nounce his faith. Another of our countrymen was consigned to the flames soon afterwards, and the property confiscated in both cases: "a new proof," says Llorente, "that the Inquisitors were more often swayed by motives of avarice than those of justice and piety!"

A still more atrocious act arose out of Burton's condemnation; John Fronton,* of Bristol, owner of a great part of the merchandize seized from the former, on hearing of the event, left England, and repaired to Seville to claim his plundered property, having previously proved his right to its restitution. After many months' delay, and various orders in his favour from the court, it was agreed that the merchandize should be restored. Meantime the Inquisitors took their measures so well, that witnesses were suborned to swear that Fronton had broached the doctrines of Luther, during his short stay at Seville; upon which he was arrested, and thrown into the dungeons of the Holy Office there. The horrors by which he was now surrounded, and frequent application of the torture, induced the prisoner to confess whatever his persecutors thought proper to allege against him; and, to

* Most probably Brunton; as I should imagine that Brug, another name mentioned by Llorente, is meant for Brook. The distortion of English names and places is carried quite as far in Spain as in France.
save his life, he expressed a wish to be reconciled: this was all they required; being declared suspected of heresy, the whole of Frönton's property was again confiscated, and himself condemned to wear the Sanbenito during twelve months. This wanton outrage is adduced as a proof of the ruinous consequences which resulted from the impenetrable secrecy of the trials: "yet," observes Llorente, "there are Englishmen who defend the Inquisition; I have even," says he, "heard a Catholic clergyman make its apology; but I convinced him how little he knew the nature of this establishment, and that I did not venerate our holy religion less than himself, or any inquisitor breathing; but that if we compared the spirit of peace and charity emanating from the gospel, as well as the life and doctrines of Christ, with the craft, malice, and hypocrisy which dictated the proceedings of the Holy Office, and with the powers of the Inquisitors to abuse their authority, to the contempt of all law, natural and divine, he could not help abhorring the tribunal, as fit only to make hypocrites and knaves."

In perusing the "Critical History," and other works relative to the Holy Office, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the wantonness with which individuals were punished for the merest trifles. If it were possible to smile in contemplating such iniquities, the story of William
Franco, related by Llorente, is truly ridiculous. Having detected his wife in an illicit intercourse with a priest, probably her confessor, he lamented the fate which prevented the violator of his domestic peace from being punished. Happening to be in a company where purgatory became the subject of conversation, Franco observed, "for my part, I have quite enough of it in the society of my wife; there is no other purgatory wanted for me!" This remark being denounced by an agent of the Holy Office, Franco was seized, and appeared at the Auto-de-Fé, of December, 1559, having been previously condemned to an indefinite imprisonment.

Another victim of a higher class, one of the Corporation of Seville, was condemned to walk in the procession, with a Sanbenito and wax taper: he had also been fined, to pay the expenses of his trial, for expressing his regret that such large sums should be expended in the church ceremonies of Holy Thursday, while many families were suffered to want bread, and who might be consoled in a way much more acceptable to the Divinity, with the money destined for this purpose. Llorente mentions the names of two servants to the keeper of the prison of the Inquisition, who were sentenced to be flogged, confined ten years in the gallies, and mulcted of their wages, for having suffered the prisoners to communicate with each other. Also a Dutchman, who received one hundred lashes, and was
banished for not denouncing a person, whom he knew to be meditating his escape!

No interference, however powerful, could ever turn the judges aside, from any persecution they had commenced: this was exemplified in a thousand instances. The story of Blanquina, widow of González Ruiz, arrested in the reign of Charles V., at the age of eighty, for having, in her youth, been present at certain rites, savouring of the Jewish religion, is one of the most singular related in the "Critical History." The family of Blanquina having appealed to the Pope, his holiness caused an enquiry to be instituted at Rome, recommending that the prisoner should be removed from the dungeons of the Holy Office, to a convent, and allowed an advocate of her own choice. Informed of what was passing, the Inquisitors did not lose a moment, but immediately condemned their victim, as suspected of heresy. A letter was, at the same time, procured from the Emperor to his minister at Rome, requiring that the latter would solicit of his holiness, to approve of what the judges had done, as the sentence was extremely mild, only condemning the criminal to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of her property. Letters to the same effect were addressed to several Cardinals. "We should be justified," says M. Llorente, "in regarding Charles V., as a monster of cruelty, if it was not known that he made a rule of confirming the resolutions of his preceptor, and spiritual
guide, the Cardinal Adrian, in all affairs of this nature."

It was not without considerable delay, and the utmost difficulty, that the Pope succeeded, at length, in getting the sentence of Blanquina revoked; and then, not until she had suffered many months close confinement. The historian asks, "how was it possible for Leo, who knew the particulars of this persecution, as well as all that had been hitherto done in matters of appeal, to find in his conscience sufficient reasons for suffering the existence of a tribunal, concerning which he spoke as harshly in his briefs!"

A very curious and interesting account of an Auto-de-Fé, celebrated at Logroño, on the 7th and 8th of November, 1610, chiefly intended for the punishment of witches, has been reprinted since my arrival here, with notes, attributed to Moratin, the Spanish Moliere. In addition to the details relative to the fifty-three offenders, of whom ten were burned in effigy, this tract contains a history of the sect of sorcerers, said to have been detected in practising their midnight rites and incantations, at Zugarramundi, in the valley of Bastan.* The notes and preface of Moratin, are written in his usual style of eloquence

