the crown of the German Empire, he set out precipitately from Spain in search of it, leaving his own kingdoms to be governed by strangers.

The grandees, hidalgos, and plebeians, in many parts, rose in rebellion, not being willing any longer to tolerate his infamous yoke. They formed the project of a constitution, in which it was provided that each royal town might send to assist in the Cortes, two procuradors, or deputies, the one a hidalgo, and the other an operative ; and that none of these should receive any salary from the King ; that in case of the absence, minority, or insanity, of the Sovereign, the Cortes should appoint a regent ; that the Sovereign should not have the appointment of the magistrates, but select them from those that, every three years, should be returned by the cities and towns for that purpose ; and that there should always be two elected, the one a hidalgo, the other a working man, in order that the government might be divided between the two states of the people ; and finally, and more important than all the rest, it was insisted that the King should swear to observe all these things, and authorise his subjects to contradict and

oppose him, without being chargeable with treason, in case he should fail to comply with the laws.*

The Spaniards were thus desirous of recovering the political liberty which they had lost during the slavery to which they had been doomed under the Catholic kings and the Cardinal Ximenes Cisneros. Nearly all the heads of this constitution were formed with a view of destroying the works of these arbitrary governors. Out of the triumphs of political liberty would have sprung religious tolerance; but some of the grandees and gentry, alarmed at the rising of the plebeians against the nobility in some cities, went over to the band of those who took the part of Charles. The populace in Mallorca and Valencia wished to obtain all, at once, and not share the government with the lords, but to deprive them of their dignities. Often has ambition, on the part of the populace, served the cause of despotism

* *Proyecto de la constitucion de la Junta de las comunidades de Castilla.* (Valladolid 1842) taken from a MS. of the archive of Simancas, by the erudite don Luis Usoz y Rio, a friend of the author of the present history. The clause containing the royal oath is most remarkable: thus—

“Que cada é quando alguno uviere de susceder en el reyno, antes que sea rescebido por rey, jure de cumplir é guardar todos estos capitulos é confiese que rescibe el reino con estas condiciones, é que si fuere contra ellas que los del reino se lo puedan contradecir é defender sin caer por ello en pena de aleve ni traicion: é que ningun alcaide le entregue fortaleza ninguna sin que le muestre por testimonio como ha jurado estas condiciones ante los procuradores del reino, é sin que uno de los mismos procuradores vaya é se lo diga en persona como lo ha jurado” &c.

TRANSLATION.

That each, and whenever any one shall have to succeed to the kingdom, before being received as king, shall swear to fulfil and keep all those chapters, and confess that he receives the kingdoms upon those conditions, and that if he acts contrary to them, those of the kingdom shall be at liberty to contradict and oppose him without, on that account, falling under treason or the least treachery; and that no governor shall deliver to him any fortress, unless it be shewn to him by evidence, that he has sworn to these conditions before the deputies of the kingdom, and unless one of these same deputies shall go and state, in person, that he has so sworn, &c.

when attempting to curtail its power. Liberty is apt to fight against itself, and in the name of liberty to give a license for indulging the worst of passions.

The Castellians, as well patricians as plebeians, who fought mutually for their franchises, were conquered, and their leaders were beheaded. The Valencians who most firmly resisted, took up a position in front of their numerous enemies. The chief of the Mallorquines, Juan Oldon Colon, who surrendered the city of Palma on honourable terms, went over on the faith of these, with safe conduct, to see Charles I., who in a sealed letter gave him an order for the viceroy. Colon, in consequence of that letter, was taken prisoner, and after having been exhibited in triumph to the people, who loved him, was torn to pieces, alive, with pincers, by the executioner of the King, in the same streets and squares that, a short time before, had resounded with the joyful acclamations of the Mallorquines. The perfidy and ferocity of Charles did not stop here. Grandees, knights, and many of the principal gentry of Castile were decapitated under the axe of the executioner.

Satiated with vengeance, and knowing it was not reasonable to kill every body in Castile, he published a letter with the title of *perdon-general*, in which he confined the penalty to more than three hundred persons who having left the kingdom were beyond the reach of punishment, but were to suffer whenever they should set foot on the Spanish territory.

A generous people having thus been enslaved, Charles thought of nothing short of converting Spain into a mere colony of the German empire, the crown of which had now been adjudged to him by the electors. During his long life he only regarded Spain as a source

from which to draw the necessary supplies of men and money to sustain those wars which his ambition promoted in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and with a view to defend himself against the French monarch, against the grand Turk, and against the Pope, all of whom were in league against him.

What signified to Spaniards the struggles of Charles with German princes? Of what importance was the preservation of the feudal rights of the empire, that Spaniards were to shed their blood in battles, and groan under tributes on that account? The vanity of having a powerful emperor for king, was, doubtless, considered enough to outweigh the consideration of the disasters which might be brought upon them by useless pomp and perishing greatness.*

* The celebrated Garcilaso de la Vega, an officer who in the flower of his youth, lost his life in the service of Charles in Italy,† said to the Duke of Alba with reference to these vain conquests—

¿ Qué se saca de aquesto ? ¿ Alguna gloria,
algunos premios ó agradecimientos ?
Sabrálo quien leyere nuestra historia :
veráse alli que como polvo al viento
así se deshará nuestra fatiga,
ante quien se endereza nuestro intento.

Elegia al Duque de Alba.

See also what is said on the same subject by the erudite modern editor of a book entitled *La imagen del Ante-Cristo*.

TRANSLATION.

“ To many, oh how many, will be lost
“ Home, son, wife, memory, undistracted brain,
“ And fortune un-incumbered ! of this cost
“ What rich returns, what vestiges remain ?
“ Fortune ? ’tis nought ; fame ? glory ? victory ? gain ?
“ Distinction ? wouldst thou know, our history read ;
“ Thou wilt there find that our fatigue and pain,
“ Like dust upon the wind, is driven with speed,
“ Long e’er our bright designs successfully proceed.”

J. H. WIFFEN.

† The respected author, Señor de Castro, is in error here. Garcilaso did not lose his life in Italy. He was killed in an escalade of the Castle of Muy, near Fréjus, in the south of France, on the retreat of

The Popes, who were coveting possession of the kingdom of Naples, with a view of extending the dominions of the church, had no objection, in order to expel the Spaniards from Italy, to enter into an alliance with Francis I. of France, and to divide with him the spoils of the conquered. Charles had shown himself to be a powerful protector of the authority of the Roman Pontiff, against the doctrine of free examination, which Luther was preaching in Germany, and in which he was followed by many wise men in other nations of Europe, and Clement VII. believed that the anger of the emperor, though great on losing his cities and kingdoms which he held in Italy, would cede to anathemas. He remembered that Frederic Barbarroja, another emperor, wrestled also with Rome, but that, by her excommunications, she conquered him, and ultimately set her foot upon his neck in the Cathedral of Venice. Henry VIII. of England had not yet refused obedience to the Popes.

But Clement knew not the natural disposition of the Duke of Bourbon, the commander-in-chief of Charles's army in Italy, a man most ardent in his military enterprises. Without previous orders from the emperor, Bourbon began the assault of Rome, and although he himself was slain, his troops entered the city as conquerors. The Spaniards and Germans, composing the greater part of this army, manifested so great a con-

the emperor's forces from their unsuccessful expedition into that country in 1536. A block of stone, which was rolled over the battlements, beat him to the ground. He was carried to Nice, and after lingering twenty-four days, expired at the early age of thirty-three. His body was removed from Nice, and interred in a chapel of the church of San Pedro Martyr, at Toledo, in the sepulchre of his ancestor. I am indebted for this correction, to my esteemed friend Mr. Benjamin Wiffen, brother to the deceased translator of Garcilaso's Works.—T. P.

tempt for the things and ministers of religion, that they did not seem to be Catholics. The altars and images were destroyed ; the sacred vessels were sold ; their contents were thrown on the ground ; the cardinals were put up to auction ; the bishops were taken to the market with straw upon their heads to be sold like beasts ; the nuns were distributed among the soldiers, or bought by them, as slaves, at low prices.*

Europe was in consternation at the news of these events. The Protestants believed that the Pontificate was at an end ; wise men and lovers of liberty imagined that the temporal power of the Pope was abrogated, as though in fulfilment of the desires of Dante and Boccaccio in ancient times, and those of Nicholas Machiavello in that present age.

But these hopes were soon blighted. Charles kept Clement in prison for some months, more with a view

* In the codice C. C. 59, of the National Library, there is an extract from a letter which was written on the sack of Rome. In it we find the following passage :—

“ En ninguna iglesia quedó caliz, ni patena, ni cosa de oro, ni plata. Las custodias con el santísimo sacramento y reliquias santas echavan por el suelo con tanto desacatamiento como si fueran Turcos Al obispo de Terrachina le tomaron 30,000 ducados, y no queriendose rescatar, le sacaron á vender al mercado con una paja en la cabeza como á bestia : otro obispo y otros muchos eclesiásticos y seculares fueron vendidos públicamente y jugados muchas que hoy conozco monjas, buenas religiosas, sacadas de sus monasterios, vendidas entre los soldados á uno ó dos ducados.”

TRANSLATION.

In no church did there remain any chalice, paten, or other article of either gold or silver. The depositaries with the most holy sacrament and sacred reliques, they threw on the ground with as much desecration as if they were Turks From the Bishop of Terrachina they took 30,000 ducats, and, he not wishing to ransom himself, they took him out to the market place to be sold, with a straw rope about his neck like a beast : another bishop and many ecclesiastics and secular persons were publicly sold and raffled for Many nuns, and good religious [professors] whom I know at this day, were taken out of the monasteries and sold among the soldiers, at one or two ducats a-piece.

of preserving the life of the pontiff, than of causing him annoyance. He feared the troops would not consent to release the Pope without a ransom, and, therefore, he acted under a sense of fear of his own forces. Devoted to the pontifical court, and fearful that Francis I. might commence war, he did not wish to deprive Clement of the temporal power ; and by not doing so, he frequently left himself in great embarrassment in his conquests, and the prosperity of his arms.

Pope Paul III. also, with the desire of possessing the kingdom of Naples, followed the standard of Francis I. ; but, with deceitful professions, he pretended to be the friend of Charles. Nay, more ; knowing that the Emperor was reduced to great necessity for want of money, he offered to purchase the state of Milan, to enable him to pay his debts. Charles heard the proposition, and was even on the point of selling his Milanese territory, when a Spanish gentleman, by spirited and eloquent political reasoning, dissuaded him from his purpose. This was no other than Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, governor of Siena, who availed himself of a variety of means to effect his object. Hurtado was a man of great erudition, well read in the ancient histories of Greece and Rome ; of great practical experience in state affairs, and incapable of tolerating, in silence, those future evils which his wisdom foresaw would be the result of the erroneous measures of the government. He caused to be dropped in the chamber of Charles V. an anonymous memorial, in which he represented the disasters to be expected from the Spanish arms in Italy, if the sale of Milan were concluded ; and then, reprehending him, he said : “ Very little did your Majesty know of letters when you held the most sacred temple of the church in

your hands, and let it go again ; for in no way could you have done an injury to Christ by taking from his vicar the temporal arm, which is the key to open and shut the door to war ; for God has not founded a temporal, but only a spiritual church.”*

The zeal of Mendoza was not content with having thus written ; he addressed another memorial to the Emperor, exhorting him not to sell Milan, or to resign that sovereignty to the Popes ; and to give greater authority to the document, he remitted it to Charles by the hand of his Chamberlain, Don Luis de Avila y Zúñiga, author of the book on the war against the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse.†

In this most important document we find as follows :—

“ Only look at the style and manner which Popes

* The original of this document is in the Biblioteca Colombina, under the title of *Memorial kallado en la Cámara del Emperador*. I published it for the first time in one of the notes to *el Buscapié* (Cadiz, 1848 : Madrid, 1850 : Id., 1851). The learned German, Herr Fernando Wolf, in the session of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, held 7th February, 1849, delivered an address, giving to that Society a notice of what I had discovered respecting the life of Mendoza, and translating, entire, the memorial of this author.—*See the records of the Academy of Vienna*.

TRANSLATION.

† “ Al muy ilustre y muy magnífico señor el señor don Luis Dávila, camarero de S.M. Ilustre y muy magnífico señor. Enojado de las cosas que pasan, me retruje á mi quartel y escribí esta letra á S.M. Suplico á vuestra merced la vea, y si le pareciere digna que S.M. la vea, se la muestre ; y si no la rompa : porque para mí bástame averme desenconado en averlo fecho. Quien soy, otro tiempo mas conveniente lo sabrá vuestra merced, cuya muy magnífica persona y casa conserve Nuestro Señor.”—*Códice G. G.* 59. *Biblioteca Nacional*.

To the very illustrious and magnificent señor Don Luis Dávila, Chamberlain of H.M. Illustrious and most magnificent Señor : enraged at the things which are passing, I retired to my quarters, and wrote this letter to H. M. I beseech you to look at it, and if it appear to you worthy that H.M. should see it, to shew it him ; but if not, that you will tear it up : because, for my part, it suffices to have unburthened myself in having written it. Who I am, at a more convenient time, shall be made known to you, whose magnificent person and house may Our Lord preserve.

have always adopted on acquiring their states ; they have invariably sown discord between Christian princes, put them into a state of revolt, aspiring sometimes to one part, and sometimes to another, always pursuing some private, and not the common, interest ; and, in this way, have made it necessary that the contending princes should come to their hands : thus increasing the Papal States but destroying religion ; and this engenders all the fire which is constantly lit up by christianity and these are the arms which disturb the public tranquillity. Take measures, sire, for putting them down so low as to be secured against them. So long as the Pope has power to injure you, there can be no security for you in Italy, or even out of it. The Pontiff once brought down, all then will be easy and plain. *And as you are now in Italy do not allow yourself to be any longer deceived. Take your sword truly in your hand, and put an end to the miseries which Christianity now suffers* ”*

“There is only one scruple which it remains for me to satisfy, and that is, your Majesty will say that it is a grave matter to take away the temporal state from the Vicar of Christ. To this, I answer, that when two evils are proposed, the lesser must be chosen. It may be an evil to take away from the Pope his temporal state, but without comparison, a much greater one to all Christendom would follow if he were permitted to hold it ; because, in order to magnify the flesh, men forget entirely the spirit : in this way they turn the world upside down, and the house of God is overthrown in order that they may raise up their own. Thus

* These concluding words are found in the memorial of Mendoza, published, with suppressions, by Sandoval, in *La Crónica de Carlos V.*

we have seen that the Popes, before they were possessed of riches, were all saints ; but that after they gave themselves up to have them, they have been, and always will be, like Paul III.”

“ Besides all this, what greater amount of good could be done to the world, than by reducing the pontificate to its primitive condition ? Christ, who is the true God, the sum of wisdom, the sum of power, could well have founded it in states, since to him all states did then, and do now, belong. He founded it in poverty and holiness, and with these he drew all the world to himself, and so did all the holy Pontiffs that followed the same way. Well then, if now, a prince is to be found who would constitute an empire and a pontificate like those of ancient times, and, in order to do a great good to Christendom, might cause a trifling injury to some private person, (as might be the case in taking away from the Pope his temporal dominion,) would it not be a thing acceptable to God and very beneficial to the Christian religion, seeing that the Popes hold the seigniority not by the donation of Constantine, which is false, (for neither times, authors, nor things, concur in that fable) but by subtilty and force ?”

“ All histories agree that after the decline of the Roman Empire, whilst multitudes of people, such as the Huns, the Vandals, the Goths, the Franks, the Lombards, and many others were running to and fro, the Emperors, who held the imperial seat in Constantinople, had so much to do in defending themselves there, that they were not able to attend to the things of Italy and the West. And thus, while some were coming and driving away others (who appeared to them to be doing nothing, if not occupying and destroying Rome the

head of the Empire) all united and brought to bear their force, their passion, and their vengeance against that city which had been the mistress of them all. Consequently, Italy, seeing herself thus afflicted, and her cities thus destroyed and deprived of succour from the Emperor, began to think and to provide a remedy. Hence originated the multitude of republics in Italy, and the usurpation of the temporal state and the election of the clergy of Rome, who are now called Cardinals. It is a very important circumstance, certainly, when we consider it, that up to those times no high priest was a Pope, if he were not confirmed by the Emperor or his exarch, who resided in Ravenna ; and from thenceforward, not only did they not care for that confirmation, but a very short time afterwards to such an extent did their authority grow, that they not only deprived the ancient Emperors of the empire and gave it to the Franks, but even other kings of their kingdoms, and gave them to other sovereigns. Thus using that feigned power, they have brought matters to such a state, that they depose an Emperor of an empire and a King of a kingdom, with as little ceremony as they would deprive a protestant clergyman of a benefice."

"So that, invincible Prince, the Pontificate and its foundation considered, as Christ left it to St. Peter, and as it was continued by those most holy Pontiffs until this usurpation of the temporal dominion ; and regard being had to the great good done to the Christian religion by their life, habits, holiness, and example ; and, on the contrary, to the great injury which has followed, and is every day following, the temporal power of the Pope, since it converts every thing, not into a common benefit, as one would reasonably expect, but solely to his own private

purposes, and the advancement of his sons, his nephews, and relations ; I hold it for certain, that you cannot render any more acceptable service to God, or a greater one to the republic, than to do what I say.”*

The language of Don Diego de Mendoza was not agreeable to Charles V., a monarch who, in 1527, through fear of a great part of Europe, let slip the most opportune occasion ever presented to a prince for destroying the temporal power of the Popes, the origin of a thousand wars and dissensions in ancient times.

As I have already said, Clement was Charles’ prisoner ; the city of Rome and its dependencies, and almost the whole of Italy, were occupied by more than a hundred thousand men. Add to such occupation, the friendship of the republics, and the respect shewn to his victorious arms—What more was necessary ? Several learned Spaniards, however, succeeded in overcoming the fears of Charles with reference to an enterprise in which the whole human race were interested.†

* All which is here quoted has been hitherto unpublished. It will be found in the *Memorial* entire of *Mendoza*.—*Códice G. G.* 59 in the *Biblioteca Nacional*. Although this gentleman, Catholic as he was, does not speak against the spiritual power of the Pope, yet Don Fray Prudencio Sandoval, Bishop of Pamplona, in publishing this document in his life of Charles V., observes that he omits from it—

TRANSLATION.

“ Lo mal sonante que Mendoza con la libertad de aquel tiempo dijo (in 1543).

The ill-sounding words which Mendoza, with the liberty of the times, made use of.

† Dr. Alfonso Guerrero, in his *Tratado del modo que se ha de tener en la celebracion del general Concilio, y acerca de la reformacion de la Iglesia* (Génova, año de 1537), says to Charles V. :—

“ No puede el Papa hacerse capitán de la Iglesia, por que es destruir y quebrantar los decretos y tradiciones de los Santos Padres ; porque el Emperador se llama vicario de Cristo en la tierra en las cosas temporales. . . . El Papa no administrará gladio temporal en perjuicio de la imperial potestad.

The Pope cannot make himself captain of the church, for that is to destroy and break the decrees and traditions of the holy fathers ; because the Emperor calls himself Christ’s vicar on earth in temporal things. . . . The Pope shall not administer the temporal sword in prejudice of the imperial power.

The Ghibelline band of Italy, the Protestants of Germany, the Spanish Protestants, whose desires were made manifest in the sack of Rome by the troops of Bourbon, would not have abandoned Charles, if even France, through the ambition of her king, Francis, had favoured the cause of the Pope.

But the successors of Clement, although they knew Charles' timidity, feared that, in time, it would give way before the confidence in his arms, and his German councils. They saw the greatness of the Emperor, and that he was gradually extending his dominions; and, therefore, the Pontiffs, by all means in their power, endeavoured to oppose him in his progress. They desired to see the government of the world divided among many princes, in order that it should not be necessary to depend on the authority of any one monarch, who might easily, and without opposition, completely annihilate the temporal power of the Popes. For these reasons, and remembering that the ancient Rome of the Cæsars was the mistress of the world, both by her conquests and reputation, they became ambitious of extending their own dominions, and of acquiring, in property, that which by the followers of Luther in Germany, of Calvin in France and Switzerland, and by the example of Henry VIII. in Great Britain, they were losing in spiritual jurisdiction.

. . . Y que Cristo no dió gladio temporal á San Pedro parece á la clara, porque respondiendo á Pilato como San Juan escribe en el capítulo 18, dijo, "*Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.*" Así que no es de creer que el cuchillo temporal que él no habia querido, ni quiso administrar, lo diese á San Pedro."

. . . . And that Christ did not give the temporal sword to St. Peter, appears clear; because, in answering Pilate, as St. John writes in the 18th chapter, he says, "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" Thus, we are not to believe that the temporal sword, which he had never liked, or wished to administer, was to be given to St. Peter.

In this state of things, the Pontiffs sought the aid of France in weakening the forces of Charles V. They knew that it was his great policy to overthrow their temporal power, and they hastened to anticipate a remedy for the mischief which they feared was about to happen.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the small amount of credit which the Popes enjoyed, than their inability to constitute Italy into one nation, subjected to their obedience. The weakness of an ancient principality is shewn by its own continuance for many centuries among small kingdoms and republics, without becoming supreme ruler of them all. Thus the Popes were living in the vicinity of Florence, Venice, Ragusa, Genova, and some Duchies, without widening the space of their territory, or even making a conquest of any one of these by the favour or neutrality of the others; for a weak power can easily strengthen itself, so as to become formidable to many, simply by sowing discord among those which would endeavour to reduce it by violence.

By reputation, by a dexterous policy, or by force of arms, small and various states have been formed into powerful nations. Sparta domineered over Greece. Macedonia, with the talent of Philip, and the valour of Alexander, soon subjugated that same Sparta and the republics of Greece. France reduced into one body politic the different seignories which existed in its territory. Castile drew to its dependency the other kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, and, among the rest, that of Portugal; and England at last made herself powerful and invincible by her union with Scotland and Ireland.

If Charles had but listened to the voice of reason, which was teaching him the way to perpetuate his name

as a benefactor to mankind, the German Protestants (the temporal power of the Popes being gone) would easily have submitted to those who had ceased to be sovereigns, in order to occupy themselves solely in the religion of Christ. The chief cause that gave rise to the preaching of Luther was found in the disorders of the Roman clergy in the sixteenth century.*

Charles might have taken away the sovereignty of the Pontiffs without incurring any danger to himself. If he had only withdrawn his protection and left them to the princes of Germany, the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, they would have humbled Italy, and destroyed the Popes' temporal power, in which case the indignation of Europe would not have fallen on his person, as the author of such a proceeding.†

He wished, however, to employ other means, and com-

* Hurtado de Mendoza, in his *Diálogo entre Caronte y el alma de Pedro Luis Farnesio* (the MS. before cited), says:—

“La primera ocasion que movió á los alemanes á negar la obediencia á la iglesia, nació de la dissolution del clero y de las maldades que en Roma se sufren y cometen cada hora.”

TRANSLATION.

The first thing which moved the Germans to deny obedience to the Church was the dissolute conduct of the clergy, and the wickedness suffered and committed in Rome every hour.

† Hurtado de Mendoza, in his cited *Diálogo* (MS.), says, in 1547:—

“No será menester que él tome la espada, ni que sus ejércitos se ocupen en tan baja guerra. Bastará que no os dé el calor y favor que siempre os ha dado . . . ni será menester que dé licencia á los alemanes herejes para que ellos lo hagan, como lo habrian hecho veinte años há, si no los hubiese tenido el miedo y el respeto del emperador.”

It will not be necessary that he should take the sword, nor that his armies should be occupied in so ignoble a war. It will be sufficient that he gives to us the warmth and favour that he always has given us . . . nor will it be necessary that he should give to the German heretics licence to do as they would have done these twenty years, if they had not had the fear and respect of the Emperor.

bat Lutheranism by an armed force, and the abuses of the Church by the theological disputes of a council.* The policy of great conquerors is equal in all ages ; because ambition, vanity, and a desire to give what the world calls legal pomp to their undertakings, are always more powerful motives of action than a zeal for the public good. Charles conquers the Pope, and yet, immediately afterwards, requires the imperial crown to be placed upon his head by the hands of that same Pontiff. Napoleon, even in the present century, imitates his example. Thus, as Philip of Macedon, under the pretext of religious wars, made himself master of Focida, so Charles V., under colour of making the Germans submit to the decisions of the Council of Trent, abused the victory acquired over the Protestants, and humbled the power of the most potent nobles of the empire.

Rome, in spite of the services afforded her by Charles in the cause of the Catholic religion, always shewed herself his adversary, keeping constantly in view the taking possession of the kingdom of Naples.

When the Emperor was about to abandon his worldly dominion, and retire to the solitude of the cloister, Pope Paul IV. began to disquiet him in a variety of ways. He did not forget the good services which that prince had rendered to the apostolic see ; and knowing, by these, the great fear and respect which Charles had towards him, he began to attempt carrying out his

* The same author, in the cited MS., says, that the desire of the Emperor was

“juntar el concilio y remediar juntamente con las herejias de Alemania las bellaquerias de Roma.”

TRANSLATION.

to unite the council, and to remedy, jointly with the heretics of Germany, the knaveries of Rome.

ambitious projects, in the security that he was contending with a slave.*

A powerful sovereign, or a great minister who discovers a weak side in the character which pertains to him, may be compared to a very strong fortress, which has one of its towers almost in a state of ruin. The enemy, knowing its weakness, will be sure to render useless all the preparations of war at that point, and, with facility, will make themselves masters of it, to the surprise and admiration of the very men by whom it was defended.

Charles attempted to stop the progress of the reformation by means of a powerful army; but ideas were not to be suppressed by the smoke of powder, or banished from the mind by the noise of cannon. The conquest of Lutheranism lay within the banks of the Tiber: it consisted in overthrowing the temporal power of the Popes.

Charles might, with his own hand, have held the wings of the reformation, and have put a stop to the sanguinary catastrophes of England under Henry VIII. and his daughter Mary, which horrified all Europe—the religious wars in France,—the horrible massacres of St. Bartholomew—the inquisitorial flames of the Spanish nation, and the tumults in Flanders.

* In the Códice G.G. 59 of the Biblioteca Nacional, there is a letter from a personage (whose name is suppressed) to the Viceroy of Naples. In this it is said:—

TRANSLATION.

“Me parece que se ha caído tarde en que con el Papa presente, aprovechan poco buenas palabras ni commendimientos, pues la experiencia ha mostrado . . . que no han hecho provecho, mas han salido dellos notables daños, porque nunca toman ellos estas obras y obsequio á buena parte, sino á que se les hacen por respeto y temor.”

It appears to me that he has fallen late, seeing that with the present Pope, fine words and commendations avail but little; for experience has shewn . . . that they have not been availing, but that notable damage has resulted from them; for good words and obsequiousness are never taken in good part (by the Popes), unless rendered to them out of respect and fear.

Unhappy the reputation of a prince who, having in his day the power to do much public good, yet, in descending to the tomb, left his kingdom a prey to civil discords! To the misfortune of nations, it must be admitted, there are sovereigns whom a superstitious fear deprives of action at the very moment when they have the means of establishing permanent sources of the public felicity.

CHAPTER IV.

State of learning in Spain in the sixteenth century—Common friendship among learned men of that age—Sir Thomas More—Dr. Juan de Vergara—Juan Luis Vives—Vives' letter to Pope Adrian—Erasmus—Statute of Purity—Protest of Vergara—Divine right of Kings—Vergara's appeal to the Pope—State of the Nation—Spanish, contrasted with Turkish, policy as to religion—Julian's notions of toleration.

THE sovereigns of Spain persevered in their attempt to promote the felicity of their subjects, but the means used to that end were calculated only to degrade the mind and to keep it in a state of servility. The clergy never ceased from the eager pursuit of means adapted to the destruction of all rights of conscience.

The cause of learning has never been entirely left without defenders. Some learned men were still found to oppose the fury and madness of fanaticism. They were few in number, nor did they enjoy that popular favour which excites alarm in the breasts of tyrants. The Spanish people, educated in slavery, were living in a state of ignorance. Their minds were constantly terrified by menaces of torture and of death. The few lovers of learning and liberty, found themselves as isolated from each other as vessels in the Atlantic, or as palm trees in the deserts. Their words had no more effect on their fellow Spaniards than if they had been addressed to the sepulchral inhabitants of a vast pantheon.

The learned men of the principal kingdoms of Europe were, at that time, united together by the bonds of a sincere friendship; whilst the absolute sovereigns, influenced by covetousness, were contending among themselves for the possession of the world.

Sir Thomas More, the celebrated Lord Chancellor of Henry VIII. of England, and Erasmus, were in correspondence with the great Spanish doctor, Juan de Vergara, Canon of Toledo, who had succeeded in drawing together, about his person, some excellent and truly pious men.*

These learned men were encouraged from England, by the celebrated Spaniard, Juan Luis Vives, † the precursor of Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam. Vives rose to the degree of professor in the University of Oxford, became one of the preceptors of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., and had the honor of counting that monarch as one of his audience at his public lectures.

Such was the courage and energy of Vives, that in a letter which he addressed to Adrian, on his exaltation to the pontificate, he tells him, in the first place, that such and so many were the disorders of Rome, that people laughed at the idea of giving the title of "*Christ's Vicar*" to those whom nobody would like to have for his own vicar, and the appellation of "*most Holy Father*" to artful and wicked men; and in the second place, that he was not surprised at the people not having praised

* My friend, the orientalist, Gayangos, has, in MS., some of these letters, written in Latin, from Erasmus to Vergara, and from Vergara to Erasmus.

† I am not aware that any life of Vives has yet been published. I have copious MS. materials for such a work; for these I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Señor Don José Joaquin de Mora, of Madrid, late Consul-General in England. I hope to be able to give them, in due time, to the public.—T. P.

the habits of many Popes, his predecessors, seeing that he, Adrian, had condemned them by his own exemplary life, which was, in every thing, totally dissimilar to theirs.*

Vergara became a convert to the maxims of his friends More, Erasmus, and Vives, devoted his whole life to the practice of religion and virtue; and whether in solitude or among his intimate friends, deeply bewailed the infelicity of his country. But a man who dwelt in Spain, who was anxious for the well-being of his country, and was also a learned man, could not long be shielded from the powers of fanaticism. Accused of heresy by the Inquisition, he was compelled to abjure his principles publicly in an *auto de fé*, in the principal square of Toledo. Yet, notwithstanding this persecution, Vergara could not through a slavish fear abandon the cause of truth, when he saw fresh persecutions arise.

About that time there was an archbishop, a man so presumptuous and ignorant, that instead of calling him-

TRANSLATION.

* Rident qui scelestum hominem et facinoribus obrutum sanctissimum patrem nominaturi sunt, pudetque vicarium Christi eum nuncupare quem suum nemo vellet. Excogitantur tituli consuetorum dissimiles, quibus addearis. Tu illorum Pontificum, quos nostra vidit aetas dissimiles. Non impetrabis hoc á libertate nostra, ut interea dum Tu illorum vitam actionibus tuis reprobas, nos eam oratione nostra comprobemus. — *Luis Vives opera.* A letter written in Louvaine, 12th October, 1522.

They are laughing at you who think of calling a man "most holy father," when he is an abandoned wretch, overwhelmed with acts of atrocity; and it is a shameful thing to style him the vicar of Christ, when no one would have him for his own vicar. Titles very different from the ordinary ones, are being invented to accost you by; you are entirely different from those pontiffs whom our days have seen—you never will induce our free constitution to consent to approve, by addresses of ours, that life of theirs which you, by your actions, disprove.

self by his proper name of Juan Martinez *Guijarro*, (meaning a pebble) he adopted the name of Juan Martinez *Siliceo*, (a flint) ; thus Latinizing his surname by one of those ridiculous puffs of vanity, common in that age, among persons of little understanding.*

This man proposed, on 9th July, 1547, to the Ecclesiastical Chapter, that no descendant of Jews or of Moors should thenceforth be able to hold any dignity, or even the office of chaplain, in the church of Toledo. On the 23rd of the same month, a meeting was held to approve or disapprove the proposition ; and, although there were found ten voices against it, there were twenty-four in its favour ; and indeed, considering the intellectual state of Spain at that time, it could not be otherwise. Men who, without merit, obtain dignities, immediately make the way to them as difficult as possible to others, in order that they themselves may appear greater in the eyes of the common people. †

To this measure they gave the name of *Statute of Purity*. [Estatuto de Limpieza.] The minority, aware of the evils which would flow from the execution of this statute, deputed Doctor Vergara, in their name, to petition the Council of Castile that it might be considered as nugatory. In that important document we

* *Guijarro* was considered too plebeian-like a name for an archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal of the Church of Rome ; and therefore his reverence formed for himself a surname from the Latin word *Silex*.

