There is probably no period of despotism so interesting to the philosophic observer, as that in which its supporters are called upon to defend their unnatural power, against an irritated and suffering people: certainly none, from which the friends of humanity can draw more useful lessons. When, as in Spain, the insolence and pride which attended the desolating triumph of oppression, are contrasted with the pusillanimity and weakness that pervaded the councils of Ferdinand, after the news from Andalusia had arrived, a consoling inference may be drawn. Surely, when the undaunted and persevering conduct of the patriots, following up their purpose, amidst the most formidable difficulties, physical and moral, is compared to the vacillating measures of the Court, alternately wavering between its anxiety to crush the insurrection by force, and endeavouring to deceive the national army by false promises of reform, there are powerful motives for hope and encouragement on the part of those, who may, in other times, be constrained to wrench their liberties from the grasp of an exploded and inexorable faction.

It would have been in direct contradiction to the system invariably pursued, since the establishment of feudal institutions, if, instead of violence and coercion, conciliation and concession had been adopted, on this occasion. With the public opinion of Europe, and the blood of so many martyred patriots rising up in judgment against them, what but vice and obstinacy, carried to
their utmost extent, could induce the ministers and favourites of Ferdinand to attempt prolonging the reign of terror, under such circumstances? That the present insurrection created more alarm than any former effort of the soldiery, need not be matter of surprise, considering the resolute character of its leaders, and the method displayed in their proceedings. If the assemblage of councils, marching troops in various directions, and dispatching couriers to the members of the holy alliance, could allay the spirit of resistance, then, indeed, might the faction hope for relief; but, as before observed, their measures only increased the exertions of the national army, while they proved that no change for the better was to be effected except through the means now chosen.

Don Carlos and Lozano de Torres, ex-minister of justice, but who had retained his influence at court, were associated to the ministry; and Elio came from Valencia, to offer his services. Such being the auxiliaries first called in, it is hardly necessary to enumerate those who afterwards flocked round the throne, while the members of the Camarilla and Government* were hurried

* The following is a list of the Ministers when the insurrection broke out:—Duke de San Fernando, Foreign Affairs; Mata Florida, Grace and Justice; Alos, War Department: Cisneros, Marine and Colonies; Salmon, Finances; Infantado, Alagon and Ugarte formed part of the secret Council or Camarilla, and were supported by Ben Como, the Confessor; Ramirez, the King's Valet; and Vargas, Treasurer of the Household.
from one absurdity to another, without sufficient firmness to persevere in any, or virtue to adopt the only efficient remedy. Their pernicious counsels were opposed by men who partook the sentiments, and shared the enthusiasm shown at San Fernando: amongst these, Don Francisco de Paulo, Ballesteros, and those who subsequently formed the provisional Junta, were most conspicuous. Nor was the garrison long in manifesting its sympathy. Having, with that candour which is always due to the interests of truth, alluded to the former doubts excited by the conduct of Count Abisbal, it is peculiarly gratifying to be so soon enabled to introduce the name of this officer, only as a subject of panegyrick and congratulation.

O'Donnel had remained here to observe the progress of events; exhibiting another proof of what a thankless office it is to serve a corrupt court: neglected by those, to serve whom he had sacrificed his reputation, and condemned by the people, he might have spent the remainder of his life in deploiring the unfortunate occurrence at Palmar, had not the ministers imagined that, by flattering his love of power; the friend whom they had discarded, when no longer in want of his services, would again be induced to aid in preventing the tottering edifice of tyranny from falling, was, therefore, invested with the chief command in La Mancha, and directed to prepare a central army, in the interest of the ruling faction: —but it was too late; —the period of self-delusion,
if it ever existed, had passed away; the general could not forget the treatment of men who could thus trifle with their benefactor; he had, besides, felt the corroding pangs of lost popularity: rather the victim of error than ambition, and satisfied that the nation was, at length, ripe for reform, he resolved not to miss the present felicitous conjuncture. The first use Abisbal made of his new appointment, was to establish an understanding with the colonels of Regiments stationed here; and when assured of their readiness to co-operate in his design, he quitted Madrid on the 3rd March, for Ocaña, where his brother Alexander commanded a battalion of infantry. Reaching that place on the afternoon of the following day, the Constitution was proclaimed and immediate steps taken for opening a communication with Riego's column and the army of La Isla. When this event was known here, it created such a sensation, as left the Court no alternative between acquiescing in

* This place was to be the head quarters of the army of La Mancha; it is about 9 leagues from Madrid, on the road to Andalusia.

† Although Abisbal has not yet regained the entire confidence of the patriots, all are willing to acknowledge the importance of the service he rendered at Ocaña. Having discovered that there is no glory equal to what men acquire, by adding to the liberties of their country, it is not likely the Count will ever swerve from the path he has now chosen, much less exchange the self-satisfaction and tranquility of mind, caused by a consciousness of having performed his duty, for the precarious smiles of a court and the dangerous possession of power.
the wishes of the people, or incurring their resentment. Ballesteros therefore waited on the King, to undeceive him, by describing the real state of things, and ended the audience, by informing His Majesty, that the government could not calculate on the obedience of a single regiment. This being fully confirmed by the accounts hourly arriving from the provinces, Ferdinand yielded to the empire of necessity, and consented, to sign a decree, in which he promised to accept the political code of 1812, and convene the Cortes. The period of believing in promises, having, however, gone by, and suspecting that the party who had hitherto enjoyed the royal confidence, only wanted to gain time, the populace and soldiery took the alarm, assembled before the Municipality, and elected a Corporation of the most distinguished citizens: they then proceeded to the Palace, and called aloud for the King. This appeal being made in such a way, that it could not be resisted, Ferdinand appeared at a balcony, with a copy of the Constitution in his hand, and holding it up,signified his readiness to conform to the assurances he had given on the preceding day.* Next to his

* The efforts of Don Francisco de Paulo to remove the hesitation betrayed by Ferdinand, while the tranquillity of Madrid was threatened, were seconded by those of the Queen and the two Princesses, her sisters-in-law. An attendant of Her Majesty has informed me, that she implored Ferdinand with tears, to come forward, a few moments before he appeared at the balcony.
reception in the Hall of Cortes, on the 9th July, this must have been the proudest day of Ferdinand's life. Orders being immediately issued to execute the desire of the populace, relative to naming a junta of government, liberation of state prisoners, abolishing the holy office, and various other establishments connected with the late system, the people withdrew, exclaiming, "long live Ferdinand! long live the Constitutional Monarch!"