* A translation of this curious production, is given in the French Edition of Llorente's Work; and in the Monthly Repository for 1816 and 1817, an analysis of the tract may be found.
and patriotic feeling: like many others, he attributes all the evils of his country to the establishment and procedure of the Holy Office. Alluding to those materials, which the days of civil and religious oppression will afford to the future historian, Moratin says, "They will explain why the Roman See uniformly supported a tribunal so inimical to the prosperity of nations; and also what could induce the kings of Spain to countenance an authority, which brutalized the people, usurped the episcopal jurisdiction; constantly menacing the throne itself: how they could tamely witness its phrenzied excesses, and effects in checking the progress of knowledge; propagating the grossest errors, trampling on the forms of law, and the most sacred rights of mankind; punishing crimes, which it was impossible to commit, and opposing innumerable obstacles to the glory of the monarch." In noticing the mistaken ideas of foreigners, with regard to Spain, and the impossibility of estimating either what the people were, or are capable of becoming, the writer asks, "how was it possible to write in days of darkness and despotism: who could attempt to instruct a government that condemned both error and truth, wisdom and superstition, vice and virtue, at one and the same pile?" The concluding note is worthy of remark, as conveying the sentiments of a writer, whose patriotism cannot be doubted. After recapitulating the various sufferings to which the victims of Logroño were exposed, on such an
absurd charge, he adds, "if there is henceforward to be a scarcity of these entertaining and devout spectacles, the fault is with the great Captain, who, at the head of fifty thousand men, has put an end, at Chamartin, to those barbarous laws, dictated by ignorance, in opprobrium of reason and humanity, and which was proclaimed at Ucles, Medellin, Almonacid, Ocana, and Tarragona; a measure that was necessary to root out of an obstinate and deluded nation, such monstrous opinions, iniquitous tribunals, and such gross and ferocious customs!"

The frequency of these butcheries, during the seventeenth century, is a source of just surprise to those who reflect that they took place at a time when learning and the fine arts seemed to burst through all the fetters by which they had been hitherto bound. It is really astonishing to think that while such men as Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, in our own country; Montaigne and Pascal, in France; Machiavelli, Galileo, and Tasso, in Italy; and when Spain herself could boast of her Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon, Guevera, and Quevedo, men, who either had been, or were proclaiming, the sublimest truths of reason and philosophy, the hierarchy here should be exclusively occupied in immolating their fellow-creatures, and tormenting the human species, for mere matter of opinion!

The last Auto-de-Fé performed in the presence of the Royal Family, which took place here in
1680, to celebrate the marriage of Charles II. with a Princess of the Bourbon race, at a time when Europe had attained a degree of knowledge and refinement, scarcely exceeded in the present day, is, doubtless, one of the most extraordinary facts connected with the history of the human mind; while it proves to what excesses and absurdities the force of custom is capable of carrying a people and their rulers. An account of this frightful holocaust, in which no less than one hundred and twenty victims were brought forward, condemned to various punishments, is amongst the reprints which have appeared since the recent change, and may be truly regarded as the greatest literary curiosity of the age. Llorente expresses his surprise, that scenes like these should have been chosen to amuse the princesses of France; he might also have asked, by what fatality it was, that the parents of these princesses did not stipulate that their daughters should not be present at such spectacles!

The volume to which I allude, under the title of *Relacion Historica*, contains a minute description, not only of the ceremony, but a copy of the sermon preached, and the questions put to those who abjured. There can be no better standard, by which to judge the state of Spain, at the above period, than this extraordinary book; which also

*A similar fête had been given to Elizabeth de Valois, Queen of Philip II. at Toledo, in 1560, and here in 1632, to celebrate the birth of a prince.*
throws a great light on the general practice and attributes of the Inquisition. The author, Don Jose del Olmo, an Alcalde, and familiar of the Holy Office, dedicates his book to the King, whom he calls the Jupiter of Christianity. The heathen deity fulminated his bolts against those who opposed impiety to religion and justice, for which he was not only placed amongst the stars, but hailed as the supreme god of the heavens: what less could be done for the protector of the church, the Captain-general of the militia of God, the pillar of the faith, but to venerate him as the greatest king of the earth? Extreme piety, and a desire of following the example of his father, Philip IV., (surnamed the great!) who had patronized and was present at the grand Auto performed in 1632, are the reasons alleged by the author, for his Catholic Majesty having expressed a wish to preside over a similar ceremony.

From the number of delinquents collected at several prisons round the capital, it was decided, that instead of celebrating the Auto at Toledo, as originally intended, it should be transferred to the capital. The ministers of religion, monks, and their attendants, within many leagues of Madrid, being summoned, a solemn procession took place on the 30th May, for the purpose of proclaiming the approaching ceremony, calling on the faithful to attend, and promising those indulgences which the sovereign pontiffs had ordained in their various decrees. The following is a literal trans-
lation of the proclamation which was repeated eight times, in different parts of the city, and before the royal family, who were seated in a balcony of the alcazar or palace, as the procession passed: “Be it known to all the inhabitants of Madrid, and those of the neighbouring districts, that the Holy Office of the Kingdom of Toledo, will celebrate a public Auto-de-Fe in the Great Square of this city, on the 30th June, when all the graces and indulgences granted by the sovereign pontiffs, will be conceded to those who accompany and assist at the said Auto; which is thus proclaimed, that it may come to the knowledge of all the faithful.”

While several thousand workmen were employed under the direction of an architect especially appointed to prepare the amphitheatre, a company of soldiers of the Faith were organized, and nearly all the Grandees solicited permission to act as familiars; a privilege allowed only to the purest blood in Spain. “Many of the highest nobility,” says our author, “immortalized their names by this memorable act of piety; and in order that future generations may enjoy the consolation of seeing our age ennobled, that the present may admire what those who come after will, without doubt, imitate; as also that the ministers of the holy tribunal may enjoy the pleasure of witnessing the estimation in which its rank and dignity is held by the most illustrious names in the universe, the names of those who asked the favour
of being allowed to act as familiars, and assumed the habit of the Holy Inquisition, on this occasion, are inserted." Of the eighty-five names which follow, a fourth were grandees of the first class, forty counts and marquesses, and the remainder either their immediate heirs, or nearest relatives.

