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MISCELLANEOUS
TRACTS:
V I Z.

I. The History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain, in the Reign of Philip III.
II. The History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile, in the Beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.
III. A View of the Spanish Cortes, or Parliament.
IV. An Account of the Manuscripts and Reliques found in the Mountains of Granada, 1588.
V. A View of the Inquisition of Portugal; with a List of the Prisoners which came out of the Inquisition of Lisbon, in an Act of the Faith, Celebrated Anno 1682.
VI. A Spanish Protestant Martyrology:

By Michael Geddes, Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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PREFACE

To the Reader in General Explanation of the Progress of the Spanish Army. For the Army and the Army of the Conquests. He

Adams [redacted]
THOUGH the General Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain, was one of the greatest Revolutions of this Age, yet through the Short Accounts that are given of it in the General Histories of that Kingdom, and through the Books which have been Published in Spanish concerning it, being all out of Print, and hard to be come by; it is so little known, that I cannot say that I have met with many among the Curious in History, that knew much more of it, than that it happen'd at such a time, and that Spain was thereby much Depopulated and Impoverished; being altogether in the dark, as to the Pretences whereon it was Executed, and by whom, and by what Methods it was promoted; and in a word, as to most of its Material Circumstances.

Wherefore, that so great and useful a Piece of History may not be in a manner lost in this part of the World, after having with no small Trouble, procured all, or most of the Books that were ever Printed concerning this Tragical Expulsion, I did
did set my Self to write as full an Account of it as the said Books would help me to, and which having finished, I was the more forward to make Publick, believing, it might be of great use to our own, and to all other Protestant Governments, not to Imitate, which God, and Policy do forbid; but that detesting its Barbarity and Inhumanity, they may be warned by it to be always on their Guard against an undefatigable Enemy, who, tho he may promise, does never give Quarter; and with whom a Protestant, a Jew, and a Mahometan, are all one and the same; no Cruelties being thought great enough for any of them, if they will not believe as the Roman Church believeth.

And tho I cannot but be sensible, that this Work might have been done to more advantage, by most that pretend to write History, had they had the same Conveniences, I can nevertheless affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could not have been done by any with more Faithfulness. And as to the Reflections I have made on such matters, I shall only say, That had I not thought them to be just, I should never have Publish'd them; but whether they are so, or not, the Readers must Judge, to whose Candor I commit them.
THE HISTORY OF THE EXPULSION OF THE Morisco's OUT OF SPAIN

THE Taking of the City of Granada, by King Ferdinand of Aragon, and Queen Isabel of Castile, in the Year 1492. tho' it did put an end to the Moorish Government in Spain, where it had lasted above 700 Years; did not clear the Country of the Moors:
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Moors: The Body of the People, not only of the Kingdom of Granada, but of that of Valentia likewise, tho' Conquer'd by the Christians, in the Year 1236. and of Murcia, Conquer'd by them in the Year, 1265. being of that Race; besides great numbers of them scatter'd all over Castile, Estramadura, Aragon, Catalonia, &c. All these Moors did continue to keep themselves a distinct People from the Spaniards, by an obstinate adherence, not only to the Language, Habit, and Customs of their Ancestors, but to their Religion likewise, which was the Mahometan; few, or none of them in a long series of years having been Converted to the Christian Faith by all that the Spanish Friars could do or say to them: the Mahometans, of whatsoever Nation, thorow their being all taught from their Infancy, to value themselves extremely upon their Religion, for its being the Reigning Religion in so many great Empires, and to despise all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs; being in truth a stubborn sort of Creatures to Convert; and especially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have all an invincible aversion.

The Spanish Princes being sensible, how dangerous a thing it was, by reason of their near Neighbourhood to Barbary, to have
have so many *Moors* in their Dominions; and especially on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*, where most of 'em lived, were at a loss what to do with them. To have Murthered them all in cold Blood, was a thing that would have filled the World with Horror; and to Banish them all into *Barbary*, would be to depopulate their own Countries, and to Strengthen their Enemies by an accession of so many thousands of Families; the thing therefore that they did most earnestly desire and pursue, was to make them all Christians, knowing, that if that were once done effectually, it would extinguish all Affection in them for the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and in case of an Invasion from thence, would make them no less zealous than their Neighbours, to defend *Spain*. For which Reason, the *Spanish* Kings and Nobles were continually calling upon the Ecclesiastics, to Convert their *Moorish* Subjects, and Vassals to *Christianity*, telling them, among other things, to quicken them to the work; that it was a great Reproach to the Christian Faith, that it should not, where it had so many and great advantages over *Mahometism*, be able to Conquer it.

The Friars on the other side, who went only by *flarts*, and Preached a few Sermons to these *Infidels*, being very angry...
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with them, because they would not be Converted by them; did represent them as a most obstinate and obdurate sort of People, who were not to be overcome with Arguments, nor by any other than violent Methods: They did therefore all along advise their Princes either to Banish the Moors, or to make them all Slaves, if they would not turn Christians; or at least, to take all their Children from them, and Baptize them; by which means the next Generation would be all Christians.

But these Methods being reckoned by all that were not piqu'd by the Moors, having affronted them by their not having turned Christians, upon their Preaching to them, to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of Converting Infidels to the Faith; the Council of Toledo having expressly forbid the forcing of Infidels to be Baptized; and Thomas Aquinas, and most of their other Divines having declared it not to be Lawful to Baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents consent; These Methods were not used at this time. But besides that, it was extraordinary Scandalous to use such violent methods with the Moors, who, when they were Regnant, had never forced any of their Christian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the Publick Exercise of their Worship.
Worship: and further, King Ferdinand, when the City of Granada was surrendered to him, had engaged himself by an Oath, if the Moors had a mind to remain in Spain, not to give them any Disturbance on the account of their Religion, but to let them enjoy it with the same freedom as they had done under their own Princes.

For the first seven years after the taking of Granada, we do not find that the Moors were much Persecuted by the Spaniards, to oblige them to change their Religion, their Conversion having been left by Ferdinand, according to his Oath, to the Arguments, and Perjuries of the Arch Bishop, and other Ecclesiastics he had settled among them in great numbers, and without giving them Authority to make use of any Violence.

But Ferdinand being under no such Engagement to the Jews, who were likewise very numerous in Spain at that time, he did within three Months after the taking of the City of Granada, by a Publick Edict command all the Jews, if they would not be baptized, To depart with their Families within four Months, out of all his Dominions, upon Pain of Death: Which most of them did; some going into Italy, others to Turkey, and Barbary; but the main Body of them went into Portugal; where, for a great sum of Money, they obtained leave
of King John the II. to continue for some Months, until they could be provided with Ships to carry them off. But notwithstanding, the Reason why they did not leave Portugal within the time prefix'd, was, that the King would not suffer any Ships to take them aboard; and by Land they durst not go, the Spaniard having made it death for any of them to return into his Dominions; they were all, so soon as that Term was expired, strip'd by the King of all their Goods, and sold to his Subjects for Slaves.

King Emanuel, who succeeded John, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his Predecessor had done to the Jews, he set them all at liberty again; but at the same time, commanded them all, upon Pain of Perpetual Servitude, Either to be Baptized within a certain Term of Months, or to leave Portugal; promising, That Ships should be provided for all that would depart, at the three chief Ports of his Kingdom. The Jews who had all left Spain, where they and their Ancestors had lived for a great many Generations, because they would not turn Christians, did intend to have left Portugal for the same Reason; and did accordingly repair with their Families, to the Ports appointed for their Embarkation;
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where, instead of Ships to carry them off: they met with a Proclamation, prohibiting them, upon pain of Death, to embark any where but at Lisbon: To which City, when they were all come with their Families, the King commanded all their Children, that were under fourteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force: With which unexpected Violence, several Parents were so enraged, that they threw their Children that were under that Age, into the River, and into Wells, and themselves after them. But the time appointed for their Embarcation being expired, and no Ships being permitted to take any of them abord, they did rather than be made Slaves again, consent to be baptized.

The Jews who were at this time baptiz'd in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children: And whereas few, if any of them, were in their Hearts Christians, when they were thus forc'd to receive Baptism; so great numbers of their Descendants do to this day in Portugal, continue to breed up their Children in the Jewish Religion, notwithstanding the unintermitting Cruelties which have ever since been exercis'd by the Inquisition, upon all of them.
them that have been convicted of having returned to that Faith.

This dispersion of the Spanish Jews, is reckoned by all of that Nation and Religion, to have been, both as to hardships, and as to their numbers, nothing inferior to that which follow'd upon the Destruction of Jerusalem; above eight hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children having been driven out of Spain at this time. But to return to the Moors.