From the palace, the crowd hastened to the Inquisition, destroyed the instruments of torture, and placing the prisoners in an open car, bore them in triumph through the principal streets. The night closed with a spontaneous and general illumination. On the next day, Ballesteros was charged with the pleasing office of visiting the prisons, and restoring their haggard inmates, confined for political offences, to liberty and light.

The members of the Provisional Junta* and other authorities, having repaired to the palace, early on the 9th, the oath of adhesion was admin-

Surely the sex never appear so lovely, as when pleading in favour of liberty! Had no other causes operated, the tears of these fascinating women would have been irresistible!

* The venerable Cardinal de Bourbon, whom Ferdinand had treated so ill, in 1814, was placed at the head of this Junta, assisted by Ballesteros, as Vice President; Don Manuel Abad y Queypo, Bishop of Mechoacan, another of the members, was amongst those who most distinguished themselves, for their opposition to the Servile faction, during the reign of terror.
istered to Ferdinand and his brothers: the household troops and garrison were drawn out on the Prado for a similar purpose on the 10th, and swore fidelity to the code amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of both sexes; after which, the whole of the troops passed in review before the royal family.

Besides the decrees for abolishing the Inquisition, and regulating the liberty of the press, two proclamations were published; the first, bearing the King's signature, explained his reasons for adopting the fatal system of 1814, on the plea that it was recommended to him as the most popular! repeating the fact of his own adhesion, his subjects were congratulated on the event: this address concludes with the following remarkable sentence; "Let us march frankly, and myself the first, in the constitutional path, by showing an example of wisdom, order and moderation, in a crisis, which has been accompanied with so many tears and sorrows in other countries: let us make the Spanish name revered, at the same time that we lay the foundation for ages of happiness and glory."

—That of the provisional government, contained equally good advice, and not less applicable to Spain, than to other nations: "The establishment of a new system, on the ruins of that which has fallen," say the Junta, "is the most arduous and difficult task imaginable; requiring all the resources of the human mind: one, in fact, which brings every social virtue into action. The history
of former revolutions, and especially that of France, ought to make you cautious, and temper your impatience, since it tells you, that those changes, which precipitation and imprudence seek to bring about in a day, may be mourned for ages; and, on the contrary, that the steady and tranquil formation of new institutions, secures liberty, without producing ruin and desolation. The results, in one, may be compared to the sudden inundation of an overwhelming torrent, which devastates all before it, while in the other, it is like the majestic and beneficent swelling of the Nile, nourishing and enriching the soil, but destroying nothing."

While the decrees of Ferdinand related to some salutary reform, or the suppression of useless officers, those of the Provisional Junta and Municipal body, were devoted to instructing the people, turning aside their resentments, and calming their passions. After nominating a council of state, to act till the meeting of Cortes, it next remained to appoint a new Ministry; these were selected from the patriots of 1812, men, who had by their services and sufferings, acquired the esteem and sympathy of the nation. As a natural consequence of these changes, the Persas were removed from all places of trust, and, together with the ex-ministers and court favourites, left to the scorn of that people whom they had first betrayed, and then co-operated to oppress.

Amongst those who came to congratulate Ferdinand on his adhesion, the deputations from the
Junta of Government and army of San Fernando, were received with the most lively enthusiasm by the inhabitants, whose gratitude to the saviours of their country, was expressed by a triumphal entry and procession round the capital; after which, Arco Aguero was presented to the King, whom he addressed in an appropriate speech, assuring His Majesty of those sentiments of loyalty which animated the national army, and concluded by declining for himself and the chiefs, the rank of general and orders of knighthood, His Majesty had been pleased to confer on them; alleging that they had only performed their duty, and were therefore ambitious of no other reward, than the approbation of their own conscience, and the esteem of their countrymen! Colonel Infantes and Evaristo de San Miguel, had already been charged to explain the motives which induced the army to raise the standard of freedom, and presented a detailed account of its operations to the King: the arrival of these officers was celebrated by a public dinner.

The formation of patriotic societies here, and in the provinces, afforded those who took no part in the administration the means of expressing their sentiments, and had an excellent effect in suggesting useful hints to government, as well as teaching the people how to appreciate their newly acquired rights. Neither the calumnies nor falsehoods circulated with regard to these associations, have removed the impressions of their utility, in
consolidating and maintaining the constitutional system.

Those foreigners who happened to be at Madrid when the late happy change occurred, describe it as being quite talismanic; that intercourse which had been so long checked, by the united efforts of despotism and religious restraint, once removed, society resumed its natural tone; instead of the dead silence which had hitherto pervaded the streets, nothing was seen but cheerful faces, and groups at every corner, busied in discussing passing events, or congratulating each other on the return of liberty. Not a day passed without the celebration of some circumstance connected with their emancipation; serenades and concerts enlivened the streets at night, while the theatres were thronged, to witness productions, which either retraced the past glories of Spain, or portrayed its present happiness.