The procession of the green and white crosses took place on the 29th June, when all those destined to take an active part in the ceremony of the following day attended; and amongst others, the Duke of Medinaceli, bearing the standard of Faith.*

Passing before the palace, to the sound of instruments, and chanting the Miserere, the procession moved on to the Brasero, or place of execution, where one of the symbols of Christianity was

* The names and titles of his Excellency are thus given by the author: "The Most Excellent Lord, Don Juan Francisco de la Cerda, Enriques, Afn de Ribera, Duke of Medinaceli, Segorve, Cardona, Alcala and de Lerma; Marquis of Denia, Comares, Palmares, Tarifa de Cogolludo, and Alcala; Count of Ampudias, Pradas, Santa Gadea, Duenas and Buendia, Molares, and the city and port of Santa Maria; Viscount of Villamur; Lord of the towns of Solsona and Lucena; Governor-in-Chief of Castile and Andalusia; Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Golden Fleece; Lord Chamberlain to His Majesty; Counsellor of State; Prime Minister," &c. &c. &c.

An idea of the rank of the family of Medinaceli may be formed from the circumstance of those dukes having, formerly, at the accession of the kings of Spain to the throne, protested against their coronation, on the plea of being the more rightful heirs of the ancient sovereigns.
planted and consecrated on a pedestal prepared for its reception. As to the standard and green cross, they were destined to ornament the arena of the amphitheatre, to which the procession went, after quitting the Brasero.

The procession of the criminals followed that of the crosses and standard: they were conducted to the amphitheatre, to have their respective sentences read: this part of the rehearsal, for, so it may be called, is compared, by the author, to that which will be seen in the "terrible day of the universal judgment; because, if the ignominy of the guilty creates horror there, the glory of the just, and sovereign majesty of Christ and his Apostles, who, following the standard and cross, assisted by choirs of angels, will bend their way to the Valley of Jehosaphat, where the Supreme Judge will occupy his throne," &c.

Although the preparations commenced as early as three in the morning of the 30th, the victims, living and dead, were not led forth before 7 o'clock; at which hour the procession commenced. Of the number who graced this horrible triumph, twenty-one were condemned to the flames, and thirty-four to be burnt in effigy. There were eleven penitents who had abjured the Jewish faith, and fifty-four reconciled Israelites, wearing Sanbenitos, and carrying wax tapers. Judging from the author's description, the procession must have been, at once, one of the most magnificent and terrific ever witnessed in Spain.
Though attended by upwards of two hundred thousand spectators, not a sound was heard, to break the awful silence, as it passed along: nothing could exceed the order and regularity preserved throughout: these are subjects of panegyric with the author, but his chief admiration is reserved for the Inquisitor-General, Don Diego Sarmiento de Talladares. "There was much to admire," says Don Jose, "in each individual of this marvellous assemblage; but the majesty with which the Inquisitor-General upheld the dignity of his office, was so transcendant, that he appeared to have exceeded himself! As the cause was so much of God, it pleased him to grant greater light to his minister; because, when he predestines men for high employment, he prepares them with the knowledge necessary for their intended occupations."

That part of the amphitheatre appropriated to the royal family and the court, was resplendent with gold and silver ornaments, displayed on damask, silk and velvet draperies of all hues; after having exhausted his power of description, in detailing the other portions of the edifice, Don Jose del Olmo concludes by observing, that it might justly be regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

Those parts of the theatre thrown open for the public, were crowded to excess, and the King, attended by the whole of his family and court, had taken their seats some time before the procession
had arrived. When high mass was over, the Inquisitor-General proceeded to the royal balcony, and administered the usual oath; after which, it was taken by the municipality.*

These preliminary arrangements concluded, Don Tomas Navarro, head chaplain to the king, commenced the customary sermon, choosing for his text, the first verse of the seventy-third Psalm. The preacher began, by telling his auditors, that the amphitheatre was an emblem of what they had one day to see at Jehosaphat. "The divine tribunal, in heaven," said he, "is similar in all things, to that of the faith on earth, since it proceeds with the justification operated by the latter." A long rhapsody, in which he alluded to the progress of scepticism, was followed by a violent attack on the Jews:—"Who are greater enemies of God, or more worthy of punishment," he asked, "than the observers of the Mosaic laws? In them, hope

* The oath was as follows, and repeated by the Inquisitor-General to the King, who rose and took off his hat, and placing one hand on a crucifix: "Your Majesty swears and promises, as a true and Catholic King, appointed by the hand of God, to defend the Faith with all your power; that you will cause all heretics and apostates to be prosecuted; that you will give and cause to be given the favour and aid necessary, in order that heretics and perturbers of our Christian religion shall be taken and chastised, conformably to the sacred canons, rights," &c.; the King replied, "Thus I swear and promise on my word and faith." That of the municipality is much more elaborate, and as vindictive as language could make it.
is blindness; patience insensibility; and firmness fear and obstinacy: men of such infamous lives, so abandoned to every species of impurity, usury, and injustice, that St. Peter and Domianus could not better designate them, many centuries ago, than by exclaiming, "Ab eis in veritate Judaice vivitur!" Part II. is devoted to heretics: of these, Don Tomas does not seem to have entertained a much better opinion than of his friends, the Jews. "Other enemies of God," says he, "and the worst of all, are the heretics whom St. Augustin considered lower than the most profligate Gentile: heresy is more execrable than idolatry, inasmuch, as he who makes war, under the mask of friendship, is worse than one who acts with open and undisguised hostility." To the authority of St. Augustin, is added that of Chrysostom, St. Peter, Damianus, and other canonized fathers.

Ample scope is given to the wrath of Don Tomas, in the third section of his discourse; which begins with a general anathema against the extreme folly of sceptics, and in praise of believers: it is asked how the former can open their mouths, and express a doubt on matters, to support which, a world of wise men had been writing for seventeen hundred years; for which the blood of so many martyrs had flown, and that innumerable miracles had confirmed. The following passage may be considered as a fair specimen of the figures used by Dr. Tomas, to strengthen and embellish
his arguments:—"Know ye," said he, "that the Church and its faith are like unto Mount Olympus, to whose brow, the highest peaks, and most elevated hills, do not reach: thus it is, that the most sublime geniuses and wisest pens cannot approach the shadow, much less compute with the lowest, (if there be any thing low there,) of the faith and wisdom of the Church."

