THE

INQUISITION

IN SPAIN,

AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

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THE INQUISITION.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION.

No argument against the apostolicity of the Romish church is presumptively more strong than that which arises from the sanguinary character of its whole history. Its repeated persecutions—its bloody crusades—its exterminating desolations—have not only outraged the sympathies of human nature, but have stood in such violent contrast to the genius of the gospel as to engender the suspicion that a resort to such desperate arms for defence must have been prompted by some secret consciousness that the system was weak in more essential elements. The following pages will illustrate a scheme of ecclesiastical action in which the light and love of Christianity are sought in vain; whilst in substitution for them stands a despotism fashioned after the world's worst rule; which racks the body and rends the heart; which combines the suspicious, the jealous, the absolute, the severe; and which

has more affinity with the worship of Moloch, or the ancient sacrifices of savage Druidism, than with the truth which proclaims mercy to all, and comes—"not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Towards the close of the eleventh century the Romish church had reached the culminating point of its greatness. Under Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) the bishopric of Rome had claimed over the princes of Christendom a dominion in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Such a power was not likely to be conceded without a struggle; but the mere demand carried in its train a mass of evils. The pretensions of the clergy, and the vices for which they were notorious; their continual interference in secular matters; their enormous exactions; their incredible superstitions; their generally obvious ignorance, and their entire indifference to public opinion, contributed to form throughout the continent of Europe a mass of spiritual disaffection which only needed to be brought into contact with some exciting outward influence to explode destructively. In such a case, echo answers to echo through an almost interminable series. The popular impressions produced against the church of Rome reacted upon that church itself, and created in its mind the desire to silence disaffection by persecution. That persecution again united in a common sympathy the hearts of the real disciples of the great Lord, taught them how to take the first steps for delivering themselves

from their galling fetters, and prepared the way for that wide assertion of spiritual liberty which constitutes one of the greatest blessings of modern times.

How early the Christian church had degenerated from its primitive simplicity, and had begun to adopt grievous and destructive errors, needs hardly to be told. The worship of the Virgin; the superstitious regard shown for the consecrated wafer, which afterwards settled into the doctrine of transubstantiation; the practice of private confession; the antiphonal chanting of psalms by night as well as by day; the legends of marvel and miracle; the decorated robes; the lighted tapers, the long processions, the smoking incense; the self-inflicted macerations and vigils; the holy water; the infallibility of the pope; the recluse habits of monasteries and nunneries; the declared efficacy of relics; the service of the mass; the celibacy of the clergy; these, with many similar evils, had gradually increased and accumulated in the bosom of the nominal church, till religion became a mist only short of total darkness, extinguishing the lights of truth, obscuring the headlands which should have marked the path of progress, magnifying objects intrinsically small into gigantic proportions, and throwing all ecclesiastical subjects into a state of chaos, in which disorder and confusion were alone triumphant.

The first chapter of the history of truth always begins with the small voice in the desert; and deeply as the so-called church of

Christ had fallen from its original piety and purity, and degraded as it had become by corrupt and pernicious influences, there was not yet wanting a small minority who, "faithful among the faithless," and contending with every conceivable disadvantage and oppression, yet represented the simplicity and devotedness of the primitive disciples. Such were the Waldenses—a people singularly interesting; the pioneers of a later reformation; the spiritual isthmus which binds Protestantism to primitive Christianity; and the first who in modern times ventured to cut the tangled underwood of a false Christianity. Peter Waldus, a native of Lyons, who lived towards the close of the twelfth century, tormented and roused by the corruptions he witnessed around him, caused portions of the Scriptures to be translated into the current language; and though originally a layman, formed around him a church to which he preached and expounded. Waldus's little band became afterwards associated with another body of humble disciples, the descendants of the ancient Paulicians, who inhabited the valleys of Piedmont, and were designated Vaudois, (in French,) Waldenses, (in Latin,) and Valleymen, (in English,) names which afterwards became affixed to the united community.

These Christians cultivated the utmost simplicity of dress and manners. Unambitious of wealth, they abjured all unfair and dishonest means of acquiring gain; they observed the strictest temperance and chastity, and denied

themselves, with true moral sublimity, even those innocent enjoyments which might appear to identify them with their ungodly neighbours. As many of them followed the occupation of travelling merchants or pedlars, answering in many respects to the *colporteurs* of modern days, they availed themselves of all favourable opportunities to instruct their customers in the doctrines of vital religion, not failing to exhibit the truth in marked and effective contrast to the corrupt and venal religionism of their day. It is admitted that their interpretation of sacred truth was conjoined with much that was defective and even puerile; but the Waldenses were true spiritual reformers, exhibiting, though in a yet more gloomy age, the leading views which afterwards distinguished the transition period of Luther and his followers. A section of these primitive Christians was designated Albigenses, probably deriving their name from Albi, a city in Languedoc. As corruption and calumny are ever allies, they were branded by their enemies with every crime of which human nature is capable; with atheism, blasphemy, the worship of two gods, (in other words, Manicheeism,) and with the most contemptuous ridicule of all sacred things. Their real crime in the eyes of their accusers, was the superior purity of their lives, and the steady opposition they offered to the contemptible or corrupt practices of the Romish church. So long as they freely disseminated their tenets, Popery felt itself no longer safe. Inclination therefore

united with interest in urging the ecclesiastical powers of that time to check the progress of doctrines so dangerous. Nor was such a course without precedent in church history. The persecution of the early Christians, though begun by the heathens, had been largely promoted by the Hebrew portion of the community, though the Jews found, too late, that in denouncing Christians they had been forging implements of destruction for themselves. The edicts of Constantine first authorized their punishment by fire. The subsequent constitutions of Theodosius provided for the employment of inquisitors and informers. St. Augustine had himself avowed opinions favourable to persecution ;* and the power of the popes had manifested itself by its severe repression of doctrines deemed heretical. It was not, therefore, probable that in so dark an age the Albigenses would be allowed to escape ecclesiastical severities ; and when the preaching of the Crusades had been received throughout Europe with a shout of almost unanimous enthusiasm, it naturally followed that the arms employed against the Saracens would be found applicable to the extermination of doctrines very different from those of the great Oriental impostor, but even more dangerous to papal pretensions.

Accordingly, in the year 1163, pope Alexander III., then an exile from Rome, convened a council at Tours, composed of ecclesiastics and laics from various parts of England and

* Epis. cxiii.

France, to devise measures for the extermination of heresy. The decrees passed by this assembly were stringent and severe. Heretics were to be watched, denounced, and cut off from the solaces of life for the good of their souls; commerce with them was rigidly prohibited; and these penalties were enforced by the threat of excommunication—a course then much in fashion, and possibly more dreaded for its temporal than its spiritual consequences. These measures were followed up by other general councils, one of which was held in the church of the Lateran in Rome, and constituted the third Lateran council; and another at Verona. In these assemblies canons were issued against the new heresies, punishments provided for such as favoured them, and the ecclesiastical and civil powers leagued together for their extermination. The execution of these decrees was in the mean time entrusted to the ordinary bishops, who were required to hold regular courts for the detection and punishment of heretics, the church pronouncing upon the crime whilst the secular magistrates inflicted the penalty. Thus, in the course of about twenty years, the rough outlines of the future system had been drawn out and approved, whilst nothing remained but to add to them those details which future necessities might demand.

The committal of such a charge as that of punishing heretics to the bishops of the respective dioceses, was subsequently ascertained to be

extremely unsatisfactory. Such prelates were often apt to be influenced by the public opinion which prevailed in their respective dioceses. Nor was their own allegiance to the pontiff of Rome always unquestionable. The administration of these rigorous measures varied, therefore, according to the character and position of the individual prelate. Besides, Rome would not be long in discovering that it was sometimes important to watch over the keepers of the faith themselves. Accordingly, pope Innocent III. took measures to give greater efficiency to the decretals already existing.

He, therefore, in the year 1198, authorized Peter of Castelnau, Arnauld, abbot of Citeaux, and his brother Ralph, (all Cistercian monks,) to preach against the Albigenses, having resolved to try the effect of temperate measures before proceeding to those of a sterner character. The contradictory accounts of their movements furnished by Roman Catholic historians lead to the conclusion that these efforts were attended by extremely small success. Their first moderation speedily yielded to cruelty, and Peter of Castelnau lost his life in an outbreak provoked by his persecuting spirit. The death of this man, afterwards canonized by the pope, instigated that pontiff to adopt measures of greater severity. Whilst, therefore, Simon de Montfort was endeavouring by fire and sword to terrify men into discipleship to the religion of Rome, Innocent convened another council, the fourth council of Lateran. He was joined at this

convention by two individuals, the name of one of whom has since become famous in the annals of Roman monkery and inquisitorial intolerance.

The former of these was Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, whose diocese was in the centre of these Albigensian doctrines, and who, therefore, was likely to prove no negligent seconder of his master's measures. The other, then a young man, was in attendance upon Foulques. His name, originally a noble one, has passed into a proverb.

Dominic de Guzman was born in 1170, at Calaroga, in Old Castile, and was descended from a very ancient family. It is related that before his birth his mother dreamed that she had become the parent of a whelp with a burning torch, which set the world on fire—a dream which certainly presented no unapt emblem of the character and actions of her future son. At the age of fourteen, Dominic, who had already distinguished himself by his ascetic habits, became a pupil in the university of Salamanca; and at the age of twenty-one had acquired considerable reputation as a devotee. In 1198 he was appointed canon of Osma, and soon after accompanied his bishop in a visit to the districts of Languedoc, where the Albigenses were preaching. Here, by leave of the pope, he and his diocesan united themselves with the Cistercians in putting down the heretics. Some absurd fables are related of this period in Dominic's history. Among others, we are told

that St. Dominic, having drawn up an exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine, gave his papers to the heretics that they might refute his propositions if they could. The Albigenses, after examining them, threw them into the flames. But the papers miraculously refused to burn. The experiment was (we are moreover told) repeated in a public assembly, where several abbots were collected at a great disputation. Thrice was the document committed to the fire; thrice it came out unhurt.* Such are the inventions which the Romish church does not hesitate to palm upon its deluded votaries! Luther found the flames more tractable.

In this man, thus brought by the bishop of Toulouse to the fourth Lateran council, Innocent III. found a welcome adjutant for his schemes of ecclesiastical oppression. Dominic earnestly desired to be the founder of a new order of monks. But as the council had already determined rather to reform the existing bodies than to add new ones to their number, the proposition was not without its difficulties. But by substituting the name of "canons regular" for the more formal appellation by which the other establishments had been distinguished, the difficulty was evaded; and as Innocent, soon after this council, died, his successor, Honorius III., issued bulls, constituting the bodies of Dominican and Franciscan monks, the former according to the regulations of

* Butler's Lives of the Saints. Art. Dominic.

Dominic de Guzman, the latter under the authority of Francis de Assisa. The peculiar duty of both was to preach against heretics; the Dominicans being appointed to the districts at the base of the Pyrenees, the Franciscans to those of the valleys of Italy. The instructions under which these mendicant monks were sent out, commanded them to investigate the tenets and numbers of the heretics, and to keep watch on the measures adopted by the bishops for the preservation of the doctrines of Rome. They were hence called Inquisitors, that name having been first given to Dominic by the authority of the pope himself.

It is notorious how the character of men has become perpetuated in the systems they have originated. Of this the Inquisition is a remarkable specimen. Dominic was a stern and fierce zealot, distinguished, according to the testimony of Campegius, (inquisitor-general of Ferrara,) by "the severity he made use of to stop the progress of these crimes." His own letters, produced by Paramus, show that he undertook his office with stern and resolute determination, resolving, by the severity with which he punished offenders, to terrify others from heretical professions. When he had been appointed by the papal mandate, he appeared in the church of St. Prullian in the midst of a great crowd, and in the sermon he preached on that occasion, he declared that "he was resolved to defend with his utmost vigour the doctrines of the faith, and that if the spiritual

and ecclesiastical arms were not sufficient for this end, he was determined to call in the secular arm, to excite and compel the Catholic princes to take arms against heretics, that the very mention of them might be utterly destroyed." Pitiful is the sight of a poor vain bigot thus clothing himself in armour against the authority of the Lord of hosts! Not satisfied with these monkish agents, the pope commissioned his instruments to engage Philippe II., king of France, (Philippe Auguste,) with his son and his nobles, to aid them in exterminating heresy by force of arms, promising abundant indulgences as the appropriate rewards. But as the movement was distasteful to the bishops, and as the king had no great love for papal mandates, Philippe took no part in the affair, and many of the nobles of France, who regarded the Albigenses as peaceful and harmless subjects, refused to join in measures which would have the effect of banishing them from their domains.

At first these proceedings were submitted to no distinct tribunal, the efforts to detect heresy being irregular and promiscuous. Dominic, however, that he might level all the artillery of terror against the hapless Albigenses, formed an order of laymen, called the Militia of Christ; "who, being approved by the pope, constituted the first familiars," or members of the family of St. Dominic. These were taken under the protection of the emperor, Frederic II.

Persecution, like other virulent diseases, is

one of rapid progress. The succeeding pope (Gregory IX.) made further advances in the organization of the Inquisition. He called a council at Toulouse, in the year 1229, which, among other enactments, ordained that appointed persons, lay and clerical, should search for heretics, and that no territorial lord should harbour any suspected person. At the same time it was required that all the inhabitants of each district should be registered, and that every person arriving at a certain age should take an oath of adhesion to the Catholic faith, and of renunciation of heresy. Failure in these respects, and in regularly communicating three times a year, exposed the delinquent to suspicion of heresy. The same council signalized itself by prohibiting the laity to read the Bible; thus first authorizing that fearful sin, which must ever weigh so heavily in the scale of the Romish church's condemnation—the denial of the bread of life to the ignorant and perishing sinner.

The Albigenses were now effectually plied with the arguments of fire and faggot, and when apprehended were immured in dungeons, sometimes called "perpetual prisons of the wall," implying incarceration for life. Even those who recanted their heresy and avowed the Romish faith were frequently imprisoned; or, in cases supposed to deserve less infamy, publicly whipped.

The following letter of "Saint" Dominic will adequately illustrate the spirit in which such sentences were pronounced:—

"Brother Dominic, the least of preachers, to all Christ's faithful people, to whom these presents shall come, greeting in the Lord:

"By the authority of the Cistercian abbot, who hath appointed us this office, we have reconciled the bearer of these presents, Pontius Rogerius, converted by God's blessing from his heretical sect, charging and requiring him by the oath which he hath taken, that three Sundays, or three festival days, he be led by a priest, naked on his shoulders, from the coming into the town unto the church door, being whipped all the way. We also enjoin him that he abstain at all times from meat, eggs, cheese, and all things that proceed from flesh, except on the days of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, on which days we command him to eat flesh for a denial of his former error. We will that he keep three Lents in one year, abstaining even from fish; and that he fast three days every week, always refraining from fish, oil, and wine, except bodily infirmity or hard labour in harvest time require a dispensation. We will have him wear friar's coats, with two small crosses sewn on his two breasts. Let him every day hear mass if opportunity may serve, and on all holidays; let him go to vespers to church. He shall observe all the other canonical hours, by day and by night, wherever he be, and shall then say his orisons, that is, seven times a day he shall say ten paternosters together, and twenty at midnight. Every first day of the month let him show these our letters

to the curate of the town of Cervicum, whom we command diligently to observe what kind of life this bearer leads; whom, if he should neglect to observe these our injunctions, we declare to be perjured and excommunicated, and will have him taken for such."*

This gradual establishment of inquisitorial power was attended by scenes of outrage and enormity which, though not perhaps strictly forming part of the history of the Inquisition itself, strongly illustrate the spirit of the system from which it emanated, and leave a track of blood to witness from the ground against the church of Rome. The ravages of Simon de Montfort, the English earl of Leicester; the barbarity of Arnauld, abbot of Citeaux, who, when told at the siege of Béziers that there were many Catholics in the town, commanded that all should be killed, declaring that "God would know his own;" the concentration of leaders from all parts of Europe against the hapless Albigenses; the infamy of Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, who jested with indescribable barbarity on the sufferings of those he made his victims—constitute in their combination a series of atrocities perhaps unequalled in the history of the world. When Béziers was taken, the massacre was universal—there was nothing left living within it; and pillage, desolation, and death were triumphant in the districts around. At Minèrve a large fire was lighted before the citadel, and in the face of its

* Limborch's Inquisition, chap. x. Ed. 1816.

flames the Albigenses were exhorted to be converted or die. One hundred and eighty chose the latter alternative. These enormities continued during many years, the monks of St. Dominic being the executors of the decrees issuing from the council of the Lateran. It is related by Bzovius, that in the beginning of the thirteenth century multitudes of heretics were burned in Germany, France, and Italy, and that eighty persons were seized in Strasburg alone. "If any of these denied their heresy, friar Conrade, of Marpuy, an apostolical inquisitor of the order of Prédicants, put them to the trial of the fire-ordeal, and as many of them as were burned by the iron he delivered over to the secular power to be burned as heretics; so that all who were accused and put to this trial, a few excepted, were condemned to the flames." The contentions which existed between the papal and imperial authorities prevented, however, the progress of the Inquisition in Germany.

Traces of the existence of this sanguinary tribunal are found in connexion with the histories of Sardinia, Servia, and Syria.

The Inquisition was introduced by pope Innocent IV. into Italy under Vivianus Burgomensis and Peter of Verona. The latter was the proto-martyr of the inquisitors. Soon after his appointment, as he was journeying from Como to Milan, in prosecution of his office, he was attacked and murdered. The church of Rome canonized him, and the Inquisition ever after regarded him as their sainted protector,

calling a class of their servants "Co-Brothers of Peter the Martyr," in honour of his death. So unpopular was the Inquisition in Italy, in consequence of the cruelty of its administration, (especially against those who were accused of magic,) that dangerous tumults arose in Brescia and Mantua; whilst in Rome the populace broke open the prisons, and burned the building to the ground.

It is needless to specify the details connected with the introduction of the inquisitorial apparatus into Hungary and Poland.

Though Venice could not avoid the introduction of this system, the jealousy of the senate prevented its ever acquiring a permanent influence in that state.

Owing to the disputes between the pope and the king respecting the appointment of inquisitors, Naples wholly escaped the terrible infliction; nor could it ever obtain a footing in the Low Countries.

The introduction of the Inquisition into Spain will be related in a subsequent chapter. The remainder of this present one will be devoted mainly to France, the original seat of its power.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, Raymond of Pegnaforte, a Dominican, drew up, by command of pope Gregory IX., a compendium of the various laws enacted against heresy. Several additions were subsequently made to this digest, which constituted the basis of the inquisitorial code, and at a synod subsequently held at Tarracona many new edicts

were added to the former. The tribunal of the Inquisition was first erected at Toulouse in 1233, and its administration was entrusted to the monks of St. Dominic. The establishment of the old Inquisition is due to the pope who first gave to the doctrine of transubstantiation its regular form. It appears that early in the fourteenth century an inquisitorial prison existed in Toulouse, and that periodical demonstrations, not very dissimilar to those which in later times were called *autos da fé*, terrified and warned the hapless inhabitants. Every offence which might, by natural or forced construction, bear the likeness of misprision of heresy, as well as of heresy itself, appears to have awakened the jealousy of the lynx-eyed familiars of those distant days. Union with the Waldenses in acts of prayer; harbouring the heretical pastors in houses; visiting them in prison; employment of the same prayers as those used by the simple teachers; hearing or reading the Scriptures in the common tongue; even the act of accepting a needle from one of them, are cited in this document as crimes to be punished, often by burning alive. In one case we have the record of a priest of the Romish church, who had been received secretly into the society of these denounced heretics, though he had not ceased, however at variance with his true convictions, to minister at the altar of his mother church. He was denounced and tried, but released upon his promise of repentance. Yet he united again with his former

friends, and was once more brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition. As his diocesan bishop was dead, there was no power by which he could be removed from his office except the pope's, who issued a special bull for the purpose. The long and solemn process of degradation was inflicted—even the tonsure was erased by the shaving of his head, and he was then thrown into the fire and consumed.

Even those who renounced their heresies appear to have been condemned to perpetual imprisonment by this Toulousian tribunal. Nor were even the dead free from the vengeance of their persecutors. The errors of the Waldenses caused their very bones to be ransacked in their graves. Then, as since, the vengeance of Rome pursued the body beyond the grave.

The visitor to Toulouse is yet shown "Le Couvent de l'ancienne Inquisition," on the right bank of the Garonne; and, till the end of the last century, the cell was exhibited which St. Dominic inhabited when on a visit to the city to plant there his upas tree, since so widely extended, full of dark foliage and prolific of destructive fruit. Some localities become morally pestilential: the miasma of evil, once caught, is long retained. It was so with Toulouse. The cruelties inflicted on French Protestants lasted till the year 1761, when persecution struck its last blow in the cruel and sanguinary death of Calas, and roused a public indignation under which Rome long trembled. Yet it was Toulouse which wrote on one of its churches—

the church of St. James of Compostella—"*Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus;*" "There is no holier spot in all this world." Self-delusion is often self-destruction.

But it was not on heretics alone that this Toulousian tribunal exercised the power which, unlike that of the first apostles, was given for "destruction," not for "edification." The avalanche which fell on the heads of the Parisian Jews in the reign of St. Louis, in 1239, had its consequences in Toulouse; for, in continuation of those outrages, the Inquisition of that city entered the houses of the descendants of Abraham, seized their Hebrew books, especially the copies of the Talmud, and burned them in public. One might suppose the fables of that work to be too absurd to be regarded as dangerous. But, when learning was small and superstition great, the Cabbala* of the Jews was dreaded as something most fearful; and if magic have any power, it must be confessed that the Mishna and Gemara contain enough stories of its power to alarm the least credulous.

Nor were the Jews alone liable to this accusation of sorcery. The authority which dealt with Pietro d'Apono as a magician, (we decide not whether he were foolish enough to believe in its reality without adequate evidence, or juggler enough to practise what he did not

* When Mirandola was brought before the Inquisition and accused of heresy, he asked in a published work, "What is Cabbala?" The reply was, "Cabbala was a wicked heretic who wrote against Christ. The Cabbalists are his followers."

believe,) and which tortured him till life could bear no more, and till he died in prison, demonstrated its zeal in many parts of France.

Among the inquisitors of this new institution in the year 1250, Peter Reines obtained a disastrous celebrity. He was busily occupied in carrying into effect that decree of the council of Toulouse which forbade the laity to possess a copy of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Under his administration the Waldenses appear to have suffered the most grievous barbarities. Such numbers were about this time apprehended, as to cause a complaint from the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, that they found it difficult, not only to defray the charge of maintaining so many prisoners, but even to furnish materials out of which a sufficient number of prisons might be built. In Italy, a branch of the Albigenses, at the close of the thirteenth century, assumed the title of *Apostolics;* and in the commencement of the fourteenth, one of their number, Sagarelli, having been seized, was condemned and burned as an arch-heretic. As the sect to which he belonged was very numerous, Clement v., then pope, sent among the Apostolics preaching inquisitors, who (calumniously, no doubt) returned to him a most unfavourable report of the practices and numbers of these new dissentients. A crusade was accordingly proclaimed against them, and an army was sent for their extermination. It succeeded. If "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," it is not always in the

literal meaning of that proverb. The extirpation of the true reformed faith from Spain, France, and Belgium, stands as a manifest proof to the contrary.

In the year 1307, a new body, which had been once regarded as the main support of the Christian religion against the heathen and infidel Saracens, and which had shed their best blood in its defence—the Knights Templars—fell under the suspicion of heretical tendencies; and by a *coup d'état* of Philip the Fair of France, (who had been offended by this order because they had furnished the preceding pope with money to carry on war against him,) were seized in great numbers and thrown into prison. In addition to the crime of heresy, the Templars were accused of licentious and abominable enormities, of secret alliance with the Saracens, and of an intention to deliver Christendom into the hands of its enemies. The papal chair was at this time filled by Clement v., who, being a creature of Philip, and, moreover, a prisoner in the hands of the king, could not take the measures necessary for their defence, though extremely desirous of sparing a body which had proved itself so useful to his order. As the Templars were little guided by any true principle, and as many of them had been extremely licentious in their practice, the charges against them were not without a colour of probability, and some of their number, when imprisoned and threatened with extreme tortures, purchased their liberty at the price of stigmatizing their companions.

To remove the scruples of the pope, Philip caused seventy-two of these confessing Templars to be brought before him. But the course of their examination showed with sufficient distinctness the measures which had been adopted to secure their evidence. One of them asserted he had been tortured by intoxicated men. Another declared that he had undergone extreme severities at Carcassone, and when asked why he did not then tell the truth, replied, "Because I did not then recollect it, but I prayed the seneschal to confer with my companions, and when I had deliberated with them I recollected." In reply to the charges brought against them, the Templars asserted that such imputations were utterly false, and could only have been made by men who feared the consequences of speaking the truth. Most authors, not French, have admitted the fallacy of the charges.