In the Year 1499, Ferdinand and Isabel having return'd to visit their new Conquests, did find, that in the seven Years the Granada Moors had been under their Government, few or none of them had been converted to Christianity; whereupon they sent to the Archbishop of Toledo, who, at that time, was the Famous Ximines, to come to them at Granada; who being arrived, they charged him, as he had any regard for the honour of the Christian Religion, the Salvation of thousands of Souls, and the security of Spain, to take some course or other to convert their Moorish Subjects to the Christian Faith; who as they were inform'd, were no less Mahometans, than they were when they liv'd under Kings of their own Religion. Ximines, who was a Man that would not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great Work
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Work with courting and carrying the chief Men among the Moors; and having by rich Presents, and greater Promises, persuaded some of the first Quality among them to turn Christians, their Examples were followed by a considerable number of the Inferior sort. The Moors both in the City and Country being much alarm'd and displeased with those Conversions, several of their principal men, with whom the Archbishop had not been able to prevail, did go about to persuade their Kindred and others, neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the Religion of their Forefathers. The Archbishop, so soon as he heard of those Counterworkings, laying all Humanity, faith the Writer of his Life, almost aside, he commanded all those Zealots to be apprehended; and having loaded them with Irons, he ordered them to be thrown into Dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greatest of Malefactors. Among these Zealots, there was one named Zagri, who was of a Noble Family, and had been in a high Command in Armies; and who among his other Exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with Gonzalo the Great Captain: The Archbishop reckoning, that if he were but able to subdue Zagri's high Spirit, so far as to make him turn Christian, none among the Moors would after that dare
dare to oppose him in his Conversions: He committed him to the custody of one of his own Chaplains, named Leoni, a man of a fierce and cruel disposition; in whose keeping, Zagri had not been many days, before he begg’d of his Keeper to be permit-
ted to speak with the Archbishop: Which having been granted, Zagri, when he ap-
pear’d before him, desired, That his Irons might be knock’d off, that he might deliver his Mind with the more freedom; which having been done, he declared; That he had been commanded the Night before in a Dream, to turn Christian; adding, at the same time, with a smile; I am not such a Blockhead as to want any more Arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lord-
ship’s; alluding to his Keeper’s Name; to whom, said Zagri, let my Countrymen be but committed for so many days, as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity; intimating, how bar-
barously he had been used by Leoni. The Archbishop being overjoy’d at his having thus converted Zagri, commanded him to be lead out, and washed; and having cloathed him in Scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the Name of Gonzalo Ferdinando, the Great Captain, who was at that time in Granada; and settling a Pen-

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sion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life; the other Morish Prisoners being no more able than Zagri, to withstand Leoni's Arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewise by the Archbishop; who after this commanded all the Moors to deliver their Alchorans, and all their other Arabick Books to him: Which having been done, he ordered all the Books that treated of Philosophy and Medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest in the Market-place of the City, to the great mortification of the Moors, who had not chang'd their Religion: And being resolved to make his Harvest as great as it was possible, he commanded the Children of all the Moors, who were called Elkes, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their Ancestors were anciently Christians, who had apostatized to the Mahometan Sect.

While the Archbishop was going on thus triumphantly with his Conversions, the Moors, who were enraged thereby almost to Madness, took up Arms; and having first barricado'd the Streets of the City, they march'd in a great Body to the House where the Archbishop lodged; who having sent one of his Servants to them, to know what it was they desired; they sent him word, That they desired, that the Articles whereon they had surrendered the City to the
The King, might be observed; and particularly, that of their having no trouble given 'em on the account of their Religion, which they would sooner die than part with: The Archbishop returned a very mild and favourable Answer to this Message, and continued to give them good words, and large Promises of what he would do for them, until the Count de Tondale Governor of the Citadel, came to his relief; who having, with very little bloodshed, dispersed the Moors, the Archbishop would not treat with them any longer, but as with Rebels; who had forfeited, not only all the Benefits of their Capitulation, but their Lives also, by the late Uproar.

The first News that the King and Queen, who were then at Sevil, had of this Insurrection, made it to be a great deal worse than it was; that News was, That the Moors, provoked by the Violences used by the Archbishop, to force them to change their Religion, had rebelled, and made themselves Masters of the whole City of Granada; and no Advice coming from the Archbishop, thorough the negligence of the Currier, by whom he had sent his Letters, his Conduct was severely cenfured by the whole Court, but especially by the King himself; who not having as yet digested the Affront the Queen had put upon him, in making
making Ximines Archbishop of Toledo, tho' he had begg'd it earnestly of her for his Natural Son Alphonso, of Aragon, Archbishop of Saragoca: He bid her with indignation, See what her hot-headed Ximines had done, having by his violent and obstinate Folly, lost a Place in a few Weeks, which had cost Spain so much Sweat and Blood. But Advice coming soon after, That the Insurrection was quelled, the King dispatch'd Judges to Granada, to condemn all the Moors, who had been any ways concerned in the Tumult, as Traytors; and having first condemned them, to offer them their Lives, if they would turn Christians: Which Order, having been executed by the Judges, fifty thousand Moors, Inhabitants of the City of Granada, purchased their Lives, by consenting to be baptized: By which means the Archbishop, when he went from Granada, did not leave one profess'd Mahometan in that City: Tho' it was reasonably believ'd, that he had not made one True Convert all the time that he was there.

The Bishop of Granada, to whom the Instructions of Ximines's Converts in the Christian Faith was left, order'd the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles to be Translated into Arabick for their use, for which Method of Instruction that Bishop was much blam'd by Ximines,
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mines, who thereupon declar'd, That whenever the Bible should come to be Translated into Vulgar Tongues, it would be of Pernicious Consequence to Christianity.

The great Violences that had been used with the Moors of the City of Granada, to force them to turn Christians, did so alarm the Moors in the Country, who expected it would be their turn quickly to be treated in the same manner, that they Fortifi'd themselves among the Mountains, where they lived, being resolved rather to die Mahometans, with their Swords in their hands, than to be forc'd to be Baptiz'd, as their Country-men had been in the City: but before they were able to Form their Mili-
tia, and Fortify their Houses, the Cap-
tain and the Count deTindel were upon 'em with an Army of Veteran Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken Huyar, or the most considerable Town among the Mountains, by Assault, did put all the Moors, Men, Women, and Children that they found in it, to the Sword; expecting that the Terror thereof would have reduc'd all the Moors that were in Arms to Obedience; which it was so far from doing, that the news thereof made them Fortify themselves in all places, and helped them to a much greater Army than they could otherwise have Raised.
The Moors being now too strong for the great Captain, with the Army he had with him to deal with; The King in Person, Marched against them, and with the Troops he brought with him, being joyned with those of the Great Captain, he did in a short time, Reduce Sanaiarra, Almeria, Bacca, Guadie, and all the other Moorish Towns that were in Arms; obliging all the Inhabitants as fast as he Reduc'd them, to purchase their Lives by consenting to be Baptized. And whereas there were still great numbers of Moors in Arms among the Mountains, which were not accessible to an Army, the King set forth a Proclamation, Commanding them all upon pain of Death to lay down their Arms, and to remove, with their Families, into the Kingdom of Castile, where Dwellings should be provided for them: But the Moors being sensible, that if the Spaniards had them once out of their Fastnesses, they would either force them to turn Christians, or cut all their Throats, they sent some Commissioners to the King, to desire, that since they could not be suffered to enjoy their Religion in Spain, they might be Transported to Barbary, offering to pay ten Dollars a Head for every one that Embarqu'd: The King, who was in great want of Money, having agreed to this, several thousands of the Moors
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Moors Embarqued aboard a Fleet that the King had provided for them at Estopona, but a great many more were left behind for want of Money to pay for their Passage, who were all forced to be Baptized: So that in a few months, above two hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children were Converted by the King and the Arch-Bishop of Toledo, from the Mahometan to the Christian Profession: I say Profession, because it is more than probable, that there was scarce one in all that vast Number that was truly Converted to the Christian Faith; or, if any were, it must have been by immediate Divine Inspiration, and not by outward Instruction, which few, or none of them had ever had.

The Inquisition, which had not at that time been erected into such a Court as it is now, above twenty years, looking upon all these forc'd Baptisms as good and valid, did exercise all its usual Cruelties on such of the Moors as were Convicted of having returned to Mahometism, which few, or none of them had ever left with their hearts.

No fewer than an hundred thousand, living and dead, present and absent, having been Condemned for Apostacy by the Inquisition of Sevil, in the space of forty years: of which number, four thousand were
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were burnt, and thirty thousand were reconciled, the rest having made their escape into Barbary, upon their fears that they were in danger of being taken up by that Court.

Through this great Inquisition Desolation, Garibai faith three, Ilescas faith five thousand houses were left void, and without inhabitants, within the districts of the Inquisition of Sevil: Of which great Desolation, Complaint having been made by the Owners of those houses to the King; most of the Counsellors of State were of Opinion, that the Inquisition was not to be suffered to make such terrible havoc of the People, telling the King plainly, that if a stop were not put to the Fury of that Court, it would in a short time turn Spain into a perfect Desert. But the King not seeming to be at all moved by these Remonstrances, a great Summ of Money, of which he stood in great need at that time, was offered, if he would consent to the putting down of the Inquisition, which, contrary to the Rules of all good Policy had been erected by him in Spain; to which Proposition the King, having seem'd to lend an Ear, Thomas de Turrecremata, a Dominican Friar, who, for having Modell'd the Court of Inquisition as it was then, and has been ever since in Spain, was made the
first Inquisitor-General; when he heard thereof posted away to Court, and having, so soon as he arrived, obtained an Audience of the King and Queen, he pulled a Crucifix from under his Habit before he spoke a word; and holding it forth to 'em, said, I am not a Stranger to the Bargain that is going on here: Our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus was Sold by the wretched Judas for Thirty Pieces of Silver; if you reckon that Judas did well in Selling him to his Enemies, you may follow his Example, and Sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any hand in such an abominable Bargain, I do here lay down my Authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the Consequence of it; with which free and Passionate Expostulation the King and Queen were so deeply touch'd, that none durst after that, ever speak to either of 'em one word against the Inquisition, or concerning the Desolations that were made by it, in all the Kingdoms of Spain.