After comparing the late king, Philip IV. to Alexander the Great, and giving the preference to his Catholic Majesty, Don Tomas has boldness and candour enough to say, "what the heretics do with their wicked and false dogmas, we do with our depraved manners and customs." He then endeavours to remove the impression which so bad a compliment might have produced on his auditory, by concluding with an invocation to the holy office:—"And Thou, most holy tribunal of the faith, mayest Thou continue for endless ages, in order to preserve us in the right path, and for chastising the enemies of God!" Oh! how well does this theatre attest the care, solicitude and zeal, with which ye fulfil the office of Inquisitors, whose duty it is, to seek out and discover delinquents."

Addressing himself again to the most holy tribunal, he exclaims, "Their greatest glory is this arena of criminals and convicted perturbators: well may I say of these, what the Holy Ghost said of the Church: 'Pulchra est amica mia sicut tabernacula cedar, et sicut pelles Salomonis.'" The conclusion is worthy of the beginning:—"This is the
day of glory for the holy office of Toledo; to have destroyed these horrible monsters, the enemies of God, whom we see in this theatre, removing the errors of some, and reconciling others, and condemning some as obstinate and perverse, devoting them to the flames, in which, after leaving their corporal lives, their refractory souls will immediately fly to be consumed in hell; and thus will God be revenged of his greatest enemies.”

The sermon being ended, a secretary began to read the sentences of those condemned to the flames: this ceremony occupied the attention of the auditory till four o'clock, when the victims were conducted to the Brasero, under an escort, and

* The adulation of Don Tomas is not without an example in our own times, as may be seen by the following extract from an address presented to Ferdinand VII., by Ostolaza, on the re-establishment of the holy office, in 1814.—“The person of your Majesty is no sooner freed from captivity, than the misfortunes and distresses of your people cease! Learning and genius are made known and rewarded with the highest honours: talents, duly appreciated, ensure distinctions to their possessors; but, above all, Religion, persecuted by its enemies, has burst forth, under your Majesty’s paternal care, like the great luminary of day, with dazzling radiance. How honorable to me, Sire, to be even admitted into the presence of the greatest monarch; of the best of fathers of his subjects; of the sovereign dearest to the hearts of his grateful people.” Many other passages, equally extravagant and absurd, might be cited; and yet, is the address of Ostolaza temperate, in comparison with many sermons which are preached by the missionaries of the present day, both in France and Spain!
accompanied by the Corregidor and Alcaldes, appointed to see the sentences put into execution. Don Fernandez Alvarez Valdes, an officer high in the sacred tribunal, followed, to bear testimony to the event. When those victims, who are described in another account, as pale, languid, and woe-begone, the very emblems of despair, had been led off, the secretaries proceeded with the trials and sentences of those convicted of superstition, sorcery, bigamy, and as impostors and hypocrites. It was nine o'clock before the prisoners were assembled round the Grand Inquisitor, to go through the different forms of abjuration. The Articles of the Faith were then put to each penitent, who was required to give his answer in an audible voice. A few of those questions will be sufficient to convey some notion of their general nature.

Art. 1. Dost thou believe that God is one in essence; three in person; all-powerful; without beginning, middle, or end? Yes, I believe.

Art. 2. Dost thou believe that the Father is God; all-powerful; not created; nor engendered; nor made? Yes, I believe.

Art. 4. Dost thou believe that the Holy Ghost is God; all-powerful; proceeding equally from the Father and Son? Yes, I believe.

(Art. 5 and 6, are not much more intelligible.)

Art. 7. Dost thou believe that we shall rise on the day of the fearful judgment, in these same bodies and souls; that glory will be given to the good, and pain-eternal to the bad? Yes, I believe.
Art. 8. is too indecent and absurd for modern ears. So is the 9th.

Art. 10. Dost thou believe that our Saviour was crucified, dead, and buried? Yes, I believe.

Art. 11. Dost thou believe that his soul united with the Divinity, (his body remaining in the sepulchre;) descended into the hells; taking out Adam and Eve, and all those who were therein? Yes, I believe.

Art. 14. Dost thou believe that, at the end of the world, he is to come to judge the good and bad; giving glory to the good, and eternal pain to the bad? Yes, I believe.

Giving absolution, saying mass, and chanting Te Deum, took up another hour; after which, the royal family withdrew, and thus ended the ceremony of the 30th June, 1680.

The process of strangling and burning continued all night: as to those who were condemned to be flogged and publicly degraded, their punishment was reserved for the following day. Nearly a third of the whole number, whether destined to be burned, flogged or degraded, were women. When the executions had terminated, another grand procession was performed, for the purpose of restoring the crosses and standard to the cathedral.

The volume of Don Jose del Olmo concludes with an account of a minor Auto, which was celebrated on the 28th of October, in the same year, to reconcile fifteen penitents, as if the Inquisitors
wanted to prove their thirst for blood had abated; the pains and penalties on this occasion, did not exceed perpetual imprisonment, confiscation of property, and whipping. Of fifteen victims, eight were women; and from the description given of their persons, they must have been, for the most part, young and beautiful.

I had read a less detailed account of the above dreadful ceremony, previous to the 9th of July, and could not, while in the hall of Cortes, help drawing a comparison between what took place then, and the inhuman spectacle exhibited in this capital one hundred and forty years before; that which had the offering up of human sacrifices for its object, occupying two whole days, while the other, intended to solemnize the compact between Ferdinand and the nation, scarcely lasted as many hours!
LETTER XIII.

RELIGION continued.—Popular errors.—Llorente, and M. Clausel de Coussergues.—MM. de la Borde and Bourgoing.—Assertions of these Writers Refuted.—Allusion to the Grand Autos, and Mode of Procedure.—Recapitulation of Autos and Victims.—Grand Junta.—Case of the Curate Solano.—Change in Public Opinion.—Mayens and Feijoo.—Concordate in 1737: Its effect.—Melchor de Macanaz; Belando; Campomanes, &c.—Progress of Knowledge.—Condemnations in the Reign of Ferdinand VI. and Charles III.—Barbarous Laws unretracted.—Modern Procedure and Punishment.—Treatment of Prisoners.—Mode of Trial.—Edict of Denunciation: Its effect on Penitents.—Declaration of Llorente.—Account of the Torture.—Story of Don Juan de Salas.—Various Modes of Suffering.—Chamber of Torment.—Dungeons at Zaragoza, Madrid, and Valladolid.