† The canons present at this vote, or who were, subsequently, against the archbishop, were Don Diego de Castilla, (Dean) ; Bernardino de Alcaraz, (Schoolmaster) ; Bernardino Zapata, (Precentor) ; Rodrigo Zapata, (Senior Chaplain) ; the bachelor Juan Delgado, Doctor Peralta, Doctor Herrera, Doctor Juan Vergara, Antonie de Leon, Esteban de Valera, Miguel Diaz, Juan de Salazar, Pedro Sanchez, (Canons). *Vide Codice Q*, 85, in the *Biblioteca Nacional*.

find Vergara exclaiming,—“ We say, my lords, that the reasons which have moved us, and now move us, to contradict the said statute are : first, on account of its being, as it is against canonical rights and the determination of holy fathers : secondly, because it is against the laws of the kingdom : thirdly, because it is against the express authority of the sacred Scriptures : fourthly, because it is against all natural reason : fifthly, because it is to the injury and dishonour of many of the noble and principal gentry of these kingdoms : sixthly, because it is contrary to the dignity and authority of the holy church : seventhly, because it is at variance with the peace and tranquillity of the beneficed clergy, and of the whole republic : eighthly, because it is against the good state and government of our city : ninthly, because the perpetual infamy of our nation will result from it The Pope (Nicholas V.) hearing that some people of this kingdom were attempting to exclude the newly converted and their sons from the dignities, honours, and offices, and other things, reprehended such movers with asperity, calling them *sowers of tares, corrupters of Christian peace and unity, renovators of discord whom the Apostle Saint Paul had extirpated, contradicters of the divine authority . . . and, finally, men who had erred from the truth of the Catholic faith*, determining that the newly converted, and their sons and descendants, ought to be admitted to all dignities and offices, as well ecclesiastical as secular

“ The blessed apostle (St. Paul) hearing that, among the Christians newly converted in Rome, some were of Gentile, and some of Jewish extraction, and that there were dissension and difference as to which of them should

have precedence, and be preferred to the others, wrote to them reprehending both, and urging them to unity and concord, telling the Jewish converts that they ought not lightly to esteem the others, since God was the God of all, and not of the Jews only. And, because the Gentile converts, being numerous, were commencing to exercise dominion over them the apostle was more severe in telling them that they ought not to despise the Jewish people, since they had been adopted as sons, and to them had been given the divine law and the promises

“ That the said statute is contrary to all natural reason, appears clear ; because there was none whatever which could disqualify men, not only noble but illustrious, of great learning and virtue, without any canonical obstacle or impediment, to become chaplains of the church of Toledo, whilst at the same time, it was held that men of low condition and idiots were to be considered eligible for dignities and canons ”

“ That it will be to the injury and dishonour of many of the noble and principal people of the kingdom, requires but little proof ; for it is notorious that, by ancient and modern marriages, there has been, is now, and always will be, a mixture of many of the Spanish nobles with a diversity of lineages. And, as all these, to whom the mixture pertains by the maternal line alone, are by the laws of this kingdom, constituted some into hidalgos, others into knights, others into illustrious persons, in conformity with the paternal line ; and as such enjoy pacifically their honours and pre-eminences, so, on the other hand, thus to disgrace and disqualify them and all their descendants for ever by a

statute like this, could not be without the most grave dishonour and disparagement to their persons and reputations”*

Vergara had learned, from the *Utopia*, a philosophical novel written by his friend Sir Thomas More, maxims of political liberty and religious tolerance. Therefore he was enabled with manly energy to represent the injuries that were about to be inflicted by this Statute of Purity, which had originated with the archbishop *Siliceo*. But the Council of Castile treating alike with contempt the opinion of the apostle St. Paul, the orders of Nicholas V., and the dictates of natural reason in so important a case, ordered the memorial of Vergara to be dismissed, and gave sentence in favour of the prelate and of the Chapter.

Thus were the clergy, in turn, assisted by sovereigns, in order that the former should, on other occasions, favour the latter in their attempts to consolidate absolute power.

In that century, the notion of the divine right of kings had its origin. The ecclesiastics accommodated the sovereigns, by giving this investiture to the power which they had acquired by the overthrow of the nobility and of the people. In the time of the Gothic domination in Spain, when the bishops were elected by the clergy and laity, the ecclesiastics did not give the right divine to kings, but to the people; and when the nobles, in the middle ages, brought up their forces against the sovereigns, the clergy followed under the banners of the former. The priests of Greece and Rome did the like :

* Two copies of this curious document are in existence, in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Códices Q. 85 and R. 60. It is too long to give entire in the body of this work.

they always deified the right of the victorious and powerful, although wickedness was in their train. The oracles of their feigned gods, created by human fears, always inclined to the side of the strongest, in order to applaud the establishment or the ruin of a republic, a kingdom, or an empire.*

As, in Spain, there was no respect for the laws, and force could be destroyed solely by force, the voice of suffering humanity was only listened to with a disdain natural to those who live and prosper under an infamous servility. But Vergara, and his few followers, appealed to Rome, hoping in that court to find justice. Delusive hope! The Pope, two years afterwards, confirmed the sentence of the Council of Castile; thus establishing, in these kingdoms, a usage which was not practised in his own states. He saw with satisfaction the extremes of Catholicism in Spain, but had no wish, by any means, to temper the zeal of his spiritual subjects.

The Spanish nation found herself in a state of polished imbecility: although men studied the Greek and Latin authors of a learned antiquity, they could neither follow the flight of the grand models, nor raise themselves to the altitude of the illustrious philosophers of Europe in that age.

Comparing the policy of Spaniards in the sixteenth century with that of the Turks and Africans, it would seem that all prudent state-government had fled to

* Alonso de Palencia, in his MS. *Crónica de Henrique IV.*, before cited, says:—

“ Por proverbio comun se tiene que en la corte Romano á los vencedores dan la corona, é á los vencidos descomulgan.”

TRANSLATION.

There is a common proverb which says, that in the Roman court they give a crown to conquerors, but the conquered they excommunicate.

Turkey and Africa. The Christians who fled to Algiers and Constantinople, (perhaps more with a view of saving themselves from the troubles of captivity, than from any faith in the religion of Mahomet,) and ceased to follow the Christian religion, found, among the Turks and Algerines, respect, riches, and honours. The governors were, for the most part, renegades; and so were the captains; and, in short, even the famous and dreaded corsairs were chiefly of the same class.

Natural reason teaches us that the way to attract people of a different religion does not consist in persecuting those who have already become converts, or in deposing them from dignities, or in handing down their names to infamy. It is certain that Spaniards, in consequence of the state of stupidity to which they were brought by their ecclesiastical education, and their utter ignorance of the rights of man, were unable to comprehend this truth.

One Don Sancho de Leyva, a Spanish captain, taken prisoner by the Turks, and afterwards ransomed by his relatives, addressed to the king a notification of the maritime and political power of those who had been masters of his liberty; and, in that work, he expresses his surprise that the latter should confide to the renegades the most important civil and military offices.*

* In a *Discurso político que hizo á S.M. don Sancho de Leyva, sobre el poder del Turco y custodia de las costas de Levante*, MS. in the library of don Pascual de Gayangos, we read :—

“ Estos renegados que todos, los unos y los otros, son hombres bajos comunes, y al fin los mas ruines de sus naciones, son los que vienen á ser soldados *genizaros* hombres de cargos y al fin Baxaes. Destos hacen su confianza: estos son los que gobiernan la paz y la

TRANSLATION.

Those renegades who, one and all of them, are low, common men, and, in short, the meanest of their nations, are those that come to be soldiers *genizaros* (begotten by parents of different nations) men of official rank, and, in short, Bashaws. In these is confidence

The Spaniards forced the Jews and Moors to become Christians, and, immediately afterwards, held them as infamous for the act of having received the water of baptism. What love or what attraction, in the eyes of those people, would a religion have, in the name of which they were declared incapable of acquiring honours and dignities? *

guerra: cosa es de notar que siendo gente de tantas y tan diferentes naciones, que ni conocen padres ni madres, ni se conocen unos á otros, siendo gente tan baja, tan comun que naturalmente han de ser de debiles ánimos, de poco ingenio y habilidad, pongan en sus manos y confianza la gobernacion de los estados, el de la guerra y el exercicio y ejecucion della, y sean hombres para ello y lo gobiernen de manera que no solo lo sustentan pero ganan siempre. No puede conforme á esto creerse otra cosa sino que Dios los favorece para castigo de nuestros pecados; que si así no fuese, no sufriria en la tierra hombres que han trocado la ley de verdad por una tan mala seta."

* Nearly a century after the presenting of the memorial of Vergara, the licenciado Fernandez de Navarete published (in 1626) his book, entitled *Conservacion de Monarquias*, in which he says,—

"Me persuado á que si antes que estos (the Moors) hubieron llegado á la desesperacion se hubiera buscado forma de admitillos á alguna parte de honores sin tenerlos en la nota y señal de infamia, fuera posible que por la puerta del honor hubieran entrado al templo de la virtud y al gremio y obediencia de la iglesia católica, sin que los incitára á ser malos el tenerlos en mala opinion."

TRANSLATION.

placed: these are the people that govern, both in time of peace and in time of war: it is remarkable that they, being people of such different nations, not even knowing their fathers or mothers, or, in truth, one another; and being so low, so common, that naturally they are weak in mind, of little genius and talent; yet, still, have placed in their hands and confidence the government of the states, of the war, and of the army and all its operations: and being men for that purpose, they govern in such a way, that not only do they maintain the wars, but they always gain them. One cannot, in the face of this, believe anything else but that God favours them in order to punish us for our sins; if it were not so, he would not suffer on the earth men who had changed the law of truth for one of so bad a sect.

I am persuaded that if, before they (the Moors) had arrived at desperation, there had been sought out a way of admitting them to a participation of honours without holding them under the mark of infamy, it were possible that through the gate of honour they would have entered the temple of virtue and to the pale and obedience of the catholic church, without inciting men to be wicked and holding them under a bad reputation.

It is remarkable that Julian, one of the few men distinguished for knowledge and morality who occupied the throne of the Cæsars, and wished to re-establish the gods of paganism in his extended empire, and to annihilate the religion of Christ, did not persecute its followers with infamy, confiscation, and death. Whilst they were Christians, the doors to riches and honours were indeed closed against them, but immediately on their return to heathenism, the public offices, dignities, and pomps of the world, were conferred on them by that Emperor ; who, in the triumph of his proposition, believed he was securing the valour and the virtues which had belonged to the heroes of ancient Rome.

But only a man like Julian, brought up in the study of stoic philosophy, and with the examples of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, could act in this manner.

The Queen Isabella and her consort, and afterwards Charles V., educated in maxims of self-interest, and in alliance with those who wished to thrive by the ignorance and slavery of the people, had not the greatness of soul of that Emperor to accommodate their subjects to that which they desired, without exercising violence, which has always been the common resort of wicked princes and their ministers.

This insanity on the part of Spanish monarchs, in attempting to convert the Moors to Christianity by force, cost the nation much blood. Sooner or later the political crimes of sovereigns receive their punishment ; but, unhappily for subjects, they are, not unfrequently, the only parties on whom that punishment descends.

The Spanish nation had great need of many men like Vergara, to check its sovereigns in their career to perdition, and not them only, but their unhappy country,

and to counterbalance the force of bad councils by which it was precipitated from error to error, and from one wickedness to another. In Spain, however, such good men appeared only now and then, like flashes of summer lightning in a dark night ; whilst, in other kingdoms of Europe, they resembled bolts from that forked element, accompanied by claps of thunder.

CHAPTER V.

Error of Charles V.—Advice of his Confessor—Maurice of Saxony—Charles retires to a monastery—Philip II.—His marriage with Mary of England—Protestantism in Spain—Mary's death—Philip solicits Elizabeth's hand—Extracts from the Duke of Feria's letters—Elizabeth's conduct in the affair—She protects fugitives—Philip continues his suit—Bribes Elizabeth's courtiers—Concerts a marriage with Elizabeth of Valois—Queen Elizabeth feigns sorrow, and charges Philip with precipitancy—Curious letter from the Duke of Feria—Philip proposes to negotiate with the Earl of Leicester—His proposal to the Archduke of Austria—Burning of Protestants in Spain.

It has been a common error, on the part of great conquerors, and of princes who have ruled over provinces and kingdoms in which the habits, customs, and inclinations, of the people have been widely different, to suppose that one and the same policy would serve for the government of all.

Charles V., accustomed in Spain to rule by force, and remembering that the Jews and Moors had been compelled, by the Catholic Kings, to abandon their religion, imagined that the shortest way to put a stop to Lutheranism was by having recourse to arms. Fanatical and superstitious, he disregarded those counsels of reason which conscience dictated for the conservation of religious liberty. There were constantly about his court, in all his journies, and in all his wars, a number of Spanish divines who had been taught, by the examples of Torquemada and Cisneros, to keep the mind in slavery : these men neutralised the exhortations of the emperor's confessor, Don Garcia de Loaysa, to be at peace with all Europe. This wise man, then a Cardinal and Bishop of Osma,

(afterwards of Sigüenza, and subsequently Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General,) was accredited, by Charles, to the Pope at Rome, in reference to the affairs of Germany, and wrote frequently to the emperor, giving him seasonable advice.

Sometimes he told him that he ought to abandon the fantastical undertaking of attempting to convert souls to God, and rather endeavour to draw bodies to the obedience of his crown, and save his own soul : that in rewarding services, he ought not to be influenced by the circumstance that the authors of such services were Lutherans or Catholics : and that, by always living virtuously, he would extend his reputation over the world.* At other times he pointed out the utility of leaving the Germans to think as they pleased in matters of religion, and of employing all his forces in defending himself against those attacks, both by sea and land, which the Ottoman empire was constantly making against Christendom.†

* Es mi voto que (18 de Noviembre de 1530), pues no hay fuerzas para corregir, que hagais del juego maña, y os olgais con el hereje como con el Católico, y le hagais merced si se igualare con el Cristiano en serviros. Quite ya vuestra magestad la fantasía de convertir almas á Dios : ocupaos de aquí adelante en convertir cuerpos á vuestra obediencia y salvad vuestra ánima . . . acrescentando en virtud, pues hoy hay mayor necesidad de ella que nunca."—*Loaysa*.—*Cartas al Emperador Carlos V., copiadas en el archivo de Simancas, por G. Heine (Berlin, 1848).*

† " De los errores Luteranos (8 June, 1531) seria en parecer que al presente se cometiese á la

TRANSLATION.

It is my opinion that (18 Nov. 1530), since there are no forces to punish, you should play the subtle part, and no more trouble yourself with the heretic than you do with the Catholic, but shew him favor if he shall equal the Christian in serving you. Let your majesty give up the fantasy of converting souls to God : occupy yourself, in future, in converting bodies to your obedience, and in saving your own soul . . . increasing in virtue, since now there is a greater necessity for it than ever.

Of the errors of Lutherans, (8 June, 1531), it would be well that, at present, they should be

This advice of Loaysa produced no effect on the mind of Charles, who still persuaded himself that he was bound to pursue the Germans with fire and sword.

The kings of Spain were never destitute of good men to teach them their errors, and direct them in the path to glory. But, in deciding between conflicting opinions, they have generally followed, as do all bad princes, that which was, unhappily, the worst for the nation, being most in conformity with their own despotic instincts; for truth seldom, if ever, meets with a good reception in the palace of a tyrant.

At the beginning of the war against the Protestants victory followed the Emperor. The two leaders of the reformation in Germany, after a disastrous battle, became the prisoners of Charles; one of them on the banks of the Elbe, and the other, at a later period, by confiding in promises of peace made to him in the name of that sovereign. In a short time, however, Charles found by experience that it was not easy to humiliate a people who knew their civil and religious rights; and that a

disimulacion ó por via de treguas entre herejes y Cristianos, dejando a cada uno creer como quisiere, ó haciendo con ellos pacto, que hasta el concilio futuro vivan todos en sus ritos, sin estorbar . . . los unos á los otros. Y que cuando por falta del Sumo Pontifice en tres años no se congregare el concilio, que de ahí adelante puedan libremente y sin empacho de príncipes ni de dietas perseverar en su forma de creer. Todo esto me parece que V. M. les puedo otorgar sin ninguna culpa, con tal condicion que os sirvan y ayuden contra este enemigo comun (el gran Turco).” — *Loaysa*. — *Cartas, &c.*, already cited.

TRANSLATION.

treated with dissimulation, or by way of truces between heretics and Christians, each being left to believe what he pleases; or that a compact should be made with them, that, until a future council, all of them may live in their own rites, without interrupting . . . one another. And that, if the High Pontiff shall fail, within three years, to assemble the council, from thenceforward they may freely, and without hindrance of princes or of diets, continue in their form of belief. All this, it appears to me, your Majesty can consent to, without blame, on condition that they serve and assist you against the common enemy (the Grand Turk).

great and prosperous nation is never deficient of expert and magnanimous men to break the yoke, when the proper season has arrived. Maurice of Saxony, to whom Charles had shewn great favour for having previously abandoned the cause of reform, now abandoned the Emperor, and returned to the new doctrines. He suddenly attacked his sovereign, routed his squadrons, dismissed the fathers of the Council of Trent, who were occupying themselves in discussing what Europe should believe, and obliged Cæsar, in Augsburg, to sign a treaty of peace with reference to matters of religion.

Charles V. at last discovered his error in not having followed the advice of Loaysa. Ashamed at seeing all his careful plans frustrated, and knowing that his credit and reputation, which so much contributed to a conqueror's success, and had already served to promote his own, was now prostrated, and cut into a thousand fragments, in the face of astonished Europe, he gave up his worldly dominion to his son Philip, and retired to the solitude of a monastery. His heir, educated by the same people who had urged on the father to religious wars, did not succeed in uniting the Spanish and the Imperial crowns ; for Charles had ceded that of Germany to his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary. This separation of these crowns was of great service to the cause of liberty ; because Philip II., who, instead of being scared by the disasters of his father's erroneous policy, wished to continue it, believing that by its continuance he would finally triumph, and in the end rule over France, England, and Holland, with the united forces of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, and that nothing would be able to oppose itself to his absolute will.

Philip attempted to acquire dominion over the

world by trampling upon the necks of the Protestants, and obliging them to kneel at the feet of the Roman pontiff. He saw his wishes to some extent realized. England, through his marriage with the devoted and superstitious Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., had been turned to Catholicism by the convincing process of fire and sword which she carried in her train. France, broken by intestine discord, was harassed by the forces of the Spanish King, who hoped to secure, by the peace which followed his victories, the destruction of the Huguenots. Flanders, compelled, by the Spanish arms and presence of Philip, to succumb to the Pope, dared not to express its own thoughts. Spain, enslaved by the clergy, was consuming her vigour in serving the ambition of her monarchs, in order that other nations might emulate her example in dragging along the fetters of her bondage.

But the arrogance of Philip's attempt was quickly opposed. England contrived to separate herself from his yoke, and Protestantism attacked him in the very heart of his kingdoms. He happened to be in Flanders when he received intelligence that Mary was at the point of death, and that the English were desirous that her sister Elizabeth, who was addicted to the reformation, should succeed to the throne. He lost no time and spared no efforts in endeavouring to prevail on Elizabeth on no account to separate herself from obedience to the Pope, and even solicited her to become his consort. Accustomed to reign in England, he wished to make sure of that nation, in order to his grand design of re-establishing the Catholic religion throughout Europe. He dispatched the Duke of Feria to England, with instructions to gain over the heart of Elizabeth,

and with that view to overcome with politeness and presents certain gentlemen of her court ; but Philip's messenger was not received so well in that country as his master desired.*

Elizabeth, knowing that Philip designed her for his prey, and that he wished to see her act with severity against her subjects, with courteous yet artful and ambiguous language, flattered the vanity of the Spanish King in the interviews she had with his ambassador ; she expressed her gratitude at having obtained her liberty during the life of her sister Mary, through the influence of Philip, and prided herself at being one of his greatest friends. †

But she declined either to imitate his policy or to follow his councils. Princes endowed with a comprehensive mind and superior talents know how to make

* My friend the orientalist, Don Pascual de Gayangos, has the collection of letters of the Duke of Feria (MSS.). In that of 14th November, 1588, the writer says to Philip II.—

“Están muy temerosos estos consejeros de lo que madama Isabel hará con ellos : hánme recibido bien, aunque en cierta manera como á hombre que viene con bulas de Papa muerto.”

† “Ella (Elizabeth) me respondió que reagraciaba á V. M. mucho por lo que le mandaba decir, y que V. M. podia creer que ella le guardaria la buena amistad que entre sus predecesores y los de V. M. habia habido, por tres causas : la primera por que quando ella estaba en prision V. M. la ayudó y favoreció á salir de ella ; y que no se deshonoraba de decir que habia sido prisionera ; porque la deshonra habia sido de los que la habian puesto en ella, &c.”
—*The MS. letter of the Duke of Feria*, cited in a former note.

TRANSLATION.

Madame Elizabeth's councillors are very much afraid of what she may do with them : they have received me well, but still, in a certain way, as a man who comes with bulls from a dead Pope.

She answered me that she thanked your Majesty much, for what you had commanded me to say to her, and that your Majesty might rest assured she would maintain the good friendship which had existed between her predecessors and those of your Majesty, for three reasons : first, because when she was in prison your Majesty aided and favoured her in gaining her liberty ; and that she was not dishonoured in saying she had been a prisoner, because the dishonour belonged to those who sent her to prison, &c.

the nations which are subject to their government, truly great ; but sovereigns of mean capacity are apt to destroy their kingdoms by endeavouring to adjust every thing to their own littleness.

Those unhappy creatures, who, for religious causes, were fugitives in foreign countries, fled to England, to the succour of Elizabeth—a princess who had not a single enemy in her kingdom. She looked upon every one as her protector, by whose means she had been restored to her country. And, although compelled for a time to listen to councillors who attempted to lead her away from the lofty designs to which she aspired, she disregarded all such endeavours, and constantly refused to allow such ministers to gain the least influence or ascendancy over her mind.

By Elizabeth's outward conduct, however, both the Duke of Feria and his master, King Philip, understood that the object of all their united efforts was not easily attainable ; still they did not think it impossible ; for vanity and ambition induced them to believe that the heart of the English sovereign could not long resist a constant and dexterous policy.*

* "Ella es una muger vanísima y aguda : débenle haber predicado mucho la manera de proceder del rey su padre : tengo gran miedo que en las cosas de la religion no estará bien, porque la veo inclinada á gobernar por hombres que están tenidos por herejes Tras esto véola muy indignada de las cosas que se han hecho contra ella en vida de la Reyna, muy asida al pueblo y que lo tiene todo de su parte No hay ningun herege ni traidor en todo el reyno que no se haya levantado de la sepultura para venir á

TRANSLATION.

She is a most vain and acute woman : they must have preached a great deal to her as to her father the king's mode of proceeding : I fear much that in matters of religion she will not be easy to manage, because I see she is inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics Besides this, I can see that she is very indignant at things which have been done to her in the lifetime of the queen, she is attached to the nation, which she holds entirely on her side There is neither heretic nor traitor

Philip's ardent desire was to become master of England; and now that he could see no prospect of success by means of violence—for the condition of his army and of Europe, was against force—he had recourse to perseverance and subornation, foolishly believing that, by purchasing some half-dozen men of a nation, their country would be delivered up to his dominion without resistance.*

In this, as in every thing else which Philip undertook during his long life, he was completely deceived. He neither knew himself nor others. He saw himself blessed by those Spaniards who were accustomed to dissimulate and shed tears in the presence of their sovereign, and to respect his name even when he might be absent from the kingdom; but he could not be made to comprehend that a nation which had once thrown off his yoke, would never submit to its re-imposition, unless compelled to do so by an irresistible force.

The English, who had experienced the barbarity of Philip's dominion, in burnings, imprisonings, and banishings, hated him to the death; and they shunned all

TRANSLATION.

ella con gran contentamiento : está puesta en que nose ha de dejar gobernar de nadie," &c.—*Letter of the Duke of Feria to Philip II., already cited.*

in all her kingdom who has not been raised from the very dust to appear before her with great satisfaction: she is determined not to allow herself to be governed by anybody, &c.

* That such was the proposition of Philip is discovered by that same letter of the Duke of Feria, in which he says:—

“El credito de los 40,000 ducados y las joyas que se me habian de enviar no son venidas, *aquí no veo otro medio de negociar sino es con dádivas y diges.* Suplico á V.M. mande que se me envíe credito largo pues V. M. vé cuánto mas cuesta ganarse un reyno con fuerza que con maña.”

The credit of the 40,000 ducats and the jewels which were to be sent me have not arrived, *and here I see no other way of negotiating but with bribes and baubles.* I pray your Majesty to order to be sent me a large credit; for your Majesty may see how much *more it costs to gain a kingdom by force than by artifice.*

treaty with his ambassador, the Duke of Feria, who found himself slighted by every one in the Court of Elizabeth.*

At last Philip became convinced that Elizabeth only wished to gain time enough to secure the crown of England firmly on her brow ; and, therefore, on the adjustment of peace with France, he concerted his marriage with Elizabeth of Valoise. Meanwhile religious matters in England were going on favourably for the reformation. But Queen Elizabeth still sagaciously entertained the mind of Philip ; and, the better to dissimulate, she pretended, before the Duke of Feria, to be fretful and complaining at the coming nuptials which the Spanish monarch was about to celebrate, since, she alleged, she was on the very point of disposing of herself to him, so soon as the affairs of her kingdom would permit. It is certain that the duke never elicited a formal answer to his demand of her in marriage to his master, and equally so that Elizabeth never pledged her word to fix upon the Spanish King for her husband. Nay, more : as she had never discovered her intentions, she complained of Philip's false love, in consequence of his not being able to wait for her three or four months. Thus, with feigned protestations, she deceived him, and worked out that peace which England so much required

TRANSLATION.

* " Están contentos todos de verse sueltos de V. M. como si les hubiera hecho malas obras . . . y á causa de estar tan enagenados . . . me hallo muy embarazado y confuso en buscar manera de saber lo que pasa ; porque verdaderamente huyen de mí como del diablo."—*Letter of Duke of Feria, dated London, 14th December, 1558.* (MS. of Gayangos.)

They are delighted to find themselves let loose from your Majesty, as though some bad deed would have been perpetrated against them . . . and in consequence of their being so alienated . . . I find myself under great embarrassment and confusion in endeavouring to ascertain what is passing ; for, I may truly say, people shun me as they would the devil.

to recruit her forces and constitute herself a powerful nation.*

The English Catholics, who had placed their hopes on Philip II., felt themselves aggrieved that he had not availed himself of his ample powers to establish the spiritual dominion of the Court of Rome in Great Britain, and they complained that he had not used the necessary dexterity to overcome the talents of Elizabeth, and carry out his own designs.

* Comenzó á decirme que V.M. estaba casado, souriendo y algunas veces dando unos sospirillos á vueltas de la risa. Díjele que yo no me podia alegrar de ver casado á V.M. y no con ella, y de que no me hubiese querido creer, habiendola importunado tanto, y suplicadole viese quanto le convenia casar con V.M.; y entonces salió con decir que por V.M. habia quedado y no por ella: que ella nunca me habia dado respuesta; y que yo le habia dicho que tampoco lo habia escrito á V.M. Díjele que bien sabia ella la verdad: que yo no habia querido tomar respuesta, porque entendí la que me queria dar; y que en negocio de aquella calidad entre dos príncipes tan grandes yo tenia obligacion, ya que no se conformaban, de dalle tal salida, que no pudiese causar alguna indignacion ó desabrimiento Despues tornó á decirme que V.M. no debia de estar tan enamorado de ella como yo le habia dicho: pues no habia tenido paciencia para aguardar cuatro meses; y muchas cosas de estas como persona que no le ha placido nada de la determinacion que V.M. ha tomado."—*Letter of the Duke of Feria, of 11th April, 1559 (in the MS. collection of Gayangos).*

TRANSLATION.

She began by saying that your Majesty was married, smiling . . . and sometimes heaving gentle sighs at intervals between her smiles. I told her that . . . I could not be glad at seeing your Majesty married and not with her, and which I never wished to believe, having importuned her much, and entreated her to consider how greatly it befitted her to marry your Majesty. And then she went on to say, that she had waited for your Majesty, and not for herself; that she had never given me an answer; and that I had told her I never had written to your Majesty to any such effect. I said she well knew the truth: that I did not like to take an answer because I understood what answer she wished to give; and that in an affair of such quality between two such great princes . . . I was under an obligation, should there not be a conformity of inclinations, that there might be no cause of vexation or chagrin arising out of such a result Afterwards she turned again, and said that your Majesty could not be so much enamoured with her as I had told her, because you had not the patience to wait four months: and many other similar things, as a person not at all pleased with the resolution which your Majesty has taken.

Philip, on the other hand, consoled himself that, as he could do nothing else, he had, at least to some small extent, sustained the Catholic Church in England, before it crumbled and fell to pieces with such a frightful ruin.*

Philip gave pensions to several distinguished persons in England, with a view of engaging them in his interest, securing possession of the kingdom, and establishing Catholicism; but he never in the least degree profited by this liberality: the *gentlemen* took his pensions, but never rendered any services to His Spanish Majesty. Indeed, these same recipients of his bounty, in their interviews with the Duke of Feria, and to his very face, laughed at his credulity.† At last Philip was obliged to withdraw his favours from those English courtiers; for he was persuaded that, secretly, they were serving the cause of Elizabeth and the reformation. Relying on the mystery with which he surrounded all

TRANSLATION.

* “Esto de la religion hasta ahora se ha entretenido sin que acabase de caer milagrosamente, unas veces con persuadir blandamente, á la Reyna, otras con asombralla y procurar que diese mas tiempo al negocio . . . Los católicos (á Felipe) le ponen demanda de que habiendo estado este Reyno á disposicion de V. M. para poder dejallo de la manera que quisiera, ha venido á parar en lo que está.” — *Carta del duque de Feria, citada en la nota precedente.*

The (Catholic) religion, up to the present time, has been delayed from entirely and miraculously falling away, some times by softly persuading the queen, and at others by frightening her, and procuring her to devote more leisure to the matter . . . The Catholics put the question why this kingdom, which has been at your Majesty's disposal to deal with as you pleased, has come to finish in the way it does.— *Letter of the Duke of Feria, cited in the preceding note.*

† Rióse conmigo (un caballero ingles parcial de Felipe) del poco servicio que avian hecho a V. M. las pensiones que aqui ha dado.— *Letter of the Duke of Feria. London, 18th April, 1559. MS.*

He (an English gentleman, one of Philip's adherents,) laughed at me to think of the small services your Majesty had received for the pensions you have allowed in this country.

his actions, he imagined that his political intentions were concealed from foreigners ; and yet, at the same time, he knew nothing of the public opinion of that very kingdom which he was vainly endeavouring to draw under his dominion.

Those who strive by secrecy and dissimulation to earn the reputation of great politicians, are, when just on the point of deceiving others, frequently deceived themselves, especially in supposing that an adversary places any reliance on their avowed motives and designs.

Elizabeth's chamberlain, whom Philip attempted to bribe with a pension, although not in the confidence of that king, knew more of his thoughts and intentions than did his own councillors and friends. Thus he prognosticated to the Queen, as also to the Duke of Feria, that Philip would immediately abandon the states in Flanders, and that, when once again in Spain, he would never return to them. The prognostication of the English chamberlain turned out to be correct.*

All hope of Philip's marriage with Elizabeth being lost, and the reformed religion being re-established in England, he still did not despair of sooner or later making himself master of that powerful kingdom. By his ambassador he lay watching, in ambush, like a lion in view of his prey, the movements and inclinations of Elizabeth. He endeavoured to gain the friendship of her favourites, and to acquire, through them, what he had not been able to obtain by himself. He negotiated with

* Una de las cosas que ha dicho á la reyna y á mí es que apostará que V. M. se vá á España luego y que no volverá á Flandes en estos siete años."—*Letter of the Duke of Feria, cited in the preceding Note.*

TRANSLATION.

One of the things which he told the Queen, and me also, is, that he will lay a wager that your Majesty will at once go to Spain, and not return to Flanders for seven years.

those who aspired to her favour, as if he were treating for a kingdom which had been usurped; and in all his intercourse he showed a constant desire to make himself master of the British dominions. In the first place he wished to sign a secret capitulation with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to whom he believed the Queen was about to give her hand.*

Afterwards, knowing that Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, had pretensions to the hand of her Majesty, he offered to assist him in his suit, under the absurd notion that it would be an easy matter to persuade him that, with the power of Spain, in case Elizabeth should die without issue, he might remain ruler of the English nation.†

* “De unos dias á esta parte ha venido en tanta gracia milord Ruberto, que hace quanto quiere en cosas de negocios; y aun dizen que S. M. lo vá á visitar á su cámara de dia y de noche; y háblase en esto tan resueltamente, que llega la cosa á decir que su muger está muy mala de un pecho, y que la Reyna aguarda á que se muera para casarse con él. Y digo á V. M. que se ha tratado la cosa de manera que me ha hecho pensar si seria bueno tratar de parte de V. M. con Milord Ruberto, y promettele su ayuda y favor y capitular con él.—*Letter of Feria, cited in the two last preceding notes.*

† “No me parece mal expediente el del matrimonio del archiduque Fernando; pues para lo de aquí yo no veo otro mejor; y para lo de allá será bueno, si V. M. con esta ocasion lo atrae y afirma en su amistad, de arte que él entienda quan útil le será para acrecentarse y sostenerse Y si Fernando es hombre con las espaldas que V. M. le hará, no

TRANSLATION.

Within the last few days my Lord Robert has arrived in these parts in such favour, that he does whatever he pleases in matters of business; and it is even said that her Majesty goes to visit his chamber day and night; and so positively is this affair talked about, that it is reported his lady is very ill of complaint in her heart, and the Queen is waiting her death in order to marry him. And I tell your Majesty that *the thing has been treated in such a way as to make me think it would be well to negotiate, on the part of your Majesty, with my Lord Robert, and promise him your help and favour, and capitulate with him.*

It does not appear to me a bad expedient, that of a marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand; because with regard to things here I do not see a better; and as to the state of things elsewhere, it will be well if your Majesty, by the occasion, can bring it about and confirm it with your friendship, so that he may understand how useful it would be to him in order to the increase and

In this way Philip flattered himself he should be able to re-establish Catholicism in Great Britain, and that the kingdom itself would come to the hands of the house of Austria. But all these propositions, although covered as he thought, with the shadow of a cunning policy, were patent to the sagacity of Elizabeth ; who, knowing she was surrounded by the subtilty and snares of Rome and of Spain, determined to secure herself against them all, by not bestowing her hand upon any one who could be bought by her enemies, either with gold or with promises of the crown of England itself after her death. Thus she saved herself from that bondage which was preparing for her, and, perhaps, also, from an untimely and violent death. She also saved, from the chains of slavery, not only her own country, but other parts of Europe, which, through her favour, were able successfully to war against the hosts of Philip II.

The rage of Philip on seeing his hopes blasted, was turned against those of his own subjects who had embraced the doctrines of the reformation. It appeared that on the Protestants of Spain he endeavoured to wreak his vengeance for the scorn with which he had been treated by those of England.