There was but one solitary class that appeared dull, in the midst of this gratifying scene. Though the liberal portion of the Priesthood entered freely into the sentiments of the people, stimulating them to espouse the cause of freedom, with becoming zeal,* others found only a source of dejection in the general joy. It would have been

* The Cardinal de Bourbon published a pastoral letter, full of the most praiseworthy sentiments, exhorting the ministers of religion to conform to the new system, and his example was followed in most of the provinces.
well, had this discontent at seeing others happy been confined to the solitude of their cloisters; but, taking a wider range, it was vented in an attempt to get up a conspiracy. As usual, excessive piety, and a conviction that the change would bring down the vengeance of heaven, was the pretext for tampering with the soldiery, some of whom were even bribed to aid in the projected treason. Denounced by the very men they sought to corrupt, an inquiry was instituted to punish the aggressors; but, fortunately for these, though proved to be guilty, the more important concerns of government, no less than its determination to follow the example of forbearance shown by the people, caused the names of the reverend fathers, and their follies, to be forgotten.

Having thus witnessed the peaceful establishment of liberty in the Peninsula, another important and delicate task remained for the Constitutional government; that of prevailing on the independent states of South America to recognize the Royal authority, and send deputies to the approaching Cortes. The proclamation on this subject, addressed to the inhabitants of the new world, appeared in May: this state paper deserves to be considered rather as expressing the wishes of a party, than a specimen of good reasoning or sound logic. Those ties which had bound the colonies to the mother country, were torn asunder, by ten years of sanguinary warfare, and could not be renewed on the mere invitation of a public
address. If instead of the specious motives held out for returning to subjection, it had been left optional with the Independents, either to submit, or treat on terms of reciprocity, advantages would have been procured, which it will now be impossible to obtain; while it would have proved that, having conquered their own liberties, the people of Spain knew how to respect those of others.

The decree for convoking the Cortes, published on the day of Ferdinand’s adhesion, was followed by preparations for the election of Representatives, who were chosen soon after. Most of the members had reached this by the end of June, and when I arrived here, were anxiously waiting for the august ceremony described in my first letter.

Events being thus brought up to the time when my account commenced, it is left for your own candour to say whether, the lamentable series of errors and crimes which I have endeavoured to expose, ought to be attributed to the faults of the people, or the excesses of their rulers; nor can I conclude without calling your attention to the moderation with which the soldiers and citizens executed the task they were called to perform, and the unexampled clemency shown to their oppressors in the hour of victory. A vast field of conjecture is presented by the phenomenon of a people, having such multiplied causes of complaint, passing from the extremes of tyranny to those of freedom, without a single act of violence;
it is doubly interesting at a time, when society has probably reached a period, in which it remains to be proved, whether the human mind is really susceptible of those ameliorations, and that advance towards perfectibility, which has been invoked, if not promised, by the most virtuous and enlightened men of all ages.

If the horrors which sullied the revolution of 1789, had inspired a dread of innovation in matters of government, justifying, in some measure, those calumnies which the enemies of reform have laboured to circulate; that of 1820 has left nothing to desire by the friends of freedom, and will always serve as a triumphant reply to its most inveterate detractors. It was reserved for the Spanish army and people to solve a problem, hitherto regarded as impracticable, by those who wished to perpetuate the evils of tyranny and oppression. The revolution of 1820 is, in fact, one of the sublimest instances of forbearance, magnanimity and self-denial, that history will have to record; and, as such, what language can describe the merit of the actors, or how is it possible sufficiently to reward them for the interminable blessings they have conferred on civilization!
LETTER XII.


Madrid, October, 1820.

The object of my visit to the Peninsula would be unaccomplished, were not the foregoing sketch of political events to be followed by a few remarks on the state of religion, manners and literature; more especially, as it is in the influence of these, that you can best trace the origin and progress of the calamities which have afflicted this country, during the last three hundred years. As the regeneration so happily effected in politics,
would be comparatively useless, without a reform in those abuses of another kind, which have been so long accumulating here, it is doubly incumbent on the friends of humanity to state any facts or opinions, likely to elucidate a matter of such vital importance, not only to Spain, but to the whole civilized world.

Religion is so interwoven with all the habits of the Spanish people, that the traveller cannot well turn aside his attention from the subject, much less refrain from observing its effects on the civil and political institutions; but, above all, on the state of morals. Coming here with a view of ascertaining the real situation of Spain, I soon perceived that no greater service could be rendered to the nation, than aiding to expose the sources of its past misfortunes; so that, had not others, still more competent to the task, already torn aside the veil which had so long concealed the truth, I should have ventured to do so myself. Guided by the ministers of that very faith, upon which I am about to offer a few desultory remarks, I ought to escape the odium too frequently attached to the best motives; while my statements must acquire additional weight, when supported by such incontrovertible authorities.

It has been truly observed, that, while the details connected with war and conquest have found innumerable chroniclers, and been related, even to satiety, the philosophical history of Spain has, till very lately, been left almost unnoticed. Various reasons might be assigned for this circum-
stance: amongst others, the impossibility of native writers touching on the subject; while foreigners, if we except Dr. Robertson and La Borde, have been more intent on signalizing abuses, than tracing their causes. It is true, the most distinguished ornaments of Spanish literature and learning, have been persecuted for their principles, and opposition to the prevailing errors; but, so many obstacles combined to prevent them from giving publicity to their opinions, that, without the enterprise of Napoleon, in 1808, it is difficult to say when Europe would have been made acquainted with the dreadful secrets of the prison-house here.