The News of the great Cruelties exercised on the Moors of Granada by the Spaniards, to force them to turn Christians, having been carri'd to Grand Cairo, together with a Copy of the Articles whereon Granada had been Surrendred to Ferdinand; the Soldan and his Mamalukes were so enraged thereat, that they threatened to treat all
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all the Christians, but particularly the Latin Christians at Jerusalem, after the same manner as the Spaniards had, contrary to their Oaths, treated the Mahometans that were their Subjects:

Ferdinand having receiv'd Advice of the Danger the Latin Christians in Egypt, and other Eastern Countries were in, by reason of what he had done to the Moors; he immediately dispatch'd the Learned Peter Martyr, with the Character of his Ambassador, to the Soldan, to satisfy him of his having observed the Capitulations he had made with the Moors, and of his having never forced any of them to change their Religion. Peter Martyr being arrived at Grand Cairo, did with great difficulty obtain a private Audience by Night of the Soldan, who durst not for fear of the Mamlalukes, give him one publickly; at which Audience, in conformity to what is said of an Ambassador, being one sent to lie abroad for his Master's Service; Peter did assure the Soldan that all that he had been told of his Master's having broke his Oath with the Moors, in having Persecuted them to make them turn Christians, was notoriously false: His Master and Mistress being too good Christians themselves, to do a thing that was so contrary to their Religion, as the forcing of People by severity to embrace it;
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it; he told him further, that it was true, that most of the Granada Moors, since they had been Subjects to his Master had been Baptistized, but that not one of them had been forc'd to receive that Sacrament, it not being Lawful for Christians to administer it to any that did not earnestly and freely desire it.

But whether the Soldan, who with his Empire was quickly after that destroyed by the Turks, was satisfy'd or not with what the Spanish Ambassador had told him, of none of the Moors having been forc'd to receive Baptism; it is certain that several Spanish Divines were so sensible of their having been compelled to receive that Sacrament, that they declared their Baptism to be null and void, and to have been a great Profanation of that Sacrament.

During the remaining part of the Reign of Ferdinand, and Isabel, and the whole Reign of Charles V. we hear little more of the Granada Moriscoes, as the Spaniards call'd them, to distinguish them from the Moors of Barbary, than that they did universally continue to be Mahometans, and that with an extraordinary aversion to Christianity: which aversion was rather increas'd than lessen'd in them, by the great Preachers, who were from time to time sent among them to instruct them; and by the
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the Inquisitions Burning great Numbers of them every year for having Apostatis'd, if they may be truly said to have Apostatis'd from Christianity, who, tho' forc'd to profess it, had never believed it, as all, or most of them that were put to death, declared at the Stake when they came to die.

Thus the Friars went on Preaching, and the Inquisitors went on Burning the Moriscoes, until the Year 1568. When Philip II. having been assur'd from all hands, that unless some other courses were taken to reconcile the Granada Moriscoes to the Christian Faith, they would continue Mahometans to the end of the World, and who being a very Fruitful People, and under none of those restraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old Christians were under, they would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of Granada with People of that Sect: The King, with the Advice of his Council, and of some of the Wifest among the Ecclesiasticks, did Publish the following Laws, in order to extinguish in the Moriscoes, the Memory of their being descended of the Moors, the Memory whereof was truly reckoned to contribute not a little to their Obstination in the Religion of that Nation.
1. "That it should not be lawful for any in the Kingdom of Granada to wear the Moorish Habit, which was described in the Law.

2. "That it should not be lawful for any in that Kingdom to observe the Customs of the Moors; several of which Customs were particulariz'd.

3. "That it should not be lawful for any in that Kingdom, to speak Arabick, or to teach their Children that Language: All which things they were commanded to observe, upon Pain of Death.

The King being sensible that the Moriscoes would be highly provoked by the strict execution of these Laws, which tho' in their own Nature Civil, had a natural tendency, and were designed to extinguish in them their love for Mahometism; he did at the same time, command the Moriscoes, to be all disarmed, and not to be suffered to have Places or Houses of any strength; or to assemble any where together in great numbers.

The Moriscoes, who reckoned that there was something of Religion in every thing they had in common with the Moors, and which were not in use among the Spaniards, being extremely uneasy under the rigorous execution of these Laws, sent some Commissioners privately to the Grand Seignior and
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and to the Moors in Barbary, to acquaint them with the Cruelties which were exercised upon them by the Spaniards, on the account of their being Mussulmen; and with the Laws which had been lately imposed upon them, with an intention of extinguishing the Mahometan Faith in Spain; beseeching those Princes, in the Name of their great and common Prophet, to find out some way to oblige the Spaniards to suffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, according to the Capitulation whereon the City of Granada had been surrendered to them; by which Agreement, the Spaniards were bound by Oath, not to give them any disturbance on that account, nor to deny them the use of Publick Moschs, for the free exercise of their Worship. Upon these Complaints of the Moriscoes, 800 Turks are said to have been sent, with a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition, into the Kingdom of Granada; but we are neither told from what Port they came, nor at what Port they were landed; but that upon their being got among the Mountains of Granada, the Moors did flock to them from all parts, in such numbers, that in a very short time they had formed a considerable Army, and had so fortified all the Passages of the Mountains, that it was not possible for any Force that was not much superior
to theirs, to offend them. We are told farther, that they were no sooner in Arms, than they did all renounce the Profession of the Christian Religion; declaring, That they were, and had always been, true Mahometans in their Hearts; and were now resolved to spend the last drop of their Blood in the maintenance of that Sect; and that they did not only turn all their Churches into Mosks; but did also, in great triumph, burn all the Hosts, Images and Reliques that they found in them, killing a great many of the Priests and Fryers, which had been planted among them, to convert them, which has occasion’d a great swelling of the Spanish Martyrology.

So soon as the King heard of the Moriscos being in Arms, the Marquess of Mondejar, Governor of the City of Granada, was ordered, with all the Troops he could get together, to march against them; and though that Marquess did beat them in most of the Skirmishes he had with them, yet in 18 Months time he was neither able to conquer them, nor to starve them among the Mountains, by keeping Provisions from going to them; both the Turks and the Moors being People that can live upon simple and very little Food.
The King fearing left the Moriscoes, if they kept the Field much longer, might be reinforced, and supply’d with Provisions and Ammunition, either by the Turks, or by that Moors, did send a considerable and well disciplin’d Army against them, under the command of his Brother Don John of Austria, with orders to attaque them vigorously on all sides: Which was done so briskly by that Young Prince, that in a few Weeks, though with the loss of a great many men, among whom was his Governor Don Lewis Quixada, he did not leave a Morisco any where in Arms. The Moriscoes being thus totally subdu’d, were all with their Families removed out of the Kingdom of Granada, where it was ease for them to hold a correspondence with the Moors of Barbary, and dispersed over the Kingdom of Castile, and some other In-land Provinces, in which they and their Posterity continued until the time of their general Expulsion.

In this Morisco War, which lasted about two Years, above twenty thousand Spaniards are said to have been killed. Having nothing more to write of the Granada Moriscoes, from the time of their having been all transplanted into Castile, until the time of their general Expulsion, in the Year 1610; but that notwithstanding all the diligences and Cruelties which were used to reconcile
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reconcile them to Christianity, they and their Posterity did still continue as much Mahometans in their Hearts as ever they had been.

I do now pass to the Moriscoes of the Kingdoms of Valentia and Arragon, who had all continued professed Mahometans for three hundred Years after they were conquered by the Christians; and who having been all baptized by an extreme force, did remain Mahometans in their Hearts until they were all expelled Spain.

James, King of Aragon by whom Valentia was conquer'd in the Year 1236, finding that he could not without depopulating his Conquests, turn the Moors out of it, commanded the Ecclesiasticks to set earnestly about the converting them to Christianity, as well to save their Souls, as to make them good Subjects to a Christian Prince; which he reckoned they could never be, so long as they remained Mahometans. And since few of the Moriscoes understood any Tongue but the Arabick, he desired the Fryers to study that Language, to be able to preach in it to the Moriscoes: And for to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it; the one in the Island of Majorca, and the other at Barcelona: The Fryers, and particularly the Dominicans, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree of
of a Council assembled at Toledo, and another of a General Chapter of the Dominican Order, did appoint such of their Orders, as they judged to be most capable, to apply themselves assiduously to the study of the Arabick Tongue; which was done by several of them with so much diligence, that they are said to have become great Masters of, and Eloquent Preachers in Arabick in a very short time.

But whatever their success was in the study of the Language of the Moriscos, it is certain, that either through their own Impatience, or the Moriscos Obstinacy, their success in preaching to them was very small; for in less time, after the Conquest of Valencia, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in such a measure as to preach in it, the Fryers employed in that work, were everywhere representing the Moriscos, as such incurable Infidels, that it was in vain ever to hope, by any human means, unless it were by those of force, to convert them to Christianity: And to make the Moriscos Obstinacy in their Infidelity the more inexcusable, they pretended to have wrought abundance of Miracles among them without any Success.