The joys and the sorrows of tyrants are always

solamente podrá reformar lo de la religion, y quietar el reyno, pero aunque se le muera la reyna sin hijos, se podrá quedar con el reyno en las uñas. Y si alguna cosa me inclinaba despues de lo de Dios á que V. M. llegue á meter el pié aquí, era esto."— *Letter of the Duke of Feria, cited in the three last preceding notes.*

TRANSLATION.

maintenance of his power
And if Ferdinand is a man of such prowess as your Majesty will make him, not only will he be able to reform the religion and tranquillize the kingdom, but should the Queen die without children, he may even remain with the kingdom in his clutches. If any thing, besides those which pertain to God, inclines me to see your Majesty place your foot here it is this.

accompanied by the tears of suffering humanity. When Philip, by means of his marriage with Mary, succeeded in making England accept anew the Roman Catholic religion, Spain blazed with fêtes in celebration of the event, whilst in the British islands the flames were devouring the bodies of the Protestants.*

When England returned to the reformation, Philip offered up to the God of Christians holocausts of human blood, in token of the constancy of his faith! There had been discovered, in the kingdom, a grand Lutheran conspiracy. The cities of Palencia, Valladolid, Toro, Zamora, and Seville, had protestant temples, in which, in the silence of night, the reformers met to shun the observation of inquisitors. Canons, friars, nuns, the sons, and daughters, and other relatives, of the grandees of Castile, as well as gentlemen and plebeians, were the sectarians in Spain who followed the new doctrine.

Philip, although in Flanders attending to the affairs of Europe, had not forgotten his own country. Scarcely had he heard of the great number of proselytes which Lutheranism was making in Spain, than he commanded the princess Doña Juana, governor of the kingdom, that with all diligence and rigour she should punish the guilty.

On the 21st of May, 1559, was celebrated, in the great square of Valladolid, an *auto de fé* against the

* A description of these fêtes celebrated in Spain has been preserved; its title is,—

“*Flor de las solemnes alegrías y fiestas que se hicieron en la imperial ciudad de Toledo por la conversión del reyno de Inglaterra, compuesta por Juan de Angulo, vecino de la dicha ciudad, &c.*”—Toledo, 1555.

TRANSLATION.

“Flower of the solemn rejoicings and fêtes which were made in the imperial city of Toledo, on the conversion of the kingdom of England; composed by Juan de Angulo, a neighbour of the said city, &c.”

Protestants. A concourse of people, actuated by the ferocious instincts of barbarians, was gathered together from the adjacent countries, and even from more distant places, to be the witnesses of human vengeance. The houses in Valladolid were not sufficiently numerous to lodge the curious visitors who flocked to that city; and consequently, many of them were obliged to pass the night in the neighbouring fields.

The Princess Doña Juana and the Prince Don Carlos, by order of Philip II., presided on that occasion, assisted by a great number of the Spanish nobility. The spectacle, until then, was entirely new; for members of the royal family had never been accustomed to take a part in those sacrifices.

Three of the clergy were there degraded under circumstances of the greatest indignity that can be imagined: their hands, fingers, crown of the head, and mouths, were scraped, as if in order to prepare them for the sufferings they were to endure at the stake.* Doctor

TRANSLATION.

* " El obispo Palencia pasó de donde los príncipes estaban al tablado á degradarlos, que fué una cosa muy de ver, porque nunca se habia visto en nuestro tiempo. Vistióse el dicho obispo una sobrepelliz, y encima una capa de terciopelo con una cruz y su mitra blanca. Vistieron á los tres sacerdotes (Cazalla, Vivero y Perez) como si fueran á decir misa, con unas casullas de terciopelo negro, en donde estando de rodillas delante del mismo obispo, les quitaron los cálizes de las manos y los metieron en un arca que allí tenian, y luego habiendo leido ciertas cosas en un pontifical que delante del obispo tenian, les quitaron las casullas y tragéronles tres dalmáticas, y puestas

The Bishop of Palencia passed over to where the princes were, to proceed to degrade them, which was a very remarkable sight to witness, because it had never before been seen in our time. The bishop dressed himself in a surplice, and, upon that, was a cloak of velvet, with a cross, and his white mitre. The three priests (Cazalla, Vivero, and Perez) were in their vestments as if going to say mass, with *casullas* of black velvet; and, being upon their knees before the same bishop, their chalices were taken from their hands, and put into a chest which was there; and then, certain things having been read out of a *pontifical* which stood before the bishop, their *casullas* were taken from them, and . . .

Augustin de Cazalla was there seen, brought out by the side of the coffin or shell, containing the mortal remains of his mother, which had been exhumed to be with him reduced to ashes; an iniquitous mode of aggravating a son's affliction by dishonouring the dust of her who had brought him into existence; but one to be expected of men who could designate as sacrilege the disinterment of corpses with a view of robbing them of their grave-clothes, and yet could, themselves, disturb the repose of the dead, and outrage the living by their ignominious penances. The clerical rage was thus carried even to the tomb, and barbarous vengeance, in the name of a God of mercy, taken, not only on living criminals, who might be affected by such deeds, but on heaps of fleshless bones. On this same occasion, the Bachelor Herrezuelo, who remained firm to the last in the doctrines of the reformation, had a gag thrust into his mouth, so that his pious exhortations might not offend the ears of a priest-ridden and enslaved people; he too, in his turn, was called to suffer the greatest indignity; for, whilst

con sus collares, se las quitaron luego, poniéndolos como de epístola, y leyendo otro poco, se las quitaron . . . y quedaron con los sambenitos. Despues de haberles raído las manos, dedos, corona y boca en una fuente muy grande que allí tenían, llegó un barbero y les quitó el pelo de las corouas, y hecho esto les pusieron tres corozas."—*MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional—Relaciones de autos de fé.*

TRANSLATION.

there were put upon their shoulders three *dalmaticas* (vestments with open sleeves) with their collars, which were removed and so placed as if for the reading the epistle; another short passage being then read, these were taken away . . . and they remained with their *sambenitos*.* After having washed their hands, fingers, crowns, and mouths, in a large fountain there provided, there came a barber and took away the hair from their crowns; and this done, three *corozas*† were placed on their heads.

* A coarse tunic with a rope.

† A kind of fool's cap, resembling a mitre, but very lofty, and tapering, at the top, to a point.

valiantly despising the satellites of the Inquisition, and the flames which were consuming his body, a soldier thrust a lance into his side, and at the same time he was struck with violence in the forehead by a stone thrown from the hand of a bystander.*

But the furies of fanaticism did not stop with mere these and other sanguinary executions. Not only were the dry bones of Cazalla's mother, as well as the livid bodies of her children, consumed in the same fire, and their names handed down to posterity with infamy, but even the house in which they lived was thrown down, and salt sown over its foundation: nay, a column was erected over its ruins, to announce to coming generations the memory of a family whose only crime was an unpromising attachment to the cause of religious liberty.†

In order to solemnize the return of Philip II. to Spain, other Protestants of Valladolid were reserved as much with a view of gratifying the inquisitors, as of serving the exigency of the monarch. In short, he assisted at another *auto de fé*, in which an illustrious nobleman, Don Carlos de Sessa, crippled in both his hands and feet by the tortures to which he had been put, and almost carried in the arms of two *familiares* of the Holy Office, with an energetic voice reprehended Philip to his face for his manner of proceeding against the Protestants. But a gag quickly stopped the mouth of the unhappy sufferer, whose body, with those of other noble victims, was quickly consigned to the flames.

* *Relaciones MS. de autos de fé.*—Biblioteca Nacional.

† It is a curious circumstance, that whilst I was occupied, in 1849 and 1850, in arranging my "History of the Spanish Protestants," where I have defended the cause of humanity, as outraged in the persons of the Cazallas, it seems their house was being rebuilt for the first time since its destruction by the Inquisition in the sixteenth century. A full account of that Protestant family will be found in "*The History of the Spanish Protestants*," published in London, by Gilpin, in 1851.

Philip II. appears to have been like Nero presiding, in the gardens of his palace, over the burning of the Christians. He wished to gain a reputation for severity in the administration of justice: and hence the stamp of cruelty accompanied all his actions.*

Caligula, in his madness, was wont to express his desire that the Roman people had but one neck, which he might sever at one blow. This tyrannical wish of Caligula was, at the end of sixteen centuries, realized in Spain. Philip II. did not content himself with desiring it, or saying it, but by putting it in execution in the person of Don Juan de la Nuza, the chief justice (*justicia mayor*) of the kingdom of Arragon, in whom was vested the representation of the rights and liberties of the nobility and all the people. His head fell, at the feet of the executioner, in Zaragoza, by order of Philip II.†

Spain, divided into various kingdoms of diverse laws and customs, but subject to only one sovereign, presented a sad example of what all nations must be which are ignorant of the blessing of religious liberty. As the pomp and magnificence of the sacrifices of pagan Rome, at the terrible spectacle of the death of a multitude of animals, had a tendency to make men fierce and apt to

TRANSLATION.

* "Ogni sua attione molto piú ha del crudele che del severo: onde giamai non havendo potuto ne saputo, imparar l'arte, tanto necesario á precinpi de perdonare, &c."—*Boccalini*.—*Pietra del Paragone politico* (*Cosmopoli*, 1671).

Every one of his actions had much more of cruelty than of severity: whence, never having been able to know or to learn the art of pardoning, so necessary to princes, &c.

In these words he alludes to the policy of the Spaniards.

† A full account of Nuza's execution will be found in the author's "*History of the Spanish Protestants*," by the translator of this work.

venture themselves in dangers for the mundane glo and the good of their fellow-citizens ; so Spaniards educated in the sanguinary executions of the *autos de* , were bred up with minds paralysed with fright, and un to defend the public cause against tyranny, but we suited, by their ferocity, to aid despots in their attempt to enslave mankind.

CHAPTER VI.

Philip II. attempts to stop the reformation in the Low Countries—Duke of Alva—Philip's son Carlos—His premature and suspicious death—Sanguinary executions—Liberties of Holland—Catherine de Medicis—Massacre of the Huguenots—Francisco Antonio Alarcon—Oath of the members of the Córtes as to secrecy—Conduct of Alvaro de la Quadra, Philip's ambassador to Queen Elizabeth—She dismisses him—Conduct of his successor, Gueraldo de Spes, and his dismissal—Bernadino de Mendoza, successor to Spes—Mary Stuart—Movements of the Pope—Philip's armada against England.

PHILIP II. proposed to himself the task of humbling the pride of the Low Countries, and of converting them into another Spain. But he did not seem to remember, if indeed he ever knew, that the latter country, flattered as she was by the vanity of her conquering kings and prosperous fortunes, had herself, by degrees, been abdicating her rights and privileges; nor did he consider that the States of Flanders remained in all their vigour and energy, and were not therefore disposed to surrender their liberties. In carrying out his design, his first step was, by introducing the Inquisition, to root out the doctrines of the Reformation among the Flemings, and to so weaken them that, at a subsequent period, they might easily be deprived of their privileges, and of all means of defending them.

When Charles I. was crowned King of Spain, the people of the Low Countries rejoiced to see their Count

raised to that new dignity, vainly supposing that the sovereignty of Flanders was passing into their own hands, and that they themselves were thenceforth to be the rulers of those dominions. This vain presumption however, lasted but a short time. Philip II., establishing his Court in Spain, began to treat the Flemings as strangers, and not as natural-born subjects. Flanders from that time was considered as a Spanish colony, in the same manner as Spain had formerly been considered a Flemish colony.*

The nobles and the plebeians of the Low Countries were determined to maintain their privileges. They sent messengers to Philip representing the evils which would result from the execution of his orders; but these messengers, on their arrival in Spain, were, one after another, secretly put to death.

The king was resolved to carry out his object. He sent new forces to Flanders, and a governor experienced

TRANSLATION.

* "Alhora che vide (Fiandra) li snoi conti divenuti Ré di Spagna, scioccamente si diede á credere di dover manomettere li Spagnnoli; perchioche ni breve tempo non la Spagna dalli Fiamenghi, ma la Fiandra dalli avari et crudeli Spagnnoli fu mandata á sacco . . . Et che perciò cominciò ad essere governata da gente straniera con quelle gelosie, con quelli strapazzi, con quelli scorticamente di nuovi gabelle, di soventioni, di contributioni . . . dalle quali nacque poi la guerra civile: la quale doppo una indecibile profusione d'oro, una infinita effusion di sangue, una incredibile perdita dell' honor di Fiamenghi si é convertita en una avara mercantia di Spannoli." — *Boccalini*.—*Pietra del paragone politico*.

Now that Flanders saw her Counts become Kings of Spain she foolishly permitted herself to believe that she ought to turn over the Spaniards; but, in a short time, not Spain by the Fleming but Flanders itself was taken and sacked by the avaricious and cruel Spaniards . . . And then it began to be governed by foreigners with that jealousy, with those insults with those excoriations of new taxes, impositions, customs, an contributions . . . to which the civil war gave birth; and which after an unspeakable profusion of gold, an infinite effusion of blood and an incredible loss of honour on the part of the Flemings, was converted into an avaricious merchandize of the Spaniards.

in every thing relating to war, a man well adapted to serve in the enterprise without respect to dignities, laws, or even lives.

The Duke of Alva entered the Low Countries with the determination to extinguish the very idea of liberty throughout those lands, and to stifle every generous thought which was contrary to Philip's own notions.

At that time the Flemings had centred all their hopes for remedying their grievances in the Prince Don Carlos of the Asturias, son of Philip II.; for this youth was himself anxious to throw off the paternal yoke, and, above all, as heir to the crown, to have charge of the government of Flanders. Carlos commenced and kept up a correspondence, on these matters, with the Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Horne; and, according to the belief of the Dutch and the Flemings, was attached to the reformed religion; even in the present century the same opinion is entertained, in consequence of the mysterious expressions which are met with in the documents having reference to his imprisonment and death.*

* The opinion of the Flemings was in conformity with that which I have expressed, and attempted to prove by several Spanish and Italian documents quoted in my "*History of the Spanish Protestants*," published in 1851. See also a book, entitled "*Le miroir de la cruelle et horrible Tyrannie Espagnole perpetree au Pays Bas par le Tyran Duc de Albe, et d'autres Commandeurs de par le roy Philippe le deuxiesme &c.*—*Nouvellement exorné et Tot Amsterdam Ghedruckt by Ian Evertss Cloppenburg op't Watertegen over de Koor-Beurs, &c.*, 1620." Speaking of the Prince Don Carlos, the author says,—

"Ce Jeun homme et prince estoit fort bien aymé de ceux de nostre Patrie et desiroient fort de l'avoir pour son prince, mais les ennemiz de la pais, l'empescherent q'un tel Soleil ne donna ses rayons sur un tel florissant pays en noblesse et richesse. Quand on le

TRANSLATION.

This young man and prince was much loved by those of our country, who greatly desired to have him as their prince; but the enemies of peace prevented such a Sun shedding his rays on a country so flourishing in nobleness and riches. *When they dispatched*

But Philip, aware that his son was endeavouring to put a stop to his cruel policy, shut him up in his own palace. Carlos did not long survive his imprisonment. He finished his existence at the age of twenty-three years, under circumstances which gave rise to suspicions that he had suffered, in the cause of humanity, a violent death, in pursuance of secret orders from Philip II.

The Duke of Alva arrested many of the Flemish gentry, and summoned others by public proclamation. The Counts of Egmont and of Horne were publicly beheaded pursuant to sentence of iniquitous judges, who, contrary to the laws and to the protestations of the victims, made the tribunal of justice subservient to the will of a tyrant. These Counts, as Knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, could not, according to the then existing laws and their privileges, be tried, except by their peers.

depescha, il estoit en aage de vingt et deux ans, fort genereux d'entendement, liberal, diligent aux estudes, il dorroit rarement surpassant cest en alegresse á ceste heure regnant.

Il estoit fort adonné au gouvernement et principalement desiroit il d'aller avec son pere vers le Pays Bas, mais il trouva des haineux empeschant la bonne volonté car ilz disoient que le seroit la source de beaucoup de maulx et qu'il estoit besoing de prendre garde á luy, qu'il pensoit quelque jour aller vers Italie et apres vers le Pays Bas; qu'il communicoit tousiours avec les seigneurs de Pays Bas, comme le Marquiz de Bergh en Montigny et qu'il pourtant n'estoit *totalemant adonné á la religion catholique.*"

TRANSLATION

him, he was of the age of two and twenty years, of a generous understanding, liberal, diligent in his studies, seldom sleeping, and surpassing in liveliness of disposition even those of his age.

He was much bent on governing, and particularly desired to go with his father towards the Low Countries; but he found some malicious opposers to his good will, for they said that it would be the source of many evils and that it was necessary to place a guard over him, for that he thought some day to go towards Italy, and afterwards towards the Low Countries; and that he communicated constantly with the lords of the Low Countries, such as the Marquis of Bergh en Montigny, and *that, moreover, he was not entirely addicted to the Catholic religion.*

A multitude of other sanguinary executions, and no less frightful and appalling, followed those of the Counts, in Rotterdam, in Malines, at the Hague, and in other towns. Even the Catholics themselves in Flanders, although adherents of the Spanish King, were horrified at the atrocious deeds of the Duke of Alva. They perceived how rapidly the indignation of the public was increasing, as well as that of the friends and followers of the persecuted nobility. They not only warned the governor of the torrents of blood he was about to shed in the Low Countries, but wrote to Philip, beseeching him to grant a general pardon, as the only mode of appeasing the anger of the people. But the King's order came too late. The strife had increased to such a fearful extent, that the military force was inadequate to restore the public tranquillity.*

The Prince of Orange, with a view of liberating his country, raised an army composed of Germans, French, and Walcherens. With this force he entered Flanders to succour the people. This illustrious man, whose devotedness rivalled that of the most renowned citizens of Greece and Rome, spent the whole of his patrimony in protecting the Flemings; and, with a view of subduing the ardour of his noble spirit, the ferocious Duke of Alva carried off, from Louvaine, his son, the Count of Bueren;

TRANSLATION.

* "Le Prince d'Orange monstra sa loyauté qu' engagea tous ces biens pour l'amour de nous, estants en plus miserable .estat dú monde : toutesfois il desideroit nous delivrer de la tyrannie Espagnole ; mais le temps n'estoit pas encore avenu."—*Le Miroir de la cruelle et horrible tyrannie Espagnole, &c.*

The Prince of Orange manifested his loyalty by devoting all his property, out of love to us, we being in the most miserable state in the world: he always wished to deliver us from the Spanish tyranny; but the time was not yet arrived.

thus violating and trampling upon the privileges of Brabant and of the University, in order that this young captive might, by a fifteen years' imprisonment in Spain, expiate his crime of having been born of an enemy to a despot!

But the Prince of Orange was incapable of being overcome by the entreaties, menaces, or bribes, of the King of Spain. He was, therefore, able, by the sacrifice of his own fortune, to secure the liberties of Holland and Zealand. Fearful of the unhappy results which might attend the arms of those who maintained the independence of their country, he wished to preserve his credit, that, when necessary, it might be available for the public service. With this view, he declined the first office in the government, advising his friends to confide it to the Archduke Mathias, of Austria, afterwards to the Duke Francisco de Alençon, brother of the King of France, and ultimately to Robert, Earl of Leicester, a favourite of Elizabeth, Queen of England; but none of those were able to offer those services which the necessities of the Dutch required.

Philip employed every species of artifice to gain over the mind of the Prince of Orange. The Emperor of Germany, in the name of the King of Spain, to induce him to lay down his arms, offered to both him and his friends the most advantageous propositions, and engaged, as mediator, to see them inviolably carried out. But the Queen of France, Catherine de Médicis, who was disaffected to Philip, in consequence of suspicions that he had ordered his wife, her daughter, Elizabeth of Valois, to be poisoned, and owing to other insults against the French, interfered, and put aside the treaty, promising the Prince of Orange all her assistance, if

he would but continue the war against the King of Spain.*

French inconstancy afterwards left the Prince and the Dutch engaged in the struggle with a powerful nation, having only their own forces, and those which at that time were afforded them under the protection of Queen Elizabeth of England.† But the treachery of Catherine de Médicis had the effect of making them more courageous and the better fitted for the enterprise of working out their own liberties.

TRANSLATION.

* “Le Prince d’Orange, chef de ceux qui s’estoient eslevez es Pais Bas contre l’inquisition et le gouvernement des espagnols, s’estoit retiré chez soy en Allemagne et estoit instamment sollicité d’accorder avec le Roy d’Espagne á conditions assez avantageuses, lesquelles l’Empereur (moyenneur de cest accord) luy proposoit et promettoit faire inviolablement observer, tellement qu’il estoit á demy encliné á les recevoir. Pour rompre ce traité, Catherine fait que le roy son fils escrit une lettre au Comte Ludovic de Nassau, frere du Prince d’Orange . . . par la quelle il lui donna esperance de secours contre le roy d’Espagne . . . La roine estoit fort corroucée de la mort de sa fille empoisonnée en Espagne.”—*Discours merveilleux de la vie actions et deportemens de la royne Catherine de Medicis, mere de François II., Charles IX., Henry III., rois de France.*—A Paris, 1663.

† “Les ruines de ces pauvres peuples, voire des princes, qui les out conduits pour les avoir abandonnez au besoin, apres les avoir semonds á s’eslever pour se mettre en sa protection.”—*Le Tocvain contre les masecreurs et auteurs des confusions en France.*—A Reims, MD.LXXVII.

The Prince of Orange, the chief of those who had risen in the Low Countries against the Inquisition and the government of the Spaniards, had retired to his house in Germany, and was earnestly solicited to agree with the King of Spain to very advantageous conditions, which the emperor (the medium of that agreement,) proposed to him, and promised to see that they were observed inviolably, so that he was half inclined to accept them. To break off the treaty, Catherine prevailed on the king, her son, to write a letter to the Count Ludovic, of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange . . . in which he gave him hope of assistance against the King of Spain . . . The queen was much enraged—at the death of her daughter, who was poisoned in Spain.

The ruin of these poor people, nay, even of the princes, who had led them on, to abandon them in time of need, after having invited them to rise, and put themselves under their protection.

Philip II., under pretence of fortifying the Catholic faith, still continued to use every effort to draw France and England under his power. Before the death of his queen, Elizabeth of Valois, sister of the French Kings, Francis II., Charles IX. and Henry III., he believed that he was shortly to make himself master of all the countries on the other side of the Pyrenees. The cunning and perfidious Catherine de Médicis, through the Duke of Alva, offered to place the crown of France on the brow of her daughter, Elizabeth, if Philip would assist her in taking possession of Florence. But the Duke, not wishing to rely on promises and offers so unlikely to be performed, exacted from her, in token of her good faith, a pledge that she would abolish liberty of conscience in the French dominions, and begin at once by the punishment of the Huguenots.*

In all those conspiracies, plotted by the sovereigns of Europe against the Protestants, Philip II. and the Pope appear to have been the principal instigators. The

TRANSLATION.

* "Promit et iura au duc d'Albe de faire tomber la couronne de France sur la teste de sa fille ainée pour se le rendre bon patron et garent, au cas que ses enfans mourussent. Mais le Duc d'Albe ne la pouvant legerement croire, voulut pour confirmation de ce fait que la royne mere luy promist, cependant de rompre et casser l'edict de pacification et de oster aux Huguenots tout ce qu'ils avoyent de liberté de conscience et de exercice de religion, pour meilleure preuve de sa bonne volonte envers l'Espagne."—*Le Reveille-matin des François et de leurs voisins.*—Composé par Eusebe Philadelphie, cosmopolite.—A Edinbourg, 1574.

She promised and swore, to the Duke of Alva, to let fall the crown of France on the head of her eldest daughter, to make herself a good patron, and guarantee, in case her children should die. But the Duke of Alva, not being able easily to believe her, wished, as a confirmation of this fact, that the queen mother should promise in the interim to break the edict of pacification, and to deprive the Huguenots of all that they had of liberty of conscience, and exercise of religion, as a better proof of her good will towards Spain.

horrible murder of the French Huguenots, on the night of St. Bartholomew, was promised beforehand by Catherine de Médicis to the King of Spain and the Roman Pontiff.

The advice of these two personages, and the assistance they rendered in the execution of the deed, as well as the money and men furnished by them on the occasion, filled the whole world with indignation.*

Philip, wasting his own treasures and those of his subjects in protecting the cause of the Pope in Europe, greatly impoverished the Spanish nation.

In a meeting of the Cortes, held in Madrid (I think in 1588), with the object of asking subsidies of the people, in order to defend the Catholic religion, a *procurador*, Don Francisco Antonio Alarcon, gave an opinion contrary to the petition which Philip had presented for a duty on flour. In that notable speech, written with great courage and reason, we find the eloquent patriot thus expressing himself:—

“I ask—what connection is there between a cessation of heresies there, and our paying a tax upon flour here? Think you, for example, that France, Flanders, and England, will be better when Spain is poorer? The remedy for the sins of Nineveh was not to augment the taxes of Palestine, in order to send and conquer; but to send to the people of Nineveh a person who might convert them The Catholic religion, and the cause and defence of it, is common to all Christendom;

* “Et ce pour satisfaire á la promesse faite au Pape et á l'espagnol avec lesquels la conjuration avoit este projectee di longue main, &c.” — *Le tocsain contre les masecreurs, &c.*

TRANSLATION.

And to fulfil the promise made to the Pope, and to the Spaniard by whom the conspiracy had been projected, a long time previously, &c.

and if those wars are necessary for it, it does not belong to Castile to bear all the charge, there being other kingdoms, and princes, and republics to look to . . .”

“ I beseech you to consider, that the present wars cannot continue ; for, like other things of the world and of the state, they take such turns, that it is possible, supposing present intentions to change, means may be found to bring about peace with our enemies ; and then would be seen our great fault and imprudence, in having, through false alarms of a short war, put the nation under true and perpetual slavery ; for, according to the opinion of those who are learned in state affairs, an open war would be a less evil than a peace on such onerous conditions.”

“ It may be seen at a glance that wars with France and Flanders are very dangerous . . . and therefore the kingdom ought not, and cannot, with reason, bring upon herself a certain evil for the hope of anything so dubious, because . . . these provinces being in a much better condition, and your majesty in less necessity, seeing that they have always become deteriorated with so many years of war, and with so much expense and power, it is a manifest indication of what may be expected in prosecuting them ; on the contrary, if well considered, these events and things are like so many monitors, reminding us of the little fruit derived by the ever victorious Emperor Charles V. from the war with the heretics and heresies of Germany, and by the kings of France against those of their kingdom ; and, finally, by our own Lord the King against those of Flanders, of England, and of France. And when it is also considered, that the mischief was not remedied, or even lessened, by the means applied, it is a clear sign that either the

disease is mortal, or that the remedies are not those adapted to cure it ; and then, wise men say, it is necessary to attempt the cure by contrary means. It is a good thing not to have wars within a kingdom, and very desirable to free it from them ; . . . and, if the procuring of peace in Spain is to be by so much poverty, and such a burden as is threatened by the tax upon flour, that would be a peace more cruel than all the wars. Because, if death is the greatest of all the troubles of this life, and if to die of hunger is the most miserable of all deaths, as wise men affirm it is, it follows that this tax will cause great hunger in the kingdom : the people will live by the greatest labour while they do exist, and then die the most miserable of all deaths”

“ Doubtless our enemies, and even our foreign friends, understand it to be most prejudicial that the affairs of this monarchy have arrived at such an extremity, that, in order to free us from either the war or the heresies of other kingdoms, there is now no other remedy, according to the lords of the *junta*, than to take the bread from our mouths : for the power of Spain would be but lightly esteemed if we were deprived of bread ; so would our genius, if we were unable to procure bread ; and so also would our sense, if we did not desire to have bread. Such is the condition of all human affairs, that burdened kingdoms and necessitous princes lose the respect of their friends and the fear of their enemies not being able to fulfil their promises to the former, or to execute their menaces against the latter”

“ The tax upon flour, because full of difficulties, inconveniences, and inequality, ought not to, nor can it, be conceded or consented to ; for, without

feigning anything, we can say, with those of Andria to Themistocles, who, endeavouring to impose a tribute upon them, said, that, in order that they might concede it to him, he was raising up two very powerful goddesses—Persuasion and Force : to which the Andrians replied, that they also had two other goddesses, still more valiant, who would defend them against its payment, which were—Poverty and Impossibility.”*

Such were the protests of men, lovers of their country and of the welfare of mankind, against the temerarious wars of religion moved by Philip II. ; such the reasonings with which some persons, instigated by a holy zeal, and armed with extraordinary courage, defended the public interests, menaced by the ambition of a monarch who attempted to impose upon all people and nations the articles of his own creed.

These animated words of Alarcon, uttered in the Cortes of Madrid, were, however, not permitted to resound through the extended boundaries of the Spanish dominions, and to be re-echoed by Europe throughout

* The document from which these passages are copied, exists in MS. in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Madrid, Códice S. 151, with the title—

TRANSLATION.

“ *Discurso que trata del tributo ó imposición sobre la harina que en tiempo del Rey Don Felipe II. nuestro Señor, se propuso en algunas de las cortes que se celebraron en los reynos de la corona de Castilla y Leon que concediesen á S.M., el qual fué un parecer ó voto que dió en las cortes de Madrid un Procurador de ellas. Y tiénese por cosa cierta y sin duda que le compuso el Licenciado Gonzalo de Valcárcel, jurisconsulto muy docto y de grande erudición.*”

A Discourse which treats of the tribute or imposition upon flour, which in the time of the King Don Philip II., our Lord, was proposed in some of the cortes celebrated in the kingdoms of the Crown of Castile and Leon to be conceded to H.M., which was an opinion, or a vote, given by a Deputy of the Cortes in Madrid. And it is held for certain, and without doubt, that it was composed by the Licentiate Gonzalo de Valcárcel, a jurisconsult of great learning and erudition.

In the catalogue, it bears the name of Don Francisco Antonio Alarcon.

the world, announcing that, even in Spain, the torch which illumined the human understanding, in spite of the Holy Office and of Philip II., was not yet extinguished. The *procuradores* in Cortes were sworn, before taking their seats in them, not to reveal to a human being any of its proceedings, without the permission of the King, or of the functionary who presided in his name.

Philip had carried his inquisitorial secrecy even into the representative assembly; so that the people were ignorant of what was done or left undone, by their representatives, for the public service. They only knew of these proceedings by their effects; and not even by these, if the monarch, the council of Castile, and the tribunal of the Inquisition so ordered; nor were they able to read any account of the votes of the representatives of the kingdom on questions discussed in the Cortes.*

But Philip was resolved to put himself in possession of every part of Europe which had cast off obedience

* The form of the oath taken, in 1598, by the *procuradores* in cortes, was as follows:—

“Que juran á Dios y á esta cruz y á las palabras de los Santos Evangelios, que con sus manos derechas han tocado, que ternán y guardarán secreto de todo lo que se tratare y platicare en las cortes, tocante al servicio de Dios y de S.M., y bien y procomun destos sus reynos; y que no lo dirán ni revelarán por interpósitas personas, directe ni indirecte, á persona alguna hasta ser acabadas y despedidas las dichas cortes, salvo si no fuere con licencia de S.M., ó del Señor Presidente que en su nombre está presente, &c.”—*MS. in the library of Señor Don Pascual de Gayangos.*

TRANSLATION.

That they swear by God, and by that holy cross, and on the words of the holy Evangelists, which they have touched with their right hands, that they will guard and keep secret all that is spoken of or treated upon in the cortes, touching the service of God and of his majesty, and the common welfare of those his kingdoms; and that they will neither speak of, nor reveal anything, through strangers, directly or indirectly, to any person whomsoever, until the said cortes shall have been dissolved and separated, except by license of his majesty, or of the Lord President who, in his name, is present, &c.

to the Pope; nor did he regard the remonstrances made by his subjects when they reminded him of his errors. He wasted his resources in maintaining himself at the head of the conspirators of foreign kingdoms.

In England, the Bishop de Aquila, Don Alvaro de la Quadra, ambassador of Philip, harboured the malcontents in his house, and directed all the machinations of the Catholics against Queen Elizabeth. To such an extreme did these arrive, that the Queen, and those of her council, ordered the house of the Spanish embassy to be surrounded by armed people, who were commanded to take it, to break open its doors in case of resistance, and to remove all the English found within its walls. Already an English magistrate had been placed within the embassy, to watch the Bishop, and give an account of the persons who visited him. But these precautions were of little avail; for it generally happens that the ambassador of a powerful monarch, resolved to favour conspirators of other kingdoms, is influenced by a daring pertinacity.

Many Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings, were ignominiously turned out of the Bishop's house, and, after having been exposed to the derision of the people, were put into the public prison of London.* Elizabeth

* On 7th February, 1563, Cuadrá wrote to Philip, saying to him:—

“ El mariscal de la córte subió á mi aposento y me dijo de parte de la reyna, que le mandase entregar todos los Ingleses que habia en casa . . . Yo le dije que no habia visto ningun Inglés . . . Visto que no habia Ingleses, tomaron Españoles, Italianos y Flamencos los que quisieron, y los llevaron públicamente con irrision y grita del pueblo, por

TRANSLATION.

The marshal of the court came up to my apartment, and told me, on behalf of the Queen, that I must deliver up to him all the English who were in the house . . . I told him there had not been an Englishman seen in it . . . Perceiving that there were no English, they took as many of the Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings,

determined that Philip should not, through his agents in England, any longer conspire against her; and thus it became necessary for him to send to her court another ambassador, who was not an ecclesiastic.

But the King of Spain, and his messengers in England, did not abandon their policy of plotting conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth. Owing to these, the ambassador Don Gualdo de Spés, a military knight of the order of Calatrava, was made a prisoner in his own house, and, subsequently, called before Elizabeth's council and severely reprehended for his attempts to encourage those* who were disaffected to her majesty, in order that they might resort to violence and open rebellion; and for having circulated the bulls fulminated by the

TRANSLATION.

todo lo mas largo de la ciudad hasta la cárcel pública
 Paréceme que están determinados de prohibir espresamente que no venga á misa nadie, aunque sea extranjero He sabido que la órden que estaba dada era que si en mi casa se hiciese la menor resistencia del mundo, se hubiesen abierto las puertas, y apellidado por la Reyna y que me hubiesen combatido la casa, y muerto á cuantos en ella habia."—*Papeles del Archivo de Simancas*.—See the work "*España, y el Vizconde Palmerston*."

* "A los 8 de Enero (1569) él (Cecil) y el almirante con grande insolencia me arrestaron en casa, despidiéndome todos los criados ingleses, sino uno, y poniendo muy estrecha guarda, repartida la gente por quatro cuadrillas, para las cuales hicieron tres casas de madera, y para la cuarta servia una casilla en la puerta principal."—*Papeles del Archivo de Simancas*. Vide the already-cited work, "*España y el Vizconde Palmerston*."

as they pleased, and carried them away publicly, amid the derision and hootings of the people, through the longest way in the city, to the public prison It appears to me they are determined to prohibit, expressly, every one from coming to mass, even though they be foreigners I have learned that the order given was, that if, in my house, there had been made the least resistance in the world, they would have broken open the doors, and, fighting for the Queen, have taken the house by assault, killing every one found within it.