Reserving the precious materials collected by the industry of twenty years, for the decree of Chamartin, which abolished the inquisition as dangerous to temporal sovereignty, M. Llorente commenced his career in the Spanish academy of history, soon after, with a memoir, in which the people of Spain were vindicated from the charge of having countenanced the Inquisition, and a variety of facts stated, relative to the rise, progress and policy of the Holy Office, on the authority of documents found in its archives. This work was followed by his annals, published in 1812: these have been since enlarged, and now form his Critical History of the Sacred Tribunal; than which, a more appalling picture of human depravity, it is impossible to conceive. Having been the first to call the attention of his country to this momentous subject, after the arrival of the French armies,
the statements of the author were strengthened and corroborated by the luminous debates which took place in the Cortes of 1812, and which terminated in February of the following year, by the abolition of the Holy Office, as incompatible with the Constitution.*

In contemplating the horrors which mark the proceedings of the Holy Office, from its commencement, we are irresistibly led back to that period of ignorance and obstinacy, which prompted the founders of Christianity to establish a system of faith and morals, derived from the practice of virtue and reciprocal good-will, to the exclusion of one, built upon selfishness, intolerance and error. This was unquestionably one of the most sublime

* These memorable debates form a large volume, and besides their historical interest, present some of the best specimens of Spanish parliamentary eloquence extant. The report of the commission was most ably drawn up by Munoz Torrero, Agustin Arguelles, Espiga, Mendiola, Jauregui and Oliveros: these, together with Garcia Hereros, Ruiz Padron, Count Torreno, Villanueva and O’Gavan, were the principal speakers in favour of the abolition; while the bishops, Ingolano, and Ximenez, Ostolaza, Llaneras, Riesco and the Bishop of Calahorra, did all they could to preserve the Inquisition, and prove its utility! The most remarkable effort on this side, was made by Riesco; in which, after giving an history of the Holy Office, and calling the question at issue a contention between Jesus Christ and Napoleon, he concludes by declaring its re-establishment indispensable, claimed by the prelates of the holy mother church, and by all good Spaniards!
conceptions which could enter the mind of men bred in the midst of such corruption and pertinacity combined. The demeanour of Christ and his disciples fully corresponded with their divine mission: pious, humble and resigned, full of charity and benevolence to all mankind, they both practised and preached a system of morality in perfect unison with those inestimable virtues. Although the apostles were too good judges of human nature not to know that false prophets and false teachers would appear in after times, what would they have said if told, that in little more than three centuries, the self-denial, contempt of worldly riches, and abnegation of temporal power, which they so strenuously recommended to the ministers of the new religion, would be transformed into a series of debauchery, avarice and oppression! Who would believe that, after being themselves exposed to so much persecution, previous to the conversion of Constantine, (A. D. 306) the leaders of Christianity should henceforward become the most cruel, intolerant, and bigotted sectarians that ever existed! Who could have imagined that men, having the virtues and precepts of the Redeemer fresh in their recollection, would so effectually distort all his commandments into mere love of gain and personal ambition?

Although the ignorance of the multitude enabled the christian hierarchy to establish its dominion in the fourth century, the members of the church have no such plea for their justification:
as depositaries of classical learning, and bound by the most solemn vows to walk in the path so clearly traced out for them by their divine master, a total indifference to virtue, as well as religion, could alone have led to the multifarious excesses of this degenerate epoch. It is awful and melancholy to reflect that, from the end of the eleventh century, when Gregory VII. renewed his decretal relative to the celibacy of the priesthood, thus making the ministers of religion an exclusive cast, and cutting them off from all the social ties, up to 1478, the time chosen by Sixtus IV. for remodelling the Inquisition in Spain, the history of the church presents little more than one uninterrupted scene of vice, bigotry and persecution.*

It would, in fact, be a sacrilege of the most wanton kind, to confound the pure and immaculate doctrines of Jesus, with that of the Popes and their adherents of the middle ages; nor would it be a less cruel calumny to attribute the relaxation of manners, and proneness to crime, so prevalent in after times, to the people, who have

* In treating the subject of celibacy in Sicily, I had occasion to notice the fact, of this being purely a matter of church discipline, introduced long after the establishment of Christianity. The question is now taken up by a much more able hand, M. Llorente, in his plan of a religious constitution, for a free and independent nation. The tenth chapter relates to celibacy, and is full of interesting data, proving to demonstration, what must occur to all who read the New Testament, that the celibacy of the clergy was never enjoined by Christ or his Apostles.

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been throughout, either the victims or dupes of their teachers. If the more minute elucidation of the foregoing general remarks entered into my plan, it would be easy to corroborate them by the concurrent testimony of various writers, from Tertullian and Justin down to Gregoire and Llorente; men who could have no motive for disfiguring the truth, as they belonged to that sacred profession, which it was the business of their lives to reform. The insidious arts, by which property to such an incalculable amount was extracted from the fears or weakness of penitents; the vows of chastity, while those who made them rioted in luxury and concubinage; the ascendency acquired over the minds of princes, scarcely less ignorant than their subjects, till the whole power of Europe, both temporal and spiritual, was concentrated in the church, would form at once the most instructive and important history ever compiled. Nor is there a crime in the long catalogue of human vices that such a work would not disclose. If this assertion be borne out by unanswerable facts, can it be matter of wonder that the present generation is demoralized? It is, doubtless, from a deep conviction of existing evils, and that there are but slender hopes of permanent improvement in the political condition of society, while these evils continue to corrode the social body, that the clerical reformers of our day are so earnest in their endeavours to bring back Christianity to the purity of its pristine principles and practice.
Without recapitulating the names of those ecclesiastics, of whatever sect, who have opposed the encroachments of priestcraft, and exposed its vices, I cannot help saying that they are entitled to the eternal gratitude of mankind, and surely the time has arrived when it becomes the duty of every man to re-echo their complaints!

These preliminary observations cannot be better illustrated, than by offering a few facts relative to that tribunal of blood, which the servile faction of Spain restored in 1814, and the abolition of which is still a subject of deep regret with thousands in and out of the Peninsula.