By the joint authority of Clement and Philip a council was called at Vienne to determine respecting the continuance of the Order of the Temple, and the pope issued a bull, entitled, "*Faciens Misericordiam*," by which princes and prelates were summoned to attend the council and to assist him in his inquiries. At this council several of the accusers of the Templars retracted, one of them declaring that he had been tortured before a burning fire till the bones came off his feet, and another that he had been three times subjected to the question, and had been kept on bread and water for

thirty-six weeks. Whilst this trial was pending, the archbishop of Sens, with disgraceful servility, performed an act of which Philip was the real instigator. This was the putting to death of fifty-four Templars who had declared the innocence of the Order. These wretched men were dragged from prison to find the piles already prepared for their execution, and the torches flaming. An offer was made of rescue to those who would confess the guilt of their body in vain, and equally vain was the remonstrance of their friends, who entreated them to avoid the impending destruction. They died with heroic courage, asserting to the last moment their innocence. Jacob Mola, the grand-master and general of the Order, addressed the people at the place of his execution in these words :—

"As the end of life is not the time to utter falsehoods, even though advantage would follow, I swear by everything sacred, that what has been alleged as a crime against the Templars, and is now referred in the sentence pronounced against me, is false and unfounded."

These proceedings were confined to France, and no capital punishment was inflicted on the Templars in any other kingdom—a strong presumptive proof of their innocence of these actual charges. The Order of the Templars was however suppressed, though, four days after its suppression, Clement v. issued a bull in which he declared that the proof against the body was far from positive.

The Béguins next came under the notice of the Inquisition. These men were a sect of Franciscan monks, who, disgusted with their brethren because they did not observe their professed practice of poverty, and maintaining that not even the edicts of the pope himself could release them from their vow, were declared to be guilty of heresy, and were proceeded against with the utmost rigour under a decree of the pope. Rome has ever looked upon all reformers as heretics of the worst class. In 1318, four of these Béguins were convicted and burned alive. Their death was followed by that of many others who participated in their opinions, and regarded them as martyrs for the truth. This persecution lasted during many years, and continued at intervals until even the time of Luther. Many serious errors appear to have intruded themselves among the disciples of this sect, for an account of which the reader is referred to the third volume of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

Though the Inquisition was thus first established on the French soil, it was unable to secure a permanent footing in that country in consequence of the violent altercations which perpetually arose between the pope and the reigning monarchs of that powerful kingdom. The contentions, especially between Philip the Fair and pope Boniface, which ended in the excommunication of the monarch, were ill calculated to confirm the power of so tyrannous an ecclesiastical institution.

Yet when, in the next reign but one, certain nobles of Dauphiny protected the Waldenses, the reigning pope addressed himself to Charles IV., soliciting his support for the Inquisition. This was granted, till, in consequence of the zeal of the persecutors, the prisons were so glutted with victims, that it was found no easy matter to provide food for the miserable inmates. To meet this difficulty, the pope appropriated part of the funds of the church for the maintenance of these ecclesiastical prisoners, and offered large indulgences to those who should aid in the erection of new prisons.

That the proto-reformation which began under Wycliffe and Huss gave abundant employment to the cruel energies of the Inquisition scarcely admits of question, though history has not separated its special acts from those general enormities which distinguished the Romish church at that period. The Inquisition doubtless instigated those proceedings of the Council of Constance by which John Huss was committed to the flames in 1414, and by which Wycliffe's bones were exhumed and thrown into the Swift at Lutterworth. It is indeed impossible to think of this wide-spread engine of desolation and death, this ecclesiastical Thuggism which thus diffused its baneful influence among so many of the states of Europe, without a shudder. Thanks to the providence of God, false systems are not always seductive—they are sometimes abhorrent. Even those who might admire the silky undula-

tion and glistening colours of the serpent, fly with instinctive terror when they hear the rattle which proclaims his venomous character. The old Inquisition had not indeed all the fully developed powers of its successor, but it exercised its influence in a darker age, and that fact could not fail to magnify its despotism. In our own days persecution is, we would fain believe, comparatively a harmless thing. Even when it exists, the facilities given for the transmission of intelligence from point to point, the wide area through which public opinion becomes excited, the concentration of efforts and remonstrances on any single point, must of necessity curtail, if these cannot entirely prevent, its free range of action. Of this the cruel punishment of the Madiai may afford an illustration. The voice which all Protestant Europe has uttered regarding that transaction, though for the present it may seem powerless, will long resound in the ears of the Rome-ridden despots who would "weary out the saints of the Most High." But we cannot look back to the history of persecution in the dark ages without unmitigated horror. When men stood comparatively alone—when the feudal system bound the vassal in iron subjection to his lord—when no press thundered forth the case of the sufferer—when no post transmitted the tale of his woe—when no lightning element was ready to convey the news of his injury with the rapidity of thought from north to south and from east to west—what must have been the facilities which a

persecuting religion then possessed for its dark and deadly work!

Yet dark as the scene is, all is not darkness. Many of these sufferers—hated, denounced, tortured, destroyed—had sources of consolation within them of which the world knows nothing. They knew the picture on one side to be dark, but they knew how to turn it. Whilst they bled or withered in a death of anguish, they felt that they were the real benefactors of their posterity.

> "They never fail who die
> In a great cause; the block may soak their gore,
> Their heads may sodden in the sun, their limbs
> Be strung to city gates and castle walls—
> But still their spirit walks abroad."

We are not ungrateful when we think of the civil and social liberties which such sufferings procured for those who should follow. But we prize at an infinitely higher rate the lesson they have left us of the reality, the vitality, the energy, the fortifying influence, the indestructible power of the doctrines of salvation by faith in the merits of the Redeemer's sacrifice. Every cry which torture wrung from the sufferers wakened some drowsy member of a false church from his dreamy slumbers. The flames by which they were consumed poured a blaze of detecting light upon the evil practices and anti-Christian observances which without them would have remained unknown. In the providence of God, the Inquisition which tortured the Albigenses taught the Lollards; the system which would have exterminated the Lollards

roused the spirit of the Reformation. "I shall not all die" may be the motto, not only of a heathen moralist, but of the Christian martyr.

All is not gloom. Not a sigh of God's true servants passed unheeded by their Master! "Are they not in Thy book?" Their passage from earth to heaven was terrible, but it was often brief. There is a recompense. Between the persecutor and the persecuted who could now hesitate which side to choose? Let us learn. It is well to live for ultimate issues. It is well to live, not for to-day or to-morrow, but for a whole hereafter. And to bear the cross as Christ himself did is the only road to being partakers with him of the crown for which he died.

Romanism has thus served to develope true Christianity. The executioner who severs the head of his victim brings to light the marvels of its physical construction. But shall we thank him for his lesson?

CHAPTER II.

APPARATUS AND PROCESSES OF THE INQUISITION.

THE operations of the Inquisition have considerably varied in the earlier, compared with the later periods of its history. Its general character has, indeed, been always one; but, on its first establishment, its vigour was chiefly dependent upon the energy and zeal of individual administrants, rather than on the concentrated powers of a united and extensive organization. In the first instance, the tribunal did not trample down all considerations of ecclesiastical rank, nor did it then set at defiance, as it afterwards learned to do, the remonstrances of pontiffs themselves. Though the terrible engine of *secresy* was not, in its earlier operations, entirely unknown, this had not yet become a distinguished element of its power. It is from the close of the fifteenth century that we must begin to recognise the completed form of this tribunal.

It is not wonderful that the influence of public opinion should have checked, in modern days, the practices and exhibitions of this

tremendous engine of iniquity. The position now occupied by the Inquisition is, therefore, most studiously enveloped in dark mystery, from the midst of which, however, there occasionally emanate startling disclosures, or, at least, expressive groans. This elaborate concealment of its present character renders it desirable for us to describe the Inquisition in the past, rather than in the present tense; though we caution the reader against drawing any inference from this circumstance. In the sequel we shall endeavour to place the question as to the modern existence of the "holy office" in its true light. Till then, we wish to be understood as speaking, to employ a legal term, "without prejudice" as to the fact of its modern character.

The essential intolerance of the church of Rome is equally manifest and enormous. According to its canon law, all variation from the prescribed tenets of that church is criminal, and deserving of punishment, both spiritual and temporal; and every pope and archbishop is understood to be invested with power and jurisdiction for the extirpation of heresies.* The fourth council of Toledo, which has been sometimes quoted as a specimen of Roman Catholic liberality, declared that Jews *baptized by force* should be compelled to hold to the

* The reader is here reminded of a remarkable and instructive correspondence which took place not long since between a Presbyterian clergyman and a recently-appointed cardinal, relative to the *pallium* with which the latter was invested as archbishop in the Romish church.

faith, lest the name of God should be blasphemed.* The following was the decree of the fifth council: "We promulge this doctrine pleasing to God, that whosoever hereafter shall succeed to the kingdom, shall not ascend the throne till he has sworn, among other oaths, to permit no man to live in his kingdom who is not a Catholic; and if, after he has taken the reins of government, he shall violate this promise, let him be *anathema maranatha* in the sight of the eternal God, and become fuel of the eternal fire."† The council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III., decreed that "all heresy and heretics should be anathematized, and these being condemned, must be left to the secular power to be punished."‡ At the same time secular officers are required to swear that "they will endeavour, *bonâ fide* and with all their might, to exterminate from every part of their dominion all heretical subjects, universally, that are marked out by the church." The last council of Lateran decreed, "that all false Christians, and those who think ill concerning faith, of whatever people or nation they may be, as well as heretics or persons polluted with any stain of heresy, or Judaizers, be entirely excluded from the company of believers in Christ. . . . We ordain that proceedings be taken against them. . . . And they who are guilty of this crime, and legitimately convicted,

* Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism, p. 254.
† Carranza Summ. Concil. p. 404.
‡ Ibid. p. 602.

shall be punished with due penalties. But it is our pleasure that the relapsed be dealt with without any hope of pardon or of remission." And the following passage may be here introduced from the annotations of the Douay Bible: "The good must tolerate the evil when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance of the whole church. . . . Otherwise, where il men (be they hereticks or other malefactours) may be punished and suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought by publike authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed." * In coincidence with such sentiments, the creed of pope Pius IV. speaks of "this true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved." And Aquinas, dignified by the Romanists with the honours of a saint, and regarded as a special authority among the learned of the Romish church, declares: "*Sicut in voto aliquâ necessitatis seu honestatis causâ potest fieri dispensatio, ita et in juramento*"—"As with regard to vows, a dispensation may take place for the sake of necessity or of honesty, so it may also with regard to oaths." † It cannot be, therefore, a matter of surprise, if a church claiming to possess powers of so extensive an order, has deemed itself qualified to regulate at its pleasure, and

* Douay Bible, 16, 33, 1816. Capper's Acknowledged Doctrines of the Church of Rome.

† Secunda Secundæ, Quest. lxxxix. Art. ix. See some striking and instructive observations on this subject in "Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism," p. 58.

by whatever penalties it may have seen fit to impose, the religious opinions of all whom it has tyrannically regarded as subject to its sway.

More effectually to accomplish such ends, the "apostolical inquisitors" were early appointed by the pope as "the supreme maintainers of the faith," and were invested with complete jurisdiction over cases of alleged departure from the truth. The appointment to this office might be made either by papal word or rescript. Of the latter mode, the following is one of the forms: "That the office of the Inquisition against heretics may be more effectually discharged, we command your discretion by our apostolic writings, enjoining you, by the remission of your sins, to execute the aforesaid office —which we commit to you by our apostolic authority, in the love of God—without any fears of men, putting on the spirit of strength from on high."

The powers entrusted to the INQUISITOR-GENERAL were enormously great. He was the head of the supreme council, which in its turn exercised a complete control over all inferior courts. He was irremovable except by the pope who appointed him. Occasionally the monarch nominated the inquisitor-general, and the supreme pontiff confirmed the appointment. It rested with this officer to choose the INFERIOR INQUISITORS, but subject to the papal sanction. These functionaries were exempt from all ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They bore the title of "most reverend," and were equal in

rank to bishops. In matters of difficulty the whole council of inquisitors adjudged on the case. The unlawful use of their powers rendered these officers liable to be removed by the prelates of their order, though the pope might take the judgment into his own hands, and award punishment according to his pleasure. But such penalties were usually administered with caution and in secresy, on the pretext that, as the office was much hated by offenders, it was not wise to expose the institution to contempt. This plea for the mitigation of penalties on ecclesiastical offenders is familiar to all who have studied the genius and practices of the Roman Catholic religion.

A large district might require the aid of VICARS OR COMMISSIONERS, the final sentence being usually pronounced by the inquisitor-general.

As the original inquisitors were friars, and therefore, however learned in divinity, might be often inexperienced in law, they were required to conjoin with them canonists and jurists, to whom was given the title of ASSESSORS or COUNCILLORS. Nor was such aid unnecessary, for it not unfrequently happened that the inquisitors betrayed the grossest ignorance on doctrinal points respecting which they were required to adjudicate. Dr. Geddes gives some almost incredible instances of their stupidity. He records that the origin of the word *hæreticus*, (derived, as every schoolboy knows, from the Greek word *αἵρεσις*, *opinion*, *choice*,) was interpreted by some of them as having its origin in

the two Latin words *erro* and *rectus*, because "a heretic errs from what is right;" and by others as derived from *adhæreo*, because heresy is "the obstinate adherence to an error."* The inquisitors were often ignorant of the plainest passages of the Scriptures, and even of the canons of their own church. To prevent such mistakes they were permitted to call to their councils those who were versed in divinity or in civil laws, as the case might be, and having heard their opinion they determined the case for themselves. Such advisers were sworn to secresy.

The accuser in the office of the inquisition was called the PROMOTER FISCAL, who prepared the charge, swearing that in laying it he was not instigated by malice. He marshalled the witnesses, and produced all other proofs deemed requisite; only he was forbidden to exercise his office in his native district. This officer was not, however, allowed to be present when the nature of the sentence was under deliberation.

The NOTARIES were the secretaries of the tribunal. It was their office, not merely to preserve the minutes of the examinations, but to record every subordinate circumstance which occurred during the interrogation, such as hesitations, changes of countenance, faltering of

* Geddes' Tracts, vol i. p. 425. "It was a proverb in Portugal that children who were competent to nothing else were fit for inquisitors. A Spanish jest ran thus:—'What makes an inquisitor?' *A.* 'One crucifix, two candlesticks, and three blockheads.'"

the voice, etc. They were ordinarily laymen, and were also sworn to secresy.

As the trials conducted by the Inquisition frequently involved property to a large amount, RECEIVERS OR TREASURERS held the amounts confiscated, subject to the pleasure of the tribunal.

The APPARITORS OR PURSUIVANTS were the executive servants of the "holy office," as the FAMILIARS were its detective police.

With the exception of the officials of the tribunal itself and bishops, (who might be denounced, but could only be condemned by a superior power,) the extent of the authority of the Inquisition was almost unbounded. Heresy, Judaism, sorcery, necromancy, magic, Quietism, Lutheranism, freemasonry, or whatever might be suspected to come under any of these designations; in short, every opinion differing or supposed to differ from the absolute standard of the Romish church, was subject to its inquiries, impeachment, and punishment. The armed baron, who, with twilight sagacity, began dimly to suspect the errors of his all-grasping church; the wealthy proprietor, the amount of whose amassed riches might aid in some new scheme of ecclesiastical oppression; the tonsured priest, whose awakening convictions had outrun the prudence of his spiritual position; the father or mother of the family, who had been more concerned about the salvation of children's souls than the mere dogmas of creeds and confessions; the hapless virgin, whose affections had been fixed on some heretical lover; the destitute labourer,

who had sought in a reformed faith a consolation denied him by the church of Rome; the careless talker, whose gibes or sarcasms had pierced too sharply some well-guarded error; the friend of liberty, who longed to break the manacles of a dreaded despotism, and to set himself and his country free; these, and a thousand varieties besides, were the objects on which the lynx-eyed malignity of papal penetration was not slow to rest, and whom it did its utmost to sweep out of existence.

Perhaps no better notion of the proceedings of the Inquisition can be obtained than that derived from the "Directory" of Nicholas Eymeric, inquisitor-general of Aragon in 1536, which constitutes the basis of all the subsequent proceedings of that tribunal. It was sanctioned by Gregory XIII., and "has served as a model for all the regulations which have been in force in Spain, Italy, and Portugal, and as authority for all who have written on the subject."* To the information derived from this Directory may be added that of Llorente, who was, previously to the publication of his work, secretary to the Inquisition, and chancellor of the university of Toledo. The latter has furnished a complete account of the mode of procedure adopted by the modern Inquisition. We shall have frequent occasion to avail ourselves of his information.

The prosecution of offenders arose, either out of an accusation directly brought by some

* Puigblanch, chap. iv.

individual person,* or from information obtained more stealthily. The former course was decidedly discountenanced; it was too open to suit the purposes of the treacherous tribunal. In case of "information" furnished to the holy office the witness swore not to reveal the interrogatories that had been put to him, nor the nature of his replies. Though, in the eyes of the inquisitor, the matter might appear altogether groundless, it was not therefore to be concluded that it was unworthy of credence, since future occurrences might throw light upon what at present seemed to be entirely contradictory. It often happened, however, that the matter of suspicion was derived from information which had transpired at some previous trial; in which case it was competent to the inquisitor to question any persons whom he might cite, provided there were two of them, to corroborate the point. It was not necessary that these witnesses should state facts of which they were cognizant; even hearsay evidence was fully admissible. It was the object of the tribunal to keep these witnesses almost entirely in the dark, and this was done by asking them, in the most general terms possible, whether they had ever seen or heard anything which was, or appeared to be, contrary to the Catholic faith or the rights of the Inquisition. Llorente

* "Popes Alexander IV., Urban IV., and Clement IV., granted three years' indulgence to secret informers. Pius V. declared that such persons were not to be troubled for five years without special leave of the council."—Puigblanch, chap. iv.

declares that when the notary had written down the allegations of these persons, though in the course of doing so he often heightened the colour of their depositions, they never failed, on his notes being read over to them, to approve all which he had recorded.*

The testimony of witnesses was not damaged by the ill character they bore. Though they were heretics, or infamous in the eyes of the law, they could give testimony against a culprit, but not in his favour. If the witness retracted his first allegation, it was held, nevertheless, to be of force. In obtaining information regarding suspected persons no tie of nature was respected. The servant might inform against the master, or the son against the father. But though such witnesses were sufficient to accuse they were by no means allowed to exculpate. Every advantage was taken of the malicious motives which might prompt one person to become the accuser of another. The witness was wrought upon by fear, by interest, and by the sense of what was due to God, or (which was represented as being the same thing) to the holy tribunal. As he was sworn to secresy, a bad man would be encouraged in bearing false evidence; and he who had once been brought before the tribunal durst not communicate anything which had passed within its walls. Townsend, in his "Journey through Spain," relates that a Dutch consul, with whom he was acquainted in 1787, resolutely refused

* Llorente, chap. ix.

to make any statement regarding his imprisonment in the Inquisition at Barcelona, though his confinement had occurred thirty-five years before, and that he was agitated when any questions were asked of him on that subject; while his fellow in prison, M. Falconet, though he had been seized when a boy, was turned grey by the fright of his capture, and never, to the day of his death, could be prevailed upon to communicate the details of his confinement. The charge against these parties really was, that the latter had destroyed a picture of the Virgin, which the Dutch consul had witnessed without accusing his friend.*

The information having been obtained, and having been laid before the supreme council, the arrest of the accused speedily followed. Ministers of the tribunal, among whom it was necessary that the treasurer should be one, (for the purpose of taking charge of the confiscation,) proceeded usually at dead of night to the house of the alleged culprit. "The thunderbolt launched from the black and angry cloud," says a writer, "strikes not with such alarm as the sound of 'DELIVER YOURSELF UP A PRISONER TO THE INQUISITION!' Astonished and trembling, the unwary citizen hears the dismal voice; a thousand different affections at once seize upon his panic-struck frame, and he remains perplexed and motionless. His life in danger—his deserted wife and orphan children —eternal infamy, the only patrimony that now

* Townsend's Journey through Spain, vol. ii. p. 336.

awaits his bereft family—are all ideas which rush upon his mind; he is at once agitated by an agony of dilemma and despair. The burning tear scarcely glistens on his livid cheek, the accents of woe die on his lips; and, amidst the alarm and desolation of his family, and the confusion and pity of his neighbours, he is borne away to dungeons, whose damp and bare walls can alone witness the anguish of his mind."*

The inquisitorial prisons, though in more modern times, as Llorente informs us, comparatively light and airy, were, in earlier periods, dark, gloomy, and most distressing. The reader of the life of Howard the philanthropist knows the descriptions there given of prison accommodation, and can easily suppose that the Inquisition furnished no exception to the general rule. There were public cells for light offenders, more secluded ones for erring servants of the holy office, and secret ones for heretics. In the last case the seclusion was generally absolute. Here the miserable captive was immured, without society, without compassion, without books, without a copy of his accusation, and was often forbidden even to hum a tune, lest it might prove a means of correspondence with his fellow prisoners. Thus jealously cut off from all communication with the external world; ignorant in the first instance of the crime of which he was accused; aware of the anxiety his perhaps unaccountable absence would cause to his friends, and of the

* Puigblanch, chap. iv.

irretrievable ruin into which his affairs would be thrown; in dread of the torture, and apprehensive of the fatal issue which might lie beyond it—it is no wonder if the prisoner was prostrated, body and soul, by the prolongation of such anguish; or if those who had no spiritual sustenance in gospel hope should rashly dare the dreadful act of suicide. "O my God!" said Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, a Spaniard and a most learned man, who, during the reign of the emperor Charles v., was imprisoned under suspicion of Lutheranism, "O my God! were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or pagans, still more savage, that thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptized fiends?" His loathsome dungeon, which was never permitted to be cleaned in the least degree, brought on dysentery, of which he died. Olmedo, a man distinguished for erudition and devotion, when immured in the prison of Seville, was often heard to say that his condition was more dreadful than any kind of torture he could be called to endure. Juana Sanchez, imprisoned at Valladolid for heresy, committed suicide by means of a pair of scissors. In the Inquisition of Madrid, also, a physician murdered himself with a pair of snuffers. Many other instances are on record.

The culprit, when a sufficient period had elapsed, was brought before the tribunal for examination. The most minute inquiries were made; all of them, however, so cunningly

generalized as to keep him in darkness. He was not informed of his charge, but, under oath, was enticed to make confession, or at least urged to admit a crime for which he might suffer the last penalty. In the presence of the judges, who were clothed in their robes of office, and seated face to face before them, he was asked his parentage and descent—whether any of his ancestors had been heretofore brought before the holy tribunal—what was the amount of his property—what the names of his relatives—was required to give a precise account of his former history—to state the reasons for which he imagines himself to have been arrested—to run over every act and incident of his whole life. To aid him in performing this scrutiny, the most persuasive and dulcet words were employed by the presiding inquisitors; or, failing in the result, other processes, abhorrent from the truthfulness of Christianity, but not to be despised when the ecclesiastical despotism of the papal church is involved, were used. Witness the following passage from the Directory of Eymeric:—

"When the prisoner has been impeached of the crime of heresy, but not convicted, and he obstinately persists in his denial, let the inquisitor take the proceedings into his hands, or any other file of papers, and looking them over in his presence, let him feign to have discovered the offence fully established therein, and that he is desirous he should at once make his confession. The inquisitor shall then say

to the prisoner, as if in astonishment, 'And is it possible that you should still deny what I have here before my own eyes?' He shall then seem as if he read, and to the end that the prisoner may know no better, he shall fold down the leaf, and, after reading some moments longer, he shall say to him, 'It is just as I have said; why, therefore, do you deny it, when you see I know the whole matter?' When the inquisitor has an opportunity, he shall manage so as to introduce to the conversation of the prisoner some one of his accomplices, or any other converted heretic, who shall feign that he still persists in his heresy, telling him that he had abjured for the sole purpose of escaping punishment by deceiving the inquisitors. Having thus gained his confidence, he shall go into his cell some day after dinner, and keeping up the conversation till night, shall remain with him, under pretext of its being too late for him to return home. He shall then urge the prisoner to tell him all the particulars of his life, having first told him the whole of his own; and, in the mean time, spies shall be kept at the door, as well as a notary, in order to certify what may be said within."*

Or this:—

"Let the inquisitor have one of his accomplices, or any person now converted to the true faith, and who he knows is not offensive to the prisoner, and let him permit this person to enter and speak to the captive. If need be, let

* Eymeric, Director. Inquis. chap. iii. p. 102.

him pretend that he is still of his sect, but has abjured through fear, and has deceived the inquisitors. And when the heretical prisoner shall have confided in him, let him go into his cell some day in the evening, and then feign that it is now too late to go away, and let him remain all night, that they may talk together and express the sympathy they have for each other, he who has just entered leading on the prisoner; and let it be arranged that spies shall stand outside the prison in some convenient place, who shall hear all and take down the words; and, if necessary, let there be a notary among them."