Madrid, October, 1820.

The services of M. Llorente have not been confined to an exposure of the principle of injustice, upon which the Holy Office was founded, or the horrors committed by its agents: it required the authority of such a writer to remove many serious errors, into which the European public had fallen, with regard to the mode of conducting the Holy Office, during the eighteenth century, and up to its abolition; errors, which were the more mischievous, since they have led numbers astray, who might have otherwise exerted themselves to relieve civilization from the disgrace of so long tolerating this dreadful scourge.

Some assertions made by a M. Clausel de Cous-
sergues, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in 1817, relative to the Spanish refugees, whom he wished to deprive of the petty stipend hitherto allowed to them by the Government, and in the course of which, he alluded to the Holy Office, as being "a model of mildness and equity," quoting Bourgoing and La Borde, as his authorities, afforded the historian of the sacred tribunal an opportunity to undeceive the public on this subject, and refute, by numerous facts, the opinions so inconsiderately advanced by the advocate of ultra-royalism, as well as those of two travellers, who had, in other respects, done much towards illustrating the civil and political state of Spain, under the reign of despotism. The passage cited from La Borde, represented the verdicts of the inquisitors, of late years, as dictated by sentiments of mildness, tolerance and peace, and but little proportioned to the crime; also, that above a century had elapsed since the celebration of an Auto-de-Fé; the last having occurred under Charles II.; adding, that the name of the Holy Office was scarcely ever pronounced in the Peninsula*. How the author of the Itinerary, whose patriotism and philanthropy are so conspicuous in his own country, could have been led into such a palpable error, justly excited the astonishment of those who knew the real state of the case, while it had the effect of reconciling many to the existence of the Inquisition. As to M. Clausel de

* Itineraire d'Espagne, tom. V. page 25.
Coussergues, his object in quoting the above writers, was one of pure party spirit: alluding to the excesses of the revolution in France, he asserted that it caused more human beings to perish in a day, than the Inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, and the two Indies, had in three centuries!

None could be more capable of refuting the assertions thus erroneously advanced, than he who had acted for three years, as secretary to the Holy Office, in the Spanish capital, and through whose hands all the proceedings of the inferior tribunals had to pass.

In reply to that part of the speech, which describes the Inquisition as a mere council of censure; Llorente represents this as only a preliminary step, by which those styled the qualified of the Holy Office, are called upon to examine any facts or publications previously denounced to the Inquisitor-General, who then proceeds to act on the opinion given by the censors: so that the ceremony of censuring is totally distinct from that of prosecution. With regard to the extreme rarity of Autos, De la Borde had evidently confounded those at which the royal family and princes of the blood were present, with others solemnized in the ordinary routine of the sacred tribunal here and in the provinces.*

* There were fifteen tribunals in the Peninsula, established in the following places: viz. Madrid, Barcelona, Cordova, Valencia, Zaragoza, Cuenca, Granada, Santiago, Valladolid, Tolédo, Mur-
Admitting that the Auto-de-Fe, held in 1680, was the only one of the first class, that is to say, presided by royalty, since the above period, it is no less true that an Auto had been prepared for Philip V., though, to the honour of the young monarch be it said, he declined attending, and is reported to have then expressed a determination never to be present at such spectacles. Had there been none, except those intended to edify the kings of Spain, only five could be reckoned; those at Valladolid in 1559; one at Toledo in 1560, and two here in 1680. With respect to those laws of the thirteenth century, by which heretics declared obstinate and impenitent, were handed over to the secular arm, or civil tribunal, for final sentence, and which condemned the victim to be burned alive, without appeal; so far from their being revoked, they had not been even modified. "The execution in such cases," says Llorente, "took place immediately, for care was taken, not to give notice to the judge until the pile was prepared; so that when a prisoner left his dungeon, it was only to expire in the flames."

According to the computation of Llorente, by which one or more Autos were performed yearly at each of the tribunals, there could not have been fewer than 1112, during the twenty-two years of
Charles II.'s reign, and forty-six of Philip V.* The historian of the Holy Office has fifty-four lists of the condemned in his possession, published by different Inquisitors-General, to prove their zeal. It appears from these pious catalogues, that seventy-nine heretics had been burned in person; seventy-three in effigy, to be really so, if ever taken; eight hundred and twenty-nine to be publicly whipped, and then shut up in the fortresses of Ceuta and Oran. Confiscation of property was a matter of course, and applied to all the foregoing cases. It results from the calculation made relative to the

* A report made to Philip by the Grand Junta, composed of two members from each of the provincial Councils, and that of Castile, contains a minute exposition of the numberless abuses of authority committed by the agents of the Holy Office, in this and the preceding reigns. It appeared from the numerous statements of this report, that the Inquisitors were actuated in all their proceedings, by a settled opposition to the existing authorities, and that their conduct was marked by the most wanton cruelties, immoral practices, and crying injustice. Amongst the instances brought forward to prove the horror and dread inspired by the agents of the Holy Office, it is related that a female who had been denounced at Granada in 1682, for having made some trifling remarks on the wife of one of its secretaries, on hearing their voices outside the door, threw herself into the street, and was dashed to pieces.

The Inquisitors, say the reporters, have hitherto been guided by no other rule, than their own resentment and personal hatred, often plunging the most unexceptionable and exalted characters into their dungeons, who had committed no fault but that of not paying sufficient respect to certain persons of their families!
Autos which took place in the remaining sixty-nine years, that two thousand five hundred and twenty four had been burned in person, twelve hundred and sixty-two in effigy; fifteen hundred and seventy condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and other penalties; making a grand total of nineteen thousand, three hundred and forty-six victims, in the short space of sixty-six years, without enumerating those immolated or condemned in the tribunals of America, Sicily and Sardinia; all dependent on the Inquisition of Spain.