Although the unjust power of punishing for heresy, and to obtain proselytes, commenced early in the seventh century, when Isidorus produced those false decreals, which were the pretexts for increasing the Papal supremacy to such an extent, there are no traces of an inquisition, previous to the council of Verona, in 1184, when all the members of the Christian community were bound by pain of excommunication and loss of property, to denounce heretics, and aid in their extirpation. This was followed by another assemblage, held at

* The deliberations of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in 655, at which St. Isidorus, Archbishop of Seville, presided, were principally directed against the Jews, having begun by merely handing the members of this sect over to the Bishops; every succeeding council made some new enactment with regard to their punishment, till that of burning was adopted.
Lerida, ten years afterwards; here Alphonso of Aragon, whose authority extended beyond the Pyrenees, freely lent himself to the wishes of the Pope's Legate, issuing new decrees against the Vaudois and other inhabitants of the south, who sought a livelihood amongst the more fertile provinces of Gascony. The successful resistance of the Albigeois, in the Narbonensis, having rendered stronger measures necessary, Innocent III. appointed a commission for the express purpose of pursuing heretics. Philip II. of France, was invited to second the design, and he did so the more readily, from the invitation being accompanied with a brief, authorizing him to seize the goods and chattels of all those who should be found to favour those heretics.

The persecution of the ill-fated Albigeois was succeeded by an infuriate war, and the preaching of a crusade, offering large rewards to whoever marched against them, and punishing those who refused. "It is difficult," says Llorente, "to determine the number of those who suffered in the flames from 1202, when the Holy Office commenced, and during the two following centuries; but we cannot help being deeply affected, on reading the historians of those days, who relate the tragic end of many millions, amongst the most cruel torments, as the triumphs of a religion, on which its divine founder impressed the qualities of mildness, charity, benevolence and mercy!"

The exertions of Dominic, a monk, in establish-
ing the secret tribunal; and preparing noviciates to direct it in other places, were rewarded with the honours of canonization. Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, was no less zealous in the pious work of persecution. It was in the reign of this Pontiff, and in 1216, that the blessings of the Holy Office were transplanted to Italy. Previous to the death of Honorius, his Holiness caused a corps to be organized, on the model of the Knights Templar, so famous in the Crusades of Palestine; this was called the Militia of Christ, and its services exclusively devoted to the oppression of the Albigeois.

Gregory IX. made considerable improvements in the establishment, and emulated his predecessors in fulminating decrees against heretics. Having brought it to some degree of perfection in France and Italy, Gregory established the Inquisition here, in 1232; from this period down to the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, the inquisitors of Spain took the lead in tormenting for matters of opinion.

Those who have most attentively studied the subject, do not hesitate to attribute the persecutions directed against the Moors and Jews more to avarice and a love of plunder than zeal in the cause of religion; unable to rival them in wealth, and unwilling to imitate their industry, the monkish orders were ever ready to foment those jealousies, which must always arise between opposite sects whose members are mere instruments in the
hands of the designing. Hence the massacres in Castile and Navarre, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century; as these left no alternative between flight and conversion, thousands of families chose the former, and passed into other countries; enough, however, remained to excite the cupidity of the christian teachers; so that all those who did not depart were marked out for spoliation and punishment. It must be confessed that this was a poor return to those who had brought the treasure of Arabic literature, science, commerce and the useful arts into Spain.

Ferdinand V. having made common cause with Pius IV. and the priesthood; Philip de Barberis, grand Inquisitor of Sicily, together with several other emissaries, being sent to arrange matters, while that Monarch and his Queen were at Seville, in 1478, the Holy Office was newly organized. A more inveterate and methodical system of persecution may be dated from this period; and whatever those interested in propagating falsehood have said to the contrary, it is to the measures of Torquemada and his successors, aided by the Jesuits, whose iniquities have also been perpetrated in the sacred name of Christ, that we are chiefly to attribute the moral and political degradation of Spain; not to mention the train of crimes which has marked their sanguinary proceedings.

The establishment of the Holy Office, just as Spain had attained such pre-eminence amongst
EARLY CRUELITIES OF THE INQUISITION. 361

the nations of Europe, and when Columbus had placed a new world at the feet of her monarchs, was followed by consequences no less fatal to the real interests of religion, than injurious to national prosperity; which, notwithstanding the unrivalled advantages of this country, continued to decline until the accession of the Bourbon dynasty: from that period, till the entry of the French armies, in 1808, all the efforts of the government were insufficient to remove the baneful effects of the Inquisition.

The principles on which the newly modelled tribunal was to be conducted were laid down in the edict of denunciation, which required the faithful, on pain of excommunication, and other punishments, to give immediate information against their very parents, nearest relatives and friends, of any deviation from the puerile and absurd prohibitions, contained in this monument of human ignorance and depravity. The Manuel of Eymeric* had previously regulated the mode of trial and punishment; so that the inquisitors had little more to do, than give a loose to their thirst for blood: how well they fulfilled the wishes of his holiness, Pius IV., 20,000 victims who either perished in the flames, or were given up to other

* This little volume was prepared by Nicholas Eymeric, Grand Inquisitor of Aragon, about the middle of the fourteenth century, and has been republished at Montpellier, in Spanish, during the present year.
penalties, during the first two or three years of the establishment, is the best proof.*

After describing the terror spread throughout Andalusia, when the inquisitors began their operations at Seville, by enjoining the instant return of all those who had fled at their approach; and alluding to the place of execution, at the gates of that city,† Llorente asks, "who will dare assert that such punishments for mere alleged errors of the understanding were conformable to the spirit of the gospel?" Amongst the important services rendered by the historian of the Holy Office, he has most effectually exonerated the people of Spain, and their representatives, from having, in the smallest degree, contributed to, or countenanced its establishment. His statements relative to the tumults which occurred in Aragon and Castile, soon after the nomination of Torquemada,‡ as well as the

* The victims condemned at Seville, were independent of those who suffered in Aragon, where the proceedings of the Holy Office had not experienced any interruption.

† This spot was called El Quemadero, or burning place. It was ornamented with four statues, representing Prophets: according to some writers, the victims were bound to these figures; while others assert them to have been merely inclosed in the arena, and guards placed round it, to prevent their escape.