"*Ange ou demon?*" as the poet asked respecting lord Byron. Are these "airs from heaven, or blasts from hell?"

Though, under certain conditions, the arraigned man was not wholly denied the aid of a defender, it was amidst circumstances which rendered it of little avail. The counsel was not permitted to examine the documents, nor to hold intercourse with the prisoner, except when the inquisitor was present. The defender was compelled to promise that his defence should be limited by the justice of the case, and that he would throw up his brief if he believed his client to be guilty. The advocate was made to understand, in short, that the condemnation of the prisoner would be most acceptable to the holy office.

Nor could the accused challenge his witnesses. He might, indeed, give in a catalogue of those

whom he suspected of ill feeling, as well as of those who would probably bear testimony in his favour. By this means the Inquisition often caught hold of a new clue, out of which further proceedings might arise, affecting the prisoner himself or others.

The prisoner's accusation was never given to him in writing, lest the study of the brief in prison might be the means of suggesting to him an artificial defence; but his charge was read to him in presence of the inquisitor, and an immediate reply as to its truth or falsehood was demanded of him.

Should the alleged offence be of a grave character, and all other means failed in extracting a confession, the next process was the torture. In case, however, of contradiction or faltering in his replies, the accused was at any time liable to be submitted to this process.

In the Spanish tribunal the place of torture was an underground room, receiving no light of day. It was occupied by a table, at which were seated the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary. In attendance on these was the executioner, dressed in a manner somewhat resembling the penitents still to be seen at Rome, but altogether in black. He was shrouded from head to foot, having his face entirely hidden, whilst two holes in his cowl enabled him to see clearly. When brought within sight of this official, and whilst the apparatus of torture was being prepared, the prisoner, who was supposed to be already terrified by the objects around

him, was exhorted by the inquisitor to confess the truth without reserve. If this failed, he was stripped — a process which was accomplished with the utmost rapidity. The warning was then repeated for the last time, the prisoner being taken aside in order the better to persuade him. All these efforts failing, the torture began; commencing usually with the lighter torments, and gradually proceeding to those of excruciating severity. During this process, various interrogations were put to the prisoner, not only regarding himself, but involving all who were suspected of being in complicity with him. Should the inquisitors fail to subdue him, the accused was shown other instruments of torture, with the threat that should he continue obstinate he must submit to their whole severity. The answers returned were strictly written down by the notaries.

In certain districts the questioning by torture was not allowed to be applied to nobles.

Among the processes resorted to in putting the question, the following may be enumerated. The prisoner, however, we may previously observe, was stripped, without regard to decency or sex, and invested in narrow linen drawers which left the arms bare.

The first process was that of the *pulley*. By this the prisoner was hoisted to the roof of the hall, his hands bound behind him and attached to the rope which elevated him; whilst a heavy weight, sometimes of a hundred pounds, was fastened to his feet. The simple elevation

of a human body, six or seven feet from the ground, was dislocating; but this torture could be severely increased. Sometimes, whilst in this position, stripes were applied to his back, and sometimes the rope being suddenly relaxed, the weight descended in an instant towards the ground, which, however, the body was not allowed to touch, and by this violent jerk the limbs were disjointed with the most excruciating agony. In the mean time the secretary was precise in recording the whole process—the weights which were attached to the body, as well as how often, and during what length of time the culprit was suspended.

The next principal torture was that of the *rack*. The victim was extended upon a wooden frame, having transverse portions like a ladder, or sometimes only one cross-piece, upon which his back might uneasily rest, with his feet usually higher than his head. Small cords were then affixed to the fleshy parts of his body, namely, to the upper and lower arm, and to the thigh and calf of the leg, which being tightened by the application of a bar, used after the manner of a tourniquet, buried themselves in the soft and yielding integuments, cutting to the bone. A still more terrible torture belonged to this "wooden horse," as it was sometimes called. A thin wetted cloth was thrown over the mouth and nostrils of the sufferer, through which he could scarcely breathe; then a stream of water, sometimes amounting to seven pints, was poured down his

throat, producing the sensation of drowning or suffocation. (During this time the notary kept a minute of the whole process, down even to the quantity of water which was administered.) When this cloth, which had during this time penetrated considerably into the victim's body, was removed, it was usually covered with blood, and its withdrawal was a renewal of the agony of the previous process.*

The third principal torture was that of the *fire*. The feet of the prisoner, already saturated with tallow or oil, were placed in a kind of stocks, and exposed to the heat of lighted charcoal—a process of roasting alive. This torture was, however, mainly confined to Italy, and was especially adapted to persons who were deformed, and to whom other modes of torture were not so easily applicable.† When his agony had reached its crisis, a moment's intermission was given by the interposition of a board; the prisoner was then exhorted to confess, but if he would not, or could not, the roasting went on. Heathenism might have exulted in so barbarous a cruelty.

But though these were the principal tortures, the Inquisition could boast of many others. Sometimes a considerable amount of water was allowed to trickle, drop by drop, upon the culprit. Sometimes the body was enveloped in a linen garment, which was drawn as tight as possible, so as almost to squeeze the sufferer to

* Llorente, chap. xvi. page 119.
† Puigblanch, chap. iv.

death; then, being suddenly relaxed, it produced by the change the severest anguish. Sometimes small cords were bound around the thumbs so tightly that the blood poured out from beneath the nails. Sometimes the body, placed against the wall and adequately supported, was tightly compressed by small cords affixed to the wall; then, the bench beneath the sufferer being removed, the body was left to hang by these cords alone. The reader can best conceive the suffering. Sometimes a small ladder, the transverse parts of which were made of sharpened wood, was placed against the shins of the victim, and was then violently struck with a hammer. The torture of this infliction was incredible. Sometimes ropes were placed about the wrists of the accused, and were then drawn tight by being passed over the back of the torturer, who leaned forward with all his might till the flesh was severed. The last tortures were inflicted on Orobio, a Spanish Jew, who related the facts to Limborch.*

One of the Italian tortures consisted of two cubes of iron, concave on one side, which were bound forcibly on the heel, then screwed into the flesh. Another, called the canes, was composed of a hard piece of wood, placed between each finger; the hand was then bound and the fingers forced together. Nor need we omit an agonizing torture—the placing of a foot—sometimes a woman's foot—in a heated slipper. But Llorente relates a torment, observed in

* See Limborch's Inquisition.

Madrid, in the year 1820, which perhaps surpasses all. We give it in his own words:—

"The condemned is fastened in a groove, upon a table, on his back; suspended above him is a pendulum, the edge of which is sharp, and it is so constructed as to become longer with every movement. The wretch sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaching nearer and nearer; at length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually acts on until life is extinct."

Does any perceptible vestige of the religion of love linger in such observances?

On the subject of the torture Llorente says:—

"I shall not describe the different modes of torture employed by the Inquisition, as it has been already done by many historians. I shall only say that none of them can be accused of exaggeration. I have read many processes which have struck and pierced me with horror, and I could regard the inquisitors who had recourse to these methods in no other light than that of cold-blooded barbarians. Suffice it to add, that the council of the "supreme" has often been obliged to forbid the repetition of the torture in the same process; but the inquisitors, by an abominable sophism, have found means to render this prohibition almost useless by giving the name of *suspension* to that cessation from torture which is imperiously demanded by the imminent danger to which the victim is exposed of dying in their hands.

My pen refuses to trace the picture of these horrors, for I know nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion which Jesus Christ inculcates in the gospel than this conduct of the inquisitors; and yet, in spite of the scandal which it has given, there is not, after the eighteenth century has closed, any law or decree abolishing the torture."

The last observation is especially worthy of the notice of the reader, because it strongly applies to the defence which has been set up in modern times for the Inquisition by Roman Catholic advocates. It has been the policy of Romanists usually to deny that the cruelties of the past times were justly chargeable upon present. Yet, with an inconsistency which often belongs to error, they have been not infrequently tempted to justify and to extenuate practices which it had been well if they could have truly condemned. A writer in the Dublin Review, of 1848, in defending the Inquisition, contends that the tortures inflicted by the holy office were not greater than the "*peine forte et dure*," and other punishments of the dark ages. To this the reply is obvious. First, that any man who should now dare to palliate the barbarity of such a mode of torture as that of the *peine forte et dure*, would brand himself with infamy. Secondly, this punishment, and others of a similar class, terrible as they were, became obsolete as the light of intelligence grew brighter and clearer; whereas abundant evidence exists, in the other case, that during even the present

century, the cruel and deadly Inquisition has still continued its tortures. But when this adherence to barbarous and atrocious customs is practised under the shadow of the cross, and in the name of the Saviour, who does not recoil with undisguised abhorrence from a system which renders the slightest attempt at its defence desirable, or even endurable?

It not unfrequently happened, that the measures of the Inquisition to secure the capture of a prisoner transpired to the ears of their intended victim. In case of escape, the culprit was cited to appear within a given time; failing in which, he was pronounced excommunicate and a rebel. But even then, the church, not willing to suffer disappointment, lay continually in ambush for its victim, and, failing to reach him, proceeded with an impotent but merciless barbarity to attaint his memory and reputation. The confiscation of his effects, however, was a certain punishment, and was sufficiently real.

The charge against a prisoner might fail in proof, and in that case we might have expected that it would have appeared to be the glory of a system which called itself religious to proclaim the innocence of the accused in the loudest terms. But the Inquisition had not so learned its lesson. It might not be able to persist in accusing, but it never exculpated. In cases such as those just referred to, it contented itself with stating that the prisoner was *released* from the present charge.

All these proceedings were intentionally

veiled in the most profound secresy. "I feel the pain," said Fra Louis de Leon, imprisoned by the Inquisition, "but I cannot see the hand, nor is there a place for me to hide or shelter me."

Such were the processes employed by the Inquisition to detect offences. If a prisoner were found presumptively guilty, his case might resolve itself into one of three classes, to which corresponding degrees of punishment were attached. A light offence would expose him to a public abjuration, followed by prescribed penances. A heavier crime would be succeeded either by perpetual imprisonment, or by the severe sentences of the merciless tribunal before which he had been arraigned. The auto da fé was usually the occasion on which sentences were pronounced.

A heretic was declared incapable of holding any inheritance whatever. In certain cases the Inquisition doled out a miserable allowance to the children of those whose property it had confiscated, but the claims of wives or widows were little regarded. Nor was the man who abjured his heresy considered as entitled to have his property restored to him. The crime of the father, if a heavy one, involved the infamy of his family.

Perpetual imprisonment was inflicted in dungeons of every variety of severity, according to the supposed nature of the offence.

It will be proper in this place to describe that grand, but terrible occasion, which, in

horrible imitation of the last judgment, conducted the wretched criminal to his execution, and was called an auto da fé, (act of faith.) When only one criminal was sentenced, the ceremony received the name of an autillo, but when many victims were associated, the utmost pains were taken to give publicity to the coming event, and to array it with imposing magnificence. Some Sunday, usually a great festival, was chosen for the demonstration, and public notice was given that at a certain time and place there would be presented a living picture of the last judgment. The magistrates also received notice that on that day the religious authorities would transfer the Inquisition's prisoners to their hands. An indulgence of forty days was usually accorded to those who should witness the proceedings. On the day preceding the auto, a bush was carried in solemn procession to the place of execution, and the officials of the Inquisition made proclamation that, till the ceremonial was ended, no person should carry arms or drive any vehicle in the public streets. In the evening of that day the various religious communities of the city assembled at the holy office, whence they walked to the place of the auto, chanting and bearing a covered bier. When they reached the scaffold they took from the bier a green cross, which they erected on an altar already provided for the purpose, placing around it large white tapers. This altar was guarded during the night by Dominicans and soldiers.

Early on the morning of the day of the auto, the prisoners, whose heads had been already shaven and who had received their prescribed dresses, were brought together. None of them had known until the previous evening the precise nature of the punishment to which they had been sentenced. If the crime was considered one of the lowest degree, they were clothed for the procession in a simple black garment. In case the charge exhibited against them was a heavy one, they were attired in loose woollen yellow garments called sambenitos, or "blessed frocks." This attire, however, varied in its appendages according to the distinction made between the culprits.

Those who *abjured* their heresies wore a plain scapulary of yellow stuff.

Those who were *strongly suspected* wore the same garment with a demi-cross.

Formal heretics bore a whole cross.

In case of repentance before the execution of the sentence, the dress was a yellow scapulary with a red cross and a cap formed in the shape of a cone, called a coroza.

Where repentance came after the sentence, the scapulary bore a number of reversed flames surmounting a bust. In this case strangling was to precede burning.

But when the charge was that of unrepentant heresy, the flames were represented upright, whilst figures of demons were portrayed on the sambenito and the coroza.

The prisoners had placed before them a

sumptuous breakfast, which, as they ordinarily refused it, fell to the share of the menial servants. Before the condemned left the inquisitorial edifice, they were taken to a separate apartment, where for the last time they were exhorted to repent of their sins and to make their peace with the church.

The order and ceremonial of the auto da fé varied at different periods. One description may serve as a general model of the rest. The occasion to which we shall refer was the auto which took place in Madrid in 1680, in the presence of Charles II. and his queen.

At seven o'clock in the morning, the great bell of the cathedral began to toll, and the procession moved forward. The way was cleared by soldiers of the holy tribunal. Next came surpliced priests, among whom the Dominican monks were honoured with precedence, and bore the banner of the Inquisition, which in Spain is a green cross on a black ground. A hundred and twenty prisoners followed, some in person and others in effigy borne on tall poles, the least guilty having the honour of precedence. Of these victims, forty-eight were men, seventy-two were women—an appalling but significant distribution. The effigies were sometimes accompanied by boxes containing the bones of deceased heretics. Last in the procession of prisoners came twenty-one condemned to die, the greater part of whom were gagged lest they should utter words which might be dangerous

to the ears of spectators. These victims, wearing the coroza and sambenito, were each attended by two friars, torturing the miserable sufferer to the last by useless and rejected overtures. The procession was wound up by the local magistracy, the officers of state, the chief bailiffs of the Madrid Inquisition, the familiars of the holy office on horses superbly attired, the ecclesiastical ministers, the fiscal proctor of the tribunal of Toledo, bearing the standard of the faith, etc., etc., and last of all the inquisitor-general, "seated on a superb bay horse, with purple saddle and housings, ornamented with ribbons and fringe of the same colour, and attended by twelve servants in livery. He was accompanied by an escort of fifty halberdiers, dressed in black satin with silver galloons and lace, white and black feathers in their hats, and commanded by the marquis de Pobar as protector of the Inquisition of Toledo, who making up for that rich show and parade which was unfit for the situation of the inquisitor-general, was mounted on a grey horse, wearing a saddle of massive silver, with white and green furniture conformable to his livery. He was clothed in a suit of black silk, embroidered in silver, with diamond buttons, cockade, and insignia, and attended by eighteen livery servants." Olmo tells us that "this procession was performed in perfect silence."

A stage had been erected in the large square of temporary materials, and in the following manner :—At the back of the stage were three

rows of galleries, rising one above another, and covered with drapery, to protect from the weather. Immediately in front of the lower gallery was placed a throne for his majesty and the queen, having a large area in its front, and terminated on each side (that is, on the right and left of the king) by platforms, formed of successively rising steps. These elevations were occupied on one side by the constituted authorities, surmounted by the inquisitor-general upon a throne; and on the other by the prisoners, whose altitude was in proportion to the enormity of their offences. On the right front of the throne, and immediately below the gallery of the inquisitor, stood the altar. We have already spoken of an area in front of the throne. In this level two compartments appeared, having an open space between them. One of these compartments was occupied by the royal guard, the outer one by the families of the inquisitors, and in the intervening space stood the pulpit, two desks for the recorders who read the sentences, and a stage on which the prisoners successively stood to receive their doom. This theatre was richly decorated with hangings of crimson.

Olmo relates, that "God moved the hearts of the workmen" on this occasion, "so as to overcome the great difficulties which occurred in its execution; a circumstance strongly indicated by sixteen master builders, with their workmen, tools, and materials, coming in, unsolicited, to offer their services to the overseer of

the works; and all persevered with such fervent zeal and constancy, that, without reserving to themselves the customary hours for rest, and taking only the necessary time for food, they returned to their labour with such joy and delight, that, explaining the cause of their ardour, they exclaimed in the following manner:—'Long live the faith of Jesus Christ; all shall be ready at the time prescribed; and if timber shall be wanting, we would gladly take our houses to pieces for a purpose so holy as this.'"*

When the royal party had taken their seats, the prisoners were paraded before them. An oath was then administered to the king that he would defend the Catholic faith, "which our holy mother the apostolic church of Rome holds and believes; and that he would persecute, and command to be persecuted, all heretics and apostates opposed to the same; that he would give, and command to be given, to the holy office of the Inquisition, and also to the ministers thereof, all aid and protection, in order that heretics, disturbers of our Christian religion, might be seized and punished conformably to the laws and holy canons, without any omission on the part of his majesty," etc.†

Mass was then said, and the oath was administered to the mayor of Madrid and to the people present; after which a sermon was preached by a Dominican qualifier.

* Olmo, pp. 33, 34. † Ibid. p. 169.

The sermon on this occasion was founded on the motto of the Inquisition—"Arise, O Lord, judge thine own cause." It contained the following passages :—

"And thou, O most holy tribunal of the faith, for boundless ages mayest thou be so preserved as to keep us firm and pure in the faith, and to promote the punishment of the enemies of God. Of thee can I say what the Holy Spirit said of the church, 'Thou art all fair, my love, as the tents of Kedar,'" etc. We could fain spare the reader the recital of this outrageous blasphemy, but it is part of a system, and we ought not to spare its details.

"But what parallels, similes, or comparisons are these? What praise or what heightened contrast can that be which compares a delicate female, an unequalled beauty, to the tents of Kedar and the spotted skins of Solomon? St. Jerome discovered the mystery, and says, that the people of Kedar being fond of the chase, therein took great delight; and for this purpose had always their tents pitched in the field; on which, in order to prove the valour of their arms, they spread the skins of the animals killed in the chase, and hung up the heads of the wild beasts they had slain. And the said people of Kedar were so proud and boastful of these their trophies, that they prized them as their greatest ornaments; this was the greatest beauty of their tents; to this the Holy Spirit compares the beauty of the church; and this is also to-day the glory of the holy tribunal of

the faith of Toledo. To have killed these horrid wild beasts and enemies of God whom we now behold on this theatre, some by taking life from their errors, reconciling them to our holy faith, and inspiring them with contrition for their faults; others by condemning them, through their obduracy, to the flames, [here the orator openly, and without any disguise, confesses that the Inquisition condemns to the flames,] where, losing their corporeal lives, their obstinate souls will immediately go to burn in hell; by this means God will be avenged of his greatest enemies; dread will follow these examples; the holy tribunal will remain triumphant, and we ourselves more strongly confirmed and rooted in the faith, which, accompanied by grace and good works, will be the surest pledge of glory."*

The sermon being ended, the trials and sentences were read, which occupied the multitude till four in the afternoon. Those who were condemned to die were, if ecclesiastics, stripped of their robes with great solemnity. The victims were then delivered over to the magistrates, with the hypocritical request as to each one, "that they would treat him with much commiseration, and not break a bone of his body, or shed his blood."† But as the judge

* The above extracts from Olmo are taken from the authentic work of don Antonio Puigblanch, who was himself a Spaniard, thoroughly versed in the history of the Inquisition, and possessing every qualification for unmasking that sanguinary tribunal. London, 1816.

† Montanus, p. 148.

had been already made acquainted with the number of prisoners to be delivered over to him, every preparation had been made for this consummation. The place of execution was an area suitably fitted up for the occasion, being a stone platform of sixty feet square, and seven feet in height. Some of those who were condemned to be burned, anticipating the orders of the executioners, cast themselves into the fire. The rest were soon made to follow. The bodies of those on whom the sentence of strangulation before death had been carried out, were then thrown into the flames, together with the effigies or bones of such as had not fallen into the hands of their merciless tormentors.

The slightest attention to the preceding forms of trial will convince the reader how contemptibly unjust and unblushingly mendacious was the whole procedure. To say nothing of the assumed and anti-scriptural authority under which the church of Rome inflicted such mortal penalties, and to suppress altogether our indignation that the cloak of religion should cover deeds so enormous, there was not a process of the trial and execution which did not exhibit the foulest partiality and injustice. The evident desire of the tribunal to accuse and to convict; the awful mystery which continually shrouded the prisoner; the advantage taken of those symptoms of hesitation or weakness which, amidst scenes of physical torture, will often beset the innocent; the paralysing influence of long-continued mental suffering upon the mind of the incarcerated

victim; and especially the hopelessness of any fair decision in cases where the sufferer, having learned nobler truths, had excited the anger or the fears of his judges—formed altogether a combination which demonstrates that the ecclesiastical tyranny of a false church is the most debasing, most despotic, and most tremendous engine which can try the faith and patience of God's true servants. The declaration of the church of Rome that her hands are bloodless, is proved by every page of the annals of the Inquisition to be a lie. "Is there in all history," says Dr. Geddes, "an instance of so gross and confident a mockery of God and the world as this of the Inquisition? beseeching the civil magistrates not to put to death the heretics they had condemned and delivered to them!" "Can anything be more evident," says Dr. Chandler, "than that this is nothing more than acting a part and an affectation to be thought by the people to have no hand in the murder of which they are really the authors?" We may remark, that the execution of the inquisitorial sentence by the magistrates was, to a considerable extent, compulsory; as to have refused it would have been to incur the doom of excommunication—no trivial penalty in the days of mediæval ignorance and papal barbarity.

CHAPTER III.

THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.

A MEMORABLE feature in the history of the Inquisition is its introduction into Spain in the year 1232. Up to this time, the edicts against heresy in that country had been remarkably lenient. The council of Elvira had denied the privilege of the communion to any Catholic who should become an informer. The severest law against heretical doctrine amounted to deprivation and perpetual banishment. Even when Alphonso II. banished the Vaudois from his kingdom, those who remained were expressly exempted from death or mutilation. At the period above referred to, however, Peter Caderite, a predicant monk, was commissioned to set up the Inquisition at Aragon, and was placed under the special protection of the king, whilst the primate was ordered to constitute inquisitors in his district. Four years later, a papal brief introduced this engine of intolerance into Castile, where it was eagerly welcomed by Ferdinand, (miscalled the saint,) who, at an execution of heretics, himself carried the wood by which

they were to be destroyed. Such was the opposition, however, raised by the Castilians to the original institution, that during some period of time little progress was made in the establishment of a regular tribunal.

The modern Spanish Inquisition dates its origin from the union of the mass of the Spanish kingdoms under Ferdinand and Isabella, whilst the subsequent conquest of Granada afforded a tempting opportunity for the exercise of the powers of the holy office. At that time Spain presented throughout all its borders an extensive and formidable amount of rebellion against the doctrines and practices of the papal see. The conscience of Isabella was held in the most absolute bondage by Ximenes, an able politician, who, from the post of confessor, subsequently advanced to that of prime minister. Originally a mendicant monk of the Franciscan order, he practised a self-denying abstinence in singular contrast to the luxuries by which he was surrounded; and though he had begun by attempting, contrary to the advice of Adrian VI., the reigning pope, to reform the church, he ended by vigorous efforts to extirpate heresy from its borders. He was seconded in his designs by the bigotry of Isabella and the covetousness of her husband; and as many Jews abounded in Spain, and escaped the terrors of death by a false profession of Christianity, the Dominican friars took advantage of the unpopularity which these merchants had acquired by their wealth and usury, to stir up

the reigning sovereigns to an entire remodelling of the ancient Inquisition.

The leading agent of this newly constituted tribunal was father Thomas Torquemada, who was constituted inquisitor-general.

Under him inferior tribunals were appointed, the heads of which, with himself and some others, formed a junta, by whom instructions were drawn up for the regulation of the future proceedings of the holy office. Among the articles which were then published, and which Llorente has recorded at length, some are worthy of special notice.

The second and third articles commanded censures to be pronounced against those who did not voluntarily accuse themselves during thirty days.

The sixth—That a reconciled heretic (one who had confessed his heresy, and been absolved) should perform penance by being deprived of all honourable employments, and of the use of gold, silver, pearls, silk, and fine wool.

The eighth—That one confessing after the term of grace should suffer confiscation.