Alluding to the change that took place in public opinion, with regard to the holy office, during the last century, Llorente says, "the progress was so rapid in the reign of Ferdinand VI. that, instead of thirteen, it seemed as if an hundred years had intervened between it, and that of Charles III. This change is attributed to the establishment of literary societies, especially the academies of history and language in the first named reign. Independently of the efforts of the members to restore good taste, and enlighten the people, the family compact greatly facilitated the communication between France and the Peninsula: thus knowledge, hitherto contracted within a narrow compass, soon spread; penetrating the very recesses of the Sacred Tribunal. The Journal of Literature, a periodical work, now forgotten, was then the grand beacon, and continued as such, till the appearance of Mayans and Feijoo,
two writers who combatted ignorance and prejudice with Herculean force."

The Concordate of Philip V. with Pope Clement XII. in 1737, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and also that concluded in the reign of Ferdinand VI. in 1753, which transferred the right of conferring all the church dignities from the Pontiff to the Spanish monarch, broke the ties which had, till then, restrained public opinion, giving it altogether a new turn and impulse. Hence the study of those natural rights, which ought to be the basis of all laws civil and religious: hence too, the study of that Christian philosophy which wishes to triumph only by mildness, reason and persuasion; which speaks so loudly in favour of humanity; enjoining, above all, that punishment shall be proportioned to crime. If the first epoch of light produced a Macanaz,*

* Macanaz, to whom allusion has been made in speaking of a disgraced minister of that name, was prosecuted in 1713, for having written various works against the Holy Office. The circumstance of his being fiscal to the council of Castile, and having published his principal works relative to the Sacred Tribunal, by order of the King, seemed only to increase the boldness of the Grand-Inquisitor, Judice; who at length succeeded in obtaining the approbation of Philip; and an ordinance was published, confirming the decree which suppressed his works. Macanaz was thrown into prison, and was only liberated to languish in exile. He is said to have proved to demonstration that if not in profession, nearly all the Inquisitors of Spain, since the days of Torquemada, were Atheists in practice!
and a Belando, the second witnessed such men as Roda, Campomanes and Aranda: an increase of knowledge gave rise to improvement in education, and when the Inquisitors found they could no longer resist the torrent, their procedure became milder, without, however, any change being made in the legislation. Thus it was that those who persecuted Selgado, Chumacero, Ramos del Manzana and others, suffered Roda, Florida Blanca and Campomanes to write against them, with comparative impunity.

Such are the causes alleged for a diminution of the Autos, and their having ceased to be celebrated in public during the reign of Ferdinand VI., with the terrific pomp of former days. Those now accused, were condemned, and their sentences carried into effect privately: thus depriving the Inquisitors of the pleasure they had formerly derived from collecting numbers at a single Auto, and making a more affected display of their zeal.

The opinion entertained of the Holy Office, in the early part of the sixteenth century, and an exact prophecy of what its future policy would be, was published in a tract, from which Llorente has given copious extracts, in the Appendix to his Critical History. This interesting production, is entitled del Regimen de Principes of the government of Princes, and is attributed to no less a personage than the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, who was in the early part of his career, violently opposed to the Inquisition, though when raised to power, one of its firmest supporters. It is extremely probable that the plan of the above curious tract was suggested by the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.
Nevertheless, to prove that the fires of Christianity and fervour of its ministers were not extinguished, ten suffered on the piles raised under the auspices of the two Kings I have cited; the effigies of five more were thrown into the brazero; one hundred and seventy went to expiate their crimes and end their days in the prisons of Africa; not to mention a long list of minor persecutions: only one pile was prepared in the reign of Charles IV. the intended victim having escaped by dying in his cell.*

Notwithstanding the change so happily effected

* Don Miguel Solano, Curate of Esca in Aragon, was the last Spanish priest condemned by the Inquisition in this country. Solano was a man of learning and genius: having carefully examined the New Testament, he was immediately struck with the wide difference between the religious practice of his day, and that which is prescribed in the Sacred Volume. Impressed with the necessity of reforming the mode of religious worship, his scruples were addressed to Don Lopez Gil, Bishop of Zaragoza; the answer of the latter not reaching Solano, he communicated his opinions to some professors of the University there, and was, by them denounced to the Holy Office. The manner in which he was pursued, first betrayed by his friend, a priest, and then inveigled into the gripe of the Sacred Tribunal, proves that it had lost nothing of its persecuting character. After trying and convicting the prisoner of a departure from the canonical doctrines of the Roman church, every possible effort was made, but in vain, to convert him: he was therefore condemned to be burnt alive. Either unwilling or afraid to solemnize an Auto-de-Fe in 1805, the Inquisitors adopted a plan which answered every purpose.—
in public opinion, and the salutary influence it had had on the Holy Office, the historian truly asserts that much more was still required to justify the toleration attributed to it by La Borde and Bourgoing. The danger exists, says he, because the law is not repealed, and I can say the same of the torture; it is true the latter has been discontinued for some time, even when the accused persists in denying the charges: but the law which gives this right to the Inquisitors, is still in full force; nay, the fiscal always demands it as a matter of course, in his act of accusation. "I have seen

an old member of Solano's flock, at Escar, the village apothecary, was induced to depose that his spiritual guide had betrayed frequent symptoms of a deranged intellect. Although this contrivance precluded the necessity of burning the unfortunate curate, he had too much sensibility to resist an expedient, which had been often resorted to in other countries as well as in Spain. Falling dangerously ill when he heard of the new process against his understanding, Solano survived the shock only a few days. His last reply to those who endeavoured to convert him in his dying hour, was, that he could not renounce his opinions without the fear of offending God, and betraying the interests of truth. Llorente mentions an Auto de Fe, which took place at Mexico on the 27th of December, 1815, in the person of a priest, named Morellos, but who was only degraded, because the Inquisitors knew he was to be hanged for a political offence, the moment his heresy had been expiated. This was no bad specimen of the state of human nature in the 19th century; let us hope the good people of Mexico will have seen the last proof of how far religious fanaticism can go, towards outraging the Divinity in the midst of modern civilization.
prisoners" adds Llorente, "shudder and tremble to fainting, on hearing the act which closes with this demand!"