Upon these Representations of the Obstcinacy of the Moriscos in the Mahometan Sect, Pope Clement the IV, writ a long Letter
Letter to the same King James that conquer-
ed Valentia, to banish the Moriscos out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following words: Consider, my Son, con-
sider, how dangerous a thing it is to suffer Sa-
racens to live in your Kingdoms; who though they may out of Fear, for a time, conceal their malice, will, when ever they shall have an op-
portunity, discover it with a vengeance: So that by suffering those obstinate Infidels to re-
main within your Dominions, you do nourish a Serpent in your Bosom, and Fire in your Lap: with a great deal more to the same purpose, and with the same Passion.

At the same time Clement writ the follow-
ing Letter to that King, on occasion of his having made one Jatruda, a profess'd Jew, Lord of his Treasury; and upon his having had a Conference held before him, con-
cerning the Truth of the Christian Faith, betwixt a Dominican Fryer and a Jew; and of a Book which had been published by that Jew against the Christian Faith, upon the Subje& of that Conference.

Most Glorious Prince, that the Zeal where-
with you do incessantly endeavour to Adorn the Orthodox Faith may shine the more Illu-
striously in the Subduing of all its Enemies and Rivals, and particularly the Jews, who do above all others, Blaspheme the Christian Name with Violence and Bitterness: for the future,
future, you must not admit any of that Religion to bear Offices, neither must you confer any Honour upon any of them, but on the contrary, must so far as the Priviledges allow'd them by the Apostolical See will permit you, restrain, and trample upon their Malice, and not suffer their Blasphemies to go unpunished, but above all, the Impudence of that Jew ought to be severely Chastised, who upon the Disputation which he had in your Presence, with our Loving, and Religious Son, Father Paul, of the Predicant Order, is said to have writ a Book which he has filled with Lies, and has, to Propagate them, dispersed several Copies of the said Book through your Territories; for which Impudent Fact he ought to be punished Severely, but without touching his Life, or maiming his Body, yet so as to terrify others from ever being so Audacious as to attempt the like. We do therefore admonish your Serenity, &c.

Whatever Effect this Letter, writ by the Pope concerning the Jews, had on the King, he was so inflam'd by that which was writ to him, concerning the Moriscoes, that could he have had his will, he had not left one of them within his Dominions, that had refused to be Baptiz'd.

But the Constitution of the Government of Aragon, and Valentia, being such, that the King had no Authority to do any thing of
of a Publick Nature without the Concurrence of the Three Estates in Cortes, or Parliament Assembled, the King call'd a Cortes, to try if he could prevail with 'em to have all the Moriscoes Banished that would not turn Christians.

In which Cortes the King made this following Speech at the Opening of it.

Most Prudent Men, you are all witnesses of the great Labours we have undergone to Conquer this Kingdom and City, neither is our mind as yet quiet, not so much through a desire of making farther Conquests, as out of a Zeal to Conquer the Souls of our Subjects to Christ, and to his true Religion; to which holy Enterprise, we have given a beginning in this City, by having commanded all the Moriscoes that live therein, either to turn Christians, or to go and live some where else; but in the Country we have not been able to carry this matter so far. Wherefore, what I have to tell you is, that since the War is at an end, and all things are well settled, and the Moriscoes have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Toke of their Subjection the more easie, been suffered to profess their own Religion; that their persevering after all this in the wicked Sect of Mahometism, is an undeniable evidence of Infidelity being deeply rooted in their hearts, and does further assure the
the World, that they will never be faithful either to God, or us. After the King had made this Speech, it was proposed, that the Moriscoes, if they would not turn Christians, should be all banished the Kingdom: The Ecclesiassticks and Commons gave their consent to it: But the Barons, to whom most of the Moriscoes were Vassals, and whose Lands would have been of little profit to them, after the People by whom they were cultivated, were sent away, would by no means agree to its being done, declaring it to be both an impolitick, and a wicked thing; and that the Ecclesiassticks, instead of promoting the Expulsion of a People (by whom the whole Work of the Kingdom was done in a manner) if they would not turn Christians, ought to take pains to instruct them in the Faith; in which, whatever might be pretended, it was certain they had never been sufficiently instructed; so that it was the Moriscoes Ignorance of the Christian Religion, more than their love for the Mahometan, that kept them from being converted.

By this brisk Opposition, having been made by the whole Body of the Barons, who were called, The Military, Arm, or Estuto, to the first publick motion that had been made for the Banishing of the Moriscoes, the design of expelling them was so knocked on
on the head, that the Barons continuing to the last to be of the same mind, as we shall see hereafter; it was not that we read of, notwithstanding the Moriscoes did all still remain Mahometans, revived again in above 300 Years; when the Power and Authority of the Barons, were by the Policy of their Princes, brought to a very low Ebb, from what they had been ancienly.

The Barons, or Nobles, who in the beginning of the Conquests made upon the Moors in Spain, were Fellow-Soldiers, or Fellow-Adventurers with those who came afterwards to be their Princes; did alwaies when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Priviledges to themselves; and particularly a claim to the greatest share of the Towns and Lands which were conquered by them, as belonging to them by the same right, that the Crown had to that share of the Lands which fell to its lot: The Ancient Barons were by that means so powerful, that their Princes were not able to do any thing of a publick nature without their concurrence and consent: This, as we shall see hereafter, having never been given to the expelling of the Moriscoes, made the doing of it to be as illegal as it was inhuman: And to satisfie the Curious Reader that it was so, I think it will not be improper in this place, to
give him a short account of the Government of Aragon, to which Valentia belonged; as it was constituted when it was first erected into a Monarchy.

The People that recovered Aragon from the Moors, finding it most convenient for them to be under a Kingly Government, did, before they chose a King, for the security of their Properties and Liberties under that Form of Government, make several Laws and Constitutions, which their Kings before they were acknowledged to be such, were to swear to observe inviolably.

1. That the King should not do any thing of a publick nature, without the consent of the Three Armes, or Estates in Cortes or Parliament assembled.

2. That there should be for ever a Standing Magistrate, named by the Three Estates, with the Title of, Justice of Aragon; with full Authority to redress all the Grievances of the Subjects.

3. That in case the King deny to do Justice to any Subject, according to the Sentence of the Justice, that the Barons and Rich Men, upon Complaints being made to them thereof, should assemble themselves, and charge those that held Lands of the Crown, not to pay their Rents, un-

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til the Aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it was not lawful for the King, without the consent of the Three Armes, to bring any Foreign Troops into the Kingdom; and in case he did, that it should be lawful for the Subjects to take up Arms, and to drive them out, tho' headed by the King in person.

Lastly, That in case the King did violate any of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he might lawfully be deposed by the Subjects, who were to swear Obedience to him in the following Form of words;

Nis que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemus Nuestro Rey y Sennor: com tal, que mos guardeys Nuestros Fueros y Libertades e Sy no, no.

That is to say,

We who are as valuable as you, do make you our King and Lord, but upon condition, That you shall preserve our Laws and Liberties; and if not, not.

But to return to the Moriscoes:
After the forementioned Attempt, to have banished all the Moriscoes, in the Kingdom of Valantia, had miscarried, we hear little
of the Morisco's out of Spain. 35

little of them besides loud Complaints of their Invincible Obstinacy in their Infidelity, until the Year 1510; when upon Ferdinand's having forced all the Moriscoes in the Kingdom of Granada, either to be baptized, or to leave Spain; the Barons fearing left he might attempt to do the fame in the Kingdom of Valentia, did oblige him in a Cortes assembled in that Year, to give his Royal Assent to the following Law; which is still extant in the Extravaganti, Fol. 73.

We do by this Law and Statute Enact, That the Moriscoes, abiding or dwelling in Cities, or Royal Villages; or in any other Village, Places, or Countries, belonging to the Ecclesiastics, Rich-men, Nobles, Knights; or Citizens; or of any other persons whatsoever, shall not be expelled, or turn'd out of them; neither shall they be banished out of the Kingdom of Valentia; or out of any of the Cities, or Royal Villages thereof; neither shall they ever be forced to turn Christians: And it is our farther Will and Pleasure, That they shall not be hindered to Trade, or to buy and sell, either among themselves, or among Christians, neither by us, nor by any of our Successors, but shall enjoy all the same Liberties they have formerly enjoyed.
But the Barons being sensible that there were some people that were continually calling upon their Princes to banish all the Moriscoes out of Spain, if they would not turn Christians; and judging, that they could never do too much to secure the Kingdom against so fatal a Blow as that would be to it, they had it made a part of their Kings Coronation Oath, That he should, upon no pretence whatsoever, expel the Moriscoes, nor force them against their wills, to be baptized; and that he should neither directly, nor indirectly, ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said Oath; or in case a Dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon, should be null and void: By which Law and Oath, so short sighted a thing is Human Providence, the Barons did reckon, that they had sufficiently secur'd Valen'tia from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a people, as the Moriscoes were.

But the Commons of Valen'tia having in the Year 1520. taken up Arms, and driven all the Nobles, and all the King's Officers out of the Kingdom: The first thing the Commons did after they had taken the Government into their wild hands, was to command all the Moriscoes, by a Publick Proclamation, upon Pain of Death to be baptized
of the Morisco's out of Spain.

baptized so soon as that Proclamation came to their knowledge: which was done by the Commons, more out of spite to the Barons, by whom the Moriscoes had been so long protected, notwithstanding their Infidelity, than out of any true Zeal for Religion: But upon whatever Motive that Proclamation was set forth by the Commons, the Moriscoes apprehending that they had no other way to secure their Lives under such a furious Government, but by complying with it in this Matter, they were baptized every where in such vast numbers, that it was verily believ'd, that there was not a Morisco left unbaptized in the whole Kingdom.