‡ It has been long thought in Spain, that Torquemada was the first Inquisitor-general; Llorente has rectified this error, by giving the names of the two Inquisitors of Castile: two monks, named San Martin, and Morillo. It was not till February, 1482,
formal remonstrances of the Cortes of Valladolid and Zaragoza, in 1518 and 1523, are conclusive on this subject. It is also evident, that Isabella was led into sanctioning the measures proposed, by the emissaries of Pius IV., in the first instance through fear. This mild and benevolent woman must have been aware of the consequences of refusal: those who made a trade of shedding the blood of innocent victims, would not be likely to spare either the dagger or the cup, had the unsuspecting queen opposed their iniquitous designs.

That neither the opposition of the people and Cortes, the scruples of the Queen, or the letter addressed to the inquisitors by Charles V. in 1521,* produced any effect, appears from their

that Tomas de Torquemada received his appointment: so that, this minister of vengeance found the Holy Office organized, and all the prisons full of victims, on his assuming its direction. Torquemada was Prior of a Dominican Convent, and confessor to Ferdinand. The number of those who suffered from persecution, during the first eighteen years of the Inquisition, while he filled his station in it, amounted to 105,291; of whom 8800 were burnt in person, and 6500 in effigy.

* This letter was preceded by a brief of Leo X. dated October 12th, 1519, wherein his Holiness, yielding to the continued complaints and remonstrances of the people, granted the reform demanded. The Cortes assembled at Monzon in Aragon, in 1510, succeeded in limiting the jurisdiction of the Holy Office to religious matters; but that held at Zaragoza, in 1518, finding the abuses of its authority increasing daily, drew up thirty one articles, proposing the mode in which its future proceedings
subsequent proceedings; in the course of which, not less than 340,000 human beings were either consumed at the stake, or consigned to perpetual imprisonment, and other severe penalties.

To form a judgment on the undeviating con-

should be conducted; and, in order to secure the support, not only of Charles, but of the Pope, a considerable subsidy was promised to the Emperor, while agents were sent to Rome to bribe the Cardinals. As His Imperial Majesty seems to have been in want of money, no wonder at his anxiety to meet the wishes of the Cortes. The following is the copy of the letter alluded to in the text.

"Inquisitors! The Cortes of the Kingdom have written, to complain of your not conforming to the articles agreed to by them, and to which we have sworn in this city. In consequence of your not doing so, the people say they will cease paying the taxes. As you know that those articles were drawn up, to remove disorders and abuses, of which there have been so many complaints; that they were settled through the intervention and decree of the Inquisitor-general; as our holy father authorized their confirmation, and it is our will they should be observed; we therefore charge you, and order that the contents of the said articles may be observed, according to their series and tenor; so that in whatever relates to the crime of heresy, we have provided and ordered that the necessary facilities shall be afforded by our officers, in order that justice may be administered in due form notwithstanding the new brief, to the contrary, lately sent from Rome; but which we have not consented to publish in our kingdoms. We have already written to his Holiness, praying that it may be revoked, which we are sure he will do.

"Given at Ghent, the 3rd day of August, 1521.

(Signed) The King."

The brief, noticed towards the conclusion of the Emperor’s
stancy with which the inquisitors pursued their course, it is only necessary to glance at the pages of the "Critical History," in which the author has stated all that is necessary to be known of the Holy Office. A few examples selected from his interesting volumes, and from those other writers, whose testimonies have been confirmed by the living historian, may not be without some share of interest.

letter, was obtained by the agent of the Holy Office, at Rome, and contained a passage which annulled the Concordat of December, 1521, between Leo and the Cortes of Zaragoza, authorizing the proposed reforms. Those intrigues were so artfully managed, that no benefit whatever resulted from the letter of Charles. In order to secure the co-operation of the Sovereigns, it had been arranged that a part of the confiscations should be appropriated to the royal treasury; a scheme, which fully accounts for the support afforded to the proceedings of the Holy Office, by nearly all the Spanish Kings. Llorente quotes a letter from Rome, by Don Juan Manuel, the Ambassador of Charles, to his master, stating that if certain modifications were admitted, His Majesty would lose a million of ducats, which had hitherto been raised from the confiscations. The death of Salvagio, the Chancellor of Charles V. and a profound jurisconsult, while the negotiations were going on, not less than the influence of Cardinal Adrian, are supposed to have had a great effect in preventing the projected reform. Whatever may have been the causes which combined to establish the Holy Office so firmly, there cannot be a doubt that, were it not for the continued system of bribery, resorted to by the inquisitors both here and at Rome, they would not have found their task so easy. What a field of reflection do not these practices in the name of religion open to the most superficial observer!
and will have the effect of confirming my previous conclusions. As it is in the mode of punishment adopted by the sacred tribunal, that the real character and depravity of its conductors is best seen, the treatment of some of those unhappy victims, who were marked out for persecution, proves that the human sacrifices of the South Sea Islands, and the scalping practised by the North American savages, were acts of mildness when compared with the procedure of the Holy Office.

After the plunder, persecution and punishment of the Jews and Moors who remained in Spain, upwards of a million of the most opulent inhabitants were driven to the necessity of emigrating, and went to enrich other countries, with their knowledge, wealth and industry. According as the number of these victims diminished, so did the persecution of the Christian community increase. The progress of Lutheranism in the 16th century seems to have added greatly to the furious zeal of the Holy Office; giving rise to refinements in cruelty and acts of injustice, known only where religion has been the pretext.