On 8th January (1569) he (Cecil) and the admiral, with great insolence, arrested me in my house, discharging all the English servants, except one, and placing over the house a strict guard, divided into four companies, for three of which were erected three wooden houses, and for the fourth was appropriated a small house or lodge at the principal gate.

Pope against that sovereign.*—Owing to these same conspiracies, Don Bernardino Mendoza, the successor of De Spés, was expelled from England, for his attempts to carry off Mary Stuart from the kingdom, after having in vain endeavoured to exculpate himself before Elizabeth's council; for, whilst asking time to communicate with Philip, the members rose from their seats, and refused to hear him. †—Finally, owing to these, Mary Stuart was

* "S. M. . . . tiene entendido que V. S. dá muestra de ser en muy mayor grado inclinado á intentar cosas peligrosas contra S. M. . . . usando de continuos tratos secretos con sus súbditos para divertir los buenos de su debido oficio, y animar los inconstantes á intentar muy horribles maleficios contra su patria, moviéndolos á ser rebeldes, y animándolos á ellos con persuasiones y esperanzas que V. S. les ha dado de ciertas invasiones y estos sus ultimos tractos son tan claros y manifestos á S. M. que ya no los puede mas sufrir, &c." —*Papeles del Archivo Simancas*. Copy of the intimation given to Spés in the council of the Queen of England, on the 14th December, 1571.

† "El secretario . . . me dijo estar (la Reyna) muy mal satisfecha de mí por los oficios que habia hecho para inquietar su Reyno, teniendo comunicacion con la Reyna de Escocia, como lo habia confesado un Moor que estaba preso, haberme dado cartas suyas y tratar yo de quererla sacar deste pais con inteligencia del duque de Guisa á cuya causa era la voluntad de la Reyna que dentro de quince dias me partiese Les dije que yo era enemigo de estar en casa de nadie á su pesar por lo cual cumpliria la voluntad de la Reyna al momento que despachase

TRANSLATION.

Her majesty has understood that you had given proofs of being, in the greatest degree, inclined to attempt dangerous things against her majesty . . . having recourse to secret treaties, continuously, with her subjects, in order to divert the good from their duty, and animate the disaffected to attempt horrible deeds against their country, moving them to rebellion and exciting them to it with promises and hopes that you had given of certain invasions and that those, your ultimate designs, . . . are so clear and manifest to her majesty, that she cannot suffer them any longer, &c.

The secretary told me that she (the Queen) being ill-pleased with me for the offices that I had rendered in disquieting her kingdom, by having communication with the Queen of Scots, as a Moor had confessed, he being a prisoner, saying that he had given me letters and conferred with me about carrying her off from this country, by arrangement with the Duke of Guise . . . for which cause, it was the Queen's will that I should make my departure in fifteen days I told him I did not wish to be in any one's house against his will . . . for which reason I would

ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment not for her attempts to liberate herself from prison, but for having conspired against the throne and life of Elizabeth, and against the English Protestants, in concert with Philip II., with the Pope, and with the Duke of Alva, who, by their imprudent actions had discovered, to the sagacity of the English Queen, the tempest which menaced her kingdom.*

Philip II., in spite of the sacrifices of his troops and his treasures, had the misfortune to see all his attempts against other nations entirely frustrated, and a considerable portion of the property of his own subjects wasted by his unsuccessful projects. From such results one may infer how erroneous is the policy of sovereigns who

un correo á V. M. Replícaron levantándose de las sillas que no, sino que habia de partirme luego, disculpando las cosas hechas con disvergüenzas, que no es en mi mano tener atrevimiento para escribirlas á V. M."—*Papeles del Archivo de Simancas*. Carta de Mendoza á Felipe, escrita en Londres á 26 de Enero de 1584.

* "Il est certain que si la conspiration eust sorty son effect, la religion eust changé en Angleterre: l'intelligence du Pape, du roy d'Espagne, et du duc d'Albe, le descouvren assez La punition de ceste conspiration, n'adioustera rien á leur mauvaise volonté; mais l'impunité adiousterá bien aux moyens. Le Pape, le roy de Espagne, ny le duc d'Albe, (quelle parentelle!) ny confederation ou amitié si estroicte ont ils á la dicte royne d'Escosse que pour son respect ils ayent iamais voulu s'armer contre la royne d'Angleterre? &c." — *Le Reveille-matin des François et de leurs voisins*. (Edimbourg, 1574.)

TRANSLATION.

comply with the Queen's will the moment I should have dispatched a courier to your majesty They replied, raising themselves from their seats, no; I should take my departure immediately, justifying their violence without the least shame; in a way that even my hand has not the courage to write or describe.

It is certain, that if the conspiracy had carried out its intention, religion would have been changed in England: the correspondence of the Pope, of the King of Spain, and of the Duke of Alva, sufficiently proves it . . . The punishment of this conspiracy will add nothing to their wicked design; but impunity will add greatly to their means. Has the Pope, the King of Spain, or the Duke of Alva, (what relations!) neither confederation nor friendship so strict towards the said Queen of Scots, that, out of respect to her, they have never wished to arm themselves against the Queen of England?

carry their pertinacity to the utmost extreme, heedless of the disasters which their conduct towards foreign kingdoms may bring upon their own.

But whilst Spain was employed in wars against the greater portion of Europe in defence of the Pontiff, the latter, through his Nuncio, was attempting to abridge the royal authority and set up his own. In order to this, he, in the first place, ordered the *corregidor* (chief magistrate,) and the judge of Logroño to be excommunicated, for having sequestered the property of certain ecclesiastics, and thereupon declared void the bishopric of Calahorra, the bishop of which had attacked the orders of the council and of Philip in reference to the same matter. The King expelled the Nuncio for his temerity, and wrote to Cardinal Granville complaining of the Pope's ingratitude for all the wars he had undertaken with a view of maintaining the power of his holiness in all Europe.*

Philip, by the benefits which he conferred, engendered only ingratitude ; for he bestowed them on reci-

TRANSLATION.

* " Es fuerte cosa (decia Felipe) que por ver que yo solo soy el que respeto á la Sede Apostólica, y con suma veneracion mis reynos, y procuro hagan lo mismo los agenos, en lugar de agradecérmelo, como debian, se aprovechan de ello para quererme usurpar la autoridad . . . Y sé muy bien que no debo sufrir que estas cosas pasen tan adelante ; y os certifico yo que me traen muy cansado y cerca de acabárseme la paciencia, por mucha que tengo. Y si á esto se llega podria ser que á todos pesase de ello."—*Carta á Granvelle desde Lisboa el año de 1582. Juicio imparcial sobre el monitoria de Parma.*

It is a hard thing, (said Philip,) that, seeing I am the only one who respects the apostolical see, and that my kingdoms do the samewith the utmost veneration, and that I procure foreign kingdoms to do the like, instead of being thanked for it, as I ought to be, I am taken advantage of by all those who desire to usurp my authority And I know very well that I ought not to suffer these things to go any further ; for I assure you that they tire me, and nearly exhaust my patience, much as I have of it.

pipients who regarded them as flowing from a sense of imperative duty, rather than from affection and devotion. By his artifices and dissimulations in his political track he caused irreconcilable enemies, and by his wars he brought up victorious competitors, who fought against his own arrogance, and destroyed the property of his subjects. He had to struggle with the talent of the Prince of Orange, who knew how to profit by the cruelties of the Duke of Alva and of his leaders, perpetrated in the Low Countries. These cruelties afforded a fair pretext for instigating the minds of the people to vengeance, and inducing an ardent desire to recover their privileges, and a wish to consolidate, into one republic, the seven provinces which had rebelled against Philip; and, although the latter had contrived, by treachery, to take the life of the Prince of Orange, yet his eldest son, Maurice of Nassau, educated in the lessons of the histories of Polybius and Julius Cæsar, united, unfortunately for the Spanish King, to the political talents of his father, great valour and military skill; he continued the struggle, (sustained as it was, on one side, by the great loss of Spanish people and of Spanish property, and on the other, by the riches which the commerce of the Dutch were enabled to supply,) and ultimately secured the liberties of the country.

Not less infelicitous were the movements of Philip in attempting to take possession of France. The captains of the Catholic League, in that country, sold their services to King Henry IV., rather than place themselves at the disposition of Philip; and that monarch made a false pretence of letting alone the reformed religion, in order to put an end to the inquietudes of his kingdoms.

After his attempts to conspire against Queen

Elizabeth, Philip, seeing himself foiled by her sagacity, determined on having recourse to arms in order to make himself master of the British Isles. He prepared a most numerous *Armada*, to which the common people gave the name of *invincible*: but the English admiral, Sir Francis Drake, with great boldness, entered some of the Spanish ports, (Cadiz among the rest,) where the vessels, destined for the expedition were lying, and burned a great number of them. Afterwards the *Armada*, under orders of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, passed the channel of La Mancha: but by the burthen of the ships, the ignorance of Philip's sailors, who were unaccustomed to such rough seas, the active pursuit by the English and Dutch ships, which kept a constant cannonade against the Spaniards, and sent fire-ships among them, and by the taking of several galleons and their crews, this enterprise of Philip was entirely destroyed.*

* "*Relacion de lo sucedido á la Armada de S. M; desde que entró en el canal, de Inglaterra hasta lo que se entendió en Dunquerque á los doze y treze de Agosto de 1588. Entró en el canal la Armada, sábado treynta de Julio y aquel día se mejoró hasta la entrada de Plemua (Plymouth,) y se vieron cantidad de baxeles del enemigo.*"—*Impresa en Sevilla en casa de Cosmo de Lara, un pliego en folio de letra gótico.*

TRANSLATION.

An account of what befel the Armada of His Majesty from the time it entered the English Channel until its arrival at Dunkerque on the 12th and 13th of August, 1588. The Armada entered the Channel on Saturday, 30th July, and, on that day, it made way to the entrance to Plymouth, in sight of a great number of the enemy's ships.

The history of the *Invincible Armada* contains the above curious titles. It recounts that not a day passed in which the English vessels did not molest those of the Spaniards. The Duke of Medina wrote to the Duke of Parma:—

"No se puede andar campeando con esta armada, pues el ser tan pesada hace andar á sotaviento del enemigo sin poder hacer nada con él aunque se procura.—*A. 7 de Agosto de 1588.—Sobre Calés.*

We cannot go beating about with this *Armada*, because, being so heavy, it goes naturally to leeward of the enemy, without being able to do anything against it, although it tries to effect something.

This victory tended to strengthen the maritime power of the English, which now began to dispute, with great success, against the Spanish forces, the possessions of the East and West Indies, and even dared to come to the states of the Peninsula, making itself master of the city of Cadiz; from whence, without having sacrificed lives in a zeal for religion, but on the contrary, after having permitted friars and many secular persons flying in the habit of San Francisco for fear of being made prisoners, to quit the city, the English returned to their country, richly laden with spoils, and with hostages, for which they hoped to receive large ransoms.

CHAPTER VII.

Philip—His unpopularity—Alarmed by a thunderbolt—His seclusion—Inconstancy of his friendships—Impoverishment of his kingdom contrasted with Elizabeth's prosperity—Toleration of Elizabeth—Results.

PHILIP II. was as much detested in Spain as in all Europe besides. His presumptuous enterprizes against the liberties of other nations were similar to those which he directed against his own. The complaints of those of his subjects, who had been able to escape with their lives when he threatened them with destruction were heard throughout the world; but those of the unhappy victims who groaned beneath his yoke, after faintly reaching his ears, were disregarded in the confusion of the times, without leaving scarcely so much as a memorial of them behind. As wicked men have always during their triumph their partisans, and, after death has levelled all distinctions between the offender and the offended, their flatterers, so great political criminals usually find, in future generations, some more ready to extol them for virtues they never possessed, than to hold up their crimes as a warning to coming generations.

Philip, like the Emperor Tiberias, withdrew himself from the world, and lived a long time in seclusion, the slave of dissimulation, startled at the very air that blew upon his garments, lest it should waft his thoughts to the nation and to his enemies, for they were identical. On a

certain occasion, near an alcove in which Philip was asleep at the Escorial, there fell a thunderbolt, filling his heart with alarm, and constraining him to consider the event as a warning from heaven for him to amend his government. As all despots have believed in auguries, Philip had recourse to the priest of the palace, Don Luis Manrique, desiring to be made acquainted with the complaints of his subjects, and advised as to the means of redressing them to the satisfaction of everybody. Terror had taken possession of his soul, and subdued those haughty notions which had elevated his royal dignity to such a pitch, that complaints could never reach it without crime, which was immediately visited with punishment. Manrique, however, knowing that, in these moments of the King's dread of the divine displeasure, which this fall of the thunderbolt had apparently indicated, he had full liberty to answer his master's enquiries, gave him a faithful representation of the evils which caused so much disgust in his kingdoms.

Philip avoided all intercourse with society. He refused to place confidence in any human being ; and was, consequently, obliged to be always employed in perusing government-papers, even those of the most insignificant kind. This seclusion, and this labour, were highly prejudicial to the interests of his subjects, who wasted their time in waiting the tardy resolutions of the King in the business of the state.*

* "Habiendo tambien en otra ocasion avisado á V.M. de la pública querella y disconsuelo que habia por el estilo que V.M. habia tomado de negociar estando continuamente asido de los papeles ; y que se daba á entender que principalmente lo hacia V.M. por

TRANSLATION.

Having also on another occasion advised your majesty of the public grievance and discontent that exist in consequence of the plan your majesty has adopted for transacting business, being constantly besieged with papers ; I now tell you it is understood you take this

“Your Majesty,” said Manrique, “commits a great offence against God, in not changing this manner of government, so as to give less trouble to yourself, and more profit, satisfaction, and contentment, to the world; into which *God did not send your Majesty, and all other kings that have their time on the earth, in order to be always reading, or writing, or contemplating, or praying in canonical hours; but that you and they may be the public and patent oracles to which all subjects may come for answers and remedies to their wants and necessities.*”*

To such an extent did Philip carry his seclusion, that it became nearly impossible for his subjects to represent to him the evils they suffered.†

TRANSLATION.

tener mejor titulo para huir de la gente, de mas de no quererse fiar de nadie, y que lo que mas se sentia es el poco despacho y dilaciones, tristezas y desesperaciones de los negociantes, que no podian en muchos dias dar alcance á V.M., y al pueblo que nunca le veia, &c.”—*Representacion que hizo á la majestad del Señor Felipe II. el cura de palacio, Don Luis Manrique, por haberle mandado S.M. le advirtiese lo que se decia de su gobierno en la ocasion de haber caido un rayo cerca de la alcoba donde S.M. dormia.*—MS., for access to which I am indebted to my erudite friend and orientalist Gayangos.

* *The MS. cited in last note.*

† Dije á V.M. como se quejaban todos, no solamente de que V.M. se les escondia, mas de que no habia dejado puerta abierta por donde pudiesen alguna vez los miserables entrar á representar sus miserias y discusuelos Estas puertas son los privados Cristiauos y fieles, y moderados en las cosas de los príncipes; que ios

course to shun the people, and because you do not like to confide in anybody; and what is more felt . . . is the want of dispatch and the great delays, the misery and desperation of the suitors, who cannot, for days together, catch a glance of your majesty, for you never see the people, &c.—*Representation made by the priest of the palace, Don Luis Manrique, to the majesty of Philip II., on being requested by his majesty, on the occasion of the falling of a thunder-bolt near the alcove in which his majesty was sleeping, to inform him what was said of his government.*

I have told your majesty, as indeed everybody complains, not only that your majesty is hiding yourself from them, but that you have not left an open door by which the miserable creatures may occasionally enter, to lay before you their petitions, and represent to you their grievances Those doors are the private

He wished to bear on his own shoulders the whole weight of the monarchy, and therefore directed his secretaries to bring every affair before him in writing, in order that no one might have the opportunity of a personal conference with him; for in this way he believed that the royal dignity was made to assimilate itself to the power of God, whom men knew, not by presence, or by conference, but only by effects.

The folly and impiety of this King in wishing to be taken for God on the earth, invisible and omniscient, rendered his rule tardy, irresolute, and fatiguing.*

He did not appreciate, as political councillors, men wise in the science of government; but gave preference to those persons who were his inferiors in understanding and business-habits, in order that he might not be hindered, by philosophical and historical observations, from putting his own desires into execution. A king, (according to Philip II.,) could not tolerate, without dishonour, that, in state-affairs, any one should presume to point out to him the proper course. He considered

soberbios y ambiciosos no son puertas sino compuertas que se echan para que no entre nadie sino ellos."—*Manrique, already cited.*

* "Acriminan mucho el no parecer V. M. y negociar por billetes y por escrito, pareciendo á todo el mundo que esto es causa de que se despachen pocas cosas y tarde . . . y dase mucho á entender que V. M. no negocia por escrito por que le parezca lo mas conveniente, sino por que no le hable nadie."—*Manrique, MS. already cited.*

TRANSLATION.

Christians and believers, and moderate - thinking - people in things relating to religion; but the proud and ambitious are not doors, but mere hatches, thrown down in order to exclude every one but themselves.

They complain bitterly of your majesty's not appearing in person, but negotiating by notes and in writing, making it clear to all the world that this is the reason why so few things are dispatched, and even these so tardily . . . and giving it to be understood that your majesty does not transact business by writing, merely because more convenient, but because nobody may speak to you.

that as he was, in point of dignity, the greatest of all Spaniards, so also, in acumen and political economy, he far excelled his subjects ; for he was persuaded that the opinion of a King was never far from the way of truth and justice ; and that in those who were nominally of his council he ought to find the obedience of servants, and not that expression of a free opinion which might be prompted by a zeal for the public good.*

Philip II. passed from the extreme of confiding in two or three persons, to that of trusting alone to his own opinion, formed upon such materials as the adulation and self-interest of bad men would allow to reach the steps of his throne ; or to invoke the monastic solitude in which he had shut himself up, wishing to be thought the lord of the world, like another Alexander, another Cæsar, or another Attila, without incurring the personal danger of putting himself at the head of his troops.

Spanish historians, favourable to the memory of Philip, show the inconstancy of his friendship ; for one of

* “ No tienen por bastante descargo el que dá V. M. de que de esta manera entiende mejor los negocios, y los ministros no lo pueden engañar ; por que sin hacer lo que V. M. hace, pasan y pasaron otros reyes y gobernadores con menos trabajo suyo y de sus súbditos, buscando personas convenientes para los oficios, premiando á los buenos, y castigando á los malos. Otra cosa añadian mas, y es que imaginan que V. M. aborrece á los que le siguen, y que le son pesados los que saben mucho, y que huelga mas con los que saben poco porque no le obliguen á dejar su parecer y voluntad.”—*Manrique, MS. before cited.*

TRANSLATION.

They do not hold it for a sufficient excuse that, in this manner, your majesty may the better understand business, and the ministers cannot deny it ; for, without secluding themselves as your majesty does, other kings and governors get on with less trouble to themselves and their subjects, seeking for persons adapted to the offices, rewarding the good and punishing the bad. They add one thing more : they imagine your majesty hates those who follow you, that those who know much are wearisome to you, and that you are more at ease with those who know little, because they do not oblige you to give up your will and opinion.

them says that his smile and his sword, or knife, were inseparable, or always went together. [*Su risa y su cuchillo eran confines.*]* And another asserts, that the most beloved of his friends lived with his shroud in his hand, dreading the sentence of his master. [*El mas amado vivia con la mortaja en la mano, temiendo el juicio de su señor.*]†

Even when standing on the brink of the grave, Philip refused to pardon some of his subjects who in his early days had rebelled against his authority in the kingdom of Arragon ; these men, constrained by a love towards their country, had returned to it, and, having fallen into the hands of his ministers, he inflicted upon them the punishment of death and confiscation of all their property.‡

Philip II., the rival of Elizabeth of England and of Henry IV. of France, in his eager desire to conquer those sovereigns by force of arms, forgot that the best way of competing with them was to work out the

* *Luis Cabrera de Córdoba Vida de Felipe II.*

† *Gil Gonzalez Dávila. Vida y hechos del Rey don Felipe III.*

‡ In *El Conocimiento de las Naciones*, a book written by Don Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos, translator of the works of Tacitus, and attributed to Antonio Perez, (MS. in the possession of my friend the learned Sevillian Don José María de Alava,) we read as follows :—

TRANSLATION.

“Habiéndose presentado, traídos del amor de su patria, y el de sus haciendas y sosiego, y quiza del crédito de que para ejemplo bastarian los primeros castigos hechos y ejecutados en personas grandes, y esperando que su memoria se habria de querer borrar con los perdones de los demás, ahora poco ha (esto se escribia en 1598,) estando ya muy cerca de la muerte el rey N. S., los han condenado en pena de muerte y confiscacion de bienes.”

Having presented themselves, drawn by the love of their country, and that of their estates and society, and perhaps believing that the punishment already inflicted on the persons of the great would suffice, and hoping that the recollection of those examples might have operated as a pardon to the rest ; a short time since (this was in 1598,) our Lord the King being very near his end, they were condemned to death and confiscation of property.

felicity of his own states and leave them more rich and powerful at his death. Scarcely had he ascended the throne of Castile, than, in his need of money to sustain wars with Europe, he refused to be sworn to observe the laws until certain subsidies had been granted to him; for by such reprisals he contrived to give a vigour to his regal authority in exacting obedience from his subjects.* Afterwards, by his dissensions in Flanders, his fruitless conquest of the Republic of Holland, his unfortunate enterprize against England, and his struggles with France, he burthened his kingdoms by imposts, thereby ruining families, impoverishing the labouring classes, and destroying commerce on every side.† Elizabeth at

* “De los reynos de España . . . despues de la recuperacion, es Castilla la cabeza, y esta tiene sus leyes y privilegios, particulares jurados por el rey presente, y todos sus antecesores *aunque Felipe se tardó en el juramento, por que aquel rey supo mucho para sí, despues que empezó á gobernar. Y á este propósito me afirman que en Toledo, ciudad grande junto á Madrid, donde al presente se hallaba, rehusó hacerle (en juramento) hasta que sacó al reyno algunas alcabalas.*”

Relacion que hirzo á la república de Venecia Simon Centurion de la embajada que habia hecho en España.—M.S. 1605, in the library of my friend Señor de Gayangos.

† “Del consejo de hacienda dicen que de él salen cosas que tienen mas parentesco con la tiranía que con la justicia No hagan entender á V.M. los de este consejo que las imposiciones de la sal y de otras cosas, y la persecucion que ha andado y anda por este reyno ha sido de algun, provecho é interes que muy mas seguro se podrán creer las lágrimas de muchas pobres gentes que por esto se han

TRANSLATION.

Of the kingdoms of Spain . . . since the Restoration, Castile is the head, and enjoys her particular laws and privileges, sworn to by the reigning king and all his predecessors, *although Philip delayed to swear to their observance,* because that King knew very well how to take care of himself after he began to reign. And with that intent they affirm, that in Toledo, a considerable city close to Madrid, where he then was, he refused to swear to them, *until he first drew some supplies from the kingdom.*

It is said of the council of revenue that from it proceed things which have more relation to tyranny than to justice Those of this council do not give your majesty to understand that the duties on salt and other things, and the persecution which has gone on, and continues to go on, in this kingdom, have been of any interest or profit . . that they may, with greater reason, believe the tears of many

the same time undertook wars only through an absolute necessity to defend herself in a just cause, when a powerful and fanatical monarch had pursued her into her own kingdom, and was there affording protection to the malcontents and conspirators; and, armed with a papal bull which ceded to him the English crown, he was threatening to invade her dominions with a numerous host. She always found her subjects ready and willing to concede subsidies to her, to enable her to castigate Philip's temerity, in compliance with the wishes of her country. This gave rise to a proverb in common use in Spain for more than a century afterwards—" *Con todos guerra y paz con Inglaterra:*" *War with all the world, but peace with England.**

TRANSLATION.

perdido, como en Asturias y Galicia, y se van perdiendo, y de otros que por acá han padecido y padecen no solo por las imposiciones, sino por malvados hombres administradores, &c.—*Manrique, MS. before cited.*

poor people, who, in consequence of them have perished, as for example in the Asturias and in Galicia, and are still perishing, and from others there also who have suffered and still suffer, not only by the taxes imposed, but by the wicked men appointed to collect them.

The same author says in another place:—

"Todos saben que V. M. no ignora la grito, lágrimas y exclamaciones que hay por todo este reyno, por causa de las alcabalas y de las vejaciones á injusticias y tiranías de los administradores y cobradores de ellas."

All know that your Majesty is not ignorant of the cries, tears, and exclamations which there are throughout the kingdom, in consequence of the excise duties, and the vexation, injustice, and tyranny perpetrated by the surveyors and collectors of them.

* . . . Pour le conseil que Philippe II. donna á son fils avant que de mourir, en luy recommandant "*d'estre en paix avec l'Angleterre pour pouvoir faire la guerre avec tout le monde.*"—*Voyage de Espagne.*" A Cologne 1666.

In the advice which Philip II., before his death, gave to his son, he recommended him "to be at peace with England, in order, thereby, to be able to make war with all the world."

"Par quelq'autre dependance politique, suivant le proverbe commun d'Espagne: *con todos guerra y paz con Inglaterra.*"—*Memoires curieux envoyez de Madrid.* A Paris, 1670.

By some other political dependance, following the common proverb in Spain: "*con todos guerra y paz con Inglaterra.*"

Those political lessons, derived by the costly and sanguinary experience of the people, were the rewards which the Spanish nation received for having, to her own injury, assisted Philip in his tyrannical and ambitious projects over all Europe.

Henry IV. on coming to the throne of France, found his monarchy divided by civil and religious contentions; in a debilitated condition for foreign wars, and without riches. Having learned to conquer himself, he was enabled to conquer the enemies of his country. He abjured the reformed for the Catholic religion, thus making a sacrifice for the public good, which Philip II. never would have made, for sooner than tolerate liberty of conscience, he suffered his country to lose its possessions in Flanders. Henry, at his death, left as an inheritance to his people, peace, not only at home but abroad; a powerful army prepared to take the field in case of necessity, and the royal coffers filled with treasures.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England when that nation was suffering from the bad policy of her predecessors. Instead of opposing herself to the notions of civil and religious liberty cherished by her subjects, she was the firm protector of both. Her troops were always victorious: the people, with pleasure, furnished supplies for the defence of the country against foreign enemies, and in order to assist the Dutch in their wars against Spain: the royal maritime power became invincible, and Elizabeth, impelled by a love for her people, did not hesitate to sell part of the royal patrimony, thus leaving herself and her successors more dependant on the House of Commons. She also, in descending to the tomb, left her kingdom in a state of great power and grandeur.

Philip II., who set himself in opposition to the very age in which he lived, was always conquered and defeated. He received, on every side, the just reward of his temerity. He sought to compass the misery of his enemies, but had the mortification to see them prosperous and happy. Indeed, in the end, he punished himself; for, the chastisements he received for his cruel and unjust enterprises were severely felt in the heart of his own kingdoms, in consequence of the bad policy to which he resorted with a view of subjugating the world.

The superb structure of the Spanish monarchy began to crumble away from the latter part of the reign of Philip II., a monarch who was only able to see his will triumphant in the peninsula; nor was that triumph attained through the means of which he availed himself, but by having found the country already prepared for slavery and dishonour by the kings who had previously occupied the throne of Castile.

CHAPTER VIII.

Intolerance of Ferdinand and Isabella continued by Philip II.—The Moors of Granada—Confiscations—Exodus of the Moors—Their reception by Henry IV. of France—Philip III. allows them to quit his kingdoms—Their reception in Tunis—Philip's cupidity.

THE temerity of the strong and powerful, as shown in their acts of oppression against the feeble creatures who groan beneath their bondage, only terminates when the latter, urged on by desperation, make a last struggle for liberty, for vengeance, or for death. Unhappy the kingdom in which the people arrive at such an extremity as to regard the last moment of existence in the light of a boon from heaven, and the prelude to their emancipation from an odious and intolerable slavery; for they will not hesitate to stain the country with blood, in the hope that, by taking away the life of another, they can award punishment for wrongs endured, or obtain felicity and rest by the sacrifice of their own.

Ferdinand and Isabella, who perfidiously deprived the conquered Moors of the use of their religion, initiated their successors in the practice of intolerance towards all who trusted in the oaths of Christians.

Philip II., who desired to extend the policy of those monarchs, ordered that the Moors should abandon their language, their costume, their music, their fêtes, their songs, and their amusements; he prohibited them the use of their baths, the fastenings on the doors of their houses, and the custom of permitting their wives and daughters to appear in the streets with veiled faces.

The Moors of Granada, as might be expected, became indignant at these prohibitions; for it is easier for a people to surrender their rights and privileges of a political kind, than usages of that description. But Philip believed that his will was sufficient to produce in the minds of men a formal renunciation of all claims whenever the surrender of these was necessary to his triumph, although contrary to justice and sound sense.

The Moors elected a king, made themselves masters of some cities in the Sierras, and, for the space of two years, defended them with a valour which desperation alone could inspire; but at last they had to humble themselves before the powerful forces of their implacable enemy; for they were abandoned by the cowardice of others who lived in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia and some parts of Andalusia, and, above all, by the Grand Turk, who, instead of kindling the flames of war at the head of the Spanish king's dominions to weaken him, preferred entering into combat with him to less advantage in other places.

Philip, always haughty towards the weak, did not fail to abuse this victory. He granted a pardon to the Moors who threw themselves on his clemency that he might not vent his fury on some thousands of men; but he refused to return to them the property which he had confiscated at the time of their revolt, for his want of foresight induced him to prefer enriching his coffers, rather than secure, by kindness and generosity, the affections of that subdued and insulted people.*

* Ya sabeis y á todos es notorio cómo por la rebellion y Ievantamiento de los Moriscos del nuestro reyno de Granada, habiendo ellos

TRANSLATION.

You know, and it is notorious to all, that by the rebellion and rising of the Moors of our kingdom of Granada, they incurred

Never did despotism and avarice bind themselves more closely together than they did in Spain from the age of the Catholic sovereigns. Hence we find that Philip, trusting to the imbecility of his subjects, had the insolence to enact a law which provided that all the Moors who were forcibly expelled from the kingdom of Granada, under an apprehension that possibly they might revolt with the others, although they had not manifested any desire to do so, should suffer the same penalty of confiscation ; because, although there might, perhaps, be among them persons of the greatest innocence and loyalty, yet it would not be expedient to the state,

TRANSLATION.

incurrido en los crímenes *lese divince et humane majestatis*, y cometido otros graves, atroces y enormes delitos, entre otros penas que por derecho y leyes de estos reynos contra los tales estáu establecidas, por el mismo caso y hecho y desde el principio que desto trataron, *perdieron todos sus bienes muebles, raíces y semovientes, derechos y acciones en qualesquiera manera que les pertenesiesen aquellos, y el Señorío y propiedad dellos, fueron confiscados y aplicados á la nuestro cámara y fisco, y se hicieron y son nuestros, y de la dicha nuestra cámara ; y que no embargante que muchos de los dichos Moriscos, despues de haber estado rebelados y con las armas tantos dias, se redujeron y vinieron a nuestra obediencia, la gracia y merced que en los admitir y recibir les hicimos no fué con perdon ni remision alguna de los dichos bienes ni aquella se estendió ni comprendió esto, y así quedaron y fincaron nuestros y de la nuestra cámara.*—Cédula de Felipe II. dada en Aranjuez á 24 de Febrero de 1571—*MS.—Archivos de Granada.*

the crimes of *high treason both against God and man*, and committed other grave, atrocious, and enormous offences ; among other penalties which, by right of the laws of these kingdoms, are provided against such persons, for the deeds they have committed, was *the loss of all their goods, chattels, estates, stock, rights, and credits, in any manner howsoever belonging to them, and all the ownership and property therein were confiscated and forfeited to our chamber of exchequer, and were made, and are, ours, and belong to the said chamber ; and that notwithstanding many of the said Moors, after having been rebels and in arms for so many days, submitted themselves, and came to our obedience, the grace and favour which we granted in admitting and receiving them, was not with pardon or any remission as to any of the said goods, &c., nor did it extend to or comprehend any such things, so that these remained and continued to belong to us and our said chamber.*

that for the sake of the innocent, some of the guilty should be suffered to escape.* This avowedly unjust mode of confiscating the property of innocent persons in order that the exchequer might not be prejudicèd by losing

TRANSLATION.

* Los bienes de los moriscos, que de la ciudad de Granada y lugares de la vega y de otras partes fueron sacados del dicho reyno y llevados á otras partes, no se habiendo aun ellos clara y descubiertamente rebelado, levantado y tomado las armas, en aquellos que fueron partícipes concios, ó consejeros ayudadores, ó en otra cualesquiera manera intervinieron ó participaron en lo tocante á la dicha rebelion y levantamiento de los demas, habiendo por esto incurrido como incurrieron en las mismas penas, fueron y son asimismo confiscados y aplicados á la nuestra cámara y fisco, y son nuestros y nos pertenecen. Y como quiera que á algunos de los dichos moriscos que así fueron sacados y no fueron partícipes, concios ni en manera alguna culpados, no es nuestra intencion ni voluntad de los perjudicar ni agraviar: antes con los tales usariamos de gracia y gratificacion: *mas considerando que los bienes que dellos quedaron en el dicho reyno de Granada, especialmente las rayces, como casas, viñas, huertas y heredades, no pudiendo dellos vivir ni estar en dicho reyno de Granada, como por agora no es ni debe de ser permitido, no pudiendo ellos por esta causa labrarlos cultivarlos ni beneficiarlos, ni disponer de ellos sino con mucho daño y pérdida; y considerando con esto juntamente la dificultad, dilacion y confusion que habria en el distinguir y apartar los bienes de los delinquentes y culpados, de los que pretenderán no lo ser, y lo que habrá en la averiguacion de los susodichos, y*

The goods of those Moors who were carried away and expelled from the city of Granada and towns of the plain, and from other parts, although they had not clearly and openly rebelled, risen up, or taken arms, with those who were participators, privy to, or aiding and abetting, or otherwise assisting, or participating in what concerned the said rebellion, and rising of the rest of them, having thereby incurred, as they did incur, the same punishment, were and are also confiscated and forfeited to our fiscal chamber, and are ours and belong to us. And as to some of the said Moors, who were so expelled, and were not participators, or privy, or in any way culpable, it is not our intention, or wish, to injure or wrong them: but on the contrary, to act towards them with grace and favour: *but considering their goods which remain in the said kingdom of Granada, especially the real estates, such as houses, vineyards, orchards, and inheritances, (the owners being no longer able to live in the said kingdom of Granada, as at present is not, and ought not to be permitted, and consequently they not being able either to work them, cultivate them, or make them beneficial, or even to dispose of them except with great loss and damage; and considering in addition to this, the difficulty, delay, and confusion, there would be in distinguishing and separating the goods of the delinquents from the goods of those who pretend not to be of that class, and moreover the difficulty there would be in proving the matters*

that of some persons who might be guilty, exceeds in tyranny the most flagrant examples that are to be found in the history of nations. When the sovereign of a kingdom has such an insatiable thirst for the gold of his subjects, that in order to gratify it he persecutes the innocent as well as the guilty, he takes the surest way of instigating all his subjects to acts of sedition and revenge.