By these forced Baptisms, the Controversy about their Validity was revived again; some Divines holding them to be valid, and others denying them to be so, for not having been voluntary; which they could not be laid to have been, having been received to avoid present Death.

The Emperor Charles the Vth, having reduced the Commons to obedience, called an Assembly of the Clergy to determine this difficult Point; in which Assembly, the Inquisitor General being President of it, it was concluded, That though the Commons had done ill, in compelling the Moriscoes to be baptized, those Baptisms were nevertheless
less so valid, as to oblige all that had received them, to profess the Christian Faith, and to make them liable to the Punishments due to Apostates, if they return’d to their former Insidelity: Which Determination was justified by the 57th Decree of the 4th Council of Toledo, held in the Æra 671; in which Decree the Fathers, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive Christian Baptism; Because God has mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth: did nevertheless declare, That the Jews, who in the Æra 1649, and who were reckoned to have been ninety thousand grown people, had been forced by King Sisebut to receive Christian Baptism, were, notwithstanding the cumpulsion, obliged to continue in the profession of the Christian Faith.

It is necessary, faith the Decree, that they be constrained to hold the Faith, notwithstanding they were at first forc’d to embrace it; that the Name of God may not be blasphemed; and the Faith they embraced may not become vile and contemptible.

When this Determination was made publick, it raised a mighty disturbance in Valentinia, vast numbers of the Moriscoes, dreading the Thoughts of being brought under the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as Christians, declaring thereupon, That they had never
never been baptized, but had only profess'd Christianity, to avoid the Fury of the Commons.

The Inquisitors not being able, by reason that the Moriscoes, who had been baptized in vast Crowds, had not been registered, to disprove this Pretence, did petition the Emperor to destroy it; by commanding all the Moriscoes, who did own their having been baptized, to be confirmed; and to command those who affirmed, that they had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual slavery or banishment, to receive that Sacrament immediately.

But the Emperor being bound by an Oath never to do that, nor to desire, accept of, or make use of any dispensation of that Oath, a Dispensation was sent to him by Pope Clement the VIIth. in the Year, 1524, whereby he was released from the whole of that Oath, in the following Words.

And we do further release Your Majesty, from the Obligation of the Oath which we are informed was taken by you in the General Estates of the said Kingdoms and Principalities, never to expel the said Infidels; absolving you from all Censures, and Penalties of the guilt of Perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that Promise, so far as it is necessary.
necessary: And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by Ecclesiastical Censures, and other proper and lawful Methods, requiring the assistance of the Secular Arm, if it shall be judged necessary: All Apostolical Constitutions, and all Ordinances, Statutes, and Priviledges, of the said Kingdoms and Principality, to the contrary, notwithstanding, though confirmed by an Oath, and by an Apostolical Confirmation, or by whatsoever other Authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said Oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted: And that the said Priviledges should never be by any means abrogated. And that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void: And we do exhort your Majesty, by your Letters, to commit the Preaching of the Word of God to the said Moors, inhabiting the said Kingdoms and Principality of Catalonia, to our beloved Sons, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity; deputed, or to be deputed in the said Kingdoms and Principality, to open the way of Truth and Salvation to the Faithful. And in case the Moors do persist in the hardness of their Hearts, and in their perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the Faith of Christ, within a Term to be prefixed by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual Servitude
Servitude and Bondage, to depart out of the said Kingdoms and Principality; which if they fail to do within the said term, they shall be all Slaves, and shall be understood to be such.

This Dispensation of the Popes, do's plainly discover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though confirm'd by the See of Rome, do signify to the security of the Lives, Liberties, and Property of Subjects that are not Papists, under a Popish Prince: It being impossible for the Wit of Man to frame an Oath fuller to all those purposes, than this was, that is here Dispensed with: for, besides that, it contained a promise, never to desire a Dispensation, or if a Dispensation should be offer'd, not to accept, or make use of it: It contain'd a Declaration likewise, that whatsoever should by virtue of any Dispensation, be done to the prejudice thereof, should be null and void, to all Intent and Purposes. An Oath never to desire a Dispensation, or to accept, or make use of one if offer'd; being a matter, the plenitude of the Papal Power, as we see by this, can Dispense with, when ever it is for its advantage to do it.
The Emperor was no sooner untied from this branch of his Coronation Oath, than he commanded the chief Inquisitor to send Preachers among the Moriscoes, to Instruct them in the Christian Faith: Sending the following Letter at the same time to all the Moriscoes, to let them know what they must expect, if they did not presently embrace it.

Know ye, that we being moved by the Grace and Inspiration of Almighty God, are Resolved, not to suffer any Religion besides the Christian, to be Professed within our Kingdoms and Dominions: Wherefore desiring the Health and Salvation of your Souls, and to rescue you from the Error and Imposture you are under, we do beseech, intreat, and command you all to turn Christians, and immediately to receive the Water of Holy Baptism: To this our Command, if you shall yield a ready obedience, you shall enjoy all the Liberties and Franchises, that are by the Laws of these Kingdoms enjoyed by Christians, and which shall be preserved to you as to Faithful Subjects; but in case you do prove refractory, we will take some other course with you: And whereas we are immovably fix'd in this Resolution, we would have you be sensible of the benefit we intend
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 43

intend you thereby, and to conform your selves to God's Will and ours.

Dated at Segovie, the 13th of September, in the Year of our Lord 1525.

A Proclamation was set forth at the same time by Germana, the Queen Dowager of Ferdinand, Governor of Valentia, commanding all the Moriscoes, under great Penalties, to hear the Preachers that were sent to them; and commanding the Barons to oblige their Morisco Vassals, to go to Church; and to make use of all the other means of Instruction.

A short time having been allowed for the instructing of the Moriscoes in the Christian Faith, an Edict was published by the Emperor, commanding all the Moriscoes that were not baptized, either to receive Baptism immediately, or to depart out of all the Spanish Dominions, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage.

The Moriscoes, that did not own their having ever been baptized, perceiving that there was no remedy, but that they must either leave their Native Countries, or be Slaves in it, if they did not turn Christians, the generality of them did receive Baptism, only about Pianaguazil, where the unbaptized were very numerous, they took up Arms
Arms to defend themselves against it; but having been quickly subdued, they were forc'd likewise to receive that Sacrament: So that after the Year 1526, there was not a Morisco left in Spain, that had not been baptized.

As such forced Conversions as these must necessarily make work for the Inquisition; so that Court having now got all the Moriscoes directly under its Jurisdiction, did begin presently to exercise its customary Cruelties upon them; vast numbers of them being burnt every Year, for having apostatized from Christianity to the Mahometan Sect.

The Barons, whose original power was much lessened, since the late Rebellion of the Commons, notwithstanding they had been the chief Sufferers in it, whilst it lasted, did Petition the Emperor that a stop might be put to the Cruelties exercised by the Inquisition upon the Moriscoes, until they were better Instructed in a Religion, which they had been so lately compelled to profess: The Emperor judging this Petition of the Barons not to be unreasonable, he agree'd to it, and having Power from the Pope to do it, he suspended the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as to the Moriscoes, until they were more fully Instructed in the Christian Faith, Ordering the chief Inquisitor
quisitor at the same time, to send greater numbers of Preachers among them, and to charge them not to give over Preaching, until they had fully instructed and settled them in the true Religion: Among the Friers of this Mission, there was one John Micon, a Dominican, who having Preach'd a great many Sermons to little or no purpose, he did in a fit of Zeal, one day from the Pulpit, command the Moriscoes that were his Auditors, to go and fetch a dead Body, that he might Raise it to Life, before their eyes, to confirm the Truth of the Doctrines he had Preached to them; but the Moriscoes either having no Dead Body ready, or not daring to fetch one, because if they had, they would thereby have discovered that they were at least doubtful in the Faith; which, with the Inquisition, is the same thing as to deny it; the Experiment was not try'd; and the Frier came down triumphant from the Pulpit, insulting over the Moriscoes as Infidels that were so strongly prejudiced against the Christian Faith, that they were not willing to see a Miracle wrought, to convince them of its truth, when he had offered, for that purpose, to have wrought one before their Eyes.

The Friers, and particularly Micon, the pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preaching to the Moriscoes, did, according to
to their custom, fill the Court, and the whole Country with such loud Exclamations of their prodigious obstinacy in the Mahometan Sect, that the Inquisitors were let loose upon them again, as the only Apostles that had the right Methods of converting such Infidels, if it was possible to convert them to the Faith; under whose severe Discipline of Racking, Whipping, Banishing and Burning, the Moriscoes having continued for several Years, the Barons in a Cortex assembled at Mocon, in the Year 1534, complained of those Severities; representing it as a very unjust thing in the Inquisition, to punish those who had been so lately forced to be baptized, when convicted of Apostacy, with the same Rigors that they did old Christians, who had been born and bred in the Faith, that were found guilty of the same Crime: And having no hopes of being able a second time to procure a suspension of the Authority of the Inquisition, they laboured hard to obtain a thing that they reckoned was next door to it: Which was; That the Inquisitors in consideration of the Sum of Fifty Thousand Soldos, that should be paid to them yearly, by the Communities of the Moriscoes, should have no share either in the Real or Personal Estate of any Morisco that was condemned by them; their Real Estates being to
to go to their Lords, and their Personal to their Heirs at Law: By which Bargain, to which the Inquisitors were with much a do brought to agree, the Barons did hope the edge of their Zeal, against the Moriscoes, would be very much abated, by not being continually whetted by covetousness, as it had been before; whilst they were in a manner Heirs to all that they condemned.