Philip II. one of the most cruel and bigotted of the Spanish monarchs,* entered so fully into the views of Valdes, the Inquisitor-general of his reign, that he addressed a letter to Paul IV. in

* It was in the reign of this Prince, and by his particular request, that those detected in smuggling horses into the Peninsula were pursued as heretics!
1522, calling on his Holiness for additional powers; those by which so many thousands had been sacrificed, in the preceding ninety years, being insufficient. The result of this application was an immediate brief, authorising Valdes to give up Lutheran heretics of every class, not excepting those who had repented, and read their recantation to the secular arm, whence there was no appeal. If the memory of Philip and Valdes, says Llorente, could be reproached with no other crime, this act alone is enough to cover them with infamy. Amongst the new regulations now introduced, particularly to prevent the introduction of heretical tracts, it was decreed that the confessors who attempted to screen their penitents, should suffer the same punishment, and that whoever neglected implicit obedience to the edict of denunciation, if even a Bishop, Archbishop, Cardinal, King or Emperor, should be amenable to the Holy Office. As a reward for all who denounced their parents, relatives, or friends, a fourth of the culprit's property was promised to the informer. So rapid was the progress of the reformed religion, and great the alarm excited on the part of its opponents, that, as if the Inquisition had not abundant means of providing for the exigencies of the occasion, additional sums were claimed, to defray the expenses of the establishment: another proof of the insatiable character of the Inquisitors.

In order that the converts to Luther's doctrines
might be terrified into an adherence to the catholic faith, two grand Auto-de-Fés were celebrated at Valladolid in 1559. Don Carlos, the presumptive heir to the throne, and the Princess Juana, his aunt, who was left as Regent during the absence of Philip, were present at that held on the 21st of May: it was also attended by the flower of the Spanish nobility, of both sexes, and an immense concourse of the people. Some idea may be formed of this ceremony, when it is added, that the bones of Dona Eleanora de Videro, who had been interred some time before as an irreproachable catholic, were burned, together with her two sons and a daughter! As the house formerly inhabited by Dona Eleanora, had been denounced as the scene of Lutheran worship, it was rased to the ground, and a column erected on the spot, bearing an inscription with the particulars of the event. Llorente says, that this monument of human vferocity against the dead, was not demolished before the occupation of Valladolid by a French corps in 1809.* The second Auto took place on the 8th

* Dona Eleanora, was the wife of Pedro de Cazella, who held a high situation in the financial department of the state. Nearly all the members of the Cazella family appeared at this Auto: one of them, Dona Constancia, a widow condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscation of all her property, was recommended for mercy, to the Regent, by her brother, Don Agustín, who said as the procession passed, "I pray your Highness to have compassion on this unhappy woman, who leaves thirteen orphans without any provision!"
of October, and was got up for the express purpose of gratifying Philip, on his return from the Low Countries, where he had gone to quell the revolts created by the unheard of atrocities committed there in the name of the divinity.* Neither pains nor expense were spared, to render this ceremony worthy of the august visitors: who, besides the King and the Royal Family, consisted of all those most distinguished for birth or fortune in Spain.

A writer who describes the event, relates that the great square presented the most pompous and magnificent sight imaginable: in the centre were placed thirteen stakes, three feet and a half high: the whole of one side of the square was fitted up with boxes, richly ornamented, for the court, while the other three were arranged with seats in the form of an amphitheatre. His Majesty and the Princess his sister, together with Don Carlos, the Duke of Parma, and the French Legation, entered the great balcony prepared for their re-

* An account of these horrors is to be found in a scarce tract printed at Amsterdam, in 1620, entitled Le Miroir de la Cruelle et Horrible Tyrannie Espagnole, perpetrated au Pays bas, &c. This volume, to which allusion will perhaps be made in a future page, is ornamented with prints, representing the various modes of punishment adopted: were it not that the recitals it contains were attested by several contemporary authors, it would be impossible to give them credence. Half of the book is devoted to a translation of the narrative of the philanthropic Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa.
ception, at nine o'clock in the morning; the bishops, grandees, and other dignitaries with their wives and daughters, occupied the boxes on each side of the royal family. The Countess of Ribadavia, the most beautiful woman at the court of Philip, attracted all eyes, and is said to have disturbed the devotions of many of the spectators. The ring of bells and the lamentations of the penitents, at ten o'clock, announced the near approach of the procession, for which the company were waiting with impatience. This soon appeared, preceded by a party of soldiers and some Alguazils of the Holy Office; next to these came Fray Domingo Rodriguez carrying a large wooden cross, painted green; he was followed by Fernando Valdes, the Grand Inquisitor, devoutly bearing aloft the standard of the Faith. Behind the Inquisitor were seen thirteen victims intended for the flames, habited in their sanbenitos and pasteboard mitres; their hands were bound, and each penitent was accompanied by a confessor and a familiar, who walked by his side. After these, two men bore a coffin, containing the bones of an old woman named Sanchez, condemned for sorcery, but who had destroyed her-

* The Sanbenito was a loose yellow vest or gown, worn by all those who were condemned to be burnt, or to do penance; in the first case, it was painted all over with demons and reptiles; in the second, quite plain; and the same with regard to the Coroza.
self in the dungeons of the Holy Office. Her effigy, and seventeen individuals of both sexes, completed the train of penitents. A mule richly caparisoned, having a case suspended on each side, covered with black velvet, which had a deep gold fringe, came next to the condemned, and was guarded by four secretaries. The members of the Inquisition and religious communities covered the flanks of the procession, while the Chapter of the Cathedral, officers of Justice and Municipality, brought up the rear, marching with a slow and solemn step round the arena, and bowing to the King as they passed. The victims condemned to death were tied to their respective stakes, and those destined for minor punishments ranged on each side near them. When the remainder of the procession had taken their seats, the Grand Inquisitor proceeded to the King’s balcony, and ordering his Majesty to rise, administered the usual oath. This was performed by holding up his right hand, and swearing to defend the tribunal of the Faith, denouncing all those he suspected of meriting its chastisement. The oath being signed, it was read aloud by a secretary. The sermon usual on these occasions, was preached by the Bishop of Cuenca, after which, those of Palencia and Zamora degraded the ecclesiastics about to be consumed.