"I agree," continues the author, "that the imprisonment is generally confined to the convents of the Peninsula, and not as formerly extended to Oran and Ceuta; but do not MM. Bourgoing and La Borde deceive themselves, if they think this confinement, which should last at least five years, a mild punishment, *disproportioned to the offence! Let those writers but reflect on all the unhappy beings, who must have suffered in the dungeons of the Holy Office, for two or three years before public condemnation; on the disgrace attached to those who appear in an Auto-de-Fe, performed before a numerous auditory, at which the minutes of the trial are read; with what an appalling formula the sentence is pronounced, and executed in part, since the criminal is obliged to appear in a sanbenito and hempen collar. I admit the prisoners of the Inquisition are not now as they formerly were, thrown into unwholesome, dark, and humid dungeons under ground, but it may be truly said, that there is no possibility of recognising the actual prisons in the pictures of La Borde and Bourgoing. Each of the accused is shut up in a small room, into which the light can only penetrate by an aperture in the ceiling; having for its whole furniture, a small table, chair and small mattress; none but the jailor who brings his ration of bread and water, is allowed to see him.
The only subject upon which the keeper is permitted to speak to the prisoner, must relate to his food or health; he is not allowed to burn a lamp, nor any fire in winter: such is the actual state of the prisoners of the Inquisition, where it exists, and such that which MM. La Borde and Bourgoing called mild captivity! These writers, would doubtless change their opinion, if, like the wretched victims I have noticed, they were to see themselves pining away in similar dungeons, for whole years together. I have known an individual who had been shut up during six years! The length of time depends on the defective system of procedure: if any person is mentioned in the act of accusation as able to give testimony, and he happens to be at the other extremity of the world, the captive has to await his return. It is in vain that the accused admits all the charges, and renounces the right of defending himself; the judges, deaf to his prayer, suffer years to pass away without proceeding to his trial. Could the fate of a prisoner be mild," asks Llorente, "to whom the name of his accuser was never mentioned," nor those of the witnesses against him? to whom the charges and depositions were never shown? If he expressed a wish to be defended, a pleader was chosen from those attached to the Holy Office, or to the grand Inquisitor, and began by swearing the oath of secrecy, in which he also promised to persuade his client to renounce all notions of a defence, in case of culpability, and im-
plore the clemency of his judges. But, will it be credited? the counsel himself never saw the papers! the utmost he could procure was a copy of the charges and the prisoner's answers. If there were any witnesses favourable to the accused they were not mentioned: would MM. Bourgoing and La Borde like to be cited before a tribunal that proceeded in this manner?"*

In reply to those who have asserted that the mode of procedure is conformable to equity, and a due regard to personal feelings—for there have been such—Llorente observes, that the real accuser was frequently neither denouncer nor witness: if rich and powerful, he could easily find persons to perform both these offices: the former could excuse himself, by saying he only acted in obedience to the orders of his confessor, and merely to avoid incurring the excommunication pronounced by the edict of the Holy Office. The letter to M. Clausel de Coussergues concludes with the following allusion to the above edict. "I would end here, if I did not think it my duty to denounce it to public indignation. Can any thing be so re-

* It appears from a passage in the Critical History, that Don Manuel Abad la Sierra, Inquisitor-General in 1794, was extremely anxious to reform the procedure of the Holy Office, and that the author wrote a memoir, by his desire, pointing out many of the existing abuses; owing, however, to the intrigues of the priesthood, Charles IV. exiled the virtuous Don Manuel, who was soon after recommended to give in his resignation.
pulsive, as this Injunction read in all the churches at Lent, and which declares that the faithful of every rank and condition are bound to inform the inquisitors, if they have seen or heard of any thing against the doctrine of the holy mother church, or the free exercise of the attributes of the Inquisition? According to the terms of this decree, the confessors are interdicted from administering the sacrament, or giving absolution, before asking their penitents whether they know any fact worthy of being denounced. What crimes! what abominations!” exclaims Llorente, “has not this infamous edict caused? A word imperfectly understood, or falsely interpreted; ignorance of the subject on which an opinion may be asked or given, is alone sufficient to plunge a whole family into desolation and despair. No tie checks that sex, whose imagination is so easily affected. The fear of eternal damnation makes the female penitent forget, and treat the most sacred obligations with contempt and indifference: mothers, daughters, sisters, nay, even lovers, have been seen throwing themselves at the feet of the inquisitors, and denouncing the dearest objects of their affections!”

“Such monstruouists,” continues the historian of the Holy Office, “repel belief so much, that many persons neither can nor will give credit to them: yet, nothing is less rare in Spain! and this would be acknowledged, if those who doubt, knew the influence of confessors over the con-
sciences of the multitude, and that of the inquisitors over the former, particularly if they be monks. Let it not, therefore, be supposed I exaggerate: I say nothing but the truth. If it were possible to penetrate into the interior of houses, how many new victims would there not be found to swell the number of those which the Holy Office caused to perish! the more piety and virtue these unhappy beings possess, the more do they tremble at the approach of Lent!"

"But I have seen still more," says this writer, "I have even seen inquisitors, in other respects excellent characters, full of humanity, not dare swerve from the path traced out by the rules of the tribunal, and apprehensive lest they should be themselves denounced by a brother inquisitor, ruin those whom they could otherwise have saved!"