But tho this agreement with the Inquisition was made wholly by the Power and Interest of the Barons, it was afterwards objected against the Moriscoes as an evidence of their being Hereticks or Infidels; Because none but such, said the Inquisitors, would pay so much money yearly, on purpose to mitigate the Punishments of Hereticks and Apo-

In a Letter written by Lewis Bertram, a Dominican Frier in the Year, 1579. to the Duke of Néguierà, Vice-Roy of Valentia, we meet with an account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Frier, who has been beatifi’d by the Pope, did judge to be the most proper to make them true Catho-

Frier
Frier Bertram's Letter to the Duke of Neguiera.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

Having first commended the Affairs of the New Christians to God, the great hardness of heart that is in most of them, I pray God it be not in them all, being supposed, and that they are all Hereticks, or which is worse, Apostates, who do plainly discover an Aversion for the Christian Religion, and do, so far as they are able, observe all the Rites of Mahomet's Alcoran; keeping their Children also from being Christians, when they find them disposed to it, and it; being supposed likewise, that tho' it is now about fifty years since they were all Baptized, that they are as far as ever they were from being true Christians; all these things I say, being supposed, and that Milder, and Merciful Methods will never do any good with them; My Opinion is, that the Secular and Ecclesiastic Princes ought to use one of these two Remedies with them. First, to oblige them by Rigorous Punishments, to observe the Christian Religion, and to forsake the Sect of Mahomet, neither is their having been forc'd in the times of the Communities, and since, to be Baptized, sufficient to keep them from being treated after such a manner; for notwith-
notwithstanding that was not well done, and I would to God it had never been; the consequences thereof having taught us abundantly how much better it would have been, to have observed the Custom of the Church as it is well declared by St. Thomas: Nevertheless, those who were then compelled to be Baptized, did in some sense consent to it; and of the Moriscoes that are now living, there is not one in twenty that has not been Baptized when they were Infants; and it is certain, from the determination of the Church, that such may be obliged no less than old Christians to observe the Christian Faith, tho at the same time, if they should turn Hereticks, or Apostates, I think they ought not to be Punished as rigorously as if they were old Christians.

The Moriscoes must be made to lose the Arabick Tongue, otherwise their Women and Children will not understand their Preachers and Confessors, and must be commanded under Pecuniary Matches not to speak that Language; they must also be forced to go to Church on Sundays and Holydays; and no Morisco Woman must have leave to marry before she can repeat the Christian Doctrine.

The Second Remedy, if the First be not used; Is not to suffer the Sacrament of Baptism to be administered to the Children of any of the Moriscoes, without taking them from their Parents; since it is morally certain, that if
if they continue with their Parents, they will make them all Apostates, being so themselves: And it is much better the Moriscoes should always be Mahometans, than be either Apostates or Hereticks.

Such Representations as these, of the Infidelity of the Moriscoes, coming from all Quarters, Philip the IIId. who had the Secret of reconciling several Enormous Vices to a very hot zeal for Religion, was calling Assemblies continually, either at Madrid, or at Valentina, to find out ways to bring his Morisco Subjects to be true Christians. In one of those Assemblies, after a long and diligent enquiry into the true Causes of this Obstinity of the Moriscoes, it was judged to flow chiefly from their having never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith: the Fryers, who thorow several Ages, had been sent to preach to them, besides their having never had patience to stay long enough among them to instruct such vast numbers sufficiently in a new Religion, were generally so angry with the Moriscoes, for not being Converted by their first or second Sermon, that afterwards they did little else than rail at them and Mahomet, calling them obstinate Dogs, and Mahomet a Devil incarnate. And as to the Vicars, who had the Cure of their Souls,
as their Benefices were very small, so they were generally too mean Clerks, to be able to do Christianity so great a Service. For the better instruction of the Moriscoes, the King was therefore desired to supplicate the Pope, to give way to the augmenting of their Vicaridges, and to the building and endowing of new Churches and Chappels among them, out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Valentia, to the encouraging of Priests, of Learning, Piety, and all other necessary Qualifications to accept of the Morisco Curacies, and to continue and labour in them, to the instructing and edifying of their Souls.

The King having approv'd of this Advice, when it was offered him, did by his Ambassador at the Court of Rome, obtain a Breve from Gregory XIII. bearing date the 16th. of June, 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbishopsrick of Valentia with a Yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats, and all the other Bishopricks, and Ecclesiastical Dignities, with Yearly Pensions in proportion to their Revenues towards the forementioned Pious Uses.

This Papal Breve was so far from being of any advantage to the conversion of the Moriscoes, that it may justly be reckoned among
among the things that promoted their Expulsion.

The Archbishop and other Ecclesiastics, whose Rents were already charg'd with considerable yearly Pensions, towards the defraying of the Charges of instructing the Moriscoes in the Christian Faith, being so provoked by this new and great Charge, that they did never give over soliciting their Princes to rid Spain of them, as of incorrigible Heretics and Apostates, on whom all the means and charges of instruction, were Pains and Money thrown away; representing them as Rebels likewise, who had invited the Moors, Turks, French, English and Dutch to invade Spain, by Promises of assisting them to conquer it; and by assuring them, that it might be done with a great deal of ease, Spain having neither Men nor Money to defend her.

The Archbishop, that his having deny'd to pay this new Pension, and which, as we shall see hereafter, was never paid by him, nor by any of his Clergy, might not be thought to flow from his Covetousnes, or from his want of Zeal to convert such a Multitude of Infidels within his Province to the Christian Faith, did at this time give out, That he would prefer no Clerk to the Benefices in his Gift, but from the Morisco Vicaridges; and that they who went among
the Moriscoes, and did take the most pains to instruct them, should be considered by him above all others: And whereas by the Laws of Valentia, none that were not Natives, were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with cure of Souls, that Law was dispensed with as to all the Moriscoe Vicaridges; and Priests of any Nation were made capable of holding them. We do not read of the Morisco Vicaridges having been filled with better or abler Clerks upon this Promise of the Archbishops, as it is probable they would, had their Rents been considerably augmented, as the King would have had them; neither do we read of any Priests coming from the other Kingdoms of Spain, upon their having been made capable of enjoying the poor Morisco Vicaridges in Valentia: So that as to their Religion, the Moriscoes of that Kingdom continued in much the same state until the Year 1596; when the King having been inform'd, that to pardon the Moriscoes all their past Apostasies, was the most likely way to make them true Christians for the future, he obtained the following Edict of Grace of the Pope for that purpose.
To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops of Valenia, the Bishops of Tortosa, Segorve, and Origuela, Pope Clement VIIIth. Health, and Apostolical Bediction.

Our most dear Son in Christ, Philip, the Catholic King of Spain, having proposed to us, That treading in the Footsteps of his Father, Charles the Vth, of Glorious Memory, he has with the Authority of the Chief Pontiffs, our Predecessors, laboured to have had the Moriscoes of Valenia, and other new Converts to Christianity, fully instructed in the Catholic Faith, and that having been assured by grave and honest men of the said Moriscoes, continuing still Mahometans; he does therefore humbly supplicate us to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the conversion of the said Moriscoes, or new Converts; in answer to which, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies.

But whereas during the time wherein those People are to be instructed; or during the time or times of Grace concerning which, Edicts will be Published, the said Moriscoes or new Converts may, and we trust
trust in God's Mercy, will frequent the Church, or, will at least, at the time the Church hath appointed, go to the most healthful and necessary Sacrament of Penance, and may, peradventure confess in the Court of Conscience, divers Sins, Transgressions, Sacriledges, and other Crimes, as also Heresies, Errors, and Apostacy from the Faith; and the having observed the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mahometan Sect, or of the Law of Moises: Wherefore, that sufficient Authority may not be wanting, to absolve those in the Court of Conscience who have been guilty of the said, or the like Sins; We, who have nothing so much in our thoughts, as the careful reduction of straying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, earnestly desiring the aforesaid true, sincere, and perfect Conversion of the said Moriscoes, or New Converts, and the Removal of all the Impediments which may any ways hinder, or retard the same, confiding in the Prudence, Piety, and Zeal for the Holy Catholick Faith, which are in every one of you, do grant Faculty, Authority, and Power, to all, and every one of you, but within your own Dioceses and Jurisdictions, only to Name and Depute, some Pious, Prudent and Holy Priests, who are Doctors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law, or Preachers of the Word of God, or others who are by their Learning, Lives, and Prudence, qualified and appointed to hear the Confessions of the Faithful,
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Faithful, whether Seculars or Regulars of whatsoever Order, and as many as you shall judge to be necessary to hear the Confessions of the said Moriscos or New Converts, and of all such as have believed and encouraged them, and to absolve all such only in the Court of Conscience from all Heresies or Errors, or Apostasies from the Christian Faith, tho' often repeated, and notwithstanding they have been abjured in Judgment, and of all other such Sins, Excesses, and Crimes, and of all that have been occasioned by them, and for having read, and retained the Books of the Mahometan Sect, or which are otherwise Prohibited; and also of Hereticks who are involved in Ecclesiastical Censures, and from the Ecclesiastical Censures of the Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict pronounced de jure, or ab homine, or on any Occasion or Cause, or in the other cases, which are any ways reserved to us, and the Apostolical See, those which are Read every Year, on the day of Coena Domini not excepted, and notwithstanding they may have often committed the same, and have often relapsed; provided that they do not know of their being accused thereof in Judgment, or have not been condemned as Hereticks and Apostates; but shall, during the time or times of their instruction of this Grace, compear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on condi-


tion, that during the said time of Instructi
on, or times of Grace, they do with a sincere Heart,
and true Faith, confess themselves, and humbly
desire and receive Penance; and do anathema-
tize and abjure their Apostacy from the Faith, and
their said Heresies and Errors; humbly begging
to be admitted into the Bosom of Holy Mother
Church; and promising, with the usual Oath,
for the future, to abstain from the like Aposta-
sies, Heresies, and Errors; and have imposed
on every one of them at the pleasure of the said
Confessor's, Healthful Pennances, according to
the quality of their Faults and Excesses, and
which shall be judged to be proper for the Medi-
cine and Health of their Souls, provided they
be not pecuniary.