The eleventh and twelfth—That if, during imprisonment, a prisoner appeared to show true repentance, he should suffer perpetual imprisonment; but that if the inquisitors thought his repentance simulated, they should condemn him to be burned.

The fifteenth—That torture might be inflicted upon semi-proof of the crime; if the prisoner

confessed his crime during torture, and adhered to that acknowledgment, he was punished as if convicted; but if he retracted, he was tortured again, or sentenced to extraordinary punishment.

The sixteenth—That the accused should not be made acquainted with the whole deposition of the witnesses.

The nineteenth—That if an accused man did not appear when summoned, he was condemned as a heretic.

The twentieth—That if after death a man be proved to be a heretic, sentence should be passed on him, his body disinterred, and burned, and his property confiscated.

The twenty-second—That the children of a condemned heretic, if under age at their father's death, should receive a portion of their father's goods as alms, and that the inquisitors should provide for their education.

The last—That any point not comprehended in these articles should be left to the prudence of the inquisitors.*

With this code in his hand, Torquemada introduced the inquisitorial system into the kingdom of Aragon, appointing Gaspard Juglar, a Dominican, and Arbuès, inquisitors. But there was another element of the question which had been altogether forgotten, or at best imperfectly considered—we mean the popular feeling. The most violent opposition to the new tribunal was manifested by the Aragonese themselves. Many who held high offices about the court

* Llorente, chap. vi.

were terrified and indignant at its tyrannical proceedings. They sent a deputation to the pope and to the king, pleading that the constitution of the kingdom of Aragon forbade the new confiscations. But they pleaded in vain; for whilst these commissioners were waiting in the pope's and king's anti-chamber, several of the insurgents at home were seized and condemned. It was then determined by the Aragonese that the new inquisitors should be assassinated, and they fixed upon Arbuès as their victim. Though he wore constantly a secret coat of mail, and an iron covering for his head, which his cap concealed, he was wounded in the back of his neck whilst performing service in church, and died two days after from the injury. He was afterwards beatified by Alexander VII., and Ferdinand and Isabella honoured him with a sumptuous mausoleum.

This murder was the commencement of a new proscription, directed against those suspected of having a share in that crime. The conspiracy by which Arbuès' death had been projected was revealed by one of the assassins of the inquisitor. Llorente tells us that in consequence "there was scarcely a single family in the three first orders of nobility which was not disgraced by having at least one of its members in the auto da fé, wearing the habit of a penitent." The murderers were seized, their bodies quartered, while their limbs decorated the highways. Aragon, however, had not alone resisted the newly modelled Inquisition. Great

opposition was made to it in other quarters, especially in Majorca and Sardinia.* In fact, the infamy of the Inquisition in Spain, as elsewhere, rests upon the exertions made by the Dominican monks for its establishment.

Before the siege of Granada was yet finished, and at the time when the treaty with Columbus for the discovery of America was still recent, Ferdinand and Isabella published their cruel edict against the Jews, who had acquired in Spain a distinction denied to them by the other courts of Europe, and had obtained large possessions and considerable influence. These Jews were charged, through the instigation of the inquisitorial clergy, with promoting apostasy from the Christian faith, and with crucifying children on Good Friday; whilst the death of many Christians, some of whom were nobles, and even kings, was attributed to the designing practices of Jewish physicians. The true cause of odium may perhaps be found in the fact of the superior riches possessed by the Jews;† and the marriages which took place between them and the Christians, who thus obtained fortune in exchange for rank, prompted the envious or malicious to every calumny. These rumours were eagerly seized on and extended by the inquisitors, who declared that, till the unbaptized Jews were banished from Spain, the

* Llorente, chap. vi. Aragon was not the only protesting kingdom. Valentia and Saragossa both resisted the establishment of this tribunal. See Puigblanch, chap. iii.

† Martyr; quoted in Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii. p. 221.

Christian religion was in danger. Terrified by the imminence of their peril, the Jews offered a large subsidy, (thirty thousand pieces of silver,)* as if to carry on the war against the Moors; they promised at the same time all obedience as citizens, declared their willingness to retire, as the regulations required, to their habitations before night-fall, and to avoid all interference with the Christians. These propositions were conveyed to Ferdinand and Isabella by Abarbanel, once a farmer of the royal revenue, who, having been allowed to reach the royal presence in the Alhambra, kneeling at the royal feet, besought the sovereigns to recal the sentence which they had just pronounced, namely, that after the next 31st of July, every person harbouring a Jew should incur the forfeiture of all his property, and be deprived of any office he might hold; and that, during the interval, any Jew might sell his estates, subject to the condition that they were not to remove gold, silver, money, or other prohibited articles. The entreaty was abject, the temptation great, when Torquemada burst into the apartment, and drawing forth a crucifix, held it up as he cried out, "Judas sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver; your highnesses would sell him anew for thirty thousand: behold him! take him and sell him with all the haste you can!" He threw the crucifix on the table, and left the apartment. Abashed and confounded, the

* Llorente, chap. viii. The sum is variously stated in different authors.

royal couple retraced their steps. Torquemada had gained the victory, and the edict was signed March 20th, 1492.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the Jews on the issuing of this proclamation. The time was too short, the state of the market (now presenting advantageous offers on every hand) too unfavourable to allow of any fair measure of compensation for the property they were compelled to sacrifice. "A house was exchanged for an ass; a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen." But in vain did Torquemada urge them to receive baptism. A few only listened to his exhortations. The rest, to the number of eight hundred thousand, quitted Spain; some of them, in evasion of the edict, carrying their money concealed in their saddles, or in their garments, whilst not a few of them swallowed their gold.

When the day named in the edict arrived, all the principal roads witnessed a melancholy spectacle in the crowds of sad and desolate exiles by which they were thronged. Men, women, children, on horses, or asses, or carts, thronged the highways, attended by a great multitude who performed the journey on foot. Few knew the direction which they ought to take. Their misery was aggravated, not relieved, by the songs and music with which their rabbis exhorted them to triumph over the calamities of the occasion. Vessels had been partially provided at the principal ports; but the insufficient means of transport mocked

their hopes. They were assailed on their road by multitudes of plunderers and debauchees, who, in some cases, even tore open their bodies in search of gold. Of those who reached their provided vessels many were sold into slavery, and many thrown into the sea. Pestilence invaded some of the overcrowded vessels; shipwreck and famine did their work on many more. Some, who managed to reach Ercilla, a Christian settlement in Africa, proceeded to Fez, to be plundered by robbers, and then returned to Ercilla, where their calamities induced them to accept an unwelcome baptism. Others, journeying towards Italy, took refuge in Naples, bringing with them a pestilential disorder, which spread among the inhabitants, and carried off twenty thousand in one year. Others again, with better success, made their way into Portugal, through which they were allowed a passage at the rate of a cruzade a head; while they were allowed, if they settled, to ply their skill as artizans in that kingdom. "No one," says Senarega, "could behold the sufferings of the Jewish exiles unmoved. A great many perished of hunger, especially those of tender years. Mothers, with scarcely strength to support themselves, carried their famished infants in their arms and died with them. Many fell victims to the cold, others to intense thirst, while the unaccustomed distresses incident to a sea voyage aggravated their maladies. I will not enlarge on the cruelty and the avarice which they frequently experienced from

the masters of the ships which transported them from Spain. Some were murdered to gratify their cupidity; others forced to sell their children for the expenses of the passage. They arrived at Genoa in crowds, but were not suffered to tarry there long, by reason of the ancient law, which interdicted the Jewish traveller from a longer residence than three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves for some days from the fatigues of their voyage. One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect, and with eyes so sunken; they differed in nothing from the dead except in the power of motion, which indeed they scarcely retained. Many fainted and expired on the mole, which, being completely surrounded by the sea, was the only quarter vouchsafed to the wretched emigrants. The infection bred by such a swarm of dead and dying persons was not at once perceived, but when the winter broke up ulcers began to make their appearance, and the malady, which lurked for a long time in the city, broke out into the plague the following year."*

One hundred and sixty thousand Jews, according to the most moderate estimate, were expelled from Spain during the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella. Llorente and many others state the number as eight hundred thousand. The former estimate appears best to comport with the calculations of the Jewish rabbis

* Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

themselves. In one year five thousand Jews suffered death; and a million in the course of a few years submitted to the forms of Christianity.*

Such "barbarity, which, with all our estimate of the moral guilt of the Jews in obstinately rejecting the true Messiah, fills the compassionate mind with horror, has been almost uniformly represented by Spanish writers as a sublime act of religious heroism. Mirandola, the Florentine, describes it as a scene in which, "while it fills Christians with consternation," "the glory of the Divine justice delighted." And Senarega speaks of it as a transaction "which, though it might contain some small degree of cruelty, had respect to the honour of our religion."

This was almost the last act of Torquemada, a man who, as the chief of the Inquisition, aimed at unbounded influence, and exercised his power with savage fanaticism. Whether from ambition or from fear, (but probably from both motives,) he affected a pomp almost regal. In his journeys he was attended by fifty mounted familiars, whilst two hundred more accompanied him on foot. Whatever his propositions in the inquisitorial council might be, they were always received by the phrase "We conform," though they might afterwards become the subject of remonstrance. The grandees of the Cortes alike bowed before him. It is a subject of concern to the historian that queen Isabella, whose

* McCrie's Reformation in Spain, chap. ii.

talents and virtues were in many respects so conspicuous, should have yielded herself to the influence of a bigoted asceticism, which made her the tool of so sanguinary a confessor.

The conquest of Granada, in 1492, called the Inquisition into renewed activity. At the instigation of don Diego Dieza, successor of Torquemada, the inquisitors used their utmost influence with Ferdinand and Isabella to banish those Moors, or Moriscoes, as they were then called, who refused to undergo baptism as a sign of their conversion to the Christian faith. But these sovereigns, hoping that the Moors would eventually conform to the religion of Rome, gave orders that they should be treated with leniency, and at first forbade all persecution. Accordingly, in 1499, Ximenes, in a conference with the Moorish literati, promised them that if they would embrace Christianity and instruct their people in its principles, they should receive honours and offices. The appeal proved irresistible, and three thousand of them received baptism, whilst one of their principal mosques became consecrated as a collegiate church. Though the number of converts was very numerous, the progress was not, however, so rapid as the proselyting zeal of Ximenes desired. Accordingly, terror was employed to add its impulse to the other motives which were swelling the amount of Moorish conversions. Ximenes not only burned in one great pile all the Arabic manuscripts he could collect together—an immense loss to literature—but, by the severe

measures which he employed, drove the Moors into the madness of despair. A contention arising between the servants of the cardinal and these irritated orientals, led to an insurrection, in which the palace of Ximenes was besieged, whilst the prelate himself had nearly received the martyrdom to which he aspired. The interposition of the archbishop of Granada, whose meekness soothed the populace, saved Ximenes from destruction, and he hastened to court to instigate the mind of his sovereigns against the Moors. His task was somewhat difficult, but his influence was great. In such a court, and especially in the breast of Isabella, the efforts of such a man were well nigh omnipotent. The Moors were aliens, infidels, belonging to a nation long renowned for opposing the zeal of Rome. Multitudes of them were, accordingly, imprisoned; some embraced Christianity, and some hastily sold their property in the best market they could find, and departed for Barbary. A movement in favour of the Moors was made in the mountainous districts of Alpuxarra, but this insurrection was sternly subdued, together with others which arose at the same time from similar causes. The last spark of the sedition was ultimately trodden out. A decree, similar to that which had expelled the Jews, was issued against the unbaptized Moors, and intolerance triumphed over the last vestiges of their liberty.

The conditions of the conquest of Granada, which provided that no Moor should become a

Christian against his will, (though it had been confirmed by the royal word,) were shamelessly violated; and, pressed by the Inquisition, the king forbade the use of the Moorish tongue, commanded Moorish houses to remain open, forbade Moriscoes the use of baths, and denied them marriage according to their own customs. In the mean time the energies of the Inquisition were vigorously employed. A watch was kept over the slightest actions of the Moors, and their proceedings were duly reported to the holy office. The following circumstance is related by Llorente:—On December the 8th, 1528, an infamous woman, named Catalina, forwarded an accusation to the court of Valladolid against Juan, a Morisco of the age of seventy-one. She related that she had lived with him eighteen years before, and she bore witness that, according to the custom of the Moors, he and his family had neither eaten pork nor drunk wine, and that they washed their feet on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings. Juan was brought before the Inquisition and examined. His defence was, that at the age of forty-five he had received baptism; that his previous habits had rendered wine and pork distasteful; and that he being a coppersmith by trade, he and his children had found the frequent use of water necessary to cleanliness. He was sent back to his own town, and was forbidden to travel more than three leagues beyond it. Two years after, in order to obtain from him information which might criminate others, the Inquisition again summoned him.

He was taken to the chamber of torture, was stripped, and bound to the ladder; he then told the inquisitors, that though they might distract him by torture, his utterances would not be worthy of credit, and that he was determined not to make a false confession. As threats would not move him, he was released from the torture, but was kept strictly confined till the next auto da fé, at which time he was walked as a penitent, with a lighted candle in his hand, and saw several persons burned, but was himself ultimately released.*

The existence and proceedings of the Inquisition in Spain will ever brand indelibly the memory of cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros. Placed at the helm of power at a period when his strong natural sagacity could fully estimate the evils of intolerance, he maintained the system of the holy office amidst its worst abuses, extended it to Africa and America, defeated all attempts to reform the vices of the tribunal, (especially the system of secret depositions,) and exposed himself to the charge, that when he himself held the office of inquisitor-general, in a period of eleven years, fifty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-five persons were condemned under his instigation and permission. Of this number, no fewer than three thousand five hundred and sixty-four were burned alive!†

But if anything can demonstrate more forcibly

* Llorente, chap. xii.
† Ibid. chap. x.

than another the degrading influence of so detestable a system, it is the fact that the Inquisition, strongly protested against on its first introduction by the Spanish people, as the source of interminable misery, and the horrible scourge of a heroic nation, should have become in the issue a subject of pride to the Spaniards themselves, whilst its name was regarded as conferring honour on the spot of its birth. "The claims of the inhabitants of Seville are engraven on a monument, erected in their city, to the memory of this event. Segovia has contested this honour with Seville, and its historians are seriously divided on the question, whether the holy office held its first sitting in the house of the marquis de Moga, or in that of the major at Caceres."*

The cruelty of the Inquisition could only be equalled by its credulity. A cunning woman of Pedraita, who professed to have received visions of Jesus, (like the protégée of the late earl of Shrewsbury,) was, during the administration of Ximenes, an object of especial favour. She was introduced at court, excited the attention of the population of Spain, and was petted and patronised by the Inquisition. Rome favours all absurdities provided they be its own.

On his accession to the throne of Spain, Charles I., grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, (better known to us by his German title of

* McCrie's Reformation in Spain, p. 107. In the provinces of Andalusia, in about forty years, thirty thousand persons informed against themselves. Puigblanch, chap. iv.

Charles v.,) had appeared inclined to oppose, or at least greatly to restrict inquisitorial operations in that kingdom. But the disposition, if it were ever sincere, lasted for a very brief space; and Leo x., after negotiations in which his venality was strongly conspicuous, persuaded the sovereign to attempt no interference with the powers of the holy see.

Yet, amidst all these debates, the activity of the holy office continued undiminished. Among the other victims of the Spanish tribunal at this time was Juan de Salas, a physician,* who was accused of having, in the vehemence of a dispute, uttered a profane expression. The charge would have been a serious one, if true; though it was not by means like these that the guilty man could have been most effectively convinced of its enormity. But he strongly denied it. He was laid in the trough we have already described, bound tightly with cords, each of which surrounded his extremities eleven times. In this position he was urged to confess. But instead of confessing he denied the charge, uttering aloud such formulæ as might have tended to convince his judges that his adherence to Romanism was still unshaken. The torture of the cloth and the dripping water was then applied, but only with the same result as before. The inquisitors next tightened his cords so as to cut the flesh to the bone, and

* The learning and talent of the Spaniards at the time were strongly against Romanism. The proverb remains to this day, "He is so learned as to be in danger of being a Lutheran."

then renewed the application of the water. Still the prisoner denied. Baffled by his firmness, which was doubtless the result of a consciousness of truth, the inquisitor said that his tortures must be regarded as having only commenced. The accused was then set at liberty, to remain subject to the constant dread of the resumption of his torment.

In the year 1535, after many tumults and disputes, Charles withdrew his protection during ten years from the tribunal. It was, however, a nominal, not a real, suspension of his favour.

A danger of a more alarming character than either Jewish or Moorish heresy was now, however, about to summon into play the destructive energies of the Inquisition. The Reformation, which had extended the blessings of religious freedom to so many countries in Europe, had partially visited even Spain. The abuses of the church in that kingdom had attracted attention, and the word of God, together with some of the writings of the reformers, had begun to be circulated. Gonzalo de Illescos, a Spanish writer quoted by De Castro, has even affirmed that to such an extent had, what he terms heresy, spread in Spain, that if two or three months had elapsed before a remedy had been applied, the conflagration would have spread itself all over the kingdom, and brought upon it the most dire calamities. But the Inquisition was true to her mission of evil. The word of God was almost entirely suppressed by it; many Lutherans were obliged to seek shelter on more tolerant

shores; while on those who fell within its grasp, the holy office poured out all the vials of its wrath; striving, and but too effectually, to extirpate, by the rack and the stake, the progress of Divine truth in the land. In this work the Inquisition was cordially aided by the reigning monarch, Philip II. The emperor, Charles V., wearied with the cares of a kingdom, had retired to his pleasant retreat at Yuste, but his bigoted spirit also was sorely disturbed by the intelligence of the danger which seemed to threaten the church. He wrote to Philip, then in Flanders, urging the most severe measures, and added to his secretary's letter a postscript in his own handwriting, expressing how deeply he was shocked at the rise of heresy, and how needful it was to cut out the root of the evil by "rigour and rude handling." The inquisitor-general was promptly communicated with, and suggested, in reply, various new measures, adapted, as he considered, to arrest the growing evil. The province of "the Holy Office was extended, the press was rigorously fettered, and all new works subjected to the Inquisition's censorship." As a proof of the strictness exercised, it may be mentioned, that even Dr. Matthioso, the confidential physician of the emperor Charles V., having in his possession a small Bible in French, without notes, was obliged to ask the secretary of state to procure for him a license from the Inquisition, permitting him to retain it. As some demur, however, was made to granting this request, the

doctor soon afterwards judged it prudent to burn the forbidden book in the presence of the emperor's confessor. Well does an eloquent writer,* when commenting upon these efforts of the Romish church to fetter the human mind, exclaim, "There were ages in which the church, as the sanctuary of art, and knowledge, and letters, deserved the gratitude of the world; but for the last three centuries she has striven to cancel the debt in the noble offspring of genius which she has strangled in the birth, and in the vast fields of intellect which her dark shadow has blighted."

The effects of the awakened energies of the Inquisition were soon visible. About the year 1540, Rodrigo de Valero began to preach Protestantism in Seville. He had been a gay, as well as rich young man, but he had been taught (by God's Spirit, as we would fain trust, in spite of many defects in his character) the value of the Scriptures, and the importance of personal religion. His strong conviction of the errors of Romanism led him into constant disputes with his ecclesiastical neighbours. Fearless of results, Rodrigo defended his positions on all occasions, and in the most public places of resort. He was soon called before the inquisitors. He here displayed the same courage as before, pointing out the marks of a true church, and upholding the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. The inquisitors seem to have regarded him as partially insane, and

* Stirling's Cloister Life of Charles v.

set him at liberty, contenting themselves with confiscating his whole property. But as Rodrigo pursued the same course as before, he was brought, after a few years, once more to the same tribunal. Again the conviction of his madness saved him from the flames. The inquisitors compelled him to recant, standing up in a church in Seville. He was afterwards condemned to wear the sambenito, and to perpetual imprisonment. Yet he not unfrequently interrupted the preacher at the church to which he was weekly carried, by contradicting the doctrines he preached. His reputed insanity saved him from more serious consequences, and he died in a monastery at San Lucar. His sambenito was long preserved in the cathedral church of Seville, accompanied by the inscription which declared him a pseudo-apostle and Lutheran.* This incident stands at the commencement of a long series of persecutions against the reformed faith, and in the course of this narrative we shall have to record many others of a like character. In the outset it may be well to observe, that we shall look in vain among the records of Spanish martyrology for those distinct proofs of Christian triumph over pain and torment, which so often cheer the reader in perusing the narrative of sufferings endured by the victims of Romish persecution in our own land. The last hours of the witnesses for the truth in Spain were attended by

* Cyprian de Valero apud Don Adolpho de Castro. London, 1851.

envenomed Roman Catholics; in many cases, too, the sufferers walked gagged to the stake; and there were no faithful friends present to record their final testimony. We are seldom cheered, then, we repeat, in the perusal of the roll of the Inquisition's victims by evidence that, in the midst of the fire, there walked with the sufferers one whose "form was like the Son of God." Still we have no reason to doubt that, among the victims of the Inquisition's rage, there were worthy members of the noble army of martyrs, cheered in their conflict by an invisible Support, and destined to wear hereafter a conqueror's crown.

We have already alluded to the bigoted support which Charles v. gave the Inquisition when in his retirement at Yuste. He was determined that after death his influence should be exerted in the same direction, for by his will he thus commended the office to the protection of his son, Philip II.:—

"Out of regard to my duty to Almighty God, and from my great affection to the most serene prince, Philip II., my dearest son, and from the strong and earnest desire I have that he may be safe under the protection of virtue rather than the greatness of his riches, I charge him, with the greatest affection of soul, that he take especial care of all things relating to the honour and glory of God as becomes the most Catholic king, and a prince zealous for the Divine commands; and that he be always obedient to the commands of our holy mother the church. And

among other things, this I principally and most ardently recommend to him, highly to honour, and constantly to support the office of the holy Inquisition, as constituted by God against intellectual pravity, with its ministers and officials; because by this single remedy the most grievous offences against God can be remedied. Also I command him that he would be careful to preserve to all churches and ecclesiastical persons their immunities." And in the codicil to his will he adds :—" I ardently desire, and with the greatest possible earnestness beseech him, and command him by the regards of his most affectionate father, that in this matter, in which the welfare of Spain is concerned, he be most zealously careful to punish all infected with heresy with the severity due to their crimes; and that to this intent he confer the greatest honours on the office of the holy Inquisition, by the care of which the Catholic faith will be increased in his kingdoms, and the Christian religion preserved."

These dictates of anti-Christian bigotry and zeal were by no means lost upon the successor to whom they were addressed. The prisons of Spain were at this time gorged with Lutheran victims. On May 21, 1559, a royal auto da fé took place in the great square of Valladolid. There were present the prince don Carlos, the princess Juana, and a great number of the grandees of Spain, together with a large multitude of spectators. On this occasion fourteen persons were condemned to the stake, the sad

remains of a woman with her effigy burned, and sixteen persons "reconciled," as it was termed, but in reality subjected to severe penances. Among these were the following:—

Doña Eleonora de Vibero, the wife of Cazalla, an officer in the treasury, proprietress during her life of a chapel in the convent belonging to the Benedictines at Valladolid. After her death she was accused of Lutheranism, which opinions it was declared she had carefully concealed. Several witnesses had deposed, under torture, actually applied or threatened, that her house had been used by the Lutherans as a place of meeting. A sentence of infamy was passed upon her name and that of her posterity, her property was declared forfeited, her body disinterred and committed to the flames, her house destroyed, and a monument, to which reference will be made hereafter, containing a record of her crime and punishment, placed on the spot.

One of the living victims was doctor Augustin Cazalla, a person of Jewish extraction, holding an office in the cathedral of Salamanca, a royal almoner and preacher. He, too, was accused of Lutheranism. Though he had at first denied the charge, he afterwards, under threat of torture, acknowledged its truth, but declared that he had never disseminated that doctrine, and pledged himself (so frail does human nature, when left to its own weakness, sometimes prove under the effect of fear) to be

a good Catholic should his life be spared. The day before his death, a monk of St. Jerome had been sent to him to press upon him a further confession. He declared that without falsehood he could confess no more, and he was exhorted to prepare for death on the next day. The sentence was totally unexpected, and was received by Cazalla with no small agitation. The inquisitors remarked that if he desired his life to be spared, he must make a further confession. "Then," said the wretched man, "I must prepare to die in the grace of God, for it is impossible to add anything to what I have already said, unless I lie." When he arrived at the square, he asked that he might be allowed to speak to his fellow-sufferers, but this was denied him. Yet he found an opportunity to exhort his friends, with craven cowardice, to relinquish their doctrine, and die in the bosom of the Catholic faith. An eye-witness thus described his last moments: "After arriving at the scaffold, and seeing himself degraded with a cap on his head, and a rope round his neck, he was unable to refrain from tears; and, among other expressions of penitence and contrition, he publicly declared that ambition and malice had been the cause of his defection; that it had been his intention to stir up the world, and disturb the quietude of these kingdoms by his novelties; and for no other reason than that he had believed he would be exalted and adored by all Spain, as Luther was in Saxony, and that some of his disciples would

take the name of Cazalla."* "We all know this hand." The sentiments here ascribed to Cazalla are not improbably foisted upon him by some Romish cross-examinator, whose only notion of Lutheranism was, that it was the way to distinction and celebrity. In consideration of his penitence, Cazalla (who had been the most eloquent of Spanish preachers) was strangled before burning.