The wretched condition to which Spain was reduced by the tyranny of her kings, as well with reference to intellectual progress as to manners and customs and a respect for the laws, was summed up by a Moor in these four lines :—

“Razon duerme,
traycion vela,
justicia falta,
malicia reyna.”*

Reason sleeps,
Treason flies,
Justice fails,
Malice reigns.

The Inquisition persecuted the Moors on every side, and took from them their property to augment the

TRANSLATION.

en las culpas ó inocencia de los unos y de los otros, y que á los que asi no fuesen culpados, se les podrá hacer y mandaremos (*pero no lo llegó á mandar,*) que se les haga la justa recompensa, y satisfaccion de lo que los dichos sus bienes valieron, habemos acordado que todos los dichos bienes, muebles, raices y semovientes destos, y acciones que los dichos moriscos en el dicho reyno de Granada tienen . . . *sin distincion ni excepcion alguna, sean todos puestos, metidos, incorporados en la nuestra cámara y fisco.*—*Document cited in the preceding note.*

aforesaid, and the guilt or innocence of one and the other, and that to those who thus may not have been guilty, we reserve to ourselves the power to order (*but that has not yet become an order*) that they should have awarded to them the just recompense and satisfaction of what the said goods are worth,) we have conceded that all the said goods, chattels, estates and stock thereon, and share which the said Moors in the said kingdom of Granada hold . . . *without distinction or any exception, be all put into, mixed with, and incorporated in our exchequer.*

* Códice GG. 174, in the Biblioteca Nacional intitled :—“*Diversa historias y Apologia contra la religion christiana, y el romance de Juan Alonso Aragones.*” Of this poet we read in another Moorish Códice, in the same library (GG. 169.), the following :—

“Juan Alonso, maestro en the-
ulugia . . . siendo hijo de padres

Juan Alonso, master in thec-
logy, . . . being born of Christia-

exchequer. Nay, that tribunal even deprived them of their children, and sent them far from their parents, to be reared up among strangers, by whom they were to be instructed in the religion of Christ. There was no species of insult which was not resorted to, in order to oppress that unhappy people : indeed, the laws, and those by whom they were administered, were alike their enemies.*

TRANSLATION.

cristianos, pero guiado de una buena consideracion no atendiendo á si fueron moros, judios ni cristianos, buscaba desengañarse y saber la verdad de lo que le convenia, considerando y mirando los tres caminos de las tres leyes qual dellos era el que guiava á la salvacion para caminar por él, y hallándola como la halló, se vino á Tetuan á seguirla; y dexando rentas excesivas se contentó con el trabajo de su persona, ocupado en ganar su sustento miserablemente.”

parents, but guided by a good understanding not caring to know whether they were Moors, Jews, or Christians, set about undeceiving himself and ascertaining the truth of the matter, considering and examining the three roads of the three laws to find which of them was the way of salvation for him, and finding it, as he did find it, he came to Tetuan to follow it : and, leaving a considerable property behind him, he contented himself to submit to personal labour in order to gain a miserable sustenance.

* In a Moorish codice of my friend, the celebrated orientalist Gayangos, (speaking of what a Mahometan ought to know and to believe,) we read as follows :—

“Era fuerza mostrar lo que ellos (los cristianos) querian, porque de no havello los llevaban á la inquisicion, adonde por seguir la verdad, eramos privados de las vidas haciendas y hijos; pues en un pensamiento estaba la persona en una cárcel oscura tan negra como sus malos intentos; adonde los dejaban muchos años para yr consumiendo la hacienda que luego secretaban, comiendo ellos de ella, y decian con justificacion y era la capa de sus malas y trayedoras entrañas, y los hijos si eran pequeños los daban á criar para hacellos, como ellos, erexes.”

One was forced to do what they (the Christians) wished, because if we did not do so, they carried us off to the Inquisition, where, by following the truth, we were deprived of our lives, property, and children; for, as quick as thought, a person would find himself in an obscure cell, as black as their wicked designs; in this cell they leave you for many years, in order to go on consuming your living, which is immediately sequestrated: they eat and drink out of it, and it was said, with good reason, that it was the cloak of their wickedness and treacherous bowels: and the children, if little, were given out to be reared up, in order that they should be made, like themselves, heretics.

Many of the persecuted Moors fled secretly from Spain; not by sea, for all ports were closed against them, but by way of France, where Henry IV. received the wretched fugitives with great benevolence. In a short time, however, the desire of all was complied with in a very unexpected manner. Philip III., a man of weak mind, allowed himself to be easily governed by those who, knowing the fears of his conscience, took advantage of his imbecility, in order to effect their own wishes. Many of the clergy, remembering the expulsion of the Jews and Moors by order of Ferdinand and Isabella and knowing that it would be agreeable to Philip II to imitate those monarchs, advised him to banish the Moors resident in his kingdoms; since, not only do they persist in following the Mahometan rites, but they held intercourse with the Turks, and, through their help, hoped to regain their liberties.

The Moors solicited, secretly, auxiliaries of Henry IV, pledging themselves, in order the better to persuade him to the undertaking, to profess the Protestant religion, it not being so much opposed to their own usage; and because it, as well as the Mahometan religion, forbade the adoration of images—a practice which nothing short of violence could induce them to adopt.

Philip III., although at the sacrifice of a great part of his property, opened a way, both by sea and land

* The Venician ambassador, Simon Centurion, in his Memorial, cited on page 137, says to the government of his country, in 1605:—

TRANSLATION.

“Cualquiera puede mucho con él (Felipe III.) tanto mas si toca en conciencia, y quien fuere por este camino no negociará poco. No hará un pecado mortal por todo el mundo.”

Any one able to do much with him (Philip III.) can do so much the more if the affair is one of conscience; and he who goes this road will succeed not a little. He will not commit a mortal sin for all the world.

for the Moors to escape from their odious captivity. In the state to which the sovereigns of Spain, and their ministers, had reduced the government of the Moors, there were but three remedies for the evil, viz. :—to suffer the horrors of a frightful war: to adopt an entirely different policy: or to expel from Spain some millions of people.

To vary the policy was impossible; for the opinion of the common people, and of almost all the clergy, as well as a great part of the nobility, was so hostile to the Moors, that to contend against it would have required all the rigour practised by kings against those who maintained a different religion. Thus fear misled them from the right way—fear of increasing the pride of the Moors, on their perceiving that any regard was paid to justice by those under whom they were governed; and fear that a stupid populace, being taught to mistake vice for virtue, and virtue for vice, might attempt to impose on their masters and governors the consequences of having once in their lives sought to adjust the laws to that state of things which the happiness of Spain required.

The Spanish monarch being convinced, not that violence was the only author of the disquietudes and vexations of the Christians, but that it was of no use as regarded the pertinacity of the Moors, (for an imbecile despot never learns by experience,) gave to that people liberty, which is the greatest of all felicities, while yet he intended to afflict them with still severer punishment. Hence may be inferred the disorder and misery which must be found among a people whose rulers are ignorant of the tendency of the orders they promulgate, believing themselves to be strongest when they display weakness, and most glorious when they are covering themselves with ignominy.

The Moors, whilst they remained in exile, only so far remembered the loss of their country, as to demonstrate their joy on seeing that the chains of the miserable slavery in which they had been born were at last broken. Although they endured many changes of fortune by sea and land, and although in some parts of Barbary they were treated inhumanly by the fanatical populace, yet, about thirty thousand entered France, and, thanks to a favorable edict of Henry IV., they found a generous hospitality in that kingdom.

* In the Códice G. G. 169 of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, we find, in comment upon a treatise composed by *Ibrahim de Bolfad* (an inhabitant of Algiers, afflicted with corporal blindness, but brilliantly illumined the heart and understanding), the following :—

“ Los cristianos que tanto apreciaron esta nacion andaluza con prisiones, tormentos y muertes ; y con todo sustentaron (los moros) la firmeza de su fé verdadera, mostrándoles uno y teniendo en su corazon otro.”

In another Códice, also Moorish, in the same library, (G.G. 171,) we read :—

“ Esta es la fé de los cristianos, y la que bimos por los ojos seguir, y alguna vez mostramos que seguimos ; pero bien sabe Dios que era haciendo escarnio y bituperando en el corazon Las gracias y alabanzas sean dadas al que con su infinito poder nos sacó de ber tantas eregias.”

In another Códice of my friend Gayangos (already cited) we find :—
 “ Fué servido (el Criador) de sacarnos de entre aquellos malditos perros, enemigos de la verdad, que ciegos con su falsa seta con su rigorosa justicia y cruel ynquisicion, á fuerza de rigores y castigos nos tenian tan sujetos y aniquilados, quemando á nuestros deudos y amigos, *usurpando las haciendas*, ynseitandonos y á nuestros hijos á la perdicion de las almas. Démosle millones de gracias pues nos sacó de entre ellos.”

TRANSLATION.

The Christians reward this Andalusian nation with prisons, tortures, and death ; and yet, for this, they (the Moors) maintain firmness, and that of their true faith, shewing the one, and having in their hearts the other.

This is the faith of the Christian and what we saw with our eyes and were obliged to follow, at sometimes we did pretend to follow ; but God well knows that it was a thing dreaded and vituperated in the heart Thanks and praise be given to Him who of his infinite power, has delivered us from the sight of such heresies.

He (the Creator) was pleased to deliver us from those wicked dog enemies of truth, who, blind with their false tenets, . . . with the rigorous justice, and cruel inquisition, by force of rigours and punishments, held us in such subjection and annihilation, burning our friends and *usurping the inheritance*, inciting us and our children to the perdicion of our souls. We give to Him millions of thanks for rescuing us out of their hands.

In Tunis, the King Uzmanday, a sovereign of a proud disposition, received the miserable Moors with great affection. In order that the captains of Spanish and other foreign vessels might be encouraged to bring many of the exiled fugitives, he dispensed with the accustomed payment of a hundred crowns for each vessel that arrived within his ports : he gave lands to the Moors to populate, and assisted them with wheat, barley, and muskets, and with exemption for the term of three years from contributing towards the subsidies accustomed to be levied in his kingdom.

The motive for the expulsion of the Moors from Spain was simply in order that the royal coffers might be enriched with the spoils. As the fanaticism of kings went hand in hand with avarice, Philip III., imitating his progenitors, on promulgating the edict, prohibited the expelled from either selling or mortgaging their heritable property by gratuitous cession : because all these were declared to be the property of the crown. They were only permitted to dispose of their moveable goods, and take with them the produce, not in gold, jewels, silver, or bills of exchange, but in merchandize of that description, the export of which from Spain had not been prohibited by the laws. Those laws, however, the king offered to violate, with the sole desire, as he said, of favouring the Moors ; who, if preferring to carry away their riches in money, metals, or precious stones, and being willing to hand over to Philip the half of every thing, were to be under no obligation to take merchandize of any kind, with a view of avoiding loss to the exchequer.*

* Gil Gonzalez Dávila, in *The Life of Philip III.*, sets forth the

This was, indeed, converting the griefs of the nation into a pecuniary profit, in order that the King and ministers might quaff, as it were, out of golden cups, the very tears of an oppressed and sorrowing people. That royal clemency was to be had recourse to for mitigation not for abolishing, those afflictions, providing always that such clemency should work to the advantage of the exchequer! If to live in society is to have guarantee to us our lives and fortunes against the caprice of human malice, and if those lives and fortunes were, Spain, subject to murder and rapine, personified by monarch seated in the tribunal of justice, or on the throne of kings, that nation appears to have been ruled, rather by the unrestrained will of crowned brigands, than by monarchs, the servants of the laws.

But every thing was confounded by an exaggerated

edict, dated in Aranda, 10th July, 1610. In this document we find the following passages:—

“Tengo por bien que puedan durante el dicho termino de sesenta dias disponer de sus bienes muebles y semovientes, y llevarlos no en moneda, oro, plata ni joyas, ni letras de cambio, sino en *mercaderias no prohibidas compradas de los naturales de estos reynos y no de otros* Los rayces han de quedar por hacienda mia para aplicarlos á la obra del servicio de Dios y bien público Y declaro que sin embargo de que les esté prohibido por leyes de estos reynos, si alguno ó algunos de dichos moriscos quisieren llevar sus bienes muebles en dinero, plata ó joyas, lo puedan hacer con tal que hayan de registrar *y dejar la mitad de todo ello para mi hacienda pero en este caso no han de sacar mercaderias.*”

TRANSLATION.

I consent that they shall be at liberty, during the said term of sixty days, to dispose of their moveable property and stock, to carry them away, not in money, gold, silver, jewels, or bills of exchange, but in *merchandise prohibited, bought of the natives of these kingdoms, and of no other* The real estates shall remain at my disposal, in order that they may be applied to the service of God, and the public good And I declare that, notwithstanding these things may be prohibited by the laws of these kingdoms, if any of the said Moors wish to carry away their goods and chattels in money, silver, or jewels, they can do so on condition that they register *and leave the half the whole of them at my disposal* but, in that case, they may not export merchandise.

zeal for religion. Philip III., with all his reputed imbecility, was not incapable of manifesting his covetousness of the property of the Moors, nor were his vassals able to comprehend from his words the mind of their prince.

Spain, by the expulsion of the Moors, lost a million of its inhabitants. These, having returned to the country of their ancestors, preserved the Castilian tongue, transmitted it to their descendants, and wrote in it many a treatise to fortify their brethren in the Mahometan faith, and to execrate the inhuman crimes of their persecutors.* These persecutors demonstrated, in the expulsion of the Moors, that in Spain they knew not how to govern without violence ; and, when violence no longer served to retain the subjects under the intolerable sway, recourse was had at last to spoil them of their property and condemn them to perpetual banishment, although such measures might lead to the speedy decay of the population and the decline of the kingdom.

* Ibrahim de Bolfad, an Andalusian, (mentioned in a former note) having arrived in Algiers, composed many verses, full of poetic ingenuity and lively ideas. One of these verses ran thus :—

“No es gobierno el dividido :
Tierra y cielo rige un Dios ;
Un reyno no sufre á dos,
Ni dos pájaros un nido.”
*Códice G. G. 169 de la Biblioteca
Nacional.*

TRANSLATION.

Government is not division :
One God rules both earth and
heaven :
Two heads can not in one crown
rest,
Nor two strange birds within
one nest.

CHAPTER IX.

Reflections and comparisons—Censorship of the press—Literature persecuted — Naharro — Castillejo — Mendoza—Tormes — Samuel Usque—*Calificadores* appointed to examine books—Anton Herrera—The ass and the friar—Results of intolerance and despotism—Republic of Venice and its toleration—Its increase in commerce and riches—Spain's contrary policy—Her consequent decay

IN Spain, such a state of oppression as that described in the foregoing chapters could not be permanent; for that would be contrary to the written word. One species of tyranny resembles another as to the means employed, though the results may be different. Thus the government of Athens wrested from the hands of their possessors the books of Pythagoras, and ordered them to be burnt in the forum, that the people might not become acquainted with the doubts of the philosopher, touching the existence of the gods; it being impossible to ascertain, with certainty, that existence owing as well to the obscurity of the subject as to the brevity of human life.* Thus also, when Tiberias was governor of Rome, Cremutius Cordus was persecuted for having, in some annals which he published, and which were, by command of the senate, reduced to the flames by the Ediles,† called Marcus Brutus the last of the

* *Diógenes Laërtius. Lives of Greek Philosophers.*

† *Tacitus. Lib. IV. of the annals.*

Romans. Thus, again, during the imperium of Domitian, the philosophers were driven out of Italy, and Junius Rusticus and Senecio were cruelly put to death, for having written in praise, the one of Thræsea and the other of Helvidius, victims to their constancy in defending virtue, in the age of Nero. Their books also were publicly burnt in the forum at Rome.*

The Catholic sovereigns, dreading the art of printing, and apprehensive that the numerous books which were daily imported into their kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, might give birth to sentiments contrary to their established policy, ordered that all books which were to be sold or printed, should first be examined by the prelacy, who were to see that their contents contained nothing of a censurable or an unprofitable character. Thus, scarcely had the understanding in Spain thrown off the shackles of ignorance, than it became loaded with those of slavery. If it can, with truth, be affirmed that, in another age, men, owing to the rudeness of education, and the want of books to awaken their reasoning powers to the exercise of nature's highest gift, were dragging out a mere animal existence, it is equally true that, from the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the most studious men, although possessed of many helps to the acquisition of science, were greatly impeded by obstacles placed in their way by a wary and absolute policy.†

The dread of human learning very soon induced Charles V. to persecute all writings not conformable to his own way of thinking, as well on religious as on political subjects. He ordered the university of

* *Tacitus.—Life of Julius Agricola.*

† See Law 23, Title VII., book 1, of the *Novísima Recopilacion*. *Prágmática fecha en Toledo, á 8 de Julio, de 1502.*

Louvaine to form an exact index or catalogue of all the various heretical books, and of those containing doctrines suspected of being heretical, in order to ascertain which ought to be held worthy of prohibition and which of being burnt. From that period, the Inquisition of Spain adopted and made many editions of the catalogue, augmenting it from time to time.

The works of the greatest authors of the Spanish nation were prohibited. Bartolomé de Torres Naharr an ecclesiastic, who had resided some years in Rome, printed, in Italy, a collection of satires and plays under the title of *Propaladia*. The anathemas of the Inquisition fell upon all of these and upon all their readers. With the same liberty that Machiavelus, the famous secretary of the Florentine republic, penned his *Mandragola*, in detestation and disgust of the disorders which stain the habits of the clergy of his age, did Torres Naharr infuse into his dramatic works a thousand biting sarcasms against the clergy, who, instead of being, to the laity, a mirror of sanctity and good living, were a perfect scandal to virtue, and an obscene example of the vices.*

* *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, dirigida al ilustrísimo Señor el Señor don Ferrando Dávalos de Acquino, Marques de Pescara &c.—En Nápoles, por Juan Pasqueto de Sallo.—Año de 1517.

The edition of this work published in Madrid by Pierres Cosin, 1573, jointly with the Lazarillo de Tormes, was expurgated by the Holy Office. As a specimen of the authority of the Inquisition mutilate the ideas of an author, the following is an example:—

EDITION OF 1517.

De Roma no sé qué diga
sino que por mar y tierra
cada día ay nueva guerra
nueva paz y nueva liga :
la corte tiene fatiga,
el papa se está á sus vicios,
y el que tiene linda amiga
le hace lindos servicios.

EDITION OF 1573.

De Roma no sé qué diga
sino que por mar y tierra
cada día ay nueva guerra
nueva paz y nueva liga :
el pobre tiene fatiga
y el rico se está á sus vicios.
y el que tiene linda amiga
le hace lindos servicios.

The Spanish literati at last responded to the call of that secret voice, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, aroused and stirred up the intelligence of the people against the power of the clergy; a power founded on the popular ignorance, which allowed even the errors and crimes of the priesthood to be regarded with veneration: that same voice it was which, in France, animated François Rabelais, Clemente Marot, Buenaventura Desperiers, intimate friends and favorites of the discreet Princess Margaret of Navarre; and in flourishing Italy, Doctor Machiavellus, and the satirical wit Pedro Aretino.

Cristóval de Castillejo, a poet very similar to that jovial son of the Italian muse, composed, in easy Castilian verse, a *Sermon de amores*, wherein he includes the ecclesiastics of his time among those who become victims to that violence of the tender passion, which buried Sappho in the profound abyss off Mount Leucas; which prostrated Hercules at the feet of Dejanira; and which burnt the walls of haughty Troy, and thereby revenged offended Greece.*

EDITION OF 1517.

En Roma los sin señor
son almas que van en pena :
*no se hace cosa buena
sin dineros y favor,
&c.*

EDITION OF 1573.

En Roma los sin señor
son almas que van en pena :
*qual se ordena y desordena
siguiendo tras lo peor,
&c.*

* *"Sermon de amores, del Maestro Buen Talante, llamando Fray Fidel, de la orden del Tristel. Agora nuevamente corregido y enmendado. Año de MD. rliij."*

In "las obras de Cristoval de Castillejo, corregidas y enmendadas por mandado del Consejo de la Santa y General Inquisicion: Anvers, en casa de Pedro Bellerio, 1598," is found this sermon cited with the title of "*Capítulo de amor*," and with many suppressions and amendments of the Inquisitors, of which see the following example:—

EDITION OF 1542.

No se escapa
hombre vivo *desde el papa*
y reyes y emperadores
duques y grandes señores,

EDITION OF 1598.

No se escapa
hombre vivo *ni solapa*
de reyes y emperadores
duques y grandes señores

In a Dialogue upon the conditions of women, he also describes, with a satirical pen, the hidden fire which burned in the convents of the nuns of that age, which although removed from the vanities and deceits of th

EDITION OF 1542.

hasta quien no tiene capa,
desta guerra.

y no conoce á persona :
ninguno deste cuydado,
hallareys privilegiado,
aunque sea de corona
ni de grados,
ni obispos ni perlados :
tambien entran en sus bretes :
en él en vez de roquetes
hay mil obispos llagados
desta lanza.

Heridos van desta llaga
las tres partes de los vivos :
aun á los contemplativos
muchas veces los amaga
é rodea.

Por los yermos se pasea
buscando los hermitaños :
por los desiertos estraños
se deleita é se florea
é se extiende
en los conventos y aciende
sus dulzores amorosos :
tentando los religiosos
en su consuelo los prende
con dulzura.

Es cazador de natura :
caza con sutiles longas
las entrañas de las monjas ;
que no valen cerradura
ni paredes.

O misterio !
¿ quien te trajo al monesterio,
amor poderoso, dí,
que muchas veces por tí
mientan versos del plasterio,
que es donayre ?
Tú que tienes con el fraire
en el coro que entender,
que allí le hacen tener
los sentidos en el ayre ?

&c.

EDITION OF 1598.

hasta el que no tiene capa
d'esta guerra.

no reconoce persona,
ni alguno d'este cuydado
hallareis privilegiado,
aunque sea de corona
sin tardanza.

Heridos van de esta llaga
las tres partes de los vivos ;
que á los severos y esquivos ;
muchas veces los amaga
é rodea.

Por los yermos se pasea,
buscando los hermitaños :
por los desiertos estraños
se deleyta y se recrea

con dulzura.

Es cazador de natura
caza con sutiles mañas
las mas guardadas entrañas ;
que no valen cerradura
ni paredes.

world, were yet overcome by the agreeable recollection of its pleasures.*

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, or he who composed an ingenious novel entitled *Lazarillo de Tormes*, gave a description of the subtleties to which the vendors of bulls in Spain had recourse, in order to stimulate the devotion of the people, pretending that miracles were

* *Diálogos de mugeres*—speakers: Alethio.—Fileno.—Venice, 1544.

In the edition of the works of Castillejo (1598), the Inquisition suppressed many passages of this witty little book, and among the rest some which speak of the nuns of that century. The following is a specimen:—

*Dios os guarde
del mal que en algunas arde,
de sus temas y porfías,
contiendas y banderías,
quando salen en alarde
sus pasiones:*

*con muy grandes esquadrones,
de embidias, odios, coxquillas,
diferencias y renzillas,
y corajes y quisiones,
y barajas.*

*Por el fuero de dos pajas
sostinen enemistades,
que aun al fin de sus edades
las llevan en las mortajas
apegadas.*

*Despues que una vez ayradas
se desaman ó baldonan
con dificultad perdonan.*

*Al tiempo que están rezando,
o cantando sus maytines
allí suelen los chapines
alguna vez ir volando
por el coro.*

*No ay saña de ningún moro
que haga tal impresion
ni braveza de leon,
onza ni tigre ni toro.*

*Y cierto si lo sentis
á derechas,
digo que son contrahechas
á vezes sus sancterías
por desmentir las espías*

*y deshacer las sospechas,
viviendo tan recatadas
como en tierra de enemigos;
porque no habiendo testigos
no puedan ser acusadas.*

*Más con todas estas mañas
se les entra en las entrañas
el venenoso gusano
de Cupido,
que les ablanda el sentido
aunque esté como una peña;
y la carne halagueña
sigue luego su partido.*

*Con razones,
que mueven los corazones
de las más bravas personas,
y las tornan de leonas
ovejas en condiciones;*

*y las ligan
de suerte que se mitigan,
y someten á cuydados
amorosos y penados,
que las incitan y obligan,
á pensar,*

*y pensado á desear,
y deseando á querer
y bien queriendo, caer,
en las ondas de la mar.*

*Y ser puede,
que cuando así no sucede
por aver impedimentos,
al menos los pensamientos
no hay torno que se los vede.*

connected with the sanctity of those sacred things which they were really treating as mere merchandize.

The Inquisition, however, carefully suppressed those books, fearing they might be well received by the common people, and knowing that the truth when once it is communicated, becomes so fixed in the heart as never to be obliterated. This care and diligence on the part of Inquisitors was almost fruitless ; for the objectionable works were printed in other countries, and brought secretly into Spain. The judges of that tribunal then determined that, with its permission, the writings of Naharro, Castillejo, and Mendoza, might be re-published ; but with such corrections as might in their judgment be calculated to avert the evil result which might otherwise follow the reading of the works. The *Calificadores* of the Holy Office proceeded with a daring hand, to mutilate and alter the language which authors had made use of to convey their thoughts and explain their ideas ; in short, their labours were not looked upon as worthy the respect of men, and the protection of the laws. Hence, thoughts and ideas never conceived by the authors themselves were attributed to them ; and, in fine, the understanding, instead of being free and unfettered, was under the most odious control. Minds were moulded and fashioned at pleasure to suit the taste and caprice of the prince, or his ecclesiastical ministers.

Science was incompatible with that suppression of the truth, which was decreed by the sovereign under the pretence of justice. “ All tyrants,” exclaimed Anton de Herrera, the historian of the East Indies in the time of Philip III., “ invariably cover themselves with the cloak of religion ;” but, of course, he did not speak of Europe.

monarchs, but only of one of the Incas of Peru, lest the uttering of even a truth should cost him his life ; besides, he was desirous that his words might have free circulation without bringing him under suspicion.*

The Inquisition did not content itself with prohibiting the works of its own time, but extended its power over those of other ages. A Catalonian author had composed, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, a very philosophical and ingenious book under the title of "*Disputa del asno con fray Anselmo Turmeda, acerca de la natura y nobleza de los animales.*" †

In this treatise the author feigns that, stretching himself out in a forest to seek repose from the tumult of towns, he was overpowered by sleep ; and that, at intervals, the solitude was broken by a multitude of wild beasts, birds and insects, which were assisting in the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to a lion, a new king. One of his vassals observed to him that Friar Turmeda defended the opinion that men had, greatly, an advantage over other animals, as well on account of excellencies of body as of mind. The king was desirous of hearing how such an opinion could be sustained with good reason. He, therefore, commanded Turmeda to be called, offering to him, on the security of his royal

* *Historia de las Indias occidentales—Década V. Lib. III. Cap. VIII.*

† Dispute of the ass with Friar Anselmo Turmeda, touching the nature and nobility of animals.

So rare is the original of this work, and so persecuted was it by the Inquisition, that there scarcely remains a copy of it extant. I have before me a French version, entitled.—"*La Disputation de l'asne contre frere Anselme Turmeda sur la nature et noblesse des animaux, faite et ordonnée par le dit frere Anselme en la cité de Thunies, l'An. 1417, &c. Traduite de vulgaire Hespagnol en langue françoise, A Lyon, par Laurens Buysons, 1548.*" For this copy I am indebted to the courtesy of the learned Gaditano don Francisco Domecq Victor, a second Fernando Colon, in treasuring up books of great merit, which at great cost he has acquired in his travels through Europe.

word, liberty to argue freely and without fear of the anger of any of the august members of his court ; I assigned him for antagonist, in the argument, a donkey of the most miserable description, that creature being the worst and most despised of all his subjects. The contents of this book are exceedingly ingenious. Although Friar Turmeda contended for the excellency of man's intelligence, the ass, in his own turn, proved the inferior animals excel men not only in discerning objects in the darkness of midnight, but in hearing the least and most distant of noises. Turmeda endeavoured to demonstrate that men rule themselves by good counsel, punish the wicked, and observe a mode of government. The donkey answered him by referring to the well-ordered republics of bees and ants, all subject, not to the cravings of the gullet and of sleep, but to labour and profit for all their respective communities.

The former, from the delicacy of man's food, inferred his better nature ; the latter attributed to him the manifold infirmities to which human life is subject, and the great crimes which men experience in the world, by a thirst for gold, by disease, tribulations, wars, and maritime enterprises, in which they pitifully and prematurely lose their lives ; whilst many of the brute creation eat the fruits reared by man in the sweat of his brow, as we do in orchards as in gardens, and other delightful situations. Finally, the ass, in order to surpass the Friar, reminds him that popes, kings, princes, and great lords on whom the people cannot look but with fear and respect, have their very faces trodden upon and wounded by insects, from the power of whose sting they can but with difficulty escape.

The ass further observes, that sovereigns who gover

men, take greater interest in the taxes and imposts levied on their vassals, than in practising that goodness and justice which ought to be administered, not in return for the rich metals converted into money, but through a desire to exemplify that pity and mercy which is so much to be admired in the kings of ants, and of locusts, whose charge consists in directing all their endeavours towards the common felicity.

Besides those ideas, so truly philosophical, and recommendations so useful to humanity, the ass discovers, by various examples, that the friars of the age dwelt in avarice, luxury, anger, and other great sins; and he paints their vices and crimes after the manner of Boccaccio, as shown in his admirable *Decamerone*—a work which is an honour to the genius of Italy.

This curious book, concerning the ass and the friar, met with great persecution from the Holy Office.

In the same way, both the lyric and dramatic muse, in common with philosophy, had a most inveterate foe in the Inquisition of Spain. Nor was even history free from its rigours and anathemas. If the Spanish historian dared, in foreign kingdoms, to excite the public sympathy by recording the iniquities committed in the name of religion and of peace, he could not do so in his own. Spanish governors well knew how to profit by the popular respect and favour with which the invocation of those two sacred names were accompanied. Samuel Usque wrote the history of the tribulations of the Israelites in all the world, and gave, in its pages, a terribly sublime picture of the Spanish Inquisition:—“A fierce monster,” says he, “of so strange a form, and so frightful an aspect, that all Europe trembles at its very name. Its body is of rough iron, forged with

mortal poison ; it has an exterior of the hardest she covered with scales of wrought steel : a thousand wings of black and venomous feathers raise it from the earth Its form takes part of the courageous lion and part of the terrible mien of the serpents of Africa It kills more quickly than the venomous basilisk. Continuous flames of consuming fire issue from its eyes and mouth. Its food consists of mangled human bodies. It rivals the eagle in its swiftness. Wherever it passes it sheds gloom and sadness around although the sun may be unobscured by a cloud. And finally, its face gives out a darkness like that which constituted one of the plagues of Egypt ; as the verdure on which it treads, or the tree near which it plants its feet, dries, withers, and decays ; nay, even the roots themselves perish, and are plucked up by the destroyer. And such is the effect of its poison, that the whole circuit it comprehends becomes desolate, and is converted into the sandy regions of Syria, where no plant ever grows, and no herb ever germinates.” *

In truth, the Inquisition nipped, in the blossom, the fruits promised by the genius and intelligence of Spain, as may be seen in her commerce and wars with foreign nations, and by the perusal of the writings of her learned men.

If the end of science is to discover truth, badly indeed would the sciences prosper in a country where the discovery of truth is held to be punishable as the worst of crimes. Human reason, confined, by nature, within narrow limits, but which, by the perseverance, stud-

* *Consolação as Tribulações de Israel, por Samuel Usque, Ferrer* 1553. A book cited in pages 5 and 15 of the present work. The translation of the passage in the text is taken from the third Dialogue, and has been faithfully made from Portuguese into Castilian. A. de C.

and liberty, of man alone, may, by degrees, be gradually extended, found itself, in Spain, oppressed with new and powerful obstacles. The Holy Office, it may be truly said, exerted all its powers in the cause of natural and universal ignorance.

Spain having shut herself up in this barbarous state as to matters of science, it became necessary that foreign armies should break through the barriers which kings and inquisitors had raised on the mountains of the Pyrenees, in order that some rays of the light of European civilization might diffuse themselves over the vast territory of the Spanish kingdom, vivifying the people, and guiding them to make a noble use of their reason.

The increase of despotic power, as well royal as ecclesiastical, in Spain, brought about its ruin. Italy, although many of her states were subject to an Inquisition similar to that in Spain, never had its reason sunk to the same degree of abasement. Divisions among so many princes and republics greatly facilitated the means of publishing prohibited works; for that which was exceptionable to some, was, if not useful, at least, agreeable to others, who claimed a superiority in tolerating in their dominions those very works which had been persecuted or prohibited in other kingdoms.

The Jews and the Protestants who fled from various countries, found in Venice an asylum against the rigours of adverse fortune. In that aristocratic republic there was liberty of thought, and liberty in the use of the rights of conscience; for, in Venice, there was, so to speak, liberty to do everything, except to alter the republican form of government, and introduce monarchy. The Council of Ten, although on many occasions it governed more by expediency than by laws (which they

had power to break for the public good), was the constant defender of the republic against the ambition of some of its nobles. This was one reason why its race of dukes and patricians never produced a Caligula, a Nero, or other monster of cruelty, to oppress, under the name of Emperor, his fellow-citizens, to degrade his country, and enslave the world; since that Council foresaw the intents of the Cæsars and Napoleons, and instead of placing a crown upon their brows, applied an infamous cord to their necks; so that instead of being furnished with a golden couch in the royal palaces, they were accommodated with an obscure tomb in the waters of Venice.