By the Tenor of these Presents, and with
our Apostolical Authority, we do grant and con-
firm, that they may absolve, reconcile and ad-
mite into the Bosom of Holy Mother Church,
for the space of Four Tears only. All Apostolical
Constitutions, Ordinances, Privileges, In-
dults, and the Letters which are used to be read
on the Day of Coena Domini, and other A-
postolical Letters whatsoever: As also all Con-
stitutions to the Inquisitors of Spain, of what
sort soever they are, granted, approved, or
renewed, to the contrary notwithstanding, 
&c.
If the Four Years of Grace, granted by this Edict to the Moriscoes, did commence from the date of the Edict, as it is more than probable it did, above one half of that term was elapsed, before the Moriscoes could reap any benefit by it; which they could not do until it was published in Valentia; which we are certain it was not, from the following Letter of Philip the IIId. till after the 6th of August, 1599. Whereas the Edict was dated at Rome on the 28th of February, 1597.

Philip the IIId’s Letter to the Bishop of Valentia.

Reverend Father in Christ, and Bishop of my Council.

The Inquisitor General has sent me a Subdelegation, which he hath made to the Inquisitors of his Holiness’s Breve for the Edict of Grace, which he will grant to the New Converts of this my Kingdom of Valentia; in which there is a Clause, that he shall with your concurrence, and that of the other Prelates in their several Districts, name Commissioners. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he should communicate it to you and the rest of the Prelates, concerning
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 59
cerning the nomination of the said Commissaries, and the publication and execution of the said Edict of Grace. I do desire and charge you to apply your self to this Affair, with that efficacy and warmth, as your Office, and the zeal and care you have always discovered for so holy a Work, which is so much for the good of those People, and the service of our Lord, obligeth you to, which will be well taken of you by me.

Dated at Denia, the 6th of August, 1599.

We are not anywhere told the reason why the Publication of this Edict of Grace was deferred so long, only it appears from this Letter of the King's, that two years and a half after that Edict, was, upon the Supplication of Philip II. granted by the Pope, the Inquisitor-General, and the Bishops of Valentiain, to whom the nomination of the Commissaries who were to Publish that Edict was left, had not named 'em, and that at last the King was forc'd to interpose his Authority, and require them to do it.

What was the Success of this Edict of Grace, and how they who were entrusted with its Execution stood affected to the Moriscoes, will plainly appear by the Memorials,
morials, which immediately after its expiration were given in to the King by the Archbishop of Valentia; the substance of which Memorials I shall here set down in that Prelat's own words.

In his first Memorial Presented to the King, in January, 1602, he begins thus; 'Being compelled by the Love, which, as a most Faithful Subject, and humble Chaplain, I have for your Majesty's Service, and for the Preservation and Augmentation of your Royal Crown, I could not forbear to acquaint your Majesty with my Thoughts of the Affair of the Moriscoes; humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive them with your customary Clemency and Benignity. As to the Moriscoes of Valentia, we do certainly know them to be all Mahometans, and that as far as they are able, they do observe all the Rites of the Alchoran, and do despise all the Laws of the Catholick Church: For besides all the former Evidences we had of this, they have now given us a fresh Evidence of it, since the Edit of Grace was published among them; in that we have not been able to persuade one of that Race to make use of it: for I did plainly discover by the Conferences I my self had with their chief Men, that they are all in correspondence onewi-
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

another, and did all speak, as it were, with the same Mouth; the Answer they universally gave us, being, That they were true Christians, and did intend to continue so: That they had learnt the Christian Doctrine, or Catechism when they were Children, and did send their Children to learn it:

That they confessed themselves to their Curers, and had never concealed any of their Sins in Confession: That they knew of none that lived in the Mahometan Sect, and were not at leisure to pry into peoples Conversations, or into what they did in their Families. And when upon having received these Answers from them, I have convicted them of having lyed to me, they did then either remain silent, or did repeat the same Answers again. The Mahometan Fast, which happened to be at that very time, was kept by them with greater strictness than they had ever observed it before; as were also all the other Rites and Solemnities of that Sect. This is a true account of what passed in my Bishoprick; in which six Women only gave any sign of being reduced; and whom we had no great reason to trust neither, Experience having taught us, that when they are at anytime discontented with their Parents, or Husbands, that they will then, in a Passion, pretend to turn Christians, but without having ever seriously int-
tended to do it; and I have been so often deceived by them, that I am come now not to trust them, unless they do give me very good pledges of their sincerity, which few of them care to give, and when urged to it, do commonly discover their hypocrisy. He goeth on;

"If Spain was formerly lost in the time of King Rodrigo, by one single person's going over to the Moors, in how great danger must Spain be in now, when it appears from the lists that were taken in the late King's reign, that there were 90000 moriscoes in this kingdom, that were able to bear arms; and who having been all born and bred among us, are perfectly acquainted with our whole coasts and country; and who being all extremely desirous of living under a government which will allow them liberty of conscience; and being withal unwilling to leave Spain, because of its fertility, are always prepared to serve any tyrant, that will but suffer them to enjoy the free exercise of their religion? So that Spain by having such people in it, is not only in danger from the Barbary Moors and Turks, but from the English also, and from all the other enemies of the Catholic religion, and the crown of Spain; and especially at this time, when the sect of the politicians prevail so much, who"
who do permit Subjects to choose their own Religion. Consider therefore, now, that the Crown of Spain is so generally hated on the account of its Zeal for the Catholick Religion, and out of Emulation at its Prosperity, whether it is not possible that an Enemy should be encouraged to invade us, by having so many among us, to joyn with them, and who being, as they reckon, provoked and wronged by us, will fight furiously against us for their Estates and Religion. All this, faith he, is so manifest, that we can never wonder enough that such Wise and Valiant Kings, as Charles V. and Philip II. and who had such Zealous and Experienced Counsellors, having deferred the remedying of so great an Evil. In a second Memorial, which he delivered to the King, within a Month after the former, he tells the King, That the Remedy for great Evils, Spiritual or Temporal, wasto pluck them up by the Roots at once: This Doctrine, faith he, is taught us by the Holy Scriptures, in which there is nothing so often repeated, and so much inculcated, and particularly, on Kings, who ought to be the Ministers and Executioners of God's Will; and to look after the Good, and Peace of their Subjects: So the first Rulers that were appointed of God, were commanded by him
him to maintain their Subjects in Peace, and to destroy all the Cities of their Enemies, and all the Inhabitants thereof. The first King of Israel was likewise commanded to destroy the Amalekites, and to spare the life of neither Man, Woman, nor Sucking Child; which he having forbore to do, he fell under the Wrath of God for it, and was deprived of his Kingdom. The Second King who was David, was commanded to destroy the Philistins, which he did. From which Examples it is manifest, that your Majesty, as King, and Supreme Lord, is bound in Conscience to Defend and Preserve your Kingdoms, which you cannot do if you do not Banish all the Moriscoes, Men, Women, and Children out of them; only the Children, Male, and Female, that are under seven years of age may be detain'd, and dispersed among the old Christians. And it is the Opinion of Learned Men that your Majesty may Lawfully make all those Children Slaves; neither would your Majesty in Banishing all the Moriscoes out of Spain, do a thing that was never done before by any of your Ancestors; your Majesty's Catholick Ancestors having in the Year 1592, expelled all the Jews out of Spain, to the number of four and twenty thousand Families.
Your Majesty's Grand-father, Charles V. did likewise command all the Moriscoes to depart out of these Kingdoms if they would not be Baptized; that Emperor hoping, that by having Baptized them, they would, of Enemies, become our Friends, which that was so far from doing, that they became more our Enemies than they had been before; so that we have all great cause to lament its having ever bin done.

Neither will your Majesty in Expelling all the Moriscoes, do any more than our Chronicles tell us has been done anciently in Spain. King Sisebut having in the Year, 614, commanded all the Jews in Spain to be Baptized, upon pain of perpetual Banishment; and upon those Jews having afterwards Apostatised, King Egyptra made complaint thereof, to the Council at Toledo, which Decreed, that the Estates of all those Apostates were Forfeited to the King; and the said Council of Toledo, did Praise God, and King Cinthilana, for the Resolution he had taken, of not suffering any that were not Catholicks, to live in Spain.