Another victim was Francisco de Vibero Cazalla, brother of the former, accused, like him, of reformed doctrines. By some he is said to have at first declared his innocence of Lutheranism, but afterwards to have given way under torture, and professed penitence. By another writer, however, he is represented as having persevered in confessing Christ, and manifested grief and indignation when his brother urged him to recant. With his sister, Doña Beatrice de Cazalla, he was strangled, and their bodies burned.

Alphonso Perez, master in theology, who had confessed under the torture, was also stripped of his ecclesiastical dignity, strangled, and committed to the flames.

A lawyer of Toro, named Antonio Herrezuela, accused of Lutheranism, had manifested great indifference to the exhortations of doctor Cazalla. This so provoked one of the archers present, that he drove his lance into the body of the "heretic" whilst it was fastened to the stake. He is said to have sung psalms and hymns at

* Gonzalo de Illescas.

the stake, and to have been much agitated when, under the influence of fear, his wife, who had also been apprehended, recanted. The closing address of her husband seems, however, to have wrought upon the mind of the latter so much, that nine years afterwards she again professed herself a holder of Protestant doctrines, and suffered at the stake for them.

Juan Garcia, a goldsmith, Perez de Herrera, a judge, Doña Catherine de Ortega, Catherine Roman de Pedrosa, Isabella d'Estrada, Jane Blasquiez, were likewise accused of Lutheranism, though guiltless of any proclamation of the doctrines they believed. Torture extracted confessions from them, and they, with Gonzalez Baez, accused of being a Jewish heretic, all suffered.

With these were many others who had abjured their heresies, and been "reconciled to the church." Don Pedro Sarmiento de Roxas, a knight of the order of St. Jago, with his nephew, Don Louis de Roxas, and his wife, Doña Mencia; Doña Anna Henriquez de Roxas; Doña Maria de Roxas, a nun; Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, a knight-commander of the order of St. John; Juan de Vibero Cazalla, with his wife, Doña Constance de Vibero Cazalla, (the latter being relatives of the Cazalla of whom we have already spoken;) Eleonora de Ciseneros, twenty-four years of age; Marina de Saavedra, a widow of rank; Antony Wasor, an Englishman, and Daniel de Quasha;—all appeared attired in the appropriate

scapulary, and were then taken back to their prisons to await next morning the formal declaration of their sentence, which, though somewhat varying, usually consisted of infamy, confiscation, the wearing of the sambenito, and confinement, sometimes for life. One of these poor victims was commended to the mercy of the princess-governess, as having thirteen children; but it would appear without effect.

On this occasion the princess Juanna, and Carlos the young prince of Asturias, took the usual oath that they would defend the holy tribunal and denounce before it cases of heresy. But the royal boy, then aged fourteen, derived an impression from the terrible scene he had just witnessed which sank deeply into his heart.

On the 24th of September in the same year, another auto took place in the square of St. Francis in Seville. It was celebrated before the royal court of justice, the cathedral chapter, several grandees and noblemen, together with the duchess of Bejar, the inquisitors of the district, and a large assembly of spectators. On this occasion one appeared in effigy, twenty-one were burned,* and eighty were condemned to various penances.

Among this multitude a few cases call for special notice:—

Francis Zafra was a priest at a church in Seville, holding a benefice of some consideration, and was accused of being a Lutheran. Before

* Llorente, chap. xxi.

this accusation had been made he had been employed in the service of the Inquisition, and had succeeded in promoting the escape of many who were denounced to that tribunal. This accusation had been made by a *beata** whom he had admitted into his house, and to whom he had taught the doctrines of the Reformation, but as this woman had become deranged, she had been subjected to personal restraint. This treatment roused her to escape, and to lay a charge against the priest before the holy office, declaring that besides himself there were three hundred others tainted with the same heresy. In consequence of this information more than eight hundred persons were apprehended, and among the rest, Zafra himself. But as the priest maintained that the depositions of an insane person were not legitimate evidence, the proceedings became interrupted, and Zafra contrived to disappear. He was therefore only burned in effigy.

Another victim of the Inquisition was brother Garcia de Arias, (called from his snowy hair the white doctor.) Though he had been often accused of Lutheranism, he was never suspected by the Inquisition, so zealous did he appear to be in maintaining the system of the holy office. He had been only recommended to be more prudent, and was trusted as before. The following fact in his career illustrates the sad lapses to which those who believe in the best systems are liable, but it demonstrates also how

* A devotee.

fatally calculated is the influence of such a fear as that which the Inquisition inspires, unless when counteracted by Divine grace, to repress the action of an awakened mind. At this time, however, when the incident referred to occurred, it is to be feared that the main actor had not spiritually received the truths which his judgment embraced.

A man named Riuz was accused of having preached unsound doctrine, and being summoned before an inquisitorial body, went immediately to Arias, who was his friend, to state to him his embarrassment, and to ask advice from him how he might best defend himself. When he appeared at the tribunal, Arias, to his astonishment, confronted him as the chosen advocate of the papal side, and what was more confounding, he argued against his friend in such a manner as utterly to disconcert his previous preparation. Riuz "sank under this attack," Llorente tells us, and Arias was justly reprobated for his treachery by all his Lutheran acquaintances. Yet still he continued a secret Lutheran, communicating his opinions freely within the walls of his convent, and with so much effect that the monastic observances became disregarded. When the alarm of danger was given, some of the brethren escaped, but Arias and many of his followers were apprehended. The secret and hitherto most inconsistent disciple then appeared in more heroic colours; he not only asserted his opinions without hesitation, but undertook to

defend in any manner selected for him the tenets he had learned from the Bible ; and such was his reputation as a theologian that none dared to argue with him. His cowardice was disgraceful ; but his death in the flames was sustained with firmness.

With him was another priest of Seville, who with his two sisters also had espoused the side of the Reformation. This priest, Don Juan Gonzalez, had been born a Moor, but had been previously brought before the Inquisition and compelled to renounce his heathenism. The three victims were consigned to death together, singing in the midst of the flames the 106th Psalm, and renouncing the errors of Romanism.

Among the victims one was conspicuous—the noble maintenance of whose principles stands in strong contrast with the case of Arias. This was Doña Maria de Bohorquez, in whose veins ran some of the best blood of Seville. The charge of Lutheranism was brought against her when she was not yet twenty-one years of age. But she was a young woman of extraordinary acquirements, and was extremely well versed in Protestant truths, as became a disciple of Egidius. The terrors of the Inquisition could not bend her resolution. She avowed her belief, and maintained it to be the truth of God. This poor creature was submitted to the torture, which she bore with great heroism. The question was put to her, in this state, whether her sister disapproved of her opinions? She replied that she did not; and became thus,

probably without intending it, the means of compromising one of her nearest relatives. Maria de Bohorquez received sentence of death by burning. Before this news was conveyed to her, a deputation from the Inquisition visited her in prison. But the young heroine proved herself a match even for the doctors of the holy office, and they returned complaining, as the discomfited are apt to do, of the irreclaimable obstinacy of their prisoner. A second deputation was appointed to visit her. Maria received them with the utmost courtesy, but told them that whatever their solicitude might be regarding her conversion, it could not surpass her own, and that she had arrived at her conclusions after much care and examination, whilst she had derived confirmation in them from the difficulties experienced by her visitors in furnishing replies to her arguments. These were not statements likely to release this young confessor from the grasp of the Inquisition. She was therefore brought forth to die. At the place of execution, a Lutheran, who had abjured his opinions, endeavoured to persuade her to adopt the same course. But she resisted the attempt, declaring that she had no longer time to dispute, and that the hour was now come to think of the work of Christ. Desirous of saving one so young, a strong intercession was made by some spectators that her life might be spared provided she would recite the Creed. When this favour was granted, she immediately complied with the condition; but

when the recital was finished, she began an exposition of it to the multitude in accordance with the principles of the reformed faith. This the inquisitors would by no means allow; they silenced her testimony by strangling her at the stake, and afterwards burning her body. Other female scions of nobility perished with her.

These two autos da fé were followed by a third, held on Sunday, October the 8th, 1559, in the grand square at Valladolid. This ceremonial was graced by the presence of Philip II., who had now returned to Spain, his wife, Mary queen of England, having died in the November of the preceding year. Philip, who had narrowly escaped shipwreck in returning by sea to his native land, had made a vow, that if he touched *terra firma* again he would offer to God a solemn sacrifice of heretics. It was in fulfilment of this covenant that the present demonstration was about to take place.

On this occasion a magnificent array of magnates and nobles attended on the king. Princes of the blood-royal, dignitaries of the church, ambassadors of France and Rome, dukes, marquesses, counts, grand-priors, knights, and ladies of the highest distinction, swelled his train. Before the commencement of the ceremonial, the inquisitor-general, presenting himself before the king, demanded the usual oath, which the monarch with his sword drawn recited after him.

At this time thirteen persons were burned alive; the corpse of a dead man with his effigy was brought out, and sixteen were present as penitents. Some of the victims deserve more particular notice.

Among them was Don Carlos de Sesso, son of the bishop of Racenza, distinguished for his learning and high office. He had been one of the great promoters of Lutheranism in Valladolid and its vicinity, and had, when exhorted to confess, requested to deliver his testimony in writing. This granted, he brought forth a remarkable paper, in which he maintained that the doctrines of the Reformation were those of the true church of Christ. He was led to the auto, and gagged in order to silence any attempt to proclaim his doctrine. As he moved to the place where Philip sat, he asked the king how he could permit a gentleman of his rank to be burned? The reply was, "If my son were as bad as you, I myself would bring the wood to burn him!" When the gag was removed at the stake, and De Sesso was admonished to make confession, he cried out, "If I had sufficient time I would convince you that you are lost by not following my example. Hasten to light the wood which is to consume me."

Pedro de Cazalla, a curate, and Dominic Sanchez, a priest, confessed to Lutheranism, and were strangled before burning. Dominic de Rojas, another priest, himself of the Dominican order, whose two brothers had already died by sentence of the tribunal, accompanied

him. When brought before the Inquisition, the Dominican had wavered in his testimony, and was ordered to be submitted to the torture. But he had been spared the question at his earnest request, and upon his promise to make further revelations. Though he had demanded to be reconciled to the church, he was consigned to death, a sentence the more rigorously executed from his having attempted to screen others whom he had previously denounced. When before the king, he exclaimed in his presence that he was about to die for the true faith, which was the Lutheran, adding, "I believe in the passion of Christ, which alone is sufficient to save all the world without any other work, more than the justification of the soul with God, and in this I believe for salvation." "Before he had ended these last words, the king," says De Castro, who records the above facts, "ordered him to retire thence, but he threw his arms round a large post, and continued to insist on his opinions in such a manner that two friars were unable to disengage him, until an officer fell upon him, putting a gag in his mouth, which was never removed till he died. There were accompanying him more than a hundred of his own order, admonishing and preaching to him. To all they said he replied, 'No, no,' for notwithstanding the gag, these words were understood. Nevertheless, they pretended to have heard him say that he believed in the church of Rome, and therefore they did not burn him alive." He was strangled.

Another Lutheran, a servant of Pedro de Cazalla, was placed at the pile for execution, but as his cords snapped asunder in the flames, he leaped out in excruciating agony. This enabled him to catch sight of De Sesso, of whom we have already spoken, and the sight of his fortitude made the domestic so ashamed of his own pusillanimity, that from that moment he quietly submitted to his fate, asking only for more wood that he might burn like his companion.

Among the other victims was a nun, Doña Marina de Guevarra, of the order of Cistercians, whose life the inquisitor-general greatly desired to save. She had been her own accuser. Nothing, however, would avail for her release but a false confession. This she resolutely refused to make. She was sentenced because having heard some one repeat, with great frequency, the sentence—"Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," she believed the doctrine. She was strangled and burned. Some obscurity attaches to her dying declaration with respect to her belief in the great doctrine of justification by faith, for it was added that she could not explain in what sense she held it.

On the place where the house of Doña Leonora de Viterbo had stood, the Inquisition erected about this time a pillar of white stone, the inscription of which records the Lutheranism of the Cazallas, and the names of the king and the pope under whose administration

the sentences of the Inquisition had been executed upon this family of heretics. It existed until the time of the French invasion, when it was levelled to the ground. "It is, however," says De Castro, "to our national shame, still preserved in the same locality where it was first erected. On the remainder of the site of that house the Jesuits founded a part of their college."*

Philip II. was not only present at the auto mentioned above, but went himself to the place of execution. On this occasion it appeared that all that gloomy bigotry which had heretofore formed so remarkable a feature in his character had now become congested upon his inmost soul. The full symptoms of this religious disorder soon broke out in the scheme of the Spanish Armada. At present his personal attendants were ordered to assist in the execution of the victims of the holy office. Like the Inquisitors themselves, Philip had learned to think the terrors of the church its most acceptable offering to God. "Woe unto them who call evil good, and good evil."

It is, indeed, a melancholy spectacle to see, as in Philip, the conscience darkened and the judgment enslaved and misdirected by a blind superstition. In his reign the time had come —foretold by our Saviour—when he that killed his disciples should think that he did God service. A mind so narrow and so gloomy, prompted actions resembling those of a very

* De Castro's Spanish Protestants, p. 125.

different individual, one of the worst of the heathen persecutors of antiquity; and so striking, indeed, does De Castro consider the points of contrast between the Spanish monarch and the Roman Nero, that he has thus drawn the parallel:—

"Nero, during the frightful incendiary fire of proud Rome, ordered some Christians to be taken as criminals suspected of being concerned in that execrable crime. He punished as many as confessed being guilty of it, and reduced to close confinement all who were denounced as being culpable.

"Philip II., when the fire of heresy began to spread itself in Spain, filled the prisons with Protestants.

"Nero added to the torment of those whom he held guilty, the disgrace of being dressed with the bloody skins of horrid and still palpitating beasts.

"Philip II., after the pains and torments inflicted upon the clergy and gentry, despoiled of their rank and dignities, and stripped of their vestments, could feel complacency in seeing them covered with ridiculous sacks, on which the figures of toads and lizards were painted, to represent heresy, to gratify the pride of inquisitorial judges, and fill with terror and dismay an ignorant and fanatical populace.

"Nero caused Christians to be torn in pieces by hungry dogs, or put them on crosses, and set fire to them by nightfall.

"Philip II. ordered Protestants to be strangled in the garotte, or to be gibbeted on the posts within which the fuel was kindled, so that those might burn the more conspicuously towards night, after the reading of the formal processes in the public square.

"Nero readily offered his gardens for the inhuman spectacle of torturing delinquents.

"Philip as readily lent the guards of his royal person to the executioners, in order that they might contribute their services in lighting the wood, the flames from which were to devour the bodies of the Protestants.

"In the reign of this monarch," continues De Castro, "there was no security for the lives of the virtuous and innocent. Iniquity and hypocrisy, supported by a popular fanaticism, busied themselves with inquiries into the most minute circumstances of human actions. The domestic hearth, where love and virtue dwelt in peace, was cruelly invaded, false denouncements were received as true, the cells of the holy office were crowded with victims, and an inquisitorial jury delivered to the flames, indiscriminately, the bodies of ecclesiastics, of the nobility, the gentry, and principal people of Spain, whose ashes were ruthlessly scattered to the winds, though worthy of being preserved in urns of marble."

Notwithstanding, however, the rigour of the Inquisition, it is questioned by some how far its severities would have prevented the Reformation spreading, had not some other antagonistic

causes existed. These causes are by one writer represented as having been—first, the interest felt by a large portion of the community in the newly discovered colonies of Spain, where the prospect of amassing gold deadened the mind to the pursuit of spiritual riches; and secondly, to the fact that the lower orders of Spain had never readily lent their ears to new doctrines, and had never been friendly to inquiry in matters of religion. The ingenious author of "The Cloister Life of Charles v." thus ably delivers his opinion on this interesting question :—

"It would be curious to investigate the causes to which the repressive policy employed owed its success, and to discover the reasons why the Spaniard thus clung to a superstition which the Hollander cast away; why the strong giant, whose flag was on every sea, and whose foot was on every shore, shrank to a pigmy on the field of theological speculation. Let it suffice to notice two points in which the victorious church possessed advantages in Spain which were wanting in countries where she was vanquished. The first of these was, the Inquisition—a police claiming unlimited jurisdiction over thought, long established, well organized, well trained, untrammelled by the forms of ordinary justice, and so habitually merciless as to have accustomed the nation to see blood shed like water on account of religious error. Before this terrible machinery the recruits of reform, raw, wavering, doubting, without any

clear common principle or habits of combination, were swept away like the Indians of Mexico before the cavalry and culverins of Cortes.

"The second advantage of the Spanish church was her intimate connexion with the national glory, and her strong hold, if not on the affections, at least on the antipathies, of the people. The Moorish wars, which had been brought to a close within the memories of men still alive, had been eminently wars of religion and of grace. They were domestic crusades, which had endured for eight centuries, and in which the church had led the van; and it was rather the cross than the castles and lions of Isabella, that supplanted the crescent on the red towers of the Alhambra. Since that day the church, once more militant under cardinal Ximenes, had carried the holy war into Africa, and gained a footing in the lands of Turk and Saracen. All good Christians devoutly believed, with the chroniclers, that 'powder turned against the infidel was sweet incense to the Lord.' In Spain itself there were still a large population of Moorish blood, which made a garden of many a pleasant valley, and a fortress of many a mountain range; and which, although Christian in name, was well known to be Moslem in heart and secret practice, and to be anxiously looking to the great Turk for deliverance from thraldom. Every city, too, had its colony of Hebrews—wretches who accumulated untold wealth, eschewed pork, and continued to eat

the paschal lamb. Against these domestic dangers the church kept watch and ward, doing, with the full approval of the Christian people, all that cruelty and bad faith could do to make Judaism and Islamism perpetual and implacable. When the Barbary pirates sacked a village on the shores of Spain, or made prizes of a Spanish galley at sea, it was the church who sent forth the fathers of the order of Mercy to redeem the captives from African bondage. In Spain, therefore, heresy, or opposition to the authority of the church, was connected in the popular mind with all that was most shameful in their annals of the past, and all that was most hated and feared in the present time. In northern Europe, the church had no martial achievements to boast of, and few opportunities of appearing in the beneficent character of a protector or a redeemer. She was known merely in her spiritual capacity, or as a power in the state no less proud and oppressive than king or count; or as the channel through which the national riches were drained off into the papal treasury at Rome. In the north, the reformer was not merely the denouncer of ecclesiastical abuses, but the champion of the people's rights and the redresser of their wrongs. But in Spain, the poor reformer, to his horror, found himself associated, in popular esteem, as well as in the Inquisition dungeons, with the Jew, the crucifier of babies, and the Morisco, who plotted to restore the caliphate of the west.

Long after the excitement had passed away, a mark of the torrent remained in the proverbial phrase, in which the aspect of poverty was described as being 'ugly as the face of the heretic.'"

CHAPTER IV.

THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN (*continued.*)

In the year 1560, another auto took place at Seville. This ceremonial was remarkable for the burning in effigy of Dr. Gil, (Egidius.) This celebrated man was nominated by Charles v. to the see of Tortosa, but had been denounced after death to the Inquisition as a suspected Lutheran. A characteristic occurrence marked the process adopted by the Inquisition. On this occasion a Dominican friar, named Domingo de Soto, was sent to Gil; but being a traitor, he suggested that, in order to remove any occasion for dispute, both he and Gil should agree upon a paper, which was to be a kind of summary of Christian doctrine. The Inquisition ordered this paper to be read by each of them in the cathedral of Seville. On that occasion De Soto preached, and when his sermon was concluded, he read, not the paper agreed upon with Gil, but another, totally different. As the cathedral was large, and Gil was at a distance from the pulpit, he did not hear what his pretended friend was reading; but, suspecting no trea-

chery, by signs he testified his assent to the propositions which he supposed to be declared. After him Gil read his paper; and the Inquisition, taking advantage of the remarkable difference, imprisoned Gil as a heretic. He remained some time in prison, but retracted his errors in the cathedral of Seville, August 21st, 1552,* and was condemned to one year's imprisonment and ten years' deprivation. By some unknown means his imprisonment became much prolonged. On his release he went to Valladolid, where he associated much with Protestants in private, and where he died. Four years after his death, the Inquisition, having learned the secret conferences which had occupied his latter days, ordered the exhumation of his body, which was burned in effigy.

At this time, also, Constantine Ponce de Fuente was burned in effigy, having escaped by an ordinary death the vengeance of the Inquisition. He was represented at this auto da fé by a figure clothed in his garments, and stretching out its arms as if preaching. His property was confiscated and his bones were burned—a miserable resource of impotent bigotry. Constantine had been long celebrated as a preacher, and when his arrest as a heretic had been mentioned to Charles v., he exclaimed, "If Constantine be a heretic, he will prove a great one." Occupying a commanding

* This statement differs from Llorente, but appears to rest on good authority. De Castro's Spanish Protestants: London: pp. 34, 35.

position in Seville, he had exercised much caution in disseminating his doctrines. The Inquisition, however, suspected him, and had many conversations with him, being reluctant, on account of the eminence of his position, to come to extremities. Constantine well knew his danger. "They wish to burn me," he said, "but they find me yet too green." All his precautions, however, were rendered unavailing by an event which is thus related by De Castro :—"A widow, whose name was Isabel Martinez, was taken prisoner for heresy. The Inquisition, according to its custom with every culprit, ordered the confiscation of her property. It appeared when seized to be of small value, for her son, anticipating her sequestration, had concealed several coffers, containing jewels of great value. But this precaution was vain, because an infamous servant betrayed the secret, and gave information that the greatest and most valuable part of that lady's property was hidden in the house of her son. Upon this the inquisitors commissioned Lewis Sotelo, an alguazil of the holy office, to communicate with the son, Francesco Beltran, respecting the stolen property. No sooner had the alguazil arrived than Beltran, without waiting to be asked any question, said, "I fancy I can guess that you are come about the things hidden in my mother's house ; if you will promise that I shall come to no damage by it I will show you what is there hidden. Without delay Beltran took Sotelo to the house of his

mother, and, taking a hammer, demolished a part of a lintel which was over a cellar containing a number of books and manuscripts, the works of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers in the handwriting of Constantine Ponce de la Fuente." The discovery was fatal to Constantine. He was immediately arrested, and refusing to name his disciples and accomplices in the work of reformation, was committed to a damp cell, where he died of dysentery. On his memory, as we have already seen, the Inquisition endeavoured to heap infamy by burning him in effigy, and consuming his bones in the fire which, had he lived, would doubtless have destroyed his person.

The case of an Englishman who perished in this auto deserves a little notice. Nicholas Burton, as he followed his trade at Cadiz, was visited by a familiar of the Inquisition under pretence of transacting business with him. A prolonged conversation took place, and the next day Burton was apprehended by the holy office. He was there asked if he had spoken disparagingly of the Roman Catholic religion. This he denied, but he was submitted to the torture, though the cruel process failed to extract any information from him. The Inquisition condemned him to die by fire. He met the flames with a heroic courage and a smiling countenance. One of the priests, struck by his constancy, exclaimed, "The reason why he does not seem to feel is to me very evident; the devil has already got his soul, and the body

is of course deprived of the usual sensations." Burton's property was confiscated.

Similar treatment befel at the same time other foreigners, two of whom were Englishmen, named Brook and Frampton; and a Frenchman, of Bayonne, named Tabienne. The consequences of these measures had almost proved fatal to the commerce of Spain. It was at this auto that the prisoner of whom we have already spoken destroyed herself with a pair of scissors. Her body and effigy were burned.