The Greeks and Armenians, domiciled within the territory of the republic of Venice, had their churches; the Lutherans and Huguenots, their temples; and the Jews, their synagogues. When a Christian died, the clergy did not ask whether he was a heretic or a Catholic before they would give him the rites of sepulture in the churches. No; in Venice this barbarous practice was unknown.

The governors of that republic, with the approbation of its subjects, in the true spirit of liberty, conceded the degrees of doctor of medicine and of jurisprudence, indiscriminately, to schismatics, heretics, or Jews, who studied at the university of Padua; whilst, in all Catholic kingdoms, the granting of diplomas was strictly prohibited by the bulls of different Popes, unless the student should first make, upon oath, a solemn and public profession of the Roman Catholic faith.

In Venice, men of genius from Italy were favoured, protected, and preferred to the greatest potentates of the earth. The celebrated Aretino found, in that republic, security of life, and liberty to write, even at a time when the Emperor Charles V., and Francis I. of France were desirous of being revenged in his person

for the satires which his wanton genius had penned against them.

Trajan Boccalini, at a later period, sought like protection in Venice, when in dread of the Spanish government, for having, in his *Piedra de toque politico* (*Political touchstone*), stated, among many other bitter truths respecting our country, that she did not wish to be loved, but feared, by the people; and, again, that she held, as a principal point of state policy, the absurd belief, that by inflicting injury on everybody, all the nations of the world would be induced to adore her.*

The learned and unfortunate Tomas Campanela languished for many years in doleful cells, and was subjected to repeated tortures, to appease the anger of offended Spain, for having made patent to the world some of her state-secrets.

None but weak governments, founded in ignorance, need fear the exercise of reason, or the voice of truth. The Venetian republic, governed by those who loved their country, and loved it for its advancement, desired that the sciences might prosper, and that the nobility might not only be better acquainted with the subtilities and the motives of kings, the real enemies of their liberties, but also be able to extend the limits of their territory.

“Et ciò accade, perche niun altra Reina meno di lei cura di essere da suoi popoli amata, e pone maggior, studio in esser temuta. E però di politici notano in lei per specie di grandissima pazzia che così fermamente si sia data á credere che con lo strapazza ogn’ uno possi indur le genti ad adorarla.”
—*Boccalini*.—*Pietra del Paragone politico*.

TRANSLATION.

And so it happened; for no other Queen cared less than she to be beloved by her people, and took more pains to be feared. And, therefore, there was perceptible, in her politics, a species of the greatest folly, which gave her to imagine, that by insulting every one, she could induce the people to adore her.

Thus, all who resided in Venice enjoyed the sweets of liberty. It was the constant study of the patricians to make themselves and their country agreeable to foreigners. They conserved their independence for many centuries, despite the Popes, Sultans, Emperors of Austria, and other sovereigns of Europe. By their religious tolerance, they increased their population, their commerce, and their riches. From a small state, Venice, by her possessions on *terra firma*, and her isles of Cyprus and Candia, came to be a maritime power, whose amity and alliance were sought and solicited by princes, in order the better and more securely to obtain triumphs in their military undertakings. Spain followed a different policy. Her maxims were, to keep at a distance from her all those of a different religion, believing that state-unity consisted in this—that all its members should be of one creed. Holding the human mind in slavery, she believed that in a state of barbarism alone could she maintain peace in her dominions ; whilst the Venetians, who tolerated a diversity of opinions, formed that union which made them lords of the Adriatic, a terror to the Turks, and the admiration of kings.

Spain did not carry out her wicked designs, because the art of printing was its greatest and most powerful adversary ; yet, still, she was able to reduce those living under her sway to a state of submission abject in the extreme. Gloomy indeed, in those days, were the prospects of literature and philosophy in the Peninsula. They were, however, occasionally brightened by the cheering accents of the Castilian muse, which, like the mellifluous notes of some captive bird, caused even the barriers of liberty to reverberate and tremble.

CHAPTER X.

Poesy in Spain—Lucan and Virgil compared—Philip III. makes a religious war against Ireland—Elizabeth's death—Peace with her successor—Philip IV.—Napoleon—Liberty of conscience in Holland—Wars in Europe—Imposts—Revolt of the Catalans—Prophecy of Spain's decline.

WE have seen that the Castillian muse enjoyed some small degree of liberty in Spain ; but even the poetry thus privileged was little more than adulation ; sometimes, indeed, it might be called the voice of gratitude celebrating the praises of that power which gave it the very limited freedom it enjoyed, namely, that of extolling the military exploits of its oppressors. Modern Spain cannot have another Lucan, much less can she have a Virgil.

When Lucan wrote his "*Pharsalia*," he only remembered so much of the ancient poets, as might teach him in what respects to differ from them. He did not wish to imitate, but to be imitated. He did not recognize any superior mind. His ideas were exclusively his own. He owed nothing to his predecessors. He contended with Virgil for the laurel due to the prince of epic poets of Rome ; and, to the glory of Spain, he came off victorious.

Lucan was a great philosopher, a great orator, and a great poet : Virgil was only a great poet.

Virgil ascended, slowly, the heights of Parnassus,

gathering the sweetest roses, stripping off the thorns, and forming a garland to be offered to the god of love on the altar of poesy. He raised his voice in Rome, but in that voice Rome did not hear the accents of liberty. No, they were those of adulation, prompted by a wretched servility. He sang the imaginary glories of Æneas, delivered from the lamentable ruin of Troy, by the favour of the gods, and for the good of the Roman people; but he so sang, merely for the opportunity it afforded him of pretending that the race of the Cæsars was descended from that illustrious hero.

Lucan, the genius of Cordoba, did not ascend the height of Parnassus to carry thither the flowers from its base, but to invoke the aid of the muses in singing, at Rome, the unhappy loss of her liberty, at a time when, to her misfortune and the misfortune of the world, Nero sat upon the throne of a Tiberias and a Caligula.

Virgil wept on the walls of Troy, as the solitary turtledove, perched in the forest amid laurels and jessamines, sings the memory of its mate to the bland murmur of the distant fountains.

Lucan, like some wounded lioness, bewailed the infelicity of Rome through the destruction of the hosts of Pompey, when the successor of Julius Cæsar became the incendiary of his country, and stained the purple mantle with the blood of the most illustrious patricians and of his own family.

Virgil's was the voice of flattery, feigning heroes and their exploits, in order to give a new ascendancy to the Emperor Augustus: Lucan's was the cry of lamentation sent forth by outraged humanity, through those who conquered in his *Pharsalia*.

Virgil represented Roman valour prostrated and sub-

dued to the fortune of the Cæsars, and sang of virtues they did not possess, to the sound of the golden yokes with which Augustus oppressed the necks of the nobles and the people.

Lucan appeared, the true patriot, who threw in the teeth of the Cæsars their own iniquities, after they had banished liberty from the face of the land. His accents may be compared to the rays of the sun which illumine the tops of the highest mountains, when the day-star sinks beyond the horizon.

Modern Spain had not the force of genius to produce a great poet, who could either sing of liberty like Lucan, or of adulation like Virgil. Ignorance and error went on increasing from one day to another, under the masters and governors by whom she was ruled.

When Philip III. ascended the throne, wishing his country to be revenged of the English Queen, he sent against Ireland a powerful *armada*, under the command of Juan de Aguilar, who assumed the title of General in the holy war for the preservation of the Catholic faith. But this expedition was fruitless.

On the death of Elizabeth, he made peace with James, her successor. Then it became the practice of the Spanish clergy to set themselves in opposition to every thing that was of public utility. On this account Don Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, represented to the King, the danger there was in having commerce with heretics; for the Spaniards, by their growing intercourse, and fidelity, in mercantile affairs, with those so designated, were losing that abhorrence with which they had ever been accustomed to regard them.* The eccle-

TRANSLATION.

* "Generalmente se ha perdido el asombro y grima que solía tener

Generally there is a loss of that fear and alarm with which heretics

siastics also felt that the common people were putting away those errors and superstitions in which they had been educated.

Philip III., knowing the imminent ruin which threatened Spain, chose rather to make known to strangers the principles of its weakness, than to fortify it.

Impelled by this motive, he adjusted a truce with the Dutch; but his son, Philip IV., on taking the sceptre of Castile, stirred up that spirit of conquest which had wrought so much injury in the reigns of his predecessors Charles V. and Philip II. From that moment, military glories alternated with ignominies: the sure destiny reserved to the country of those who wish to emulate the Alexanders and the Attilas. No sooner does perfection in the art of war, cease to pertain to only one nation, than universal conquerors become impossible: their imperium, if acquired, disappears like a flash of lightning. Napoleon was the monarch who gave most of its glories to France; but no other monarch ever drew down upon that nation the insult of having Paris, on two occasions, occupied by foreign troops, which imposed their will on the French. Although the latter may be

TRANSLATION.

de los herejes; porque como los encuentran á todas horas por las calles y son admitidos al comercio activo y pasivo, y tratados con cortesia, y ven que muchos de ellos guardan verdad mas que los católicos viene la gente á aficionárseles.”—*Carta de Ribera: vida de Felipe III., por Gonzalez Dávila.*

were wont to be regarded: for as these are met with at all hours in the streets, and are admitted to all commerce, active and passive, and treated with courtesy, and it turns out that many of them keep to truth more than do the Catholics, the people come to have an affection for them.

“He has the face of a heretic,” was always said of a man who was ugly or illfavoured. (*Franciosioni Vocabulario.—Roma, 1620.*) *La necesidad tiene cara de hereje*, was equivalent to *Necessitas caret lege*—‘To make a heresy,’ of a person was to subject him to the most horrible cruelties.

able to say, that their enemies were from all Europe; yet, they themselves, with the forces of subjugated nations, had, in their turn, invaded all other European kingdoms.

If the millions spent in erecting the Escorial, had been employed by Philip II. in attending to the necessities of his states, and in subjugating Holland by sea, as he had endeavoured to do by land, those brave defenders of their liberty would not have found forces to resist their oppressors.* But the want of perception on the part of tyrants frequently gives vigour to the objects of their oppression,—enabling them to break their chains, and execute vengeance for past indignities.

By the death of the Princess Isabel Clara Eugenia, to whom Philip had ceded the Low Countries, these returned to the crown of Spain, for want of issue of that Princess. Of what importance was it that the Spanish armies were gaining partial battles, and a few towns from the Dutch, if the Dutch, on their part, were gaining others, and with greater advantages? Spain, with all her own valour, and the assistance of France, was compelled, at last, to acknowledge the independence of the republic of Holland. This served greatly to favour the cause of liberty in Europe: fugitives were protected; and the presses of the Hague, Amsterdam,

TRANSLATION.

* “ On objectoit cela mesme á Philippes II. en Espagne et 22 millions et d’Ecus qu’il depensa á l’Escorial dans les grandes necessitez de l’Estat, pouvoient oster la mer aux holandois, et les reduire par le seul foible qu’il les falloit prendre.—*La France demasquée ou ses irregularitez dans sa conduite et maximes.* — *A la Haye*, 1670.

It was objected even to Philip II. of Spain, that the twenty-two millions of crowns, which he expended on the Escorial, in the great necessity of the nation, would have enabled him to close the sea to the Dutch, and reduced them by the only weak side on which he could take them.

and Leyden, published the works of sages who had not the power, in their own countries, of communicating their ideas to their fellow-men.

Such was the liberty enjoyed in Holland, that, about the middle of the last century, they could even print a work with the title of *Teoría de las leyes civiles ó principios fundamentales de la Sociedad*,* in which the author says, “That society is founded on the rights of highwaymen : that its first act was usurpation of men and of property : that it reduced men to slavery, and divided the property among the accomplices of this usurpation : and that the course of human justice consists in maintaining this order of things.”†

These philosophical doctrines, of which Proudhon, in the present century, pretends to be the inventor, but of which he is but the mere disciple, were not able to move the republic of Holland : badly constituted governments alone need to dread the novelty of ideas.

In a nation where liberty is secured against the wiles of anarchy on the one hand, and of despotism on the other, new doctrines are heard without fear and without abhorrence. If they are foolish, and if they are dangerous, you can only gather from them that which *can* be

* Theory of Civil Laws ; or, Fundamental Principles of Society.

TRANSLATION.

† “L’objet de cet écrit est d’établir que la société a pour fondement le droit des brigands, que son premier acte fut l’usurpation d’hommes et de biens, qui réduisit les hommes à l’esclavage et partagea les biens entre les complices de cette usurpation, et que tout l’ordre de la justice humaine consiste à maintenir ce fondement et cet état de choses.”—*Elemens de la Philosophie rurale*.—*A la Haye*, 1767.

The object of this writing is to establish, that society has for its basis the right of brigands ; that its first act was the usurpation of men and of property, which reduced men to slavery, and divided their goods among the accomplices of this usurpation ; and that all order of human justice consists in maintaining that foundation and state of things.

gathered. There is no doctrine, however dangerous, but may contain something in it useful to man. Philosophy, even by means of the errors of heresiarchs, has progressed, and still progresses, towards a good end. *Protestantism, with all its contradictions, teaches the free use of reason* :* and the encyclopedists of the last century have scattered over the world the knowledge of many civil rights.

Holland and England acquired liberty with greater facility than any of the other nations of Europe. In each of these countries, their greatest statesmen were preceded by one who pointed out the path to public felicity in the sixteenth century. The Dutchman, Erasmus, in his *Eulogy on Folly*, set forth all the weaknesses of mortals, as well in private as in public life.† The Englishman, Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, depicted a republic, such as it ought to be, full of virtue and of religious tolerance.‡ The one shewed the wicked state of society, and the other the way of perfection : each of these writers was of great service to his country.

In the meantime, Spain was discovering, more and more, her impotency to govern the world. France, knowing it, longed to be revenged for the insults she had received in Italy by the troops of Charles V. A war broke out afresh in Flanders. The belligerent parties were regarded with amazement by other nations, who were waiting to join whichever party fortune

* In the sheets of the original of this present work, sent me by the author for this translation, these words in italics are erased by his own pen. I make no further comment on the circumstance, than to observe, that this is an example of the *artificio* necessary to his personal liberty, as a public writer in the Peninsula.—T. P.

† *Desiderii Erasmi Encomium Moriae : Venitiis* 1515.

‡ *De optimo reipublicae statu, deque nova insula Utopia.*

should favour. Holland assisted the French until the peace of Munster, in 1648: a peace purchased by the destruction of many troops.

To maintain all those wars, the Spanish nations were oppressed with the most onerous taxes, new in their kind, and repeatedly levied. Catalonia, disgusted by the breach of its privileges and the obligation to send soldiers against France, gave the signal for the other kingdoms and provinces to make an energetic opposition to the violence and tyranny with which all of them were treated. The Catalans appealed to arms, they asked auxiliaries of Louis XIII., they constituted themselves into a republic, and subsequently treated with the French Monarch with a view of putting themselves under obedience to him, provided he would swear to secure to them the privileges they had acquired from their ancestors, who had shed their blood in defence of their territory.*

In due time, the kingdom of Portugal declared itself independent of the rest of Spain. Philip II., governed, in all his actions, by violence, profited by the weakness to which it was reduced by the loss of its monarch, Don Sebastian, as well as by that of the flower of its youthful

TRANSLATION.

* "No tempo em que Portugal estava sugeyto á Castella nunca as forças juntas de ambas as coroas puderão resistir á Olanda; e daqui inferia e esperava ó discurso que muyto menos poderia prevalecer só Portugal contra Olanda e contra Castella—De Castella defendeo Portugal o Reyno, e de Olanda as conquistas."
Historia do futuro pelo Padre Antonio Vieira.

So long as Portugal was subject to Castile, the combined forces of both nations were never able to resist Holland; it was considered sound sense to say that much less could she prevail or sustain herself, isolated as she was, against Castile; however, by land she did triumph victoriously against the Castillian power, sustaining her independence, and by sea did quite as much, maintaining her conquests in spite of the maritime forces of Holland.

and noble militia in its wars with Africa. He was not satisfied with having his right acknowledged by the reputed judges, but by the people, with the swords of the conquerors placed on their necks, whilst their feet were loaded with the chains of slavery. He had lawyers in his kingdom who justified these actions, and in this manner he foolishly thought to deceive the world, by the excuses which his aulics were inventing for his conduct.*

The nobles and the plebeians of Portugal were converted into instruments by which the kings of Castile either punished the rebellious, or facilitated their impositions of tribute on the people.

United, strong, and powerful, the Portuguese recovered their ancient energy, and fought against the Spaniards, remembering that, on two distinct occasions, they had, by their valour, carried, to the breasts of their opponents, the conviction that they would never suffer themselves to be subjugated at the point of the sword, and that nothing but the free will of both could

TRANSLATION.

* "En esto sigue Castilla al mismo rey que no estándole bien la justicia, fiado solo en la violencia, huyendo el juicio para el cual estaba citado . . . logrando la oportunidad que halló en el reyno, flaco entónçes por la reciente pérdida del rey don Sebastian en Africa, divididos en favor de varios pretendientes los pocos caballeros que della restaron, y corrompiendo los mas con dinero, juntando la mas gente que pudo, usurpó la herencia de una Señora . . . que no se valió de otros ejércitos que de quejas al cielo."—*Carta que á un Señor de la corte de Inglaterra escribió el doctor Antonio de Souza Macedo. Lisboa, 1641.*

Castile followed on the side of the same king, who, not having the laws in his power, relied solely on violence; and shunning those laws by which he was cited, . . . availed himself of the opportunity which he found in the kingdom, weakened as it then was by the recent loss of the King Don Sebastian, in Africa, (the few remaining knights of that kingdom being divided in favour of the various pretenders, and most of them corrupted by money,) and, gathering together as many of the people as he could, he usurped the inheritance of a Queen . . . who availed herself of no other forces than complaints to heaven.—*Letter which Doctor Antonio de Souza Macedo, wrote to a gentleman of the court of England. Lisbon, 1641.*

unite them for ever. History has shewn that a forced union, even if it be possible for a few years, never could be of sufficient duration to secure the greatness of Spain and Portugal.

Whilst the Portuguese were subject to the dominion of Castile, they allowed many of their possessions in Africa and Asia to be taken from them. They fought like men who were not defending their own interests, but those of a government they hated. Scarcely had they achieved their independence, than they re-conquered the African and Asiatic places which had been usurped by the Dutch; and, as an undeniable proof of the greatness of a free people fighting for love of liberty, and with a pride of shewing themselves worthy of it, their new achievements making them forget their old misfortunes, they fought upon an equality with both Spain and Holland, when it is evident that their forces were scarcely sufficient to defend themselves against the first of these nations.*

* "Exemplo temos de tudo na monarchia de Castella, cujo Rey porque gastou 15 ou 20 milhoens, se nao forao mais, nas superfluidades do Retiro, os acha menos agora, quando lhe crao necesarios para os apertos en que se ve: e porque vexou os povos con taes tributos que chegou á quintar as haciendas á seus vasallos, se lhe levantarao Portugal, Catalunha, Napoles, Sicilia, &c.: é porque faz a guerra á França, é á outros reynos é estados que lhe nao pertencen, por sustentar caprichos, está en pontos de dar a ultima boquenda á sua monarchia."—*Antonio Vieyra.—Arte de furtar.* Lisboa, 652.

TRANSLATION.

Of all this we have an example presented to us by the Castilian monarchy, whose sovereign spent fifteen or twenty millions in adorning, superfluously, the Palace of *El buen Retiro*—millions which were thrown away in a moment when they were so necessary in the impoverished condition and pecuniary difficulties with which she was beset. To supply her wants the people were harassed by taxes of the most onerous nature, to raise which, proprietors were made to contribute the fifth part of their incomes. Such injustice excited a rebellion in Portugal, Catalonia, Naples, and Sicily; and in order to indulge her caprice she even made war against France, and other kingdoms not belonging to her, whereby she became

Catalonia, at length, almost abandoned by France, gave herself up anew to Castile. This is the only occasion in which the kings of the house of Austria have displayed their clemency. Philip IV., doubtless compelled through terror of the enemies by whom it was surrounded, and by the disasters of his own troops, gave his free pardon to all the Catalans, excepting only Don José Margarit, who was at the head of the rebellion.

The plebeians of Seville, instigated by hunger, and by the tyranny of its rulers, also took up arms. They demanded that one of themselves, being a plebeian, might be named without delay, in each parish, by the people, and that this functionary should have a decisive vote, in order to negative, or concede, whatever the king might ask of the patricians ; provided always that a certain number of their councillors should first have approved it. But the plebeians were beaten : the proposal remained null ; and the streets of Seville were stained with the blood of many of those who had dared to suggest it.

Naples and Sicily rose in like manner : the former instigated by a fisherman, and the latter by a brazier. Those men, unable, however, to maintain a contest with so powerful an enemy, sought the favour of France, following the usage of Italy in former centuries. Sicily rose against the French. Terrible in the first encounter, she carried everything ; but, the first impetus being over, she knew her own weakness, and submitted to the protection of the Kings of Arragon. Thus, in attempting to shake off one yoke, we find that a weak people are apt to subject themselves to another, and that perhaps less supportable.

Naples and Sicily soon returned, through violence, to

the obedience of Spain ; and, at a later period, some cities of the latter kingdom made a new, but unsuccessful, attempt to acquire their liberty.

Charles II., after having experienced, during his minority, the struggles of the ambition of his mother, and of his illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, (the conqueror of Naples and of Catalonia, but the conquered in the fields of Portugal,) continued to harass the foreign enemies of Castile. A weak prince, governed by friars and ecclesiastics, who converted him into the plaything of their own caprice, he arrived at the extremity of believing himself to be bewitched, and sought to have the evil spirits cast out of his body. A writer of his time, on contemplating the then state of Spain, exclaims : “ There are neither *armadas* at sea, nor troops on shore. We are scourged by the French : they treat us with scorn. Brandenburg, with insolence, wishes to be our judge : and the English have prevaricated with malice. Sweden and Denmark are leagued against us : we are under the protection of the Dutch, who laugh at us : and she (Spain) is come to such a pass, that she will have no Italy, no Flanders, no Indies. May it please God that even Spain herself may continue to exist !” *

This terrible prophecy was fulfilled at a subsequent period ; so exactly, that Spain has gathered the fruits of her political violence, begun in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and continued by their successors. In planting the seeds of Spain’s future greatness, its sovereigns have not perceived that these contained the germ of its perdition and its ruin.

* *Pia junta en el panteon del Escorial de los vivos y los muertos.*—MS. anónimo.—*Biblioteca de la Catedral de Sevilla.*

CHAPTER XI.

Government of the Bourbons—Philip V. and Ferdinand VII.—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Wars with England—Jesuits once favourable to liberty—Etruria—Louisiana—Invasions—Re-establishment of the Inquisition—Puigblanch—Inquisition abolished.

PHILIP IV. converted the misfortunes of his kingdoms into causes of public rejoicings. In the midst of fêtes of an ecclesiastical kind, for insignificant victories of his armies—of dramatic and terpsichorean representations in the palace of El Buen-Retiro—of human sacrifices in *autos de fé*—of bull fights, (new hecatombs by which the ferocious instincts of an enslaved people were flattered)—and of tournaments—he unexpectedly learned the news, that the Spanish troops, never until then conquered in the field of battle, had been routed by the Prince of Condé at Rocroy. He shortly afterwards made peace with France. As a pledge of his sincerity, he married his daughter, Doña Maria Teresa, to Louis XIV., she first renouncing, in his name, and that of his successors unto the fourth generation, her rights to the crown of Spain. Philip IV. and Louis XIV. published this renunciation, as an inviolable law, in their respective kingdoms. But when the Spanish monarch ceased to exist, the French one declared such renunciation of those rights to have been merely nominal, in order that he might afterwards recover them by force

of arms. During the reign of Charles II., Louis XIV. laid claim to the Duchy of Brabant, the Seignory of Malins, the Earldom of Borgoña, and many cities in Lower Germany.

The want of a successor gave the King of Spain much disquietude, and, wearied by the pretensions of France and Austria, he bequeathed his crown to a grandson of Louis XIV.

Many Spaniards, however, already tired of the domination of the house of Austria, received Philip V. as their sovereign. They hoped that, with a change of dynasty, they would have felicity and good government.

Austria, leagued with England and Holland, fought in defence of the rights of the Archduke; and the Catalans, having a grateful remembrance of the generosity with which Philip IV. had treated them after the victory, had no desire to run the risk of experiencing anew the ingratitude and neglect of France. They, therefore, fought courageously against Philip V., who, on becoming their conqueror and master of Spain, did not imitate his predecessor: for instead of observing towards them the terms of their capitulation, he destroyed their *fuegos*, and converted them from freemen into slaves.

Portugal gained, from this war, the recognition of her independence; and France, England, and Holland, a few cities and places ceded to them by the Spanish sovereign, in order to secure the fruits of peace, now necessary to his subjects.

The despotism introduced by the Bourbons was doubtless more polished than that practised by the kings of the house of Austria. Philip, it is true, destroyed the *fuegos* of Arragon and Catalonia; he did not assemble the Cortes, because he was afraid lest they

might be hostile to the rights he had acquired through the consent of a majority of the people; and he governed without recognizing any other law than the will of the Princess of the Ursinos. But, on the other hand, he founded colleges; and opened the passes of the Pyrenees, in order that the books of foreign sages might be known by a nation ignorant in almost all the sciences, and only learned in an extravagant theology: he also gave some protection to industry and commerce.

Philip V., on the persuasion of his second wife, Isabella Farnesio, notwithstanding he had ceded all his Spanish possessions in Italy and Flanders, desired that his sons (by the last marriage) might obtain the sovereignty of the duchies of Parma and Tuscany. In order to support the wars which this determination originated, the kingdoms of Castile had to contribute in furnishing both men and money, without reference to the will of the Cortes respecting the matter.

The prince Don Carlos, who then reigned in Spain as Charles III., was, in spite of the Austrians, secured on the throne of Naples and Sicily, by the help of the English, who, through a change in their political interests, forgot their hatred against the Bourbons, and were the means by which Spain, or, rather, the house of Bourbon, recovered its power in Italy:* for the Spaniards were gaining nothing by the move that a prince of that

TRANSLATION.

* "Ainsi ces memes Anglois qui avoient combattu avec tant d'acharnement contre Philippe V., furent les promoteurs de la puissance espagnole en Italie: tant la politique change et les idées des hommes son variables."—*Histoire de mon temps. Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse.—Berlin, 1788.*

Thus these same Englishmen, who had fought with such obstinacy against Philip V., were the promoters of the Spanish power in Italy: so much does policy change, and so variable are the ideas of men.

branch might enjoy the seigniory of Naples and Sicily ; on the contrary, they were losing their forces and treasures, thus wasted and spent to their serious injury. This same king, Don Carlos, owing to his tender age, was unacquainted with the science of state-government, and was directed in all his actions by a minister who did nothing else than execute the orders of Isabella Farnesio.*

Ferdinand VI., the successor of Philip V., aware of the political errors of his family, wished to give his people the greatest of all felicities, in token of his desire for the public good. He withdrew the Spanish troops from Italy, and employed a great part of his wealth in augmenting the naval power.† He determined that no brief of the Pope should be respected until it should first be examined and approved by the Council of Castile ; for he knew that Spaniards, through their zeal for the Catholic religion, would experience nothing but vexation from the Roman Court : indeed, according to the saying of the satirical writers of Italy, who, being in a land of liberty, dared to publish their own thoughts, they were more slaves than the Romans themselves could possibly be.‡

* *Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse.*

† “Après la mort de Phillippe V., le nouveau Roi d’Espagne, jugeant qu’il ne pouvoit donner à son peuple des augures plus favorables de la félicité de son regne qu’en lui procurant la paix, rappella ses troupes d’Italie, et fit une reforme considerable dans sa marine.”—*Histoire de Maurice Conte de Saxe.* —*A Dresde, 1770.*

‡ “La Spagna . . . credendosi piu santa di tutte le altre nationi del mondo, ó púre volendo mos-

TRANSLATION.

After the death of Philip V., the new King of Spain thinking he could not give to his people more favorable augurs of the felicity of his reign, than the procurement of peace, recalled his troops from Italy, and made a considerable reform in his navy.

Spain . . . either believing herself more holy than all the other nations of the world, or, wishing

Charles III. departed greatly from the policy of Ferdinand VI., so prudent and useful to Spain; and in all his actions he allowed himself to be governed rather by his interests and affections as a private individual, than by his obligations as a king. When he came to Spain, he was advised to suppress the Holy Office, a tribunal which never had existed, and did not then exist in his kingdom of Naples; for the power of Charles V. and Philip II. never succeeded in enslaving the will of that people; for, although without political independence, they were lovers of civil and religious liberty. The new sovereign did not wish to surrender his judgment to the petitions and reasonings of state

TRANSLATION.

trare un sembiante di zelo verso la religione Romana, á disegno d'obligare il suo capo che vuol reggere il tutto, presse per colpo d'impresa, di non ammettere ne suoi stati altra fede che quella di Roma; et in fatti pareva che per segno di gratitudine dovessero i governatori di Roma . . . impiegari tutti le loro sforzi per la propagatione di quella corona, che drizzo tutti i suoi andamenti all' avanzo delli ecclesiastici; ma le cose riuscirono tutto al rovescio, perche ingrati questi per natura, nal vedere tanto humiliati gli spagnoli a' lor ceuni e tanto conformi et ubbidienti á voleri di Roma, presero un predominio si grande sopra di loro, che recandoli ogni giorno sempre piú disgusti, si sono resi quasi padroni assoluti di tutti gli stati di detta corona católica, á tal segno che non si puó ben conoscere se siano piú tiraneggiati dá Governatori di Roma li romani con tanti aggravi ó gli spagnoli con tanti disgusti."—*L'Ambasciata di Romolo á Romani. Colonia, 1676.*

to show an appearance of zeal for the Roman religion, with a view of obliging its head, who wished to rule everything, took upon herself the enterprise of not permitting, in any of her states, any other faith than that of Rome; and, in fact, it appeared, that in token of gratitude, the governors of Rome . . . employed all their interests in support of that crown, which directed all its steps towards the advancement of the clergy: but things turned out quite the reverse, because these clergy, by nature ungrateful, seeing the Spaniards so abjectly submissive to their designs, and so entirely conformed and obedient to the desires of Rome, assumed so entire a domination over them, that they made themselves every day more disgusting; they set themselves up as almost absolute masters of all the states of that Catholic crown; and in this state of things it was not easy to say which were the more tyrannically treated by the Roman governors, the Romans with so many wrongs, or the Spaniards with so many disgusts.

which some of his subjects presented to him, because he dared not to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. This non-interference, however, had only reference to what might concern the happiness of his subjects ; but when he believed that the Jesuits were plotting conspiracies against his person, or against the rights of his sons, he was not tardy in plotting another conspiracy against his real or pretended enemies.

One night, in consequence of secret orders, given under the most profound mystery, the houses of all the Jesuits residing in his dominions, were assaulted by the governors, assisted by some troops that were ignorant of the use they were about to make of their force, and of that dread and respect which they always carried with them. The Jesuits were drawn off into perpetual exile. It is true they did not present to the world any new example of despotism which condemned the delinquents, without hearing their defence, and without making their crimes public at the time of executing the sentence ; for, already, both Jews and Moors had suffered all the horrors of tyranny : but these same ecclesiastics were the inventors of this species of expulsion of the subjects who fancied they were living under the protection of laws. In the end, however, the cruel inventions of the Jesuits themselves came to be applied in their own persons.

This banishment by the Jesuits, and its subsequent infliction on themselves, reminds one of the bronze bull which Perillus erected to appease the tyrant Phalaris, with the cries of the victims burnt by slow fire in the bowels of the feigned beast, the author himself having perished in that engine of torture and cruelty which he had prepared for others.*

* I cannot resist the temptation to observe here, (as I have done in

As fear was the first inventor of political cruelties, and gave the name of justice to vengeance, so also those cruelties were made to appear more terrible by the suppression of the causes for which they were inflicted on the sufferers.

It cannot be denied that the crown of Spain had the right to suppress the Company of Jesuits in its own dominions, if it be admitted that it had the right to allow the original formation of that society; but the expulsion of subjects was an abuse of the arbitrary power conceded by Spaniards to the sovereign.

Although Pope Clement XIII. complained of this practice of expulsion, yet, ultimately, at the instance of the Kings of France, Portugal and Spain, not only did his successor approve it in foreign states, but even imitated it in his own.

The Council of Castile, in a petition to the King relative to a pontifical brief demanding reparation for the offence against the Jesuits, alleged that those persons were attempting to change the government of Spain: that they were putting in practice the most horrible doctrines; and, in short, charged the Jesuits with other accusations, without the slightest reason for them.*

another work), how beautifully the justice of this experiment on Perillus himself is alluded to by Ovid.—T. P.

“Nec lex justior illâ,
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.”

This sacrifice proposed by Perillus, and tried experimentally upon himself, reminds one of Milton's Moloch.

“Horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard that passed through fire
To his grim idol.”—PAR. LOST, 392.

* “*Consulta del consejo extraordinario de Castilla al Rey, en vista del Breve del Papa, con fecha de 30 de Abril del año de 1767, en que se interesa á favor de los regulares de la compañía.*”

The Jesuits, far from their country, laboured to make themselves known to the world through the medium of their writings, with a view of proving by their maxims of liberty for the people, and of respect for the sovereign, that they did not merit an ignominious expulsion. Lampillas, Hervás, Andrés, Masdeu, La Niux, Eximeno, and others, who, by their works, were illustrating the Spanish genius from the Arno, the Po, and the Tiber, desired to show that if they had lost much in being expelled from their own country, their country had lost much more in casting them out as infected members of its society.