All this I lay at your Majesty's Feet, having been moved to trouble you with it, for the promotion of God's, and your Majesty's Service, and to acquaint you with the eminent danger Spain is in. Wherefore
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fore, as your Majesty's most Faithful Subject and Chaplain, I do humbly supplicate you, to lay this Affair of the Moriscoes before your Council, as the weightiest of your whole Government, and that the Resolution which shall be taken, may be speedily Executed: For the Moriscoes do increase in number daily, and we do decrease, so that in a few years they will be more in number than the old Christians; for at the same time that there are abundance of Towns in Old Castile, and Andalusia quite Depopulated and Ruined, the Towns of the Moriscoes are Flourishing, and full of People; so that your Majesty, in Expelling all the Moriscoes, will do a thing worthy of your self, and that will give you the Honour of having Conquer'd Spain a second time.

And in a Third Memorial, deliver'd to the King by the same Archbishop a few weeks after, he declared, that tho' at the writing of that he was 72 years old, he was afraid, that if his Majesty did not drive all the Moriscoes out of Spain quickly, that he might live to see it ruined a second time by the Moors.

But the Archbishop was not satisfied with having thus vehemently solicited the King to expell all the Moriscoes; but he did farther take upon him to direct the King how it might
might be executed; telling the King in a Paper he put into his hands presently after the former Memorials;

That after having thought much on the Affair of the Moriscoes, and recommended it to God, and consulted the Scriptures, and divers grave and Learned Men about it, What he had to offer to his Majesty was, that his Majesty should command an Information of all Heresies and Apostacies, to be taken by the Bishops and Curates of all the Cities and Towns wherein any Moriscoes lived, who must be examined whether they do go to Confession, and do Communicate, and whether they do eat Swine's Flesh, and drink Wine, and it may be enquired, whether they do not very much encrease and multiply, and have not an abhorrence for Christians, and an affection for Mahometans, and are not disposed to joyn with any Prince that will allow them the Liberty of their Consciences: And if upon such an Information's being taken, the Moriscoes should be found guilty, as they certainly will, they may thereupon be Condemned to lose all their Goods, and to perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, within a prefix'd term, and which ought to be short.
'And tho it is true, that thorough the notoriety of their guilt, the taking of such an Information is not in the rigor of Justice necessary, nevertheless, since the taking of it will tend to the justification of your Majesty's proceeding with the Moriscoes, it is convenient that it should be taken: neither will any then be able to condemn the foresaid Sentence which will be agreeable both to the Canon and Civil Law; according to which, in this case, the confiscation of their Goods, and their banishment will be Graces, and not Rigors; since upon being convicted of Heresies, and not only so, but of being Dogmatists in Heresy, in breeding up their Children in the Mahometan Sect, they might justly have been punished capitally. Neither can it be pretended, that there is any injustice in condemning the Moriscoes thus, without hearing what they have to say in their own defence, since the evidence and notoriety both of the Fact and the Law does supply that defect; and would supply it abundantly, though they were to be punished capitally; it being most certain, that a Prince, when both the Crime, and the necessity of punishing it are notorious, may omit all Judicial Forms, and especially when they cannot be safely observed, as they cannot in this case; in which to prevent
of the Morisco's out of Spain. 69

prevent publick disturbances, it is neces-
sary, that the Sentence and its execution
should go together: And though it may
not seem to be so proper for one of myPro-
fection, as for your Majesty's Council of
State, who must have the Example of the
Expulsion of the Jews before them, to give
directions about the Expulsion of the Mo-
riscoes, I shall nevertheless humbly offer my
Thoughts to your Majesty concerning it;
Which are, That it must not be attempted
without having a good Army and Fleet in
readiness, to prevent Insurrections. And
I have always reckoned your Majesty's un-
prosperous Attempt upon Algiers, to have
been a particular Providence of God, gra-
ciously disposing things for your Majesty's
advantage: Now that Loss will serve for a
blind for your Majesty's Preparation by
Sea and Land, to expel all the Moriscoes;
the World being of opinion, that that At-
tempt upon Algiers, having been your
Majesty's first Enterprize, you will not sit
down with that Loss. Your Majesty may,
if you please, take four thousand of the
 stoutest young Men among the Moriscoes,
and under a pretence of employing them
in your Service, send them to your Gal-
lies, as Heraclius the Emperor did with the
Saracens: you may also send some thou-
sands of them to your Mines in the Indies,
and
and so go on consuming them, and preserving your old Christian Subjects.

And though it is sufficient to engage your Majesty to rid Spain of all the Moriscoes; only to let you know that you are bound in Conscience, and under the pain of a Mortal Sin to do it; nevertheless, since the expelling of them will be attended with both great Spiritual and Temporal Advantages, I cannot forbear laying some of them before your Majesty.

1. The Prelates and Curates will thereby be freed from the Scruples they are under; and which if they understand any thing of Divinity, they cannot but have, to baptize those they know will be Apostates.

2. Your Majesty, by selling all the Children of the Moriscoes that are under seven years old, who are reckoned to be above five and thirty thousand, will both receive a good sum of Money, and will gain a great many Subjects, who being sold to old Christians, will all become Catholicks; and having lost the Language, Habit, and Ceremonies of the Mahometans, will learn and observe those of our Faith.

3. Your Majesty may either send the strongest men among them to your own Gallies, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot use the Mahometan Ceremonies, without being observed, but a special care must be taken,
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 

ken, not to suffer any of the Morisco Men or Women to remain in Spain; because that will be of ill consequence to the Morisco Children, which are to be bred in it, in the Christian Faith.

On this occasion, faith he, I will repeat what I have often affirmed; which is, That your Majesty may without any scruple of Conscience, make Slaves of all the Moriscoes, and may either put them into your own Gallies or Mines, or sell them to Strangers; and whereas their number is very great, you may, after you have supply'd your own Gallies and Mines, sell the rest of them in Italy: And as to their Children, they may be all sold at good rates here in Spain; which will be so far from being a punishment, that it will be a mercy to them; since by that means they will all become Christians; which they would never have been, had they continued with their Parents: By the holy execution of which piece of Justice, a great sum of Money will flow into your Majesty's Treasury.

Lastly, The Moriscoes being a laborious and industrious People, do by working cheaper than the Spaniards are able to work, eat the Bread out of the Spaniards Mouths; and being also very frugal and temperate, they do contribute very little to the Publick Excises.
The Archbishop, when he was reckoning up the Profits which would accrue to the Spaniards by the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, might, if he had pleased, have mentioned the great Revenue that would return thereby to his own Archbishoprick, which had for a great many years been charged with a considerable Pension, towards the maintenance of the Morisco Schools and Curacies; and which in the Year 1597, had by a Breve from the Pope been charged with a new yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats towards the same Pious Uses: Upon which last Pension, not having been paid, the Archbishop at the same time he gave in these Memorials, was commanded by a second Breve from the same Pope, to pay the Arrear of the said Pension, which amounted to fourteen thousand and four hundred Ducats, towards the building of a College in the City of Valentia, for the instructing of Morisco Girls in the Christian Faith: To which new Foundation that the Archbishop was no great Friend, appears not only from his having never paid the said Arrear towards the building, but also from his having left out of the Copy of the Papal Breve, which was printed in Spanish at Valentia; all that was said in it of the Ancient Morisco College, having been of great advantage to those
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

those People: Which, he said, was false; and that His Holiness had been misinform'd by those that had told him so; the Moriscoes who had been bred in that College, having turned afterwards as much Mahometans, as they could have been, had they never seen it.

While the Archbishop was labouring thus to persuade the King to rid Spain of the Moriscoes, the Barons of Valentia having been inform'd thereof, did unanimously and passionately remonstrate against it, as the greatest Blow that could possibly be given to that Kingdom; whose Lands, they said, must lie untitled, and all its rich Manufactures must come to nothing, if the Moriscoes were turned out of it; by whom chiefly all those Works were carried on: And having been acquainted with the Arguments that had been used by the Archbishop to persuade the King to it, they represented that of Spain's being in great danger by reason of its having so many Moriscoes in it to be a mere Chimera or Dream; and which, when it had been formerly objected, had always been slighted as such by his Majesty's Wise Ancestors, who were never governed by the Whimseys and Speculations of sedentary and unexperienced people, though never so holy and learned; challenging the Archbishop and all others that accused the Moriscoes of holding Intelligence with the Kings Enemies, to convict
convict them of that Treason upon a fair legal Tryal, that they might be justly punished for it; which they could not be bare-
ly upon a vehement declamation of their being all guilty of Treason.

And as to the Argument, That the Moriscoes were all Mahometans; the Barons an-
swered, That they did not believe that they were all so; or if they were, to send them all into Barbary would be no good way to convert them to the Christian Faith; adding farther, That if the Moriscoes were all Ma-
hometans, their being so was owing chiefly to their ignorance of the Christian Faith; and to the Rigors and Violences wherewith they had been treated, which had made them hate both Christians, and their Religion; and which had hindered them, after they were forced to be baptized, from communicating their Doubts and Scruples to those who might have removed them.

They did therefore beseech his Majesty, not to suffer such severe and rigorous Methods to be used with them any longer; but to plant Preachers among them, who would by tender and gentle methods insinuate themselves into their Affections; and after that was once done, the converting of them to Christianity, they said, would be found to be no hard work: Giving the Four following Reasons why this Course, which
they affirmed had never yet been tryed with the Moriscoes, ought to be taken.

First, Because the Moriscoes, by having been Baptized by