Though it is impossible for us to particularize all the sufferers at successive autos, we must distinguish one case which demands especial notice. It is that of Doña Jane Boharquez, who was by marriage now Doña de Vargas. It will be remembered that her sister, previously to the auto mentioned in the last chapter, had, when under the influence of torture, inculpated her as having failed to reprove, though an elder sister, Maria's Lutheran opinions. When she was committed to prison she was about to become a mother. Almost as soon as her infant was born it was taken from her, and she was removed to a common dungeon. Here she formed acquaintance with a poor young woman, (afterwards a martyr for the reformed doctrines,) who, commiserating her case, treated her with the utmost tenderness. This young girl was soon herself subjected to the torture; and when she returned to the prison covered with wounds, and with limbs dislocated at every joint, Jane Boharquez

was in her turn called to perform the work of a comforter. It was not, however, long before the tribunal summoned her also. Instead of the usual methods of torture, a cord was applied to the softer parts of her body, which being strained tight by a lever, not only cut through the integuments, inflicting thus the most excruciating torments, but by its pressure burst several internal vessels, so that torrents of blood streamed from her nose and mouth. She was carried back to the prison almost inanimate, and only survived eight days. In the auto da fé which next succeeded, this young mother, on whom such an extremity of suffering had been inflicted, was pronounced not to have been proved guilty.

Such were some of the earlier autos of the modern Inquisition. They were followed by numerous others in all parts of Spain, and constituted in some districts an annual festival, the more frequent because of the rapid spread of Lutheranism in that unhappy country.

Gonsalvius Montdanus relates the following circumstance bearing reference to this period. It is one of many instances which illustrate the treachery and falsehood characterizing the proceedings of the holy office:—

Among those who suffered as the victims of the auto at Seville, were a pious mother, her two daughters, and a niece. One of these daughters was brought before the inquisitor, who, perceiving her simplicity, entered into conversation with her, professing sympathy

with her sorrows, but endeavouring to extract information from her which might tend to the inculpation of others. After several days spent in familiar discourse, the poor girl, convinced of the fatherly affection which the inquisitor pretended to feel, and excited by the hope of release which he held out to her, made a full declaration of the doctrines she had been taught, and of the conversations which had passed between herself and her relatives. When he had gained this point, the crafty official caused her to repeat her statement in the presence of a notary, who recorded her confession. But when the moment of relief seemed to be near, this deluded victim found that, instead of the liberty which had been promised her, she was delivered to the torture in order thus to force from her what it was alleged she still concealed. She was submitted both to the rack and the trial by water, till the object of the inquisitorial tribunal had been fully gained. In her anguish she accused her mother, sister, and several others. They were apprehended, were submitted to the question, and were burned alive in the same fire as that by which she herself was consumed.

Great consternation was created throughout Spain, as well as other countries, by an event which at this time took place, namely, the arrest, at the instance of the Inquisition, of Bartolome de Carranza y Miranda, archbishop of Toledo, one of the highest dignitaries of the Spanish church. This ecclesiastic was a Dominican

friar, who in the early part of his history had been accused of Lutheran opinions, but who had succeeded in defending himself against the charge. He rose to high honours in the church of Rome; became professor of philosophy, qualifier of the Inquisition of Valladolid, a member of the general chapter of the church of Rome, doctor of theology, and a censurer of prohibited books. As theologian of the emperor, and a celebrated defender of the ecclesiastical orders of his church, he was present at the council of Trent, and had accompanied Philip II. to England, where he had been signally active in the proceedings taken against the Protestants. In 1588 he obtained, as a consequence of this activity, the post of primate of Spain; yet, before many months had passed, he was accused of Lutheranism. Several causes co-operated to lead to so unexpected a charge. In the council of Trent he had pleaded against non-residence, and had afterwards written in support of his views. He had, moreover, incurred the dislike of many of his companions, and especially that of Melchior Cano, bishop of the Canaries, and of Valdes, the inquisitor-general. His "Commentaries on the Christian Catechism" had spoken with greater reverence of the Bible than of tradition, and had, besides, been published in the vulgar tongue. Many of his former pupils, who had become Lutherans, had, indeed, undergone his remonstrances for their supposed errors, but had not been denounced by him to the tribunals. On several

doctrines, as, for instance, that of justification, he had shown himself more inclined to the tenets of Luther than the Romish faith permitted. It was said that he had avowed such views in a sermon preached in London in the king's presence, and had on other occasions declared that indulgences were on sale in Spain, and had used language which led one of his hearers to remark: "Carranza has preached just as Philip Melancthon might be expected to have done!" He had, moreover, been falsely accused of speaking doubtfully respecting purgatory, and he had pleaded for greater indulgence to convicted heretics. For these crimes he was brought under the notice of the holy tribunal.

When his books were seized in the house of the marchioness d'Alcanices, that lady declared that she once asked brother Juan de Villagarcia to what book the author had been indebted for his learning; the reply was, "To a work of Luther." When examined by the Inquisition he said that his reference had been not to a work of Luther's, but of Œcolampadius; and that the archbishop, though he had derived some aid from Lutheran writings, had always been true to the Catholic doctrine. It appears, from a brief found among his papers, that the pope had given him leave to read heretical works.* Other depositions declared that Car-

* In the year 1558, Philip II. passed a law denouncing the punishment of death and confiscation against the sellers and readers of prohibited books.

ranza had said that if he were at the point of death he should wish to have a notary, in order to receive his renunciation of good works, because his reliance was only upon the merits of Jesus Christ for salvation; but one of the witnesses explained that he understood this statement to be perfectly compatible with the maintenance of the doctrines of the Catholic church. Dr. Cazalla deposed that he had heard Dominis de Roxas impute to Carranza the doctrines of the Reformation. This Dominis de Roxas denied; but when submitted to the torture, confessed that he had made such a statement, declaring, however, on further interrogation, that it was not true. Juan de Regla voluntarily presented himself to the tribunal, declaring that when he was present at the death-bed of Charles v., Carranza had exhorted that monarch not to trust in any merits of his own, but to rely on the merit of Christ for the pardon of his sins.

A number of charges of a similar kind were collected against Carranza, and Philip II. was unable to protect him. Indeed, he suffered himself to be persuaded that the archbishop was guilty of odious heresy. In answer to the applications of the inquisitors, the pope, Paul IV., at a meeting of the consistory, declared, "that being informed that the heresies of Luther and some others had been propagated in Spain, he had reason to suspect that several prelates had adopted them, and in consequence he authorized the grand inquisitor, for two years from that

day, to make inquest concerning all the bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and primates of that kingdom; to commence their trials; and in case that an attempt to escape was suspected, to arrest and lodge them in a place of security;" authorizing the inquisitor at the same time to report them to the sovereign pontiff, and to send the criminals, with their processes, to Rome, at the earliest possible period. The same decree authorized the Inquisition to imprison Carranza.

All things being thus prepared, it was resolved to proceed against the archbishop; and as Philip II. was at this time absent from his kingdom, and as he dreaded the result of public processes, he wrote to his sister Juanna, who was the temporary regent, to instruct her in the measures which she should pursue. The princess accordingly wrote to Carranza, that as the king would speedily arrive in his own dominions, it was necessary that he should instantly repair to Valladolid to receive him, dispensing with all state, in order to secure his earlier arrival. The archbishop immediately prepared to obey the summons; but as the messenger who brought the order had fallen ill, he thought it better to await his restoration before leaving his home. On his way to court, the messenger having recovered, he held confirmations as usual. But these delays indicated to the eyes of the inquisitors a secret intention of escaping, and they were resolved not to lose their prey. They proceeded, there-

fore, to the lodgings of the archbishop, who was then at Tordeloguna, with a strong party, conducted by Rodrigo de Castro, the bearer of the princess's letter. De Castro had commanded the host of the primate to leave the doors of his house open. As soon as they entered, guards were placed at the gates, and the inquisitors began to ascend the stairs, crying out, "Open to the holy office." They proceeded to the archbishop's chamber. Carranza himself cried out "Who is it?" The reply was, "The holy office;" and the door was opened. The archbishop threw back the curtains of his bed, and Rodrigo, kneeling on one knee, and in tears, said, "Most illustrious señor, your reverence will give me your hand and pardon me?" Carranza replied, "Why so, Don Rodrigo? Pray rise." "Because," said Don Rodrigo, "I come to do a thing respecting which your reverence may see in my face how contrary it is to my inclinations." Then, stepping back, he beckoned to the officers of the holy tribunal to advance. The order of the council of the Inquisition, signed by its general, Fernando de Valdés, Carranza's enemy, was then read to the archbishop. When Carranza objected that he was subject to the pope alone, the inquisitor, Don Diego, exhibited the papal brief authorizing his arrest.

Carranza was secretly conveyed to the prison of the holy office in Valladolid without being aware that he was in the Inquisition. Such pains were taken to conceal an event which,

when known, filled the courts of Europe with consternation.

The primate appealed to the pope, declaring that the inquisitor-general was prejudiced against him, and was, therefore, not an impartial judge. The appeal was obstructed by all the impediments which the holy tribunal could throw in its way. The pope, however, commissioned Philip II. to name another judge. He intrusted the trial to the archbishop of Santiago, who, shrinking from the responsibility of presiding on such an occasion, delegated two councillors of the Inquisition, already in the interest of the inquisitor-general, to undertake it.

Great difficulties occurred in bringing the trial of the archbishop to an issue. Some of these arose from the prelate himself, and some from the Inquisition. Two years elapsed in challenging the judges; then various adjournments suspended the cause still more; and debates as to the place and mode of the trial caused a further delay of another two years. At last Carranza renewed his appeal to the pope to take him out of the hands of the Inquisition. In the mean time the public mind became much excited on the subject of his trial; and as a division of opinion existed in the council with regard to the proceedings against him, and as, moreover, during this delay a change had taken place in the papacy itself, the whole question became extremely embarrassed, and at length resolved itself into a

quarrel between the court of Rome on the one hand, and the holy office on the other.

In the issue Carranza was removed to the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, and succeeded, after an imprisonment of sixteen years, (in Spain and Italy,) in proving that the charge against him was without solid foundation. He publicly said mass, to indicate his reconciliation with the Roman church, relinquished his office of archbishop, and was assigned a further imprisonment of five years, which was the next day, however, remitted by a special dispensation. The aged man was exhausted by these protracted processes, and died immediately after the termination of his trial, declaring his innocence of the charges which had been exhibited against him. His death terminated a series of intrigues, perplexing and even dangerous to the high ecclesiastical powers, but strongly illustrative of the spirit by which the Inquisition was actuated; of the suspicions indulged towards the highest dignitaries not themselves members of its tribunal; and of the inveterate hatred borne by the holy office towards every semblance of Lutheranism, that is, of gospel truth.

Remarking upon the case of Carranza, the author of "The Cloister Life of Charles v." judiciously observes:—"It seems but reasonable to believe that he spoke the plain truth when he made the dying declaration that he had never held any of the heretical opinions of which he had been accused. To the Protestant

who in these days looks into his very rare and still more tedious volume [his folio "Catechism of Christianity," which formed the main ground of the charges against him,] the work appears to breathe the fiercest spirit of intolerant Romanism. Heresy is reprobated; Bibles in the vulgar tongue are condemned; Spain is praised as the one land where the fountain of truth is still unpolluted; Philip II. is exhorted to further persecutions; Mary Tudor is extolled as the saviour of the soul of England." Carranza himself boasted that he had converted two millions of heretics. It would be absurd, therefore, to view him as a Protestant divine; and perhaps we may, without any violation of Christian charity, regard his entanglement in the nets of the Inquisition as a merited retribution for his own active services in hindering the work of the Spanish Reformation.

Another interesting episode in the history of the Inquisition in Spain refers to the fate of Don Carlos, the son and heir of Philip II., who was condemned by a junta, of which the inquisitor-general was president, and was strongly believed to have been poisoned by his father on account of his attachment to the Lutheran doctrines. But our limits preclude us from detailing the incidents of his singular and tragical history. It is enough to say, whether the charge of poisoning be established or not, that the transaction is a melancholy proof of bigotry and intolerance overcoming natural affection. Yet Philip's conduct in surrendering his son to

the jurisdiction of the Inquisition has been lauded by a Roman Catholic divine as a sacrifice resembling that of the Almighty in giving up his own Son, and that of Abraham in yielding Isaac as a sacrifice. "There is no action," says the panegyrist, "to compare with this. The event leaves far behind it all those of which we read in profane history."*

The trial of the archbishop of Toledo, to which reference has just been made, was by no means the only one of its kind. It was succeeded by the prosecution of several of the bishops who had taken part in the council of Trent—men usually of the greatest learning and highest dignity, but who were compelled to humble themselves before the holy office. The professor of theology at Alcala Manciode Corpus Christi had approved of the propositions of Carranza, and had pronounced his opinions orthodox; but, terrified by proceedings commenced against him, he saved himself from the fangs of the Inquisition by retracting, and publishing an almost universal condemnation of the archbishop. One of Carranza's disciples, Luis de la Cruz, was thrown into prison, when it was discovered that he was possessed of his master's papers, and was kept there, though without proof against him, during five years, nearly losing his life from illness. A singular incident illustrates the nature of some of these proceedings. Certain propositions of Carranza's were placed before Juan de Pegna, professor of Sala-

* See De Castro's Spanish Protestants.

manca, for his opinion concerning them. He returned a favourable judgment, but as soon as he heard of the arrest of the archbishop, he sent to the Inquisition, attempting to modify the opinion he had expressed, and was compelled in the issue to retract and abjure it.

The persecution of the Lutherans still went on. Atrocious calumnies, similar to those by which, in the early ages of Christianity, the primitive believers were assailed, were circulated respecting them, and, as if to render more striking the parallel between the year 1561 and the period of infant Christianity, the occurrence of a destructive fire at Valladolid, by which a large number of its houses and much of its wealth were destroyed, was attributed to the holders of the new opinions. So inveterate was the hatred borne to the reformed doctrines of Spain, that when a bull of the pope authorized confessors to absolve repenting Lutherans, the Inquisition refused to publish it.

It is impossible to record at full length all the instances of injustice and suffering which blacken this period of the Spanish annals. Dr. Juan Perez, afflicted at the trials of the followers of the reformed faith, wrote, about the year 1560, a letter from Geneva, "to console the faithful in Christ Jesus who suffer persecution for the confession of his name."

In the same year, Julianillo Hernandez, or Julian the little, who, pretending to be a rustic travelling with bales of merchandise, contrived to circulate a very large number of Protestant

works in Spain, was denounced to the holy office, and was imprisoned in the dungeons of the Inquisition. In this confinement he remained for three years, often subjected to torture for the purpose of compelling him to confess any accomplices with whom he might have been associated, during which time many conferences took place between him and the inquisitorial officials, which he conducted with considerable success. He was at length brought forth to die at an auto da fé on the 22nd December, 1560. He was carried out gagged, and his hands and feet were tied to the stake, about which he had contrived to gather an unusual quantity of wood, that the severity of his torments might be shortened. When his tongue was released, he was exhorted by the confessors to renounce his heresy. But Julian boldly rebuked them as hypocrites, and told them that nothing but the fear of a fiery death restrained them from avowing similar doctrines to those held by himself. He died with a courage and constancy which were extremely mortifying to his persecutors, and which left a strong and favourable impression on the minds of all who witnessed his death, even on those of the executioners themselves.

The most degrading scenes of tyranny and licentiousness were at this time practised by the inquisitors. Multitudes of Spanish fugitives left their native country for Germany, Holland, Sweden, and England. In the metropolis of the last-named country a large house was fitted up

by the bishop of London for Spanish worship, and sums of money were granted by Elizabeth to the Protestant refugees. These benevolences formed the ground of a special complaint made by Alvaro de la Cuadra, the ambassador of Philip II.; and in the year 1568, John Man, dean of Gloucester, and ambassador of England to the court of Philip II., was expelled from Madrid, not for any violation of his diplomatic position, nor even for lending any aid to the victims of the Inquisition, but because he had spoken too freely of religious matters in ordinary conversation. This offence was, that at a public banquet he had declared Philip II. to be the only one among the sovereigns of Europe who had the privilege of defending the pope.

Under the auspices of Philip II., the papal power, in virtue of its assumed right to divide empires according to degrees of longitude, granted a bull to the inquisitor-general of Spain, instituting "the Inquisition of the Galleys." Cadiz was principally noted for the exercise of this authority. By this bull, the officers of the Inquisition were empowered to enter all vessels, in order to seize prohibited books. But this interference with commerce was too outrageous to be long tolerated, and the new institution speedily became obsolete. This bull was issued in the year 1571.

Ten years after this period we find recorded another awful instance of the power of bigotry to dry up the sources of natural affection. A gentleman of Valladolid de-

nounced two of his own daughters to the Inquisition as Lutherans. Instead of being imprisoned, however, according to the usual mode, these young persons were permitted to remain under the parental control, that the father (who was much in the confidence of the officials) might endeavour, by the assistance of churchmen and monks, to disabuse them of their cherished opinions. This scheme, however, failed; and the rage of the father was excessive. He carried them, therefore, to the Inquisition, and complained of their wicked obstinacy. Both were condemned to die. The wretched father, with brutal bigotry, went himself into the woods to cut down materials for the fire which was to burn them. The inquisitors, with no less barbarity, praised his conduct, and held him up as an example to the sons of the church. Stimulated by these praises, the miserable slave of ecclesiastical bondage went even yet further. He asked leave of the inquisitors to set fire to the pile with his own hand. His request was granted, and the inquisitors, "in order to the exaltation of the Catholic faith, proclaimed, with cymbals and trumpets, not only the inhuman demand, but their permission to comply with it." *

In mercy to the human race, however, this baneful tribunal, which originated so much suffering, was to experience a decline of influence and power. This was noticeable in the reign of Philip III., who ascended the throne in 1598.

* De Castro's Spanish Protestants, chap. xvii. The authority is in Valera—Tratado de Los Papas.

Yet, in spite of the decay of its power, it probably indirectly suggested the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain. This remarkable transaction, however, does not necessarily come within the scope of our volume.

The accession of Philip IV., in 1621, was commemorated by an auto da fé at Madrid. On this occasion no heretic was burned. This monarch gave the Inquisition power to deal with smugglers, and permission to retain a fourth part of the money they might find on Spaniards quitting their own country.

The year 1620 is noticeable in the annals of the Inquisition for the imprisonment of William Lithgow, a Scotchman, who was incarcerated on the pretext that he was a spy in the pay of the English navy. From this circumstance it is obvious that the Inquisition had gradually passed from a spiritual court to a tribunal taking cognizance of secular matters. The extraordinary sufferings which Lithgow endured are well worthy of being recorded, and as his narrative is a long one, and written in obsolete language, we shall present it to the reader in an abridged form.

Immediately after Lithgow's imprisonment he was searched and deprived of a considerable sum of money, which he had provided for his extensive journeys. He was then put in irons, having a bar of some length so fastened between his ankles that it was totally impossible for him to stand. "The irons," he says, "were thrice heavier than my body."

The governor visited him in his cell, and exhorted him to confess himself a spy; and on the prisoner declaring his innocence, he threatened with great anger that torture should make him acknowledge it. Lithgow was allowed "neither any bed, pillow, nor coverlet." "Close up," said the governor, "this window in his room with lime and stone. Stop the holes in the door with double mats, hanging another lock to it, and so withdraw visible and sensible comfort from him. Let no tongue nor feet be heard near him." During many days Lithgow was thus imprisoned. He was then taken away in a coach to a "wine-press house standing alone among vineyards." To this place the instruments of torture had been already brought. Finding he would make no confession, the executioner was ordered to take off his irons. In accomplishing this difficult task, "he struck off," Lithgow tells us, "above an inch of my left heel with the bolt, whereupon I grievously groaning, being exceeding faint, and without my three ounces of bread and a little water for three days together, the alcalde said, 'Oh! traitor, all this is nothing but the earnest of a greater bargain you have in hand.'" Lithgow was then submitted to the torture of the pulley, the rack, and the water. In the course of the last infliction, as the sufferer closed his lips to prevent the passage of the water through them, the executioner used an iron weapon to force them open. During these processes, his examination continued without

interruption. He proceeds: "Thus lay I six hours upon the rack, between four o'clock in the afternoon and ten o'clock at night, having had inflicted upon me threescore and seven torments. Nevertheless they continued me a large half hour, after all my tortures at the full bending, where, my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part to the crushed and bruised bones, I pitifully remained, still roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my teeth, with insupportable cries, before the pains were undone, and my body loosed. True it is, it passeth the capacity of man either sensibly to conceive, or I patiently to express, the intolerable anxiety of mind and affliction of body in that dreadful time I sustained.

"At last my head being by their arms advanced, and my body taken from the rack, the water re-gushed abundantly from my mouth; then they, reclothing my broken, bloody, cold, and trembling body, being all this time stark naked, I fell twice into a trance, when they again refreshed me with a little wine and two warm eggs; not done out of charity, but that I should be reserved for further punishments; and if it were not well known that these sufferings are true, it would almost seem incredible to many that a man being brought so low with starving hunger and extreme cruelties, could have subsisted any longer reserving life.

"And now, at last, they charged my broken legs with my former eye-frighting irons; and this done, I was lamentably carried on their

arms to the coach, being afterwards brought and secretly transported to my former dungeon, without any knowledge of the town save only these my lawless and merciless tormentors. Where, when come, I was laid with my head and my heels alike high on my former stones. The latter end of this woful night poor mourning Hazier the Turk was sent to keep me, and on the morrow the governor entered my room, threatening me still with more tortures to confess; and so caused he every morning, long before day, his coach to be rumbled at his gate, and about me where I lay, a great noise of tongues and opening of doors, and all this they did on purpose to affright and distract me, and to make me believe I was going to be racked again to make me confess an untruth; and still thus they continued every day for five days till Christmas."*

After a variety of protracted tortures, some English merchants of Malaga accidentally discovered the place of Lithgow's imprisonment, and by the intervention of the English consul, obtained his release. Soon after his arrival in England, in 1621, James I. visited him, and promised to obtain compensation for his injuries. This promise, however, appears never to have been fulfilled, and Lithgow died a prisoner in the Marshalsea.

A few years later, George Penn, an English merchant residing in the south of Spain, and an uncle of the well-known William Penn, suffered

* Narrative of William Lithgow.

at the hands of the Inquisition treatment even more severe than that endured by Lithgow. Although a Protestant, he had committed the great error of forming an alliance with a Roman Catholic lady, and being suspected of having endeavoured to seduce her from her faith, he was suddenly arrested, and committed to a loathsome dungeon, while his property, down to the very nail in the wall of his house, was seized and confiscated. At successive intervals he was scourged, till his body was one mass of festering sores. Three years having elapsed, he was brought into the torture chamber, and racked in so excruciating a manner, that his constancy failed, and in a moment of weakness he admitted all the charges brought against him, and promised to live and die in the Romish faith. "As soon," says the narrator of the facts, "as he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to walk, he was taken to the great cathedral of Seville in solemn procession, accompanied by the seven judges, their households, by several hundred priests and friars, and by a vast multitude of people, and in the presence of the whole congregation was exposed as a signal instance of the great mercy of the holy Inquisition. His wife was taken from him, and forcibly married to a good Catholic; the whole of his estate, amounting in plate, furniture, jewels, goods, and merchandise, to twelve thousand pounds, was confiscated; the money found in his hands, belonging to other persons, was seized; and he was finally commanded to quit

the country in three months, on pain of death. This last injunction only added insult to injury, for the judges well knew that, having seized his estates, the moment he left the cathedral he would be arrested for debts which he had no means of discharging. The very same day he was thrust into a common jail, with little or no hope of ever obtaining a second release.

The exhibition in the cathedral being public, several English residents in Seville were present, and the intelligence of his brother's position soon reached the young admiral Penn at his station in the channel. His measures were prompt and characteristic. Instead of appealing to Cromwell, in whose day the event occurred, and setting the dilatory diplomacy of London and Madrid at work to procure his release, he seized in one of his prizes a Spanish nobleman, Juan de Urbino, then on his way to Flanders, where he held the post of secretary to the government, stripped him naked like a common prisoner, and treated him with many indignities.

This act, indefensible in itself, spoke home to the Spanish sovereign; and George Penn was soon released, and sent back to England.

The death of Cromwell prevented any reparation being made for his losses and sufferings; but when the restoration was effected, king Charles appointed him his envoy at the court of Spain, to add weight to his claim for damages in body and estate. This act of substantial justice, however, came too late. His aged flesh

had been torn, his limbs dislocated and ill set, his body starved for more than three years on bread and water; and he died in London only a few weeks after receiving the royal appointment, leaving his claims as a legacy to the admiral and his family."*

This restitution, however, was never made. The Inquisition has never been remarkable for disgorging its prey.

Philip IV. died in 1665, and was succeeded by Charles II. The inquisitorial tribunals were occupied during his reign mainly in prosecutions of witchcraft. On his marriage, however, an auto da fé took place, in which a hundred and eighteen victims appeared, nineteen of whom were burned. The circumstances of this auto have been already related in chapter II. Charles II. was succeeded by Philip V. (the grandson of Louis XIV. of France.) The Inquisition, from being a religious, now became mainly a political instrument, and was maintained by Philip in accordance with the advice of the grandfather who had placed him on the throne. Freemasonry was at this time the principal subject of inquisitorial search. Indeed, the doctrines of the reformed religion were extinct—an awful instance of man's power seeming to prevail over the truth of God.