These preparations having terminated, the thirteen victims were led off to the Quemadero, where their sentences were carried into imme-
diante effect. The other parts of the ceremony being completed, high mass and Te Deum were sung; on which the king retired, when the cross and standard were borne back in triumph to the cathedral.

Five of the thirteen sufferers by fire were nuns: of whom, the oldest had not attained her thirtieth year. Agreeably to the tenor of their sentences, those who recanted were strangled previous to being placed on the pile.

An Auto-de-Fé performed at Seville, on the 24th of September of the same year, wanted only the presence of royalty to render it much more splendid than those of Valladolid: the victims were more numerous, there being twenty-one given up to the flames, and eighty condemned to minor penalties. A great concourse of the nobility and people also attended this ceremony, which derived additional interest from the rank of the victims, particularly three beautiful young women, named de Virues, Cornell, and Bohorques; the latter no less renowned for her learning and heroism, than for her personal charms. Belonging to one of the first families of Andalusia, Maria de Bohorques had scarcely reached the twenty-first year of her age, when she was seized by the familiars of the Holy Officer, as a Lutheran; when summoned to appear, Maria boldly acknowledged her principles, and eloquently defending them, told her judges, that so far from punishing, they ought to follow her example. On refusing
to admit the assertions of suborned witnesses, the torture was applied. Suffering with the utmost resignation, the tormentors could only extort that her sister Juana knew her sentiments, and did not seem to disapprove them. This admission, which proved fatal to the party thus innocently denounced, proceeded from that candour and love of truth, which rendered it impossible for the victim to disguise any act of her life. Condemned to ascend the pile, the most strenuous efforts were made to convert the offender. Two Jesuits sent for this purpose, the night before her execution, retired without producing any effect, though full of admiration at her firmness and learning. These were followed by several other missionaries, whom she also captivated by the sweetness of her manners, and solidity of her reasoning; but they could not gain a single point, or weaken her faith for a moment. Maria seemed to lose her temper only once, during the tremendous trial to which she was exposed: it was just as she was about to suffer, when a priest, who had abjured, having exhorted her in the most earnest manner to reject the doctrines of Luther, she upbraided him with his ignorance and folly; adding, that there was then no time for disputation, and that what remained ought to be employed in contemplating the death and passion of their Redeemer; thus strengthening the faith by which they were to be saved and justified. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of Maria de Bo-
horqués, as it was called by her persecutors, numbers of the hierarchy, both priests, monks, and bishops, interfered with the Inquisitors, urging them to take the youth, and surprising mental acquirements of the criminal into consideration. After much entreaty, they consented to be satisfied, if she would only repeat the creed. This she did, but had scarcely concluded, before she began to comment on each article, interpreting in conformity to the principles of Luther. The judge, however, would not give her time to finish; ordering the executioners to perform their office, she was strangled and thrown into the flames.*

The twenty-first chapter of Llorente's valuable work, closes with a scene of horror, far exceeding all that the most ferocious mind could conceive; and is not, certainly, amongst the least incredible of those shocking acts, which have been brought home to the ministers of religion in this country.

Owing to the admission of María Bohorqués, her sister Juana, the wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, also distinguished for her beauty and

* This highly interesting victim has been made the heroine of a Romance, entitled *Cornelia Bororquía*, reprinted in London; but which M. Llorente proves to be made up of improbabilities, instead of being historical, as pretended by the author.
accomplishments, was thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office, though advanced six months in pregnancy: the barbarians could not wait a few short weeks! Brought to bed in a cell, the infant was torn from her arms eight days after its birth: the Inquisitors conceiving they had done all that humanity required, in transferring their victim, still labouring under the debility attendant on her confinement, to a less incommo-
dious dungeon. The unhappy sufferer had the good fortune to meet a fellow captive; who, touched with her forlorn condition, performed all the offices of friendship, during her conva-
lescence. The ministering angel, whose name is not mentioned, being herself placed on the bed of torment, the disconsolate mother, though yet extremely weak, was, in her turn, called upon to act the part which had been so cheer-
fully fulfilled by the stranger. When the latter was brought back with her flesh lacerated, and her limbs nearly dislocated, in an expiring state, Juana did all she could to soothe the agonies of her benevolent companion, destined, at no distant day, to feed the flames of an Auto-de-Fé. Scarcely had the sad offices of gratitude and sympathy been performed, before Juana was conducted to the subterraneous chamber; ex-
tended on the bed of torture, the cords by which her still feeble limbs were bound, penetrated to the very bones, so as to cause the bursting of several arteries; till, at length, a torrent of blood
rushed from her mouth and ears; being taken back to her cell in this deplorable state, the sufferings of Juana ceased with life a few days after. The historian does not say what became of her husband and child; he merely adds, that the judges thought they had expiated this most cruel homicide, by declaring the martyr innocent at the following Auto-de-Fé: under what an overwhelming responsibility, says he, must these cannibals have, one day, to appear before the tribunal of the Divinity!

While these scenes were passing here, the death of Paul IV. which occurred on the 18th August, 1559, was followed by an insurrection in Rome, where the people destroyed the Holy Office, and burnt its archives. This event had so little effect on the Spanish inquisitors, that another Auto, upon a magnificent scale, was prepared at Seville, in December, to celebrate the entry of Philip. His Majesty, however, being unable to attend, it was performed without him. There were only fourteen victims immolated on this occasion, with three in effigy, and thirty-four minor condemnations.

That the persecuting spirit of the Holy Office was not exclusively confined to native Spaniards, has often been proved, and more especially so in the above Auto; when an English merchant, named Burton, who had come to San Lucar, on a trading voyage, was burnt with the rest as an impenitent Lutheran, for having refused to re-