The conduct of Charles III. deserved the unanimous reprobation of the German and English Protestants, as well as of the philosophers of France. Voltaire, who believed that the perdition of the Jesuits was to be traced to their pride,* did not show himself less indignant. D'Alembert eulogised the wisdom of Frederick II., King of Prussia, in favouring the Jesuits, contrary to the laws made against them by four of the principal sovereigns of Europe,† and observed, that whilst a

* *Dictionnaire Philosophique.*

† “Voilà donc les jesuites chassés de Naples : on dit qu'ils vont l'être bientôt de Parme et qu'ainsi tous les Etats de la maison de Bourbon feront maison nette : il me semble que V. M. á pris á l'égard de cette engeance dangereuse le parti le plus sage et le plus juste, celui de ne point lui faire de mal et d'empêcher qu'elle n'en fasse ; mais ce parti, sire, n'est pas fait pour tout le monde : il est plus aisé d'opprimer que de contenir et d'exercer un acte de violence q'un acte de justice.”—*A Paris le 14 Decembre, 1767, Lettre de M. D'Alembert au Roi de Prusse.*

TRANSLATION.

See for example the expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples : it is said they are shortly to be driven from Parma ; and thus all the states of the House of Bourbon will make a clean sweep of them. It seems to me that your Majesty has pursued the most just, and the wisest, course towards this dangerous breed, and one which does it no harm, and yet prevents it harming your Majesty ; but, sire, this course cannot be pursued by everybody : it is easier to oppress than to abstain : to commit an act of violence than an act of justice.

most Christian King, a Catholic King, and a most faithful King, by common accord, were persecuting those ecclesiastics, a heretical King admitted them into his states, because they could not awe the heart of him who knew how to resist a hundred thousand Frenchmen, a hundred thousand Austrians, and a hundred thousand Russians.*

Thus, from the defenders of the Jesuits, as well as from their own writings, and the private conversation of the sovereigns their enemies, it is inferred that those who formed the Company of Jesus were greater adherents to the cause of national liberty than to that of the Popes and the monarchy. Subsequently, however, expediency, which changes the doctrines and opinions of men, diverted them from their path. Where interest alone commanded, reason had nothing to do but to obey.

Charles III. conceded to his subjects some liberty of thought, in order that they might defend the royalties of the crown against the bold pretensions of the pontifical court: he also founded colleges, and provided public instruction. But Spain could not present to the world a Fontenella or a Montesquieu by the side of France, or a Hobbes, or a Colin, or a Bolingbroke by the

TRANSLATION.

* "Quoi qu'il en soit, il sera singulier, sire, que tandis que leurs majestés très-chrétienne, très-catholique, très-apostolique et très-fidèle détruiront les grenadiers du St. Siege, votre très-hérétique Majesté, soit la seule qui les conserve. Il est vrai qu'après avoir résisté à cent mille autrichiens, cent mille russes et cent mille françois, il faudroit qu'elle fut devenue bien timide, pour avoir peur d'eune centaine de robes noir."—*A Paris, 16 Juin, 1769, Letre de Monsieur D'Alembert au Roi de Prusse.*

Be that as it may, it will be singular, sire, if, whilst their very Christian, very Catholic, very apostolic, and very faithful, Majesties are destroying the grenadiers of St. Seige, your very heretical Majesty should be the only one who preserves them. It is true that, after having resisted a hundred thousand Austrians, a hundred thousand Russians, and a hundred thousand Frenchmen, you must have become very timid to be afraid of a hundred black gowns.

side of England. For want of great scientific men,* she gave the title of such to those who adventured all for the prosecution of their studies, and employment of their talents, although they might not possess the qualities to merit such a distinction.

The reputation due to wise and learned men cannot fail to attach itself to their respective countries, if bestowed by mankind in general: but when a nation, singly and alone, presumes to confer that distinction on her sons, the confirmation of other countries will be necessary to secure, on the page of history, the approbation of future ages.

To approve, even in thought, the doctrines of philosophers, was a crime punishable by the Inquisition, if not so cruelly as in former ages, at least with infamous penances. Don Pablo Olavide, founder of the colonies in the deserts of the Sierra Morena, abjured, in an *auto de fé*, within the Holy Office, and in presence of many of the grandees of Spain, among other similar opinions, the notion that Pedro Lombardo, and others, with their scholasticism had thrown back the sciences!

Charles III. was greatly attached to his own family, and to their interests he subordinated those of his subjects. Compelled by the English, who threatened to bombard the city of Naples, he remained neutral in the wars which his father had sustained in Italy. The recollection of this insult, and the subtilty of the French King's ministers, induced him to sign an alliance with the latter to fight against England. The results of this treaty were not very felicitous for Spain; for the English in a short time possessed themselves of the Havannah,

* Don Jorge Juan, the only geometrician of Spain worthy of note, is the single exception.

Manila, and other places. Charles III. recovered the island of Minorca; but his obstinacy in not making peace with his enemies until he should first make himself master of the walls of Gibraltar, was the cause of much useless bloodshed. Whilst he was congratulating himself that his troops and squadrons were the admiration of the world in the siege of that fortress, the wise men of Europe were stigmatising as ridiculous the very attempt, and as still more ridiculous his persevering in the enterprise. The floating batteries invented by French engineers on that occasion only served to provoke the laughter of the great geometrician D'Alembert, as well on account of the preposterous thought, as at the credulity and ignorance of the Spaniards.* And King Frederick II. of Prussia, learned as he was in the art of war, pronounced the enterprise impossible, prognosticating that very soon it would be abandoned as a miserable failure.†

* "J'apprends qu'en Espagne en vient de bruler il y a six mois une malherense femme pour *heresie de quietisme*. Quelle horreur et quelle imbecillité tout à la fois! Aussi l'Espagne croupit elle dans la plus méprisable ignorance. Les succes de cette nation devant Gibraltar en sont la triste preuve."—*Lettre de M. D'Alembert au Roi de Prusse. A Paris ce 14 Decembre, 1781.*

† "L'idée des batteries flottantes étoit assurément très-heterodoxe et ne pouvoit réussir. Les hommes les plus déterminés peuvent entreprendre des chose difficiles, mais les impossibles ils les abandonnent aux fous."—*Lettre de Frederick II., Roi de Prusse, a Monsieur D'Alembert le 30 Decembre, 1782.*

"Ce maudit siège de Gibralt-

TRANSLATION.

I understand that, in Spain, about six months ago, they burnt an unfortunate woman for *heresy of quietism*. What horror and what imbecility all at once! Truly Spain stagnates in a condition of the most contemptible ignorance. The successes of that nation before Gibraltar are a sad proof of it.

The idea of floating batteries was certainly very heterodox, and could not succeed. The most determined men can undertake difficult things, but the impossible ones they abandon to fools.

This cursed siege of Gibraltar,

Charles IV., or rather his representative, Godoy, provoked a war with France, on account of the republicans having brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. The enemies penetrated Spain, and had the good fortune to make themselves masters of many cities on the frontiers. In the midst of great ravages, Charles asked for peace; and from that time leagued himself in the interests of Napoleon, in order that the latter might, with the help of the Spanish forces, take vengeance of the injuries he had received from England.

Charles, wishing to derive some profit by that alliance and peace, bought from Bonaparte the, so-called, kingdom of Etruria, in Italy; giving him in payment Louisiana, in America, as if that territory were his and not the property of the nation by whom it was governed. In this exchange, Spain lost that which her sons had conquered, in order that one of her princesses might have a rich dowry, and acquire the title and authority of Queen.

Although it was stipulated, in this sale, that Bonaparte should never sell Louisiana, he, at a subsequent period, being in want of money, ceded it to the Anglo-Americans for eighty-four millions of francs. He did more: that audacious man, who sported himself with the impotency and credulity of the monarchs of his age, dispossessed the pretended Queen of her kingdom of Etruria.*

tar, si ridiculement entrepris, et plus ridiculement prolongé, a été la principale cause de nos malheurs ou de nos sottises."—*Lettre de M. D'Alembert*, 13 Decembre, 1782.

so ridiculously undertaken, and more ridiculously prolonged, has been the principal cause of our misfortunes, or, more correctly, of our follies.

* *Memoirs of the Baron de Kolli, relative to his secret mission in 1810, for liberating Ferdinand VII. &c.*—London, 1823.

Napoleon contrived that at Bayonne all the royal family of Spain should cede their rights to the crown of Spain ; and these he transferred immediately to his brother Joseph, who, at the head of a powerful host, entered the kingdom he had thus acquired with so much facility, and at so little risk to his person. Many Spaniards, friends of political liberty, took the oaths of allegiance to the new sovereign ; they believed the country unable to defend itself against forces which had oppressed the Emperors of Austria and Russia : they remembered what Spain had endured on other occasions through the ignominy of admitting a foreign sovereign, such as Charles I. of Austria, and Philip V. of France, and that the will of a kingdom could give letters of naturalization to a foreign monarch : they saw that Joseph was offering them a constitution founded on civil rights, and that he began to represent the part of a prince putting down superstition and abolishing the Holy Office.

A great part of Spain did not wish to submit itself to the violence which the dominion of Joseph Bonaparte imposed upon it. The friars and others of the ecclesiastics incited the common people to rebellion. Others who hated the foreign yoke, took up arms, resolved to die in the defence of their country.

In the face of all this courage on the part of Spain, England became reconciled to her, although up to that time she had been her mortal enemy, and now afforded her all the favour she could to encourage her in the enterprise. The design of England was to separate herself from the ravages of war, and with few forces, and those at a distance from her, to engage the conquerors of Europe,

so as to keep them away from her own territory. This example was not new in the world. When Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, passed over to Italy to take vengeance on that republic,* Carthage sent vessels and succours to Rome, and assisted his ancient foes, in order that others more powerful might not, after their ruin, undertake the conquest of Sicily and Africa. And it is unquestionable, that if the Romans, on seeing the wars of Hannibal against the Spaniards, had assisted them, never would the armies of the Carthagenians have set foot on the fields of Italy; and that warrior, the conqueror of Saguntum, would not have broken the Roman bands in the unfortunate battle of Cannæ.

Spain, abandoned by her kings, remained in a state of the greatest anarchy. It is generally found that nations, wearied of bad government, are accustomed, when able to throw off the yoke, to pursue the opposite course, and to adopt a just and wholesome policy. So it was with the Spaniards when ruling for themselves; they formed a constitution based on principles of political liberty. Thus one revolution, begun by the preaching of friars and parish priests, a class of men subservient to the slavery and imbecility of the nation, and who sought to perpetuate their own dominion, ended in proclaiming the rights of man, and in abolishing the tribunal of the Inquisition as incompatible with the triumphs of human reason.

There is no doubt that nations invaded by foreign hosts, although they experience the disasters of war, are wont to work out benefit from them, if they happen to

* *History of Rome, by Polybius—Décads of Titus Livius.*

be in a state of great intellectual prostration. The thought of being independent, like men of another kingdom, frequently gives birth to the notion of civil liberty ; one leads to the other, and both achieve distinct victories as well over foreign as over domestic oppressors.

But a nation does not easily pass from a state of fanaticism to the enjoyment of political liberties. The prejudices and self-interest of wicked men will have recourse, not only to arms, but to every artifice, to impede the progress of free and liberal institutions.

The majority of the ecclesiastics, merely with a view of opposing civil liberty to that measure of civil liberty proclaimed by Joseph Bonaparte, obeyed the decrees of the Cortes ; although, at the same time, they protested against them in the secret chambers of their own breasts. Many of the friars and clergy, under the name of *Guerilleros*, assimilating themselves to foragers on the mountains, abandoned their churches, and becoming leaders of bands of assassins, robbed and murdered, not the French troops, before whom they fled like flocks of birds at the report of gunpowder, but the rich labourers, suspected of being the adherents of Bonaparte, or the straggling troops of that general, when few in number and wandering in an unknown path. Thus did those wicked men contrive to sully the glories of Spain, in her unwearied struggle for liberty against the arms of France. There were others, however, who still maintained in their hearts a love of that despotic rule which, up to that period, the Spanish nation had experienced ; with their assistance Ferdinand VII., on his return to his own country, annulled the public liberties and persecuted those by

whom they had been achieved. The Holy Office was re-established. Don Antonio Puigblanch, one of the persons who, by his erudition and talent, had most contributed to the abolition of that tribunal, was taken from Gibraltar, where he had sought an asylum from the storm that was the terror and dismay of Spaniards. The news of this scandalous deed reached the shores of England; and the ministers of the sovereign of that nation demanded his liberty, of which he had been unjustly deprived, under a supposition that in his flight he had assumed a feigned name and profession. Immediately on Puigblanch's arrival in London, the House of Commons took up the affair. The illustrious historian, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Samuel Whitbread, and other members of the house, accused the English minister of having, by the Governor of Gibraltar, delivered up that learned Spaniard to his enemies. Puigblanch, on the day of the debate, was in the House of Commons, and in company with the translator of his work, *La Inquisition sin Máscara*, a work which very greatly promoted the decree of the Cortes for the abolition of that tribunal, which was odious to every free man, and heartily detested by all nations.*

In proportion as learned men have been cruelly persecuted by an intolerant and fanatical priesthood, they have received proofs of esteem and protection from all nations freed from the ecclesiastical yoke.

The Inquisition, curbed and held down under the

* Puigblanch refers to this in his *Opusculos gramático-satíricos* against Doctor Villanueva, printed in London. The English translator of *The Inquisition Unmasked*, London, 1816, was William Walton, Esq. That work has also been translated into German.

weight of anathemas from all Europe, and being incompatible with the culture of the age, dragged on a miserable existence for some years, serving the cause of despots rather than that of fanaticism. But it was abolished anew and entirely in 1820.

CHAPTER XII.

Conquest of America—Oppression of the Indians—Las Casas—Albornoz—William Penn, Woolman, and Benezet—Slavery—Independence of the United States—Republics of America—Loss of commercial liberty—Effects of a violent policy.

THE policy of Spaniards towards their American dominions was nothing else than an exaggerated continuance of that practised in the peninsula.

The Portuguese in the fifteenth century lit up afresh the desire of conquest of distant lands. Portugal was the nation which most resembled ancient Rome. Its great men, not satisfied with the possession of a small territory, stirred up wars with the people of Morocco and other barbarians of Africa, extending their victorious arms through all the East into China. They fought like the Roman hosts with the Numidians, and chained kings to their triumphal chariot, as Marius did Jugurtha.

At a subsequent period, luxury and the other vices began to corrupt their minds ; and, although the vanity of astonishing grandeur inspired them with indolence, yet still, in the sixteenth century, they gave an admirable example of constancy and courage in the siege of Diu, which ended in a most brilliant victory, celebrated by Don Juan de Castro, viceroy of India, entering into

Goa with all those ceremonies of triumph commanded by Rome to be observed to her victorious consuls.*

A Genoese adventurer, who occupied himself in gaining a miserable pittance by the sale of navigation-charts, proposed to the Catholic Kings a maritime expedition in order to discover lands until then unknown. †

After repeated solicitations, the Queen Isabel furnished him with the sums necessary for his undertaking. At the very time that the Spaniards had notice of new kingdoms abounding with gold, and were exposed to the covetousness of other nations, a multitude of people prepared to cross the seas, in search of that good fortune which they did not possess in their own country. The gentry in good circumstances did not think fit to run the hazard of dangers for this glorious treasure. Merely a few gentlemen, who, even in poverty, maintained the lustre of their blood, wished with the precious

* Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, one of the most elegant of historians of modern Europe, in his *Vida de Don Joao de Castro, quarto visorey da India*, (Lisbon, 1651,)—says, speaking of the triumph:—

TRANSLATION.

“Viaose seiscentos prisioneiros arrastrando cadeas, tras elles as peças de campanha con varias é numerosos armas. As damas das jauellas banhavao ao triumphador em agua destilladas de aromas diferentes, &c.”

There were seen six hundred prisoners loaded with chains; behind these were pieces of ordinance, with numerous and various arms, while matrons and maidens kept sprinkling the conqueror with water distilled from different aromatic substances, &c.

† *Sancho Cota* in his *Memorias*, *MS.*, cited in the early chapters of this work, says:—

“En este tiempo vino un hombre ginoves que se llamaba colon: hombre pobre, el qual facia cartas de marear y las vendia en la corte de Castilla, el qual pidió al rey y á la Reyna que le diesen cierta armada por la mar é que descubriria mucha tierra: la qual fasta entonces no habia seido vista, donde avia mucho oro é perlas é otras cosas.”

At this time there came a Genoese, called Columbus: a poor man who made sea-charts, and sold them in the court of Castile; he petitioned the King and Queen that he might have a certain number of sea-forces and he would discover a great tract of land: which, up to that time, had never been seen, and which contained a great supply of gold, pearls and other things.

metals of the Indies to restore the position of their families. The rest of those who abandoned their country were dissolute men, who despised life and death, who thirsted for riches, and were accustomed to use their liberty regardless of established usages of society.

Cruel as had been the wars, almost always the conquered had obtained some conditions advantageous to the security of their persons, if not also of their property ; at least so it happened in the world after the fall of the Roman empire, so also in Spain at the invasion of the Arabs, and so likewise in England when invaded by the Saxons.

The Spaniards found for opponents a people who could not oppose cannon to cannon, musket to musket, and horse to horse. With slender arms and naked breasts, before warriors cased in steel, those unfortunate beings stood forth in defence of their liberty. The insults of one class of men were received with affection and presents by the other, thus teaching their oppressors that they were also mortals, and compassed with the same miseries to which all are subject.

Many things concurred to make this a most horrible conquest. Apart from the ravages which a conqueror always occasions, in order to avenge himself for the opposition previously offered by the conquered, the Spaniards had arrived in America with minds instructed in all manner of cruelties ; for the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, the mutiny of an enslaved populace against these, and the *autos de fé*, were acts of oppression with which they had been familiar.

Servants found themselves suddenly converted into masters. With examples of the policy of their own country, and with insolence at seeing themselves, who

had in the land of their birth passed a miserable life, now raised into great men, they believed their power was without limits. Nor were there, even, between the conquerors and the conquered, any of those compacts called laws. All the Indians were slaves ; and, as no laws existed to defend the weak against the strong, the anger of the haughty master was appeased, not by having recourse to the scourge, but to the point of the sword.

They divided the land among the conquerors : they did in like manner with the property of their persons. They put in practice, as is done in all conquests, the doctrines of the philosopher Phaleas touching re-partition and equality of property and fortune among citizens : doctrines which, in peace, are listened to with a smile, as the deliriums of a sage ; but, in war, as an act of justice, and the foundation of human felicity. On other occasions, anger and the sword have answered the defenders of these doctrines. The persons of the tribunes of Rome, Tiberius and Sempronius Gracchus, sacred by the laws, received from a tumultuous nobility the punishment for having decreed the re-partition of lands among the citizens of their country.

Thus, the triumph of these doctrines, and their approbation by the laws, like the hatred of men and the anger of governors, have always depended solely on their exercise by the conquerors against the conquered, or on the desire of the feeble to exercise them against the powerful.

The Indies, in the midst of their miserable state of oppression, found an apostle of mankind, who might overcome the obstacles that opposed the extension of the seas and the interests of the conquerors, in order that their complaints might not resound through the world. The Licenciado Bartolomé de las Casas, who

then had entered the order of Santo-Domingo, commiserated the unhappy Indians; he began to importune the King of Spain and his ministers, that by wholesome laws the wickedness of those conquerors might be restrained. His compassionate appeal was, at first, only heard with laughter; because there is nothing in truth more ridiculous to a generation given up to vice and cruelty, than the sentiments of charity coming from the oppressed. Cato used to say to Marcus Tullius, that, for being so energetic a defender of the virtues, the Roman *canalla* of his age did not duly estimate his merit and bravery. Casas, however, had courage enough to speak of pity, and to move the hearts of persons flattered by the pride of Spanish victories. He besought—he importuned—princes and bishops; he suffered, with the patience of a wise man, the contempt of ignorance, and the calumny of cruelty; he wrote books in defence of the Indians and he finally succeeded in obtaining, in part, what he had so earnestly solicited. Many of his works, translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and repeatedly printed, demonstrate to foreigners that the doctrines of humanity had not fled entirely from Spain. But this nation, failing of philosophy, attributed the applause of Casas solely to the envy of foreigners of our valour and our conquests. It saw, with vexation, the veneration paid to the apostle of humanity, because it was an offence to the heroes of war; and the blind and misled people had no wish to change the smallest blood-stained laurel for the glories acquired in the exercise of the sentiments of charity towards mankind. Sanguinary heroes are distinguished, and shine as great men, in the pages of history; but a thousand of them are not sufficient to equal the merits of those who have brought

about pacific victories. Valour is peculiar to no country : it displayed itself as well on the plains of Marathon and at Salamis, as in the mountains of Switzerland against the Austrians, and in Hungary, against the Turks, for the space of two centuries. The world reserves all for the heroes of war : nothing for the apostles of peace. This proves that the admiration bestowed on force is greater than that which man can derive from the triumphs of virtue, even though these be unstained with blood ; for the mind is more influenced by pride than by a sense of satisfaction, at the public felicity.

Spaniards, carried away by the former passion, have pronounced Casas a calumniator. His zeal for the good of the Indians has been considered as puerile, and his defence of the great principles of humanity as a token of his hatred to Spain ; nay even the desire to see his country utterly abandon those habits which were making her ignominious in the eyes of the world, has been stigmatised as wicked, for the ignorance of the people has made common cause with those perverse men who are pleased to designate as crimes, his disinterested labours in favour of pity and humanity.

Such were the effects of the absence of philosophy in Spain !

It has been said that Casas, with a desire to paint in more lively colours the cruelties of the Spaniards, has exaggerated the population of America as it existed at the time of its discovery and conquest. That, however, was not his fault. There was no historian of the Indies who, in speaking of their population did not exaggerate.

Hernan Cortés, whose glory in conquering the empire of Montezuma consisted more in overcoming the armies of Panfilo de Narvez, his competitor in command, than

in cunningly availing himself of the forces of the same nation that he was about to put under his yoke, described in the accounts he sent to Spain, the hosts of the emperor as almost equal to those of Xerxes. Sometimes he said he had fought against a hundred thousand men and sometimes he asserted the number was more than one hundred and forty thousand : as if these, had they been armed only with stones, would not from their numerical vastness, have spread dismay and death in the camp of Cortés, and reduced his soldiers to a very few hundreds.* Thus, it was not uncommon for the chiefs in the armies to overstate the number of their opponents, in order that their own meritorious valour, in having reduced so populous an empire to the obedience of the monarchs of Castile, might appear the greater in distant lands.

If the statement of Casas was not a faithful account but one merely derived from the primitive historians of the new world, never before was exaggeration made with greater benefit to mankind. The rest of the deeds related by Casas are confirmed even by Spanish writers uninfluenced by any feeling of compassion towards the miserable Indians. There is but this difference—that Casas gives their true names to the deeds he describes while the other writers only refer to them, without appearing to be horrified at the perpetration of cruelties which the gentry of Spain had been accustomed to witness at home.

If Casas affirms that the Spaniards threw the Indians to the dogs, to be torn in pieces by them, Antonio

* Fernando Cortés, in his "*Relaciones*," says : " Thus we continued fighting until we had put ourselves among *more than a hundred thousand men*." And elsewhere, he adds : " On another occasion, a break of day, there came down upon our camp *more than a hundred and forty-nine thousand men*."

Herrera refers to the same practice, especially as to fugitives found dressed in women's attire after a battle, which disguise was doubtless with a view of saving themselves from the ferocious brutalities of their enemies.*

The pages of American history are full of the accounts of burning alive the Casiques and their subjects, for not declaring whence they had acquired the gold in use among them in that country.

Guatamozin, the last Emperor of Mexico, was not protected by either his dignity or his innocence. At a subsequent period he paid, by strangulation, for the crime of having been the heir of Montezuma and to the imperial crown, and for having been born in an age when his country became acquainted with European manners. Many Spaniards, who well knew that Guatamozin had no hope of recovering the inheritance of his forefathers, and were witnesses of his frightful death, could not refrain from pronouncing that sacrifice unjust.†

* Casas, in his "*Brevisima Relacion de la Destrucion de las Indias*," (Seville, 1552,) says :

"E yo ví que los Españoles echavan perros á los yndios para que los hiciesen pedazos."

TRANSLATION.

And I observed that the Spaniards set dogs upon the Indians, in order to their being torn in pieces.

This is confirmed by Antonio de Herrera, who relates, in his "*Historia general de las Indias occidentales*," (decada i. lib. x.) that

"Fué entre los presos hallado un hermano del cacique y otros que andaban vestidos en hábito de mugeres, y juzgando que del pecado nefando eran inficionados los mandó Basco Nuñez echar á los perros, que en un credo los despedazaron. Y no hubo en esto mas informacion, aunque Gomara lo afirma.

There were found among the prisoners a brother of the Casique, and several others, who were going about in female attire ; and, supposing them to be addicted to vicious practices, Basco Nuñez ordered them to be cast to the dogs, which immediately tore them in pieces. On this point I had no other information, although Gomara affirms it.

† Bernal Diaz del Castillo, in his "*Historia verdadera de la Conquista*

Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru, also perished in the flames, a victim of the crime of having been born a king.*

The Spaniards ordered the abolition of human sacrifices, which the Indians were wont to make in some parts of America, whilst, at the same time, they themselves were practising others equally terrible. From thenceforth they abolished the privilege, enjoyed by the Americans, of being the only sacrificers of human victims. These offerings of men thus presented to Moloch, were but equivalent to those presented to Jesus Christ in the *autos de fé* subsequently introduced among the Indians by authority of the Holy Office.

It is certain, that the conquerors of America carried the cross on their banners ; but religious zeal ceded the place to the covetousness of riches. The imagination of poets may flatter itself with the recollection of the Christian faith propagated by means of a conquest ; whilst philosophy, the discoverer and lover of truth,

de Nueva-España," says, speaking of the death of the Emperor Guatamozin, and one of his cousins :

"Fué esta muerte que les dieron muy injustamente dada, y pareció mal á todos los que iban en aquella jornada."

* Antonio de Herrera, speaking of the death of Atahualpa, says that—

"En todas las provincias sus amigos y devotos y los que no lo eran hicieron notable sentimiento, llamando crueldad á este caso ; porque como el Inga les avia prohibido el tomar las armas por su libertad contra los castellanos, y mandaba que los sirviesen, decian que bienaventurados los Ingas pasados, que murieron siu tener conocimiento de gente tan san-grienta."

TRANSLATION.

That execution which they inflicted on him was an act of great injustice, and so it appeared to all those who went out in that expedition.

In all the provinces, his friends and adherents, as well as those who were not such, felt great sensation, calling this case one of cruelty ; because, as the Inca had forbid them to take up arms for their liberty against the Castilians, and commanded that they should serve them, it was said, blessed were the Incas of old, who had died without knowing so sanguinary a people.

well knows that the cross presented by the Spaniards to the Indians, was a symbol of captivity rather than of redemption.

Spaniards gave to the other nations of Europe a sanguinary example of conquests; and consequently those who possessed themselves of others' lands in America, imitated, if not altogether, yet in a great measure, the actions of those who had preceded them. We have already said that valour belongs to no country; we may add, with regret, neither does cruelty.

William Penn, alone, pursued the path of moderation and justice, when he, with other Quakers, set his foot on the country to which he gave the name of Pennsylvania. The conquest of that territory, the right to which had been bought of the King of England, was, to the eternal opprobrium of the rest of Europe, not obtained by means of violence. Its woods were not made fruitful by the blood of its natives, nor were its houses erected on the dead bodies of Indians. Humanity was not called on to shed tears of sorrow, but of joy, at seeing no force save that of virtue employed in the formation of a state. The Indians, drawn by the goodness of Penn, readily submitted themselves to be instructed in his religion, and in the practice of his usages.* With the same affability, and with the same tenderness, the first

* Raynal, in his *Histoire philosophique et politique des Etablissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, says:—

“Ainsi le prospérité de la Pennsylvanie fut-elle très-rapide. Cette république, sans guerres, sans conquêtes, sans efforts, sans aucune de ces révolutions qui freppent les yeux du vulgaire inquiet et passionné, devint, un spectacle pour l'univers entier.”

TRANSLATION.

The prosperity of Pennsylvania was very rapid. This republic, without wars, without conquests, without efforts, without any of those revolutions which strike the eyes of the vulgar, the turbulent and the desperate, became a spectacle to the entire world.

conquerors were received by the inhabitants of the Spanish island. But they who remained on it during the absence of Columbus, began to irritate the people, by taking forcible possession of their wives, reducing the conquered to a state of slavery, depriving them of their property, and even inflicting capital punishment on the unfortunate creatures who implored compassion and justice at the hands of their subduers, who were domineering over them with the utmost rigour, and were themselves governed by no other laws than those of their own will and power.* Vengeance, on the part of these insulted and injured beings, soon became substituted for that meekness and amiability of mind and disposition natural to the Indians, who had regarded the Spaniards with all the admiration which an unexpected novelty was likely to produce.

Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, wishing to provide a remedy for the depopulation of America by the severe labours of the Indians in spite of the delicacy of their nature, either fell into a lamentable error of spirit, or attempted to extinguish a great mischief by a lesser one. At the same time, with the certain hope that time and the progress of human reason would put a stop

TRANSLATION.

* " En partiéndose el almirante comenzaron á estar disconformes entre sí y no obedecer á su superior, porque insolentemente iban á tomar las mugeres y el oro que querian, y que Pedro Gutierrez y Escovedo mataron á un Jacome, y que aquellos con otros nueve se habian ido con las mugeres que habian tomado y sus hatos á la tierra de un señor que se llamaba Caunabo . . . el qual los mató á todos." — *Herrera — Decada I, Libro II.*

On the admiral's departure, they began to be disorderly among themselves, and to disobey their superior; for they insolently went and took such of the wines, and as much gold as they liked. Pedro Gutierrez and Escoveda murdered one Jacome, and those, with nine others, went off with the women they had taken, and their herds, to the estate of a gentleman named Caunabo . . . who killed them all.

to it, he prevailed on Spain to abolish the slavery of the Indians, and to authorize that of the Negroes, taken up on the coasts of Africa, a portion of them being then in the occupation of the Portuguese.

Thus, after sovereigns had emancipated the feudal slaves, was the world turned to imitate the examples of the Spartan, Athenian, and Roman, republics. If Xenophon lauded the government of Attica for its slavery, exercised in favour of particular interests, and wished that the same state might purchase servants in order to let them out on hire to the subjects, and so augment the public funds, Casas succeeded in bringing back the times in which a Nicias occupied more than a thousand men in his silver mines.

The cause of liberty among the Negroes found only one apostle in Spain. Bartolomé de Albornoz, a man of a free mind, and great philosophy, in the time of Philip II., wrote a work entitled "*Arte de Contratos*," in which he proposes to condemn the cruelty of traffic in slaves. Let us quote a passage from that work:—

“When war is waged between public enemies, they take occasion to make slaves by virtue of the law of the devil, but where there is no such war What know I whether the slave I buy was justly taken captive?—for the presumption is always in favour of his liberty. According to this natural law, I am obliged to alleviate what he unjustly suffers, and not to make myself an accomplice of the delinquent, since he has no right over him whom he sells to me, much less do I acquire any through the purchase I make. But what shall we say of women and children who could commit no crime, and of those who are sold through hunger? The more I probe this matter, the less do I find reason

to doubt respecting it. Others say that it is better for the Negroes to be brought to those parts in which they may have a knowledge of the law of God, and live in a state of reason, although they be slaves, than to be left in their own country, where, being at liberty, they live like the brutes. I admit the former part of that saying; but if any Negro should ask my opinion, I would advise him that rather than come among us to be a slave, he had better remain a king in his own country. As to the pretended good he is to derive, it merely aggravates the cause assigned for his slavery . . . It would only be a justification in case that Negro could not be a Christian without being a slave. But I do not believe that, by the law of Jesus Christ, it can be shown *the liberty of the soul is to be bought and paid for with the slavery of the body*. Our Saviour first cured the souls of all those whom he healed of their bodily infirmities. St. Paul did not wish to deprive Philemon (although he was a Christian) of the services of his slave Onesimus; but now, in order to make a Christian, they desire that a man may lose that liberty which, naturally, God has given to him. Every one attends to his own affairs, but very few to those of Jesus Christ. How great would be the reward in heaven of him who would put himself among those barbarians to teach them the natural law, and to prepare them for that of Jesus Christ, which is founded upon it! Already these parts are gained for God: they are hungering for instruction. The harvest is exceedingly great, but the labourers none. Because the earth is warm, and not so agreeable as at Talavera, or Madrid, nobody wishes to charge himself with being Simon the Cyrenean, and assisting in carrying the cross, unless hired to do so, and paid before-hand. If the

apostles had thus acted, and each of them had taken to his hermitage at Jerusalem, instead of preaching the gospel, the law of Christ would have remained as it was ten years before his incarnation. His is the cause : may he defend it." *

Thus did a Spaniard of the sixteenth century express himself against the slavery of the Negroes, canonized as it was by interest, and supported by hypocrisy. An apostle of individual liberty, he anticipated modern philosophers in the promulgation of his doctrines ; but these were unknown entirely to foreigners, and, almost so, even to Spaniards. The Holy Office prohibited the reading and re-printing of his book ; consequently the sentiments of Albornoz have remained buried in oblivion. Spain produced but few philosophers, and the works of these, were concealed by despotism ; which tended to confirm the world in it's opinion, that our country was a blank in the intellectual map of Europe.

At a later period, the Quakers, who had made themselves known by their sentiments of beneficence and equality, began to hold the slavery of Negroes as incompatible with the virtues which they practised in their states. John Woolman and Anthony Benezet † left their homes and businesses in order to defend the rights of personal liberty in America. At last, in 1754, the Quakers were convinced that it was contrary to justice to acquire riches by the commerce and labour of those unhappy creatures, who had lost their greatest blessing by fraud and violence.

* "*Arte de los contratos, compuesto por Bartolomé de Albornoz, estudiante de Talavera.*" *En Valencia en casa de Pedro de Huete, Año de 1573.*

† "*A short account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes.* —Philadelphia, 1762. (Third Edition.)

The example and preaching of those *Friends* at length stirred up the hearts of the people in the religious countries of Europe, and induced them to demand liberty for the Negroes. Granville Sharp, Ramsay, Clarkson, and others, promulgated, in England, the great doctrines of humanity; and Doctor Bell, Bishop of London, became a convert to them, and stimulated the English clergy to imitate the exertions of these philanthropists in the cause of justice.

The great Montesquieu,* Raynal,† Necker,‡ the Abbot Genty,§ Frossard,|| and many other writers, proclaimed the same doctrines in France.