It was during this reign that Isaac Martin, an Englishman, being found at Malaga with a Bible and other books of devotion in his possession, was accused of being a Jew, and finding

* Hepworth Dixon's Life of Penn.

himself exposed to considerable annoyance in consequence, came to a resolution to quit the country. This intention having transpired, he was seized, and carried to the Inquisition at Granada. He was charged with having spoken disrespectfully of the Roman Catholic religion. After a long imprisonment, and many cross-examinations, he was ordered to be banished from the Spanish dominions; was seated on an ass, and whipped with two hundred lashes as he went along. He was then sent to Malaga, where, after some adventures, he contrived to get on board an English ship, and effected his escape. A small portion only of the effects which had been taken from him was ever recovered.

During the reign of Ferdinand VI. (commencing in 1746) only ten persons were burned alive. This number, half of which would be enough to excite, in the present day, a convulsion in the darkest state of Europe, was really, in comparison with the past, an indication of rapidly advancing progress. The victims were Jews who had renounced, if they had ever held the Christian faith. The revival of learning lent its aid at this period to the depression of persecution. Its influence continued through the succeeding reigns of Charles III. and Charles IV. In the former reign, the inquisitor-general even dared to propose the purification of the Holy office. In the latter, Don Miguel Solano, who in earlier times would have been burned as a heretic, was only pitied as a maniac.

It is not our purpose to relate the series of intrigues by which Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain in the year 1806, though he was unable, even by the aid of the strong military force which he sent to occupy that kingdom, to retain its possession. Suffice it to state, that when he set up his staff near Madrid, he wrote an order to abolish the Inquisition, which was carried into effect. It had been well if all the other actions of Napoleon had been of so beneficial a character.*

On the recal of Ferdinand VII. in 1814, one of his earliest measures was the re-establishment of the holy office. Though, whilst restoring, he professed to reform it, suspicions and delations resumed their empire. In 1816, a letter from Rome announced that the pope (Pius VII.) had forbidden the use of torture, and assimilated the proceedings of the holy office to those of other tribunals; with what effect, however, the succeeding narrative will demonstrate. It is extracted from a work published by Don Juan Van Halen, a military officer of some distinction in the Spanish service, who, after his escape from the fangs of the holy office, associated himself with the army of Russia, and

* An interesting narrative of some of the events connected with the destruction of the building of the Inquisition in Madrid, purporting to be based upon authentic information, was a few years ago published in the American journals. Not having been able, however, to satisfy ourselves as to the correctness of its facts, we prefer omitting it, being unwilling to swell, by the addition of doubtful testimony, the heavy roll of well-authenticated charges which can at present be adduced against this tribunal.

was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief of the Belgian provisional government.

In consequence of having taken office under Joseph Bonaparte, Van Halen, we may premise, had become an object of suspicion to Ferdinand and his government. One night he had occasion to leave home very late. "An hour after, the house was surrounded by soldiers, and two men enveloped in their cloaks advanced towards the door. My servant, who heard the loud and repeated knocks, appeared at the window, and was ordered by them to open the door. On his refusing to do so, they gave their names, one being the governor Irriberry, and the other the senior inquisitor. (The scene is Murcia, where the building formerly appropriated to the Inquisition was now standing in ruin.) The servant represented to them that, whatever might be their office or their authority, they raised unfavourable suspicions by coming at that hour, and that if they did not withdraw he would compel them, at the same time showing his carbine at the window. At this sight the senior inquisitor, fearing the consequences, abandoned the field to Irriberry, who, more bold, caused some soldiers to advance and force the door open; he then entered with his soldiers, to whom he gave orders to secure the servant, and search the house. Whilst they were executing these commands, they discovered the cook in the act of leaping from a window, and endeavouring to make her escape, with the

intention of seeking me and warning me of the danger."

Van Halen having, without any suspicion of his own danger, returned in the morning to his residence, was immediately arrested.

"It was now," he continues, "that I learned for the first time the fatal destiny which awaited me. The day was dawning, and Irriberry ordered, in my presence, the bishop's carriage to be fetched, that I might be conveyed to the Inquisition. I requested to be allowed to go on foot, to which he replied that the prisoners of the Inquisition were never accompanied there by an armed force; adding, ironically, 'they have always the honour to be taken there in a convenient carriage.' This being now ready, I entered it, accompanied by Irriberry, his assessor, and his aide-de-camp, who gave orders to some soldiers to follow the carriage on foot, at a distance. Thus I lost sight of my home, my servants, my young comrades, and even of the hope of seeing again the light of day."

He was for some time confined, meeting at first with fair words from his keepers, but the scene speedily changed. His narrative, however, must again speak for itself.

"About eight o'clock one night, Don Juanito entered my dungeon with a lantern in his hand, followed by four other men, whose faces were concealed by a piece of black cloth, shaped above the head like a cone, and falling over the shoulders and chest, in the middle of which were two holes for the eyes. I was half asleep

when the noise of the doors opening awoke me, and by the dim light of the lantern I perceived these frightful apparitions. Imagining I was labouring under the effects of a dream, I earnestly gazed awhile on the group, till one of them approached, and pulling me by the leather strap with which my arms were bound, gave me to understand by signs that I was to rise. Having obeyed the summons, my face was covered with a leather mask, and in this manner I was led out of the prison."

Having been solemnly and earnestly warned by the inquisitor to make a confession of his guilt, he was now subjected to a treatment which must fix upon the modern Inquisition, if Van Halen is to be received as a credible witness, the stigma of having adopted a procedure worthy rather of the dark ages than of the nineteenth century.

"The agitation of the moment," he confesses, "permitted me to utter only a few words, which, however, were not listened to, and I was hurried away to the further end of the room, the jailor and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in raising me from the ground, they placed under my armpits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended, after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, whilst the left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my hand open in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran as far as the shoulder,

keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported, so that I shortly remained without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty."

In this position a leading question was put to him, shaping itself towards an affirmative admission. But the prisoner denied the charge.

"The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on the edge of a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt by degrees an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder, a general convulsion throughout my frame, and a cold sweat overspreading my face. The interrogatory continued, but Zorilla's question of 'Is it so?' 'Is it so?' were the only words that struck my ear during the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away and heard no more the voice of these cannibals. When I recovered my senses, I found myself stretched on the floor of my dungeon, my hands and feet secured with heavy fetters and manacles, fastened by a thick chain, the nails of which my tormentors were still riveting. On this being concluded, the unpleasant mask which obstructed my sight was removed. . . . It was after much difficulty that I dragged myself to bed. I spent the whole of the night struggling with the intense pains, which were the effect of the torture, and with the workings of my excited

mind, which offered but a horrible perspective to my complicated misfortunes. This state of mental agitation, and the burning fever which was every moment increasing, soon threw me into a delirium, during which I scarcely noticed the operation performed by my jailors of opening the seams of my coat to examine the state of my arm."

After many attempts, Van Halen contrived to escape from his tormentors.*

To statements of sufferings like those just narrated, resting, as they necessarily must, upon the testimony of one individual, it is easy for Roman Catholic writers to give a denial, and to maintain that they are either exaggerations or misrepresentations. But even the most candid reader must admit, after the perusal of the following case of Spanish intolerance, that there is only too much reason to believe the darkest accusations brought against the tribunal.

"A schoolmaster of Busafa,† a village in the neighbourhood of Valencia, was reputed to be a quaker. He was accused before the tribunal of the faith, condemned, and thrown into the prisons of St. Narcissus, with the vilest felons. The lord of the tribunal of the faith," says my informant, a priest of Valencia, "en-

* Narrative of Escape of Don Juan Van Halen.

† This incident is extracted from the Rev. Mr. Rule's "Brand of Dominic," a valuable work upon the Inquisition, to which we acknowledge obligation. He lived for some time in Spain, and expresses himself satisfied with the evidence on which the statement rests.

deavoured to induce him to make a solemn recantation of his belief as a quaker, but he said that he could not do anything against his conscience, nor could he lie to God. They condemned him to be hanged, and he was transferred to the condemned cell, and resigned himself fully to the will of God. On July 31, 1826, he was taken from the prison to the scaffold, displaying the most perfect serenity. The crosses were removed from the scaffold. He was not clothed in the black dress usually put on culprits when brought out to execution, but appeared in a brown jacket and pantaloons. With a serious countenance and unfaltering mien he ascended the scaffold, conducted by father Felix, a barefooted Carmelite friar, who exhorted him to change his views. But he only replied, 'Shall he who has endeavoured to keep God's commandments be condemned?' When the rope was put around his neck, he asked the hangman to wait a moment, and raising his eyes towards heaven, prayed. In three minutes he ceased to live. I have been shown the spot, and have conversed with some who saw 'the quaker schoolmaster' die."

After the death of Ferdinand, various political changes occurred in Spain, and in 1834 the Inquisition was again abolished. Whether, however, this is a temporary or a permanent abolition remains to be proved. That its extinction did not take place too soon will be evident from the following summary of the number of victims who suffered under its

rule. Llorente is the authority upon which it is given, and as the investigation of the annals of the holy office was intrusted to him by the French, he had every opportunity of procuring accurate details. The list extends from 1481 to 1809.

Condemned and burned .	31,912
Burned in effigy . . .	17,659
"Penitents"	291,450
	341,021

Those who would read the history of the peninsula, especially that of Spain, aright, must peruse it by the flames of the Inquisition. That light will show how a nation heretofore distinguished by noble bearing and manly independence, became under its influence morose, narrow, gloomy, and craven-hearted. Beneath that power, its literature declined, its liberty departed. The blast from the desert is not so destructive as is the withering effect of continued religious intolerance. If Spain has stood in modern history among the lowest of kingdoms, unequal to every crisis, barren, though not without noble exceptions of greatness and moral power; if freedom has no true asylum within her shores; above all, if it have little which represents the lofty Christianity of Jesus and his apostles, but is overrun by monks, blinded by superstition, and prolific in a costly glare of external show, which has no corresponding spiritual reality—she owes the

desolating change to the system from which she at first recoiled, but which she afterwards blindly regarded as her boast and honour—*the Inquisition.*

The machinery of the holy office was introduced by Spain into her South American colonies. The institution had its seat at Lima, and fairly rivalled the barbarities of the tribunal in the mother country. Till lately the traces of its operation might not unfrequently be seen in the mangled and dislocated limbs of some of the Limanese. "A Spaniard," says Tchsude, "whose limbs were frightfully distorted, told me, in reply to my inquiries, that he had fallen into a machine which had thus mangled him. A few days before his death, however, he confided to me that in his twenty-fourth year he had been brought before the tribunal of the holy Inquisition, and that by the most horrible tortures he had been compelled to confess a crime of which he was not guilty. I still shudder, when I remember his crushed and twisted limbs, at the thought of the agonies which the unhappy wretch must have endured."

On one occasion its power met with an unexpected check. The viceroy, Castel Fuerte, was denounced to it by his confessor as a heretic. He was summoned accordingly before the holy office, always eager to show its authority, even over the highest. He went, entered the hall of judgment, took out his watch, and said,

"Señores, I am ready to discuss this affair, but for one hour only; if I am not back by that time my officers have orders to level this building with the ground." And, indeed, at that very time his body-guard, a company of infantry, with two pieces of artillery, had taken their station before the building. The inquisitors, aghast at this information, consulted together during a brief colloquy, then, with officious eagerness, complimented Castel Fuerte out of their establishment.

The same fettering influence upon the human mind, exerted by the Inquisition in the parent country, seems to have been produced by its operation in Spanish South America. "Nature," says a French writer, "has here invited man by her solitudes to vast thoughts, and to kingdoms gigantic as her own. But man remains motionless; an invisible power binds his arms. Three centuries pass, and everything withers around him. In the midst of virgin forests not one new thought starts to life. The morning breath of the universe passes over the forehead of this old man, and cannot revive him. What mean these cradles of empires, Mexico, Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Lima, which from the first day wear the wrinkles of Byzantium? . . . He sees this unspotted world, and comprehends it not. Sad and motionless he seats himself by the banks of the great rivers, having only recollections in a world which has no past; and the choir of worship from so many new creatures adds not a single

accent, form, or note to his liturgy. The Catholicism of the Council of Trent throws over these nations the dark shadow of Philip II. On the other hand, a breath reaches them from France and North America, and torments them with an inextinguishable desire for liberty. Between these two opposite forces what is the result? These nations are agitated with a hopeless movement. Whatever they do they end by realizing in politics the ideal of their religion, that is to say, absolute power. All that they can accomplish is to change their dictators. We see republics, (and since then the truth extends to the writer's own country,) which issue only in a tightening of their bonds. A new and strange punishment! South America lies under the shadow of a vast manchineel, which distils death upon it; the roots are in another continent, and remain invisible."

CHAPTER V.

THE INQUISITION IN PORTUGAL AND GOA.

PORTUGAL would have afforded a noble exception to the mass of the more "Catholic states," if, whilst able during the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella to offer an asylum to the persecuted Jews, she had always continued to maintain that tolerance. But it was not so. John III., alarmed at the growing liberty of opinion which was at that time beginning to take the form of the Reformation, and resolving to restrict its exercise in his own dominions, invited pope Clement VII. to send an inquisitor-general, who should establish the holy office among his subjects. We cannot suppose that these were the first rigorous measures adopted in Portugal to prevent the spread of gospel truth, though the form in which persecution had previously exhibited itself is unknown. In 1589, however, the Inquisition was set up in Evora and Lisbon, and not long after in Coimbra; and Xavier, a man full of zeal, though much of it was of a false kind, wrote to the king from India, stating, that "the Jewish wickedness spread every day

more and more in the parts of the East Indies subject to Portugal, and therefore earnestly besought the said king, that to cure so great an evil he would take care to send the office of the Inquisition into those countries." Accordingly cardinal Henry, who was at that time inquisitor-general in Portugal, erected at the royal command the tribunal in Goa, the metropolitan city of the Indo-Portuguese dominions.*

A despicable breach of promise on the part of the king was involved in some of these proceedings. In the year 1521, John had pledged his word to the new Christians of Portugal, (as the baptized Jews were called,) that the Inquisition should not be established for twenty years, (repeating thus a covenant previously made with them by king Manuel to a similar effect;) and also that they should not be liable to be accused of heresy by the depositions of secret witnesses. Great opposition was therefore made by them to the establishment of the holy office, and with such effect that Paul III., successor of Clement, not only granted them a pardon for the past, but exempted them from the most galling of the new instructions. In 1536, however, on the representation of the king that some new Christians had relapsed into Judaism, whilst others adopted the Lutheran heresies, the Inquisition, in a modified form, was again established, and Diego da Silva, bishop of Ceuta, was the first inquisitor-general.

* Limborch, chap. xxv.

Cardinal Tabera, who was the sixth inquisitor-general of the Portuguese tribunals, exercised his office with great severity; and Llorente says respecting him, "The number of victims, calculated as it was for the time of Maurique, affords, for the seven years of cardinal Tabera's ministry, seven thousand seven hundred and twenty individuals condemned and punished: eight hundred and forty were burned in prison, four hundred and twenty in effigy; the rest, in number five thousand four hundred and sixty, were subjected to different penances. I firmly believe that the number was much more considerable, but, faithful to my system of impartiality, I have stated the most moderate calculation." * Even if the reader should be of opinion that indulgence to an opponent may require some abatement of this calculation, the result will be fearful indeed. It is evident that the unjust severities practised by this tribunal were such as to excite the reclamations of pope Paul III. himself, who, with only partial success, urged upon the inquisitors greater forbearance.

With the early history of the Inquisition in Portugal, the name of an Englishman is associated, as having, under circumstances of a very peculiar character, fallen under its ban.

John Gardiner, an Englishman, resided at Lisbon as a British merchant, but as a Protestant righteously abstained from frequenting the Roman Catholic worship. However, on the

* Llorente's History of the Inquisition, chap. xvi.

occasion of a marriage between the prince of Portugal and the infanta of Spain, he departed from this wise custom and went to church, where the superstitious observances which met his eye excited within him the greatest horror. He rashly resolved to obtain reformation or to sacrifice his own life. With this view he wound up and closed his business, and prepared to take the attitude of a witness for the truth. Accordingly, going to the cathedral, he snatched the host which the people were adoring, and trampled it in the dust. The consternation was excessive, and Gardiner's life was in imminent peril. The king being present, inquired who had instigated him to such a proceeding. Gardiner declared that he had no accomplices, but acted according to his conscience alone. He was imprisoned, and an order was at the same time issued that all his countrymen then in Lisbon should undergo the same fate. The tortures of the Inquisition were applied to Gardiner—a ball was alternately forced down and drawn up his throat, and one of his hands was amputated; but nothing could cause him to denounce a deed in which he gloried, and he was condemned to die. A gibbet was accordingly erected, and a fire placed beneath it. Gardiner was then hung from it over the flames, so as to be roasted in the most lingering manner, being sometimes lowered into the fire, and then raised up, so as to be fully seen by the people as he perished in his agony. But his courage was undaunted. In reply to the

exhortations of the priests who stood around him, that he would renounce his heresies and pray to the Virgin, he replied with his dying breath, "When Christ ceases to be our Advocate then I will pray to the virgin Mary to become one." He began the Psalm in the Vulgate, "Judge me, O God! and defend my cause against an ungodly nation."—This was the motto of the Inquisition. His tormentors, in order to put a stop to his recitation, drew his roasted body up and down more quickly, till the rope suddenly breaking, he met his death in the flames. As our first really Protestant king, Edward VI., then sat upon the throne of England, all his subjects in Lisbon were, in consequence of this event, regarded for some time with peculiar disfavour.

If Rome has ever been celebrated for a faithful remembrance of its promises, it has not been where heretics have been concerned. The Portuguese history of the holy tribunal furnishes one among many illustrations of this significant fact. As the Jews of that country had contributed a sum of no less than £250,000 to aid Sebastian in an assault on the Moors in Africa, pope Gregory III. promised (contrary to the advice of Philip II. of Spain) that during ten years the Jews should be free from the fines of the Inquisition. Not more than three months had elapsed from the issuing of this edict, when the African expedition having disastrously failed, the same pope ascertained from the best legal opinions that such a promise was a rash

one to have been made, and a dangerous one for the safety of the church to be observed.

In 1604, a bull, issued by pope Clement VIII., promised to relieve the condition of those who were the victims of inquisitorial severity. But the hope it held out was probably a mockery and a cruelty, for the bull was apparently succeeded by a more stringent system than before.

In the year 1682, we read of an auto at which eighty-two persons were sentenced to severe punishments; three were burned alive, and one was strangled before being burned. The offences were mainly Judaism and witchcraft. Not long afterwards, the throne of pope Alexander VIII. at Rome was besieged by a deputation, entreating that he would show pity on the new Christians of Portugal, who were immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition, where some of them had lain for fourteen years, and none for less than seven.

When, in the year 1672, some wafers were missing from the churches, suspicion was directed towards the Moors and Jews of Lisbon, and the torture was put into the most industrious action. Pitying their case, some noblemen of influence asked the king to end these barbarities. He referred them to the court of Rome. It might have been expected that a discovery—soon afterwards made—that the offender was a Roman Catholic, would have settled the whole affair by opening the prison doors. But the accused were still held in confinement because

a quarrel had arisen between the court of Rome and the Inquisition, respecting a reform in the holy office, the king siding with the former. Dominican justice, when animated by revenge, does not disdain to war with the dead; for when the monarch soon after this breathed his last, the inquisitors led his widow and regent, Doña Luisa, to his grave, that she might witness the manner in which the church could insult the remains of her departed husband. Some peculiar barbarities appear to have attended the mode in which the martyrs of the Inquisition suffered death at Lisbon. The following is the relation of Dr. Geddes:—

"The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate than they are loaded with chains before the eyes of the Inquisition, and being carried first to the secular jail, are, within an hour or two, brought from thence before the lord chief justice, who, without knowing anything of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them one by one in what religion they intend to die? If they answer that they will die in the communion of the church of Rome, they are condemned by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burned to ashes. But if they say they will die in the Protestant, or in any faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenced by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there burned alive.

"At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are as many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burned, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the *professed*, as the Inquisition call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and then burned, the professed go up a ladder betwixt the two Jesuits who have attended them all day, and when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits spend a quarter of an hour in exhorting the professed to be reconciled to the church of Rome, which, if they refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends, and having turned the professed off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time to renew their exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, 'that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire so soon as they are out of their bodies.' Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladder, the cry is, 'Let the dogs' beards be made!' which is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to a long pole, against their faces.

"And this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burned to a coal, and is

always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull feast or a farce being dull entertainments to the using a professed heretic thus inhumanly. The professed's beards having been thus made, or burned, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furze which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high that the top of the flame seldom reaches them; and if there happens to be a wind to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reaches higher than their knees; so that though, if there be a calm, the professed are generally dead before half an hour has elapsed since the lighting of the furze, yet if the weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half or two hours, and so are really roasted and not burned to death. But though out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, hearing the sufferers (so long as they were able to speak) crying out, '*Misericordia por amor de Dios!*' 'Mercy for the love of God!' yet it is beheld by people of both sexes and all ages with such transports of joy and satisfaction as are not on any other occasion to be met with."

A letter, written to Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, by Mr. Wilcox, afterwards bishop of Rochester, in 1706, corroborates the above account. The writer speaks of an auto da fé which he had just witnessed at Lisbon, where he was at that time an English chaplain,

at which five persons were condemned and two burned alive. "The woman was alive in the flames half an hour, and the man above an hour. The king and his brothers were seated at a window so near as to be addressed for a considerable time, in very moving terms, by the man as he was burning. But though the favour he begged was only a few more faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it."*

The case of Elizabeth Vasconelles, which was attested before the same clergyman and the consul of Portugal, possesses considerable interest. She had gone to Madeira, and had been married to a physician of that island, never conforming, however, to the rites of the Romish church. Her husband had gone on a voyage to Brazil, and she, being taken ill, was visited by priests, who administered to her the sacrament, though without her knowledge, she being in a state of delirium. In consequence of her afterwards refusing to conform to the established ritual, she was sent a prisoner to the Lisbon Inquisition. There she was kept in a narrow cell during nine months, and was told, that as she had conformed to the Romish church she must persist in it or burn. As she refused obedience, she was severely whipped with knotted cords, and some time after was cruelly cauterized with red hot irons, and then sent back to her prison without any application for her wounds. A month after she was again severely whipped. As they found her fortitude un-

* Chandler's History of Persecution, p. 247. Note.

shaken, the inquisitors told her "that it was the mercy of that tribunal which led them to endeavour to rescue her from the flames of hell; but if her resolution were to burn rather than to profess the Romish religion, they would give her a trial of it beforehand." Accordingly, "her left foot was made bare, and an iron slipper, red hot, being immediately brought in, her foot was fastened into it, which continued on, burning her to the bone, till such time as by extremity of pain she fainted away, and the physician declaring her life in danger, they took it off, and ordered her again to her prison."

She was subsequently again whipped, and was threatened with fresh tortures. Worn out by suffering, she at length consented to subscribe her name to a paper which was set before her. She accordingly signed she knew not what; and after having been pillaged of all her property, amounting to about £500, and obliged to take an oath of solemn secresy, she was turned into the streets to beg or starve. Such was the substance of the deposition made by this poor woman. Her further history does not appear to have been related.

After one of those revolutions by which the framework of society in Portugal has been frequently disturbed, the office of the Inquisition in Lisbon was destroyed. The following description of the appearance which the interior of the building presented, will be read with interest:—

"On the 8th of October, 1821, the palace of the holy office was opened to the people. The number which crowded to see it for the first four days, rendered it extremely difficult, and even dangerous, to attempt an entrance. The edifice is extensive, and has the form of an oblong square, with a garden in the centre. It is three stories high, and has several vaulted galleries, along which are situated a number of dungeons of six, seven, eight, and nine feet square. Those on the ground floor, and on the first story, having no windows, are deprived of both air and light when the door is shut. The dungeons of the next story have a kind of breathing hole, in the form of a chimney, through which the sky may be seen. Those apartments were allotted to prisoners who it was supposed might be set at liberty. In the vaulted wall of each dungeon there is a hole of about an inch in diameter, which communicates with a secret corridor, running along by each tier of dungeons. By this means the agents of the Inquisition could at any moment observe the conduct of the prisoners without being seen by them; and when two persons were confined in the same dungeon, could hear their conversation. In these corridors were seats, so placed that a spy could observe what was passing in two dungeons by merely turning his eyes from right to left, in order to look into either of the holes between which he might be stationed. Human skulls, and other bones, have been found in several of the dungeons. On the walls

of these frightful holes are carved the names of some of the unfortunate victims buried in them, accompanied with lines, or notches, indicating the number of days of their captivity. One name had beside it the date '1809.' The doors of certain dungeons, which had not been used for some years, still remained shut, but the people forced them open. In nearly all of them human bones were found; and among these melancholy remains, in a dungeon, were fragments of the garments, and the girdle of a monk. In some of these dungeons the chimney-shaped air-hole was walled up, which is a certain sign of the murder of the prisoner. In such cases the unfortunate victim was compelled to go into the air-hole, the lower extremity of which was immediately closed by masonry. Quicklime was afterwards thrown on him, which extinguished life and destroyed the body. In several of these dens of misery mattresses were found, some old, others almost new—a circumstance which proves, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the Inquisition in these latter times was something more than a scarecrow. The ground on which the palace of the Inquisition stands was covered with private houses before 1775, whence it is plain that the victims who have suffered here must all have been sacrificed within less than sixty years. Besides the dungeons which the people already visited, there are subterraneous vaults which have not yet been opened."