"I have," concludes Llorente, "advanced nothing of which I cannot guarantee the exactness, and give unanswerable proofs of its veracity. If MM. La Borde and Bourgoing were acquainted with the documents I have in my hands, they would never have eulogized the Inquisition, wherein all is mystery: these authors have, doubtless, repeated what they had heard from persons attached to the Holy Office, or were too timid to blame its procedure."*
Anxious as the author of the Critical History must have been, to see such a monstrous system of vice and wickedness removed, it may readily be conceived that many circumstances have prevented him from relating all he saw and heard of the proceedings of the Holy Office, and the general abuses of religion in Spain. Although I am convinced, in my own mind, he might have drawn an infinitely more appalling picture, I should have felt considerable hesitation in advancing the foregoing extraordinary statements, were it not for the testimony of such a man as Llorente, whose amiable life, and irreproachable character, place whatever he asserts beyond the suspicion of doubt: with these facts, illustrated and corroborated in a great variety of cases, to be seen throughout his annals, there is no want of data, by which to form a just estimate of the Holy Office, and of its effect on the manners and customs, national character and prosperity of Spain.

Referring you to the important work which has served as my principal guide in the preceding remarks on the Inquisition, and of which the extracts I have given serve but to convey a very circumscribed notion, I shall conclude this letter

he must have long since recognized the incorrectness of his conclusions, with regard to the Holy Office. It is almost incredible that an institution, so universally condemned, should have found apologists in a country which occupies so high a rank in European civilization.
with a few remarks on that torture, to which allusion has been so often made.

The best illustration of this horrible punishment is furnished in the case of Juan de Salas, a medical practitioner of Valladolid, whose crime was that of happening to say, in the heat of argument, that the Apostles had erred like other men. As Salas did not lose a moment in atoning for his offence, by acknowledging that he meant no disrespect to religion, he flattered himself with the hope of escaping: nothing could be more fallacious: arrested and thrown into prison, he had not been many days incarcerated, before the Inquisitor Moriz issued his order for applying the question. It was thus expressed; "We order that the said torture be applied in the manner, and during the time we shall think proper, having protested, as we again protest, that, in the case of injury, fracture of limbs, or death, the fault can be imputed only to the Licentiate Salas." The ceremony of torture is next protested; "Valladolid, June 21st, 1527. The Licentiate Moriz, Inquisitor, has caused Don Juan de Salas to appear before him, and having read his act of accusation, the said Licentiate Salas declared he had said nothing of what he was accused; upon which, the said Licentiate Moriz caused him to be conducted to the chamber of torment; where, being first stripped to his shirt, Salas was extended on the bed of torment, to which the executioner Pedro Porraz bound him by the legs and arms, with hempen
tortures inflicted on Salas.
cords: of these he made eleven turns on each limb. While Porras was thus tying the said Salas, the prisoner was repeatedly urged to tell the truth; to which he replied, that he had never advanced what he was accused of. He recited the symbol Quicumque vult, and frequently thanked God and our Lady. The said Salas still continuing bound, as stated, a piece of fine linen, being first wetted, was spread over his face, when a pint of water was poured into his mouth and nostrils; notwithstanding which, the said Salas persisted in saying he knew nothing of what he was accused. Pedro Porraz then took another turn of the Garrote on the right leg, and poured in a second measure of water; another turn of the Garrote was made on the same leg; nevertheless; Juan de Salas said he had never advanced any thing of which he was accused: upon this, the said Licentiate Moriz, having declared the question commenced, but not finished, ordered that the torture should cease: when the accused was withdrawn from the frame. I was present at the said execution, from the beginning to the end. Me, Henrico Paz, Registrar."

* Although it was declared that the charges against Salas were not clearly proved, yet, owing to the suspicions excited at his trial, the inquisitors decreed that he should attend an Auto-de-Fe, abjure heresy, and pay a fine of ten ducats in gold, for the expenses of his trial; he was also to do penance, publicly, in one of the churches. The sentence was carried into execution on the 24th
The bed, or ladder of torture, (Ecalera) as it is called in Spanish, was composed of a frame, sufficiently large to receive the body of the victim; having a bar passing through the centre, on which the back bone rested, so that both extremities were much lower than his middle. As the head was also lower than the feet, respiration became exceedingly painful and difficult, while the position itself occasioned excruciating pain in all the members.* Llorente compares the application of the cords, to the mode adopted by the Muleteers in loading their mules, when a stick is introduced under the cords, and then twisted round, so as to prevent the load from being loosened; this stick used by the torturer of the Sacred Tribunal, is called the Garrote. Pouring water into the mouth and nostrils, whence breathing was first rendered impossible, must have been a dreadful operation. It was also customary to stuff a piece of linen into the mouth, and let the water fall in drops; so that it required an hour to absorb a very small quantity. It frequently happened that the rag was drawn out, saturated with blood, pre-

of June, 1528, so that he had been a whole year in the dungeons of the Holy Office. Ambrosio de Salas, father to the prisoner, saw the sentence executed, and paid the fine for his son.

* The story of Procrustes may have suggested the bed of torture; if so, it is not the only case in which the heathen mythology has been resorted to, in order to embellish christianity
ceding from the rupture of the vessels, either in the lungs, or parts adjoining.

There were two other modes of torture practised in this country; that of the cord and fire. The first was performed, by raising the victim up to a considerable height, and then letting him fall suddenly, to within a few inches of the ground, so as to dislocate his arms or other limbs. The torture by fire was the most rigorous of all: it consisted of rubbing the soles of the feet with some lard, or other inflammable substance, and then lighting a fire close to them. This was the most frequent mode resorted to in South America and the Netherlands.*

"I will not stop," says Llorente, "to describe all the modes of torment exercised by order of the inquisitors; this task has been performed, with

* The torture in both those countries, was re-produced with a thousand additional horrors: who has not heard of the mutilations of every kind, practised by the followers of Ferdinand Cortes; the effecting story of the heroic Inca Atabalipa; employment of blood-hounds, and various other cruelties practised in Peru, Bogota, Venezuela, and Guatemala? According to the statement of Las Casas, as quoted in the Miroir, there were twelve millions of human beings sacrificed in the short space of forty years! and yet, it is an incontestable fact, corroborated by history, that the natives of those countries, in which Christianity had never penetrated, were mild, generous, and unsuspecting. Moreover, that they came forward to hail their European visitors, as beings of a superior nature!!!