Wisdom, on the one hand, took the part of the oppressed: interest, on the other, came forward in defence of oppression, an oppression as ignominious to the owners as it was miserable to the slaves, and attempted to prove that the sentiments of humanity were opposed to the public good, and that labour in the colonies could only be endured by men doomed to slavery; just as though mechanism could not supply the want of manual labour; or, as though the arms of many could not be employed instead of the arms of a few.¶ Even so great a sage

* De l'esprit des lois: lib. xv. chap. v.

† Histoire Philosophique et Politique des établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes.

‡ Administration des finances de la France.

§ L'influence de la découverte de l'Amérique sur le bonheur du genre humaine.

|| La cause des esclaves negres et des habitans de la Guinée portée au tribunal de la justice, de la religion, de la politique.

¶ Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of Laws*, says:—

TRANSLATION.

“Il n'y a point de travail si pénible qu'on ne puisse proportionner à la force de celui qui le fait, pourvu que ce soit la raison et non pas l'avarice qui le règle.

There is no labour so severe but might be proportioned to the power of him who has to perform it, provided it be regulated by reason, and not by avarice. By

as Hume, the English historian, imagined the Negroes were incapable of living in a constituted state of society like other Europeans. But those who were of his way of thinking were led to discover their error, by experience and examples on the Island of St. Domingo.

Slavery never can develop the understanding of man, much less can it deliver him from that rude state in which he was born. Nothing short of absolute liberty is capable of ennobling the minds of a people bred in a state of barbarism.

The virtuous Epictetus, a slave of one of Nero's familiar companions, astonished Rome, and, afterwards, the world, with his Stoic philosophy, founded on the two powerful precepts *substine et abstine*; but he owed nothing to his miserable condition beyond the resignation of a wise man. Born a prisoner, and in so polished a nation as Greece, and after having educated himself according to the models of wisdom furnished by his predecessors, his great mind was unaffected by the circumstance of his corporeal bondage.

All nations have by slow degrees progressed a little towards a state of civilization, sometimes by wars, sometimes by conquests, sometimes by commerce, and sometimes by intercourse with each other. Those nations

TRANSLATION.

On peut par la commodité des machines que l'art invente ou applique, supléer au travail forcé qu'ailleurs on fait faire aux esclaves. Les mines des turcs dans le bannat de Temeswar, étoient plus riches que celles de Hongrie et elles ne produisoient pas tant, parcequ'ils n'imaginoient jamais que les bras de leurs esclaves."

the use of machines, which art has invented or applied that power, which otherwise slaves are made to exert, may be supplied to hard labour. The mines of the Turks in the district of Temeswar, are richer than those of Hungary, and yet they yield less, because they never think of any means of working them but by the arms of their slaves.

which took the lead in the career of the sciences, communicated, by degrees, their discoveries one to another. But the Negroes, despised for their colour, and shut up among themselves, have ever been unable to perfect their understanding in their own country. In the present day almost all of them live in the state in which Julius Cæsar found the Gauls and the Germans in his conquests, and in which Julius Agricola found those of Britain, before either one or the other could draw them over to the observance of his laws and customs, or instruct them in the sciences which the Greeks had learned of the Romans.

But the introduction of Negro slavery into America did not terminate the oppression of the Indians.* Two learned Spaniards, Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, in some private notes which they wrote for Ferdinand IV., painted, in vivid colours, the unhappy condition of that people.

“The tyranny which they endure,” say these authors, “arises from an insatiable thirst for riches, carried over to the Indies by those sent to govern them; and, as those governors have no other way of obtaining riches, than by oppressing the Indians, by all the means which malice can invent, they stop at nothing; they pursue them in all directions with the greatest cruelty, and exact from them more than they can, by possibility, wring from their own slaves The Indians are the true slaves of those countries, and happy would they be if they had but one master to whom they might contribute part of what they gain by the sweat of their labour; but they are so numerous, and

* *Noticias secretas de América, escritas fielmente segun las instrucciones del excelentísimo señor Marqués de la Ensenada.*—Lóndres, 1826.

their demands so great, that the poor creatures are not owners of the least thing that they have, with so much labour, acquired. . . .

“The iniquity is still greater in courts of justice; for the judges prompted, by self-interest to act upon the very smallest pretences, desire nothing more than one occasion, of quarrel, or for reprimand, to effect the entire ruin of the suitors: nay, by means of fines, and under colour of expenses, they make themselves masters of the mule, the cow, and a variety of other things, which the Indians generally possess; and this is the way in which the property of the richest is soon reduced to nothing.”

Useless, indeed, were the laws made for the protection of the Indians, because the interests of those men who went to America with a view of enriching themselves in a short space of time, added to the pride of the viceroys and other governors, had greater authority than the decrees of sovereigns.

This continued tyranny was alike oppressive to the native Indians and to the Creoles. English-America gave the signal of independence to all the neighbouring states; and, by one of those miserable contrarieties so common to the condition of men, the cause of liberty of the American people was protected by the despotism of the kings of France and Spain. But their object was limited, not to promoting the freedom of man, but to favouring the rebels against England.

Charles IV. afterwards contributed to the emancipation of the Negroes in the island of St. Domingo, thinking that by giving succour to mutinous slaves, he was prejudicing the republicans who were destroying the throne of France.

The Count de Aranda, minister of Charles III. and Charles IV., foresaw that, to Spain, the loss of America was inevitable, in consequence of the constitution of the republic of the United States. It was not for Spain to give the colonies those liberties which Spaniards themselves did not enjoy; and, consequently, the colonies had to obtain and make them their own by conquest. It was proposed to Charles III. to divide Spanish-America into three kingdoms, and that in each one of these should be placed, as sovereign, a prince of the house of Bourbon, who should acknowledge a feud in favour of Spain. Charles III. feared that, after a time, those new kings might declare themselves independent; and that thus, by escaping one distant evil, he might not see the importance of extricating himself from another nearer at hand. Charles IV. wished to follow the counsel of Aranda; but the French wars, and the occupation of Spain by the troops of Buonaparte, frustrated his design.

As the Spanish monarchy, through the absence of it's kings, was shut up within itself, the colonies, in order to resist the French forces, at that time enemies of almost all the world, began to shew their prowess. Subsequently, the Cortes of Cadiz gave political rights to their sons; but these were almost nugatory, because the viceroys, who had been accustomed to supersede the law by their own will, contrived to make those rights entirely useless.

The people rebelled, first, because those rights were vain, and, secondly, because despotism, enthroned anew in the peninsula, was endeavouring also to abolish them. Spain, with a view of prostrating them to her obedience, invoked the colonies in the name of "mother;" but

America had no wish to recognize her in any such character, for her works had ever been those of a step-mother. She asked of those she was calling, in the hour of danger, her predilect daughters—but, in the hour of punishment, miserable servants—that love and respect which beneficence alone can command.

America availed herself of the moment when Spain was occupied in repelling French invasion, to make herself independent. For that she has been censured by a modern historian, more conversant with patriotism than with philosophy.* It is not for nations to choose the time for recovering their liberties: but when that moment presents itself, they are apt to embrace it; and, in doing so, they are but following the course of all human events, whether they lead to liberty or to despotism. Sparta never oppressed Athens until she saw her prostrated: and Athens never threw off the yoke of Sparta, until that republic found herself no longer burthened with the weight of laborious wars. Spain, in like manner, domineered over Portugal: and, in the same way also, Portugal recovered her independence.

Unhappy the kingdom in which statesmen have not the courage to be great! The Spaniards thought that the inhabitants of America never ought to have enjoyed political rights; and that, instead of acquiring liberties, they were obligated to regard as the greatest felicity the despotism which had annihilated their neighbours. Their policy was reduced to this: that the sword of the conqueror should always, like that of Democles, hang pendent over the heads of the Americans.

The Spanish armies were routed in America. Spain experienced the fate reserved to nations which idolize

* *El Conde de Toreno. Historia del levantamiento y guerra de España.*

martial glories, and know not that true national greatness is founded on liberty, virtue, and justice. What have been the military victories with which a blind fortune has flattered kingdoms? What have been those of the heroes of war? The Carthagenians, it is true, triumphed gloriously over the Romans in the battle of Cannæ; but, shortly afterwards, Rome, in the ruins of Carthage, blotted out from the memory of nations, the remembrance of her ancient defeat.

If Spain chastised French arrogance in the battle of Pavia, France, in her turn, in that of Rocroy, humbled the pride of Spaniards. If the Castillian pennants waved gloriously in Otumba, deciding the fate of Mexico—these same standards were overthrown in Ayacucho, deciding that of all America. How can reason appropriate glories which are counterpoised by others equal, if not greater; when it is seen that, in all nations, victories are opposed to victories—and heroes to heroes? If Carthage boasts a Hannibal—Rome presents a Scipio Africanus: if Spain an Antonio de Leyva—France a Prince of Conde: and if the same Spain can point to a Hernan Cortés in America—America can refer to her liberator Bolivar.

If we would know what good laws and virtuous habits can accomplish, let us turn to the contrast afforded between the greater part of the Spanish-American republics and English-America. The former, which inherit the bad legislation and the vices of their ancestors, are preys to civil discord and great abasement: the latter, by the excellent education and popular institutions which were her inheritance, and by a sincere love of civil and religious liberty, stretches out her commerce and extends her dominions.

The political ignorance of statesmen made the loss of the Americas still more injurious to Spain. She was unwilling to recognize their independence, even when the Spanish armies were, for the second time, expelled from the new republics. After having uselessly consumed one expedition of nearly fifty thousand men, she wished to send out another; but her captains rather preferred giving liberty to their country, than reducing a free people to slavery. Still Spain persisted. So long as she could miserably preserve what she called her right to the possession of America, she allowed commerce to decay. The result was natural, and in the order of human events—Spain left commerce with America, and foreigners exclusively availed themselves of it. When she strove to recover it, the opportunity was gone; for the commercial interests and spirit of mercantile enterprise of America had been diverted into other channels.

England, with the wounds of her defeats still open, and her cannons yet warm, made peace with the United States; for she saw how useless it was to sacrifice her all to self-love and to the remembrance of perishing glories.

The discovery of the West Indies injured Spain, not only by depopulating it, but, also, by centring all hopes of felicity in a laborious application to the productions of labour in the acquisition of the gold mines, to the entire exclusion of the blessings to be derived from the cultivation of the lands, and advancement of the arts in the peninsula.

The fear that foreigners might carry off, in return for their merchandise, the money of America, induced the kings to prohibit the introduction of such merchandise

into Spain and the Indies. Liberty of commerce was abolished, as a natural consequence of the abolition of other liberties.

In 1627, however, many merchants, as well as working men, petitioned Philip IV. that liberty of commerce with foreign nations might be restored, and represented to him the evils which would certainly ensue from a contrary policy.* But all their efforts were useless. We do not look for common-sense in a bad government, but we do expect to find it in the ignorant and vulgar class of the people ; for, as the latter has a practical experience of the evils incident to the community, so it can more easily discover their causes. Hence the vulgar saying in Spain—“ *Oro es lo que oro vale*”—*Gold is what gold is worth.* It was at this time that kings and their ministers judged it expedient that, on no account, should strangers be permitted to take away the gold of Peru in exchange for their merchandise, which consisted of natural as well as of artificial productions. This continued imbecility had arrived at the last extremity.

Without political liberty, without liberty of printing, without religious liberty, and without commercial liberty—what else could have been the fate of Spain but the most lamentable intellectual prostration, and the most miserable ruin, as well of it's riches as of it's inland and maritime power ?

The free exercise of those liberties, or even of some of them, has always enabled small states to become powerful nations ; among others may be named the republics of Venice and Holland.

* Salcedo gives this petition in his *Tratado juridico-politico del contrabando*.—*Madrid*, 1654.

The power of Spain resembled a river increased by continual rains. Supplied with branches, it might have stretched out its dominions to distant lands, carrying, with the arts, felicity to all places through which it passed ; but, unprovided as it was with means adequate to its peaceful egress, it burst, impetuously, the natural bounds, inundated the country, and carried desolation in it's course : for although, on returning to it's proper limits, some good effects may afterwards for a time have been visible, yet, little else than devastation and ruin is now associated with the recollection of it's pride.

CONCLUSION.

(WRITTEN EXPRESSLY FOR THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION, AND
NOT PUBLISHED IN THE ORIGINAL SPANISH.)

SPAIN, since the year 1812, has constantly fought for the cause of liberty ; but sometimes oppression has prevailed, and even when liberty has been triumphant, she has seen herself surrounded by the snares of her implacable enemies. This is accounted for by the fact that the liberals have never known how to lay, properly, the foundation of their system.

When Ferdinand VII., after the war of independence of Spain against Napoleon, returned to his country, and recovered the throne of his ancestors, he annulled the constitution, but promised the people national representatives, with whose consent the laws were to be settled, and the contributions determined. Ferdinand, however, led entirely by the will of his councillors, (those of the apostolical party,) failed in his royal word; nay, he even re-established the power of the Inquisition, and began to persecute all the liberals who had firmly placed the crown on his head, in opposition to the wishes of Napoleon.

That power, at variance with the civilization of the age, lasted but a short period. Spain had enjoyed some of those blessings which liberty carries in her train, and, consequently, for that liberty the people were desirous of contending.

An expeditionary army raised to subdue the republics of America, gave, in 1820, the shout of liberty to it's fellow-citizens. Spain put herself in motion, and Ferdinand VII. found himself compelled, by the law of force, to swear again to the constitution. From that moment he conspired against the liberties of the country with the greatest possible subtilty. But the liberals, though always triumphant over the artful designs of the monarch and the troops, never made that use of victory which they ought to have done. Divided into bands, maintaining the imperium of just laws, and their force directed against their enemies by the blind caprice of the common people, they availed themselves of the despotism of the riotous crowds in order to fight against the tyranny of the clergy and friars, the stupid partisans of the King.

The Holy Alliance decreed an expedition against Spain ; the liberals knew how to respond only with arrogance : the French, under the command of Angouleme, advanced almost without resistance : the King, dragged along by the constitutional government, was carried off to Cadiz, but not before the Cortes had made a tardy and ridiculous attempt to deprive him of his dignity in Seville. Cadiz having surrendered, more through the influence of the general events in Spain than that of the French troops, the King recovered his rights. The day before setting out from Cadiz, he signed a decree, conceding an amnesty to all the

liberals, and, on the day following, he signed another, in the same port, announcing punishments against them.

The persecutions were terrible. The Inquisition abolished anew in 1820, was resuscitated in 1823 entirely through the caprice of some bishops. In 1824 a man was *burnt alive* in Valencia, as a *Voltairean heretic*. This was the last victim of that iniquitous power of the Popes. It happened to Ferdinand as to all despotic conspirators : there were not wanting persons to conspire against him. The Friars, who saw Ferdinand himself abolish the Holy Office of the Inquisition, turned their eyes towards his brother, the Infante Don Carlos, as his successor. The name of this prince, who had resisted all solicitations to disturb the public tranquillity, by enforcing, during Ferdinand's life, his own rights to the succession, was now made use of by those men who were raising a cry for the restoration of the clerical imperium.*

Ferdinand, however, with a view of securing the crown to his daughter Isabella, saw himself reduced to the painful necessity of re-calling those liberals whom for twenty years he had exiled from their country : a tardy discovery, and, at the same time, a tolerable punishment for his indiscretion.

On the death of Ferdinand, a war of succession com

* I cannot pass, without remark, this allusion to the Infante Don Carlos. Never was there a greater calumny than the insinuation, *no* of the author, but of those to whom he here refers. It was a pure invention of party, against a Prince whose whole life has been a mode of virtue and self-denial :—a Prince truly exemplary in all the relations of life. The effects of his influence and example may be seen in the irreproachable characters of his three sons, whose humane feelings, enlightened understandings, honourable principles, and intimate acquaintance with the blessings of constitutional government, eminently fit them for that high and responsible position which, it would appear they are likely, one day, to be called on, by the Spanish nation, to sustain.—T. P.

menced between the partisans of Carlos and the defenders of Isabella. The liberals took advantage of the occasion, and succeeded in re-establishing the public liberties. But they only did so by halves, for neither liberty of worship, liberty of instruction, liberty of commerce, nor liberty of travelling without passports, did those men know how to secure.

The men who have hitherto been the principal leaders of the liberal cause in Spain, have always been afraid of liberty ; and, consequently, to their discredit, they have left their work imperfect, and in a state to be easily undone. They have never known how to legislate for the public good ; and, therefore, the public good has but seldom profited by their measures.

During the war of succession, the religious communities were abolished—their properties sold. But the liberals left the convents of the nuns still on foot, and in all their vigour ; for they knew not what would have been the consequences of attempting to destroy the vanguard of Popery, and they were afraid of attempting it. It is not through intolerance that I here defend the abolition of convents. I hope I am as tolerant as the most tolerant of men. I admit that he who would wish to live in a monastery ought to be at liberty to do so ; and I would extend that liberty to all who desire it, provided they will permit me to worship God in the mosque, or in the synagogue, if in the mosque or in the synagogue I wish to worship Him. But those who would abolish liberty, avail themselves of the very weapons she provides for her defence ; weapons which are curtailed, and limited to a few, by the turpitude of those who ought to have made them common to all. Yes! the lovers of an absolute government fight against liberty by means of the press, a weapon which

they insist on exercising as a right ; but a right it is which they, when in power, never allow liberty herself to exercise in her struggles against despotism.

The civil war being near its termination, the liberals were considered as of no further use to the Queen Regent. They had served to secure the crown to her daughter ; but, that being accomplished, they were regarded as enemies, and treated accordingly. Retribution, however, quickly followed ; for the people, who rose in 1840, obliged the Queen Regent, Christina, to quit the peninsula, and she took refuge in France.

When General Espartero, the illustrious defender of liberty in the fields of Navarre, succeeded to the regency during the minority of Doña Isabella II., everybody believed that he really had some intention of promoting a political reformation of the laws, which then were only adapted to a state of disorder. But everybody was deceived : the revolution was rendered useless. Whatever might have been his views in favour of civil and religious liberty, his practical measures were extremely circumscribed. It is true, he acquired for himself the dignity of Regent, and the right to be addressed as “Your Highness ;” but another revolution hurled him from that eminence to which he had aspired, and which he had attained. The people desired liberties more amplified. Their desires were either not understood, or else they were disregarded ; for, in the name of liberty, it's enemies fought against it. Unhappy destiny of Spain ! Liberty fights against liberty—despotism against despotism.

The party inimical to civil and religious liberty became once more self-constituted in power, and governs to this day, struggling hard to destroy the remains of what, at a former time, it had not courage entirely to annul

Thus lives Spain — without toleration — without liberties, although a shadow of them may seem to exist. The Pope has gained all he desired from the men who called themselves “*Moderados*,” viz.: the re-establishment of the friars—the power of the clergy—superintendence in instruction — slavery of conscience — degradation of country.

Even the few Protestant missionaries resident in Spain in times of greater toleration, have now been expelled. Among these is Mr. William Harris Rule, a gentleman of irreproachable conduct, much learning, and great talents. But why should it be surprising that a work, commenced by men possessing some notions of the rights of conscience, should be put a stop to by the lovers of despotism ?

A celebrated author has said : “ *In Spain there certainly is worship; but not religion.*” I would rather say : “ There is *hypoerisy*, but *no religion.*” There are more atheists, to whom the interested motives and vile tricks of the clergy are fruitful sources of ridicule, than there are to be found men of religious minds. As Spain exists in the present day, there is no religion in the hearts of the people. Some appear to have it for the sake of decorum; some for fashion; and others believe in it in the same way that they believe in witches, fairies, and such like popular fables.

Few, up to the present day, are the cemeteries conceded, in Spain, to Protestant foreigners; for intolerance habitually denies what the laws would otherwise sanction.

Finally, the government by which all creeds and all other interests of a great nation ought to be protected, is, in Spain, in the absolute possession of *dealers in*

ambition. There is no faith in what is heard, because there is no faith in what is said. In the present day those who, in power, defended despotism, are, out of it and for convenience, liberals : those who, but yesterday appeared liberals, will, to-morrow, be again, if in power defenders of despotism. The greater number of Spaniards who are truly tolerant and liberal, and have given constant proofs of their attachment to liberal principles, have not yet ventured to declare their sentiments in a decided manner.

One writer, however, a gentleman of great talents and noble heart, Don Fernando Corradi, editor of *El Clamor Publico*, has expressed, in an unmistakeable manner, the principles which he seeks to advocate for the good of his country. "*Liberty in all and for all Political liberty—liberty of commerce—liberty of conscience—liberty of instruction—liberty of transit. A throne surrounded by popular institutions :—founded on the principle of the national sovereignty. A ministry governing in unison with the national opinion legitimately expressed—a small budget—and an army reduced to fifty thousand men.*" These, the principles of Señor Corradi sustained with energy and clearness of style, have attracted great sympathy, not only among Spaniards but among many foreigners.* Oh, that such principles reduced to practical experience, may be for the glory and prosperity of Spain! May they serve as a base for the regeneration of my country.

* Reviews of Paris, Edinburgh, Times, Britannia, and other periodicals

APPENDIX.

Works in Castilian prohibited by the Holy Office in the sixteenth century, according to the expurgatorial index of Cardinal Don Gaspar de Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor-general of Spain (Madrid, 1583.)

Ayuntamientos doze de los apóstoles.

Alberto Pio, Conde Carpense, contra Erasmo.

Apología en defensa de la doctrina del padre fray Hierónimo Savonarolas.

Aquilana, comedia.

Arte amandi, de Ovidio, en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Arte de bien morir, sin nombre de autor.

Artes de confessar: una compuesta por un religioso de la órden de sant Benito: y otra por un religioso de sant Hierónimo.

Aviso breve para rescebir la comunión á menudo, traduzido de toscano por el maestro Bernardino.

Aviso y reglas christianas del maestro Avila, sobre el verso de David, *Audi filia*, &c., impreso antes del año de 1574.

Auto de la Resurreccion de Christo, sin nombre de autor.

Auto hecho nuevamente por Gil Vicente, sobre los muy altos y muy dulces amores de Amadís de Gaula con la princesa Oriana, hija del rey Lisuarte.

Baltasar Diaz, glosa, *Retrayda está*, &c.

Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, su Propaladia: no siendo de las corregidas é impresas el año de 1573, á esta parte.

Belial, procurador de Lucifer, contra Moysen, procurador de Iesu Christo.

Breve y compendiosa instruction de la religion christiana : con otro libro intitulado de la libertad christiana, impreso ó de mano.

Cancionero general : no estando quitadas del las obras de burlas.

Carta embiada á nuestro Augustísimo señor Principe don Phelippe, Rey de España : sin nombre de autor ni impressor.

Catherina de Génova.

Catechismo, compuesto por el doctor Iuan Perez, aunque falsamente dize que fué visto por los inquisidores de España.

Catechismo de don fray Bartolomé Carrança de Miranda, Arçobispo de Toledo.

Cathólica impugnacion del herético libelo que en el año passado de 1480 fué divulgado en la ciudad de Sevilla por el licenciado Fr. Hernando de Talavera, Prior que fué de Nuestra Señora de Prado.

Cavallería celestial (por otro nombre Pié de la Rosa fragante) 1.^a y 2.^a parte.

Christiados de Hierónimo Vida.

Chrónica de Juan Carrion y todas sus obras.

Circe de Juan Bautista del Gelo.

Coloquio de Damas.

Combite gracioso de las gracias del Sancto Sacramento.

Comedia llamada Aquilana, hecha por Bartholomé de Torres Naharro, no siendo de las enmendadas, corregidas é impresas del año 1573, á esta parta.

Comedia llamada Jacinta.

Comedia llamada Josefina.

Comedia ó acaecimiento llamada Orfea dirigida al muy illustre y assí magnífico señor don Pedro de Arellano, conde de Aguilar.

Comedia la Sancta, impressa en Venecia.

Comedia llamada Tesorina, hecha nuevamente por Jayme de Huete.

Comedia llamada Tidea, compuesta por Francisco de las Natas.

Comedias, tragedias, farsas, ó autos donde se reprende y dize mal de las personas que frecuentan los Sacramentos ó templos, ó se haze injuria á alguna órden ó estado aprobado por la yglesia.

Comentario breve, ó declaracion compendiosa sobre la epístola de Sant Pablo á los Romanos : compuesto por Iuan Valdesio.

Comentario ó declaracion familiar y compendiosa sobre la primera epístola de Sant Pablo apóstol á los Corinthios, muy útil para todos los amadores de la piedad christiana : compuesto por Iuan V. V. pío y sincero théologo.

Comentario en romance sobre la epístola primera de Sant Pablo ad Corinthios : traducida de griego en romance : sin autor.

Comentarios de don fray Bartolomé Carrança de Miranda, Arçobispo de Toledo, sobre el cathecismo christiano : divididos en quatro partes.

Constantino, doctor de Sevilla : todas sus obras.

Confession del pecador del mesmo doctor Constantiuo, ó sin nombre de autor.

Consuelo de la vejez.

Consuelo y oratorio espiritual de obras muy devotas y contemplativas para exercitarse el buen christiano : sin nombre de autor.

Contemplaciones del Idiota en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Cruz de Christo : compuesto por un frayle de la Ordeu de los Menores, impresso en Medina por Guillermo Millis.

Cruz de Christo sin nombre de autor.

Cruz del Christiano.

Custodia, farsa.

Despertador del alma.

Diálogo de doctrina christiana : compuesto nuevamente por un cierto religioso : sin nombre del autor.

Diálogo de Mercurio y Caronte.

Diálogo donde hablan Lactancio y un Arcediano sobre lo que aconteció en Roma en el año de 1527.

Diálogos christianos contra la Secta Mahoméctica y pertinacia de los Indíos : en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Diálogos de la union del alma con Dios.

Dionysio Richel, cartuxano, de los quatro postrimeros tranzes : traduzido por un religioso de la órden de la Cartuxa, en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Discurso de la muerte de la Reyna de Navarra.

Discursos de Machiavelo.

Egloga nuevamente trovada por Iuan del Enzina, en la qual se introduzen dos enamorados, llamados Plázido y Victoriano.

- Erasmus, todas sus obras en romance.
 Espejo de perfection : llamado por otro nombre theología mystica, de Henrico Herpio.
 Espejo de la vida humana sin nombre de autor.
 Espejo de bien vivir : sin nombre de autor.
 Exámen de ingenios : compuesto por el doctor Juan Huarte de Sant Iuan, no se emendando y corrigiendo.
 Exercitatorio de la vida spiritual : sin nombre de autor.
 Exposicion del Pater noster de Savonarolas.
 Exposicion sobre los cantares de Salomon en octava rima, ó en prosa, en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.
 Exemplario de la Sancta fé cathólica : sin nombre de autor.
 Exposicion muy devota del psalmo De profundis, y anotaciones en materia de la oracion sobre el evangelio de la Cananea. Compuesto por un religioso de la órden de Sancto Domingo : impresso en Sevilla por Martin de Montesdoca : impresor de libros.

- Farsa de dos enamorados.
 Farsa llamada Custodia.
 Farsa llamada Iosefina.
 Fasciculus Myrrae.
 Flor de virtudes.
 Flores Romanas.
 Flos Sanctorum : impresso en Zaragoza año de 1556.

- Gamaliel.
 Garci Sanchez de Badajoz, las lecciones de Iob, aplicadas á amor profano.
 Génesis Alphonsi.
 Glosa nuevamente hecha por Balthasar Diaz, con el romance que dize "Retrayda está la Infanta."

- Harpa de David.
 Fr. Hernando de Talavera de la órden de Sant Hierónimo, un su libro intitulado Cathólica impugnacion, &c., como se contiene arriba en la letra C.
 Hierónimo Vida, Christiados.
 Fr. Hierónimo Roman, de la órden de Sant Augustin, su historia de la misma órden y los libros de Repúblicas, no se emendando y corrigiendo.

Historia de los Santos Padres del testamento viejo, compuesta por Fr. Domingo Baltanas.

Historia Pontifical compuesta por el doctor Gonçalo de Illescas, impressa antes del año de 1573.

Horas en romance todas quedando las de latin, salvo aquellas que espresamente están prohibidas.

Iacinta, comedia.

Iarava Maestro : los psalmos Penitenciales, Canticum graduum, y lamentaciones.

Imágen del Antichristo : traducido de Toscano en Romance por Alonso de Peña-Fuerte.

Institucion de la religion christiana : impresa en Witemberga.

Instituciones de Taulero.

Jorge de Montemayor : sus obras tocantes á devocion y religion.

Josefina : comedia.

Josefo de las Antigüedades Judáicas, en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Itinerario de la oracion.

Iuan del Enzina, Egloga de Plácido y Victoriano.

Iuan Perez, doctor, un su cathecismo y psalmos traducidos y sumarios de doctrina christiana.

Jubileo de plenissima remision de peccados, concedido antiguamente. En el fin del qual dize : “ Dado en la corte celestial del parayso desde el origen del mundo con privilegio eterno, firmado y sellado con la sangre del unigénito hijo de Dios Iesu Christo, nuestro único y verdadero Redemptor y Señor.”

Iustino, historiador, en romance, ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Lamentaciones de Pedro.

La Sancta, comedia impresa en Venecia.

Lazarillo de Tormes, 1.^a y 2.^a parte, no siendo de los corregidos é impressos del año de 1573 á esta parte.

Leche de la Fe.

Lecciones de Iob de Garci Sanchez Badajoz aplicadas á amor prophano.

Libro de la verdad de la fe : hecho por el maestro fray Iuan Suarez.

Libro de suertes.

Libro en el qual se prohíbe que ninguno dé consejo á otro que no se case ni sea sacerdote, ni entre en religion, ni se arrete consejo de nadie : sino que siga en ello su propria inclinacion.

Libro intitulado Declaracion ó Confession de Fe, hecha por ciertos fieles españoles que, huyendo los abusos de la yglesia Romana y la crueldad de la Inquisicion de España, hizieron á la yglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recebidos por hermanos de Christo.

Libro que comienza: "En este tratadillo se tratancinco cosas substanciales."

Libro intitulado el Recogimiento de las figuras comunes de la sagrada Scriptura.

Libro que se intitula Tratado en que se contienen las gracias e indulgencias concedidas á los que devotamente son acostumbrado á oyr missa.

Libro intitulado: Orden de Naciones segun el uso hebreo, como abaxo en la letra O se contiene.

Libro llamado del Asno: de fray Anselmo Turmeda.

Fray Luys de Granada de la órden de Santo Domingo, de la oracion y meditacion y devocion y Guia de peccadores en tres partes: impresso en qualquier tiempo y lugar antes del año de 1561.

Lucero de la vida Christiana.

Manipulus curatorum.

Manual de doctrina Christiana: el qual está impresso en principio de unas horas de Nuestra Señora, en romance impresso en Medina del Canto año de 1556, ó de otra qualquiera impresion.

Manual para la eterna salvacion, sin autor.

Manual de diversas oraciones espirituales exercicios, sacados por la mayor parte del libro llamado, Guia de pecadores que compuso Fray Luys de Granada.

Medicina del ánima assí para sanos como para enfermos: traducida de latin en romance.

Memoria de nuestra redempcion que trata de los mysterios de la missa: sin nombre de autor.

Mucio Justinopolitano, su selva odorífera, en romance ó en otra qualquier lengua vulgar solamente

Novelas de Iuan Boccacio.

Obra espiritual de don Iuan del Bene Veronés.

Obra impressa en Valladolid por maestro Nicolás Thierry, año de 1528.

Obra muy provechosa, cómo se alcança la gracia divina: compuesta por Hierónimo Sirino.

Obras de burlas y materias profanas sobre lugares dela sagrada escriptura, donde quiera que se hallen.

Obras del Christiano, compuestas por don Francisco de Borja, duque de Gandia, en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Obras que se escribieron contra la Dieta imperial celebrada por su Magestad en Ratisbona, año de 1541, assí en verso como en prosa.

Oracion de los ángeles por sí pequeña.

Oracion de la emparedada.

Oracion de la emperatriz.

Oracion del conde.

Oracion del Iusto Iuez, quanto dize despues del mundo redemido.

Oracion de Sant Christoval por sí pequeña.

Oracion de Sant Cypriano por sí pequeña.

Oracion de Sant Leon Papa.

Oracion del Testamento de Iesu Christo.

Oracion de Sancta Maria por sí pequeña.

Oracion de Sant Pedro.

Oratorio y consuelo espiritual sin nombre de autor.

Orden de Oraciones segun el uso hebreo en lengua hebráica y vulgar española, traduzido por el doctor Isac, hijo de don Sem Iob, caballero en Venecia.

Orfea, comedia.

Ovidio de arte amandi en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Paradoxas ó sentencias fuera del comun parecer, traducidas de Italiano en Castellano.

Pedro Ramos Veromanduo, todas sus obras.

Peregrinacion de Hierusalem compuesta por don Pedro de Urrea.

Peregrino y Ginebra.

Perla preciosa.

Pié de la rosa fragante, ó por otro nombre Cavallería Celestial.

Polydoro Virgilio, de los inventores de las cosas en romance ó en otra lengua vulgar solamente.

Predicas de fray Bernardino Ochino ó Onichino.

Preguntas del Emperador al Infante Epitus.

Preparatio mortis: hecha por fray Francisco da Evia.

Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres de Naharro, no siendo de la corregidas é impressas del año de 1573 á esta parte.

Proverbios de Salomon y espejo de peccadores.

Psalmos de David en romance, con sus sumarios traducidos por el doctor Iuan Perez.

Psalmos penitenciales y el Canticum graduum y las lamentaciones romaneçadas por el maestro Iarava.

Psalmos de Roffense.

Psalterio de Raynerio.

Recogimiento de las figuras comunes de la Sagrada Escripura

Resurreccion de Celestina.

Retraymiento del alma: sin nombre de autor.

Revelaciones de Sant Pablo.

Romances sacados al pié de la letra del Evangelio. El 1.º resurreccion de Lázaro. El 2.º el juyzio de Salomon sobre las d mujeres que pedian el niño. El 3.º del hijo pródigo. Y un roman de la Natividad de Ntro. Señor Iesu Christo que todos se contienen en un librillo.

Romance que comiença “con rabia está el Rey David.”

Rosa fragante assí el pié como las hojas, que son dos cuerpos.

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