Reference has been already made to th

establishment of an inquisitorial office at Goa, in the East Indies. In the prosecution of their missions on the Malabar coast, the Romish priests, according to their custom with heathens, had frequent recourse to compulsory baptism. By such means, together with lavish favours conferred on those who became converts to papal Christianity, they speedily gathered around them a considerable body; and as a protection against the heresies of the Nestorians, as well as against the secret Jews in their vicinity, the tribunal of the Inquisition was established at Goa. It followed the general rule of the holy office in other countries, dealing sometimes with Nestorians and heretics without, and sometimes with contumacious priests within. Much of our information relative to the tribunal at Goa is derived from a French physician, named Dellon, who was made painfully acquainted with it in 1763. Residing at Damaun, a Portuguese town in the East Indies, he had spoken with considerable freedom respecting religious subjects in general, and the Inquisition in particular. He was accordingly brought under suspicion and imprisoned, but when introduced into the presence of the inquisitor, terrified at the probable consequence of his imprudence, he fell at his feet, offering to accuse himself and amend his fault. He was told, however, that there was no haste, and that when the inquisitor was at leisure he would send for him. He remained in prison from August, 1673, to January in the next year.

He was confined in a cell ten feet square entirely alone, and denied the use of books or any amusement. After a considerable time a second audience was granted, when Dellon, with head, legs, and feet naked, was conducted again to the presence of the inquisitor. He detailed many conversations which he had held, but as he did not at the time remember that he had said anything about the Inquisition, he confessed nothing on that subject. He was asked in the usual manner, whether he had anything further to confess, and on being told "no," was solemnly adjured not to make concealments.

On the 15th of February, his interview was begun by a similar adjuration. A multitude of questions were proposed to him relative to his baptism, his friends, etc. He was then ordered to repeat the Creed, Ave Maria, Commandments, etc.; and again conjured, "by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ," to make instant confession. As soon as the prisoner retired, some words he had spoken at Damaun relative to the holy office flashed on his mind. He demanded an audience, but it was a month before he obtained it.

When brought once more before the inquisitor, he detailed the conversation he had remembered, and imagined that now his trials would be ended. He was frigidly told, however, that this was not what had been expected. His confession was not even taken down in writing.

So great was Dellon's despair at this juncture

that he endeavoured to commit suicide. He was therefore kept in tight manacles, which so aggravated his sufferings, that only the watchful caution of his keepers preserved him from dashing out his brains on the stone floor.

Eighteen months thus passed, and Dellon was once more brought before the inquisitorial tribunal. He was now formally accused, partly on his own confession, of having spoken disrespectfully of the holy office and of the sovereign pontiff, and was told that his property was confiscated to the crown, and that he was sentenced to be burned. The former charge Dellon admitted; the latter he utterly denied. Three or four audiences followed, with the same result. At this time he heard every morning the cries of victims enduring the torture, which caused him to fear that he should undergo a similar process. In conclusion, Dellon was brought out at the auto da fé, whence he was taken to Lisbon, where, after labouring for some time among convicts, he was released. At this auto, however, two persons were destroyed by fire.

The narrative of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, though nearly thirty years later than that of Dellon, forms an appropriate sequel to it. As vice-provost of the College of Fort William, he possessed an opportunity of observing the state of the Inquisition at Goa. Referring to the year 1808, he expresses his surprise that at that period the inquisitorial tribunal at Goa should still exist:—"That in the

present civilized state of Christian nations in Europe, an Inquisition should exist at all under their authority appeared strange; but that a papal tribunal of this character should exist under the implied toleration and countenance of the British government; that Christians, being subjects of the British empire, and inhabiting the British territories, should be amenable to its power and jurisdiction, was a statement which seemed to be scarcely credible, but, if true, a fact which demanded the most public and solemn representation. . . . I had communicated to colonel Adams and to the British resident my purpose of inquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty, since everything relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on any subject." . . . He resolved, therefore, to visit Goa for himself, where a friend of his introduced him to Joseph a Doloribus, the second inquisitor of the holy office, who invited Dr. Buchanan to take up his residence with him. . . . "On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the inquisitor, coming into my room, clothed in *black robes* from head to foot, instead of the usual dress of his order—

white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the holy office. 'I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time?' 'Yes,' answered he, 'much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.'

"I had thought for some days of putting Dellon's book into the inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to assent to the facts stated in that book I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent,

'*Mendacium! mendacium!*' I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books?' said he;' and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"It was on this night that a circumstance happened which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber door, in the long gallery which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror from some person in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the alguazils of the holy office seizing my servants to carry them to the Inquisition; but on going out I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm (a boy of about fourteen) at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a *spectre*, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning, at breakfast, the inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a '*animi phantasma*,' a phantom of the imagination.

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The inquisitor admitted that

Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the autos da fé, were in general just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy church; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies,' together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the autos da fé. I added, that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed, but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration, to show that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.

"The chief argument of the inquisitor to prove the melioration of the Inquisition was the superior *humanity* of the inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers, but what availed humanity in an inquisitor? He must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a relapsed heretic must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the inquisitor be humane

or not. 'But if,' said I, 'you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, show me the Inquisition.' He said it was not permitted to any person to see the Inquisition. I observed that mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of the Inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance, had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more upon that subject; and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the Inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added, that he himself had been pleased to communicate very fully with me on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the Inquisition the next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

"One morning after breakfast my host went to dress for the holy office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time for the purpose of showing me the Inquisition. I

thought that his countenance was more severe than usual, and that his attendants were not so civil as before. The truth was, the *midnight scene* was still on my mind. The Inquisition is about a quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our manjeels. On our arrival at the place, the inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

"He led me first to the great hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well-dressed persons, who I afterwards understood were the familiars and attendants of the holy office. They bowed very low to the inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the autos da fé. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their

souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, 'Would not the holy church wish in her mercy to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall, and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor from the beginning to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended or rather agitated by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments regarding the present state of the Inquisition was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw, but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the

British government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture, and declare what modes of execution or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public autos da fé. If, after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.' To these observations the inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons, be pleased then merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word. How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the Inquisition?' The inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, he retired hastily towards the door, and wished me farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume, and both of us, I believe, were sorry

that our parting took place with a clouded countenance."

The Inquisition at Goa perished, with the obsolete government of which it was an appendage, in the year 1821.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MODERN INQUISITION IN ITALY.

It remains for us now briefly to notice the progress of the modern tribunal in Italy.

After the persecutions of the Hussites, to which we have already made reference, the Italian Inquisition declined. Many efforts were made to revive its action, but without adequate success. When, in 1486, the inquisitor-general condemned certain persons to be burned, the secular officers refused to fulfil the summons without first examining the process by which they had been sentenced. Though a show of generosity was made by the pope, Alexander VI., on the first expulsion of the Moors from Spain, many of them were incarcerated till they had qualified themselves, by confessing their heresies, to receive admission into the church. They then walked to St. Peter's in sambenitos, after which they received the papal benediction.

Leo X. ordained that the publication of all books should be prohibited till their contents had received the approbation of the inquisitor of heretical pravity; and the council of Trent subjected all works to the approbation of the holy office. When Luther had burned the bull

of Leo x., that pope ordered the Inquisition to adopt the most vigorous measures against heretics, and enjoined the magistrates, without seeing the processes, to execute implicitly the behests of the church. Paul III., the same pope who summoned the council of Trent, passed a decree, reviving the holy office in a new form, to which he gave the name of the Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, and from which Spain was specifically excepted. This institution exercised a special control over all books, (what does Romanism fear so much as free literature?) and inflicted penalties of various kinds, pecuniary and personal, for the breach of its regulations. Many eminent Christians, also, who had imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation, suffered for their attachment to gospel truth. Among the rest was Aonio Paleario, who, on the accession of Pius v. to the pontificate, was accused, in consequence of his tract on "The Benefit of Christ's Death,"* of denying the doctrines of the church, and was condemned to be hung and his body burned, (A.D. 1570.) Another sufferer was Thomas Reynolds, an Englishman, who, after being racked, died in prison.

Gregory XIII. gave permission to Jews to reside in his pontifical city, but compelled them to hear sermons directed against their peculiar tenets. Sixtus v. encouraged the proceedings of the Inquisition against those who professed magical arts; and under his pontificate the

* Published by the Religious Tract Society.

vicars were required to publish the general edict of the Inquisition, to send monthly reports to the inquisitor-general, to observe the most profound secresy, answering no questions on the affairs of the holy office, and divulging no information, as well as refusing to answer all letters on behalf of prisoners of the Inquisition, without special permission from the pope.

The influence of the holy office was not more fatal to the progress of religion in Italy than it was to that of science. Of this the well-known case of Galileo may be taken as a specimen. This celebrated man was teacher of mathematics at Florence, and had given a great impulse to the studies of natural philosophy and geography, but especially to that of astronomy. After his discovery of the telescope, by means of which he demonstrated the phases of the planet Venus, and made known the satellites of Jupiter and the spots on the sun, he adopted the system of Aristarchus, afterwards repeated by Copernicus, which taught, according to the now established Newtonian doctrine, that the earth revolves round the sun. This doctrine, as Galileo announced it, was regarded by the Jesuits and Dominicans as an insolent attempt to dispute the authority of the Scriptures.* They did

* Dr. Wiseman, in a recent lecture at Leeds, contends, with others, that the offence for which Galileo was prosecuted was not his scientific views, but his teaching them theologically. The distinction is neither very clear nor important. In either case the Romish church has opposed freedom of inquiry. But what literature has not the Inquisition proscribed? Locke, Fleury, Racine, are but specimens of its prohibited books.

not see, or they would not, that the Bible has been mercifully adapted to man's views and language, and that the Divine Being, seeing he could not have been understood at all except by accommodating himself to man's weakness, had graciously employed the imperfect vehicle to which his creatures are most accustomed; and, therefore, that no inference to the prejudice of revelation can be drawn from the fact that, "speaking after the manner of men," the Deity has employed current, rather than scientific modes of expression. Galileo was accused before the Inquisition in the year 1615, and was brought to Rome. Cardinal Bellarmine commanded him, on pain of imprisonment, to renounce the dogma he had taught, and never to repeat it more. Galileo promised obedience, but the promise was rashly made, and this lover of science, impressed with the truth of his theory, could not remain silent. Yet he thought that, by employing caution in the promulgation of his doctrine, he might possibly escape censure. He therefore published a dialogue, as between a believer in the Ptolemaic system, an adherent of the Copernican doctrine, and a third individual in doubt, and obtained leave of the master of the sacred palace at Rome to publish his tract.

But when this treatise was issued, the consternation was dreadful. Urban VIII. was made to believe that the work contained a caricature of himself. Galileo was in terror and fell sick, but was compelled to appear at Rome, where the holy office declared his books

heretical, and condemned him to penance. Under the influence of this compulsion, which proved too strong for his moral principle, Galileo, kneeling down on the pavement of the pope's palace, swore by the holy Gospels a renunciation of his errors. It is said, however, that on rising from his prostrate position he stamped with his foot, and muttered in an under tone, "*Eppur si muove*"—("But it does move though.") His punishment was in consequence mitigated, and he was sent to a monastery instead of a dungeon during the rest of his days.

Among the modern instances of imprisonment by the Italian inquisition, the case of Catherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, two quakeresses, who were incarcerated in Malta till their skin was dried up like parchment and the hair fell from their heads in consequence of their close and loathsome confinement; and that of Archibald Bower, a Scotchman, who represented himself as having suffered extreme torture, (though some details of his case were contradicted after his arrival in England,) deserve a passing reference. The Inquisition was very active in dispersing the lodges of freemasons or politicians which abounded towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1782, Ferdinand VI., king of the Two Sicilies, finally abolished the Inquisition in his dominions.

Our next reference must be to the occupation of Rome by the French in 1809. From the

state of the prisons at this time the disuse of this branch of inquisitorial power was inferred, and it was concluded that the Inquisition had ceased to be a tribunal for the punishment of heresy and other offences in general, and was confined simply to taking cognizance of crimes against ecclesiastical law. But in 1825, under the pontificate of Leo XII., (Napoleon being quietly interred at St. Helena,) the inquisitorial prisons rose once more, with the significant amendment of "being *now* well supplied with light and air." The public attention was, however, little drawn to the Roman Inquisition till the recent revolution in Italy reminded the world forcibly of its existence, though any prying eye might have seen its modest building quietly crouching down at the foot of the Vatican and of St. Peter's at Rome.

When the Constituent Assembly, in 1849, determined that the holy office should be no more, it was resolved to appropriate the erection to the reception of a train of civic artillery, in consequence of which extensive alterations were made in the building, and some significant discoveries were made. The prisons then contained only two occupants, a bishop and a nun—the former had been imprisoned for twenty years in consequence of his having been ordained bishop by falsely personating another man. Of the offence which the nun had committed nothing was known.

At the bottom of one of the vaults a discovery was made of a great number of human bones

without skulls, so mingled with lime and corroded by its influence, that none of them could be moved without crumbling into dust. In the same cell several skulls were found not corroded. The two classes of bones evidently bore relation to each other. An Italian refugee has given this explanation. The bodies were immersed in lime which was slaked and reached up to their necks. They died of suffocation and in torment. After a time the head detached itself from the body and rolled away. We must not, perhaps, assume this interpretation as certain, but the practice is in accordance with other ascertained practices. In another vault was found a quantity of earth of a peculiar character. It was analogous to that which exists in crowded churchyards, being composed of decayed tissue, with human hair of considerable length, more like that of women than of men. This disgusting mass was found at the bottom of a deep opening which intervened between the hall of trial and the well-furnished apartment of the chief inquisitor. A trap had once closed up this orifice, and the conclusion was, that numerous victims must have set their feet upon its treacherous surface—possibly whilst listening to words of kind farewell from the inquisitor—then sank to be seen no more. Besides this, there was discovered in one of the prisons a furnace, with the remains of a woman's dress. The very apprehension of its possible purpose convulses one with a shudder. On some

remnants of the ancient cells sentences were found written: "Too long have I been confined here at the caprice of calumniators without admission to the sacraments." Again, "Take away oppression, O God." Again, "*O mori*," surmounted by a death's head and cross bones. In one cell was found written in English, "Is this the Christian faith?" The examination of the papers which were discovered afforded proofs of an atrocious mass of degradation and licentiousness, though it is believed that some of the principal documents were burned immediately after the pope's flight.

An interesting question to the reader of these pages, as he approaches the conclusion of this volume is—

Does the office of the so-called holy Inquisition still exist?

We have already glanced at the arguments by which the continuance of such a tribunal as that of the Inquisition is defended and justified. The nature of this work demands that these shall be more explicitly examined, especially as, in some publications of recent times, they have been put forth broadly and unblushingly.

It may be contended that heresy is a great crime, the prolific parent of perhaps all other crimes; that inasmuch as faith is the spring of all action, a perverted faith is most dangerous, and that the interests, therefore, not of individuals alone, but of the whole community, require the suppression of unscriptural doctrines.

No rightly judging Protestant denies the

criminality of error, especially the high criminality of religious error, nor that the consequences of such errors to the community are in the highest degree disastrous. But as God himself has forborne to extirpate evil from the world by external and physical influences, and has rather commanded his people to do so by the influence of persuasion, of virtue, and of goodness, it is the height of arrogance to claim for the church of Rome, or for the Inquisition which represents it, a power which in this probationary world the Almighty Being does not himself exercise. It is evidently the intention of God that the tribunal to reward or punish men's actions shall not be set up in this state, but in another. Man has no scalpel fine enough for spiritual dissection, no wisdom adequate to the accuracy of the separation which the severance of truth from error demands. In rooting up the tares, he will "pull up the wheat also." In this case the practice of the Romish church exemplifies its own theory and condemns it. It has eradicated more good than evil. The testimonies given from many quarters to the morality of the judges themselves is most damaging. History, science, literature, religion, furnish superabundant evidence of the intolerable mischief Romanism has done, and of the still greater mischief it would have done had a higher power permitted it to carry its own doctrines into full operation.

It is contended, again, that the Inquisition

was the great parent of peace and order; that "during the last three centuries there have been through the agency of the Inquisition more peace and more happiness in Spain than in the other countries of Europe." If quietness and order be the only test of moral excellence, then absolute slavery or actual death will best realize these conditions, and the argument should be pushed to the adoption of one or both. The Inquisition did give peace to Spain, but it was by crushing its energies, enervating its art, repressing its literature, annihilating its liberty. "You make a desert," said a heathen writer, "and call it peace."

It may be contended, again, that the punishments of the Inquisition, terrible as they were, were not worse than those of other tribunals—that a woman was strangled and then burned before the debtor's door in Newgate for coining in 1789, and that torture was used in Scotland to extract evidence so late as 1680. The absurdity and enormity of this argument may be perceived by the reader in an instant. What! has a religion which borrows the name of Jesus Christ, himself the pattern of mercy and love—a religion which is to teach and instruct the world—no better prototype than the punishments invented in the darkest ages, though in some cases lingering on beyond their day? One might surely have expected it to protest in the name of Christ against such practices, rather than by its own authority to promote and instigate such barbarities. Well did our Lord

say to some of his disciples, whose momentary zeal might have prompted them to similar conclusions—"Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of: for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

That the Inquisition is still in action has been boldly denied, nor is it difficult for us to imagine that it has often been denied with perfect sincerity; for so revolting is the recital of the atrocities of the holy office to every humane and reflecting mind, that we cannot conceive of a devout Roman Catholic who does not lean to the belief that such enormities must have passed away from his beloved church for ever. It may well be believed that scarcely any Roman Catholic layman, and very few even of the clergy themselves, are thoroughly versed in the history and numerous enactments of their own church. Could we judge of them by the standard of their present knowledge, without raising the previous question, how it happens that that knowledge is so inadequately small, we should be called to pity rather than to blame. But the important question returns upon us, If the Inquisition be a notion, now absolutely faded and obsolete—thrown aside amidst the black rubbish of the dark ages—a system alien to the genius of Romanism as it is abhorrent from the sympathies of Protestantism,—how happens it that the edicts of later popes and councils have not as eagerly denounced its existence as in former days they unblushingly proclaimed it?

How is it that the fostering wing, beneath which this cockatrice' egg has been hatched, is boasted to be immutable and infallible? Why, when the thing itself is gone, shivered into atoms, as it is said to be, by the universal feeling of an enlightened age, do its forms and its apparatus yet survive? Why are Dominican friars still the keepers of the Inquisition, and the supreme pontiff yet its prefect? And why do the kindling embers of ancient persecution still appear whenever there is a breath of despotism to fan them into a flame, to the consternation and grief of all lovers of an open Bible and a free religion?

But this is not all. Let those who contend for the obsoleteness of the holy office, mark only the declarations and avowals of Roman Catholics themselves. Of these the following may be taken as a specimen :—

"*I have not the least doubt that a tribunal of this kind, modified according to time, place, and the characters of nations, would be most useful in every country.*"* This is from a Roman Catholic publication, apparently of high authority. The sentiment might be confirmed by others of a similar character. There is some ground, indeed, for believing that the elements of an inquisitorial tribunal already exist within the English shores. But to any careful observer of the signs of the times, it will appear not an

* Letters from a Russian gentleman on the Spanish Inquisition, by count Joseph de Maistre. Translated by the Rev. E. M. D. Dawson. Dolman, London, 1851.

unwarrantable nor an ungrounded belief that papal ascendancy would immediately bring back, even upon this favoured land, all the tyranny, all the secret proceedings, perhaps all the horrors, of the terrible and accursed Inquisition! Our conclusion is—

THAT THE INQUISITION IS IN ABEYANCE, BUT NOT ANNIHILATED; THAT THE TRAIN IS LAID, BUT WAITS FOR THE HAND BOLD ENOUGH TO APPLY THE SPARK WHICH IS TO FIRE IT!

And the crisis for which it pauses, may God in his mercy grant that Protestant Christendom may never see!

It remains for us in few words to conclude this volume, by some observations on the whole system we have attempted to describe.

We cannot detach our recollections of the inquisitorial system from its association with the doctrines, discipline, and temper of Popery itself. Such an apparatus could only have existed in connexion with elements of grievous and even appalling error. The holy office is necessarily identified with a religion which keeps the mind in paralyzed subjection to priestly domination. Its power presupposes the interdiction of free inquiry respecting Scriptural truth. It proceeds throughout upon the supposition that forms, ceremonial, and external profession, are the all in all of Christianity, instead of the enlightened convictions of the inmost heart. The Inquisition can only coexist, in energy, with absolute allegiance to one

temporal head, and with a subordination of all authority, temporal and spiritual, to himself as supreme. It undertakes a spiritual responsibility from which any other system than Romanism would shrink aghast, and presupposes an infallibility which that church alone has ever been found to claim, and it realizes in the most striking manner the application to Romanism of that passage of Scriptural truth :—"Which opposeth and exalteth itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that it as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing itself that it is God."* Can any religion which calls itself Protestant, whatever its errors, (and no variety is free,) be conceived of as systematically associated with the series of evils of which the Inquisition is the type, and no accidental one :—Insolence; Fraud; Rapacity; Licentiousness; Indignity; Terror; Torture; Blood?

How fearful is it to think of the Inquisition as having been to many minds the strongest exponent of religion they have ever known! How many have lived and died, whose highest views of holiness, goodness, power, and mercy, have been derived from this dangerous and blood-stained source? Llorente says that "Torquemada was born to render religion execrated." Sad truth! that to many the only visible personification of Christianity they have ever known was that from which their inmost hearts revolted!

* 2 Thess. ii. 4.

And what must have been the domestic and social system which such an organization inculcated and encouraged? Deriving their notions from the partiality, rigidity, and gloomy severity of such a demonstration, what must have been the husbands, parents, masters, rulers, sovereigns, who grew up beneath its influence? The case would be fearful if the Inquisition merely *represented* the state of society in its day. It is doubly fearful when it was the means of *informing* and *creating* it.

Shall we regard the inquisitorial tribunal as a means of *conversion* to God? The word conversion is familiar even in such a connexion. But it means another thing from the melting and winning of the soul by the agencies of God's Spirit. Taking the word conversion in *that* sense, we cannot, without horror, entertain the thought of such a mockery as the connexion involves!

But let us not be unthankful. The value of the metal is seen by exposing it to the fire. God has, for wise reasons, determined that religion shall not be too easy. We shrink from the crucible, but we admire the gold. Rome and its Inquisition have been always engaged on bringing out the true church, by contraries! In the Divine hand the spiritual enemy has been the real friend. The implement which has disfigured the foliage has increased the fruit. The strongest arguments against papal superstition are those of its own successes. Error dies in living; truth lives in dying! The mistakes of Romanism—if they

be mistakes—might cause its most bigoted follower to suspect his creed; its deliberate intentions—if they be deliberate—might cause the most resolute to deny it.

Above all, let us not, as Protestants, overestimate our real strength. Ancestry, numbers, position, worldly influence, will not save us. We are more in danger from insidious than from persecuting Popery. The quiet tide which saps the shore gains more than the thundering waves which threaten to engulf it. Protestant security is in the prevalence of gospel truth. A crucified Saviour apprehended by faith; a sanctifying Spirit sought by prayer; a naturally corrupt heart brought into contact with the eternal and invisible; the amendment of the moral and not the merely sentimental nature; the transfusion, through our whole life, of God's sacred and written word—these are our bulwarks, and, like many of the strongest fortresses, are invincible, though unobtrusive. Let us beware of the religion which is mere external homage. And if we would be true to ourselves and our creed, let us set up a holy Inquisition within—with Christ as our Head—with his word as our law—with conscience for our great investigator—with resolute mortification of sin as our appropriate discipline; but having all this system pervaded by a love for God, not by a mere terror of his frown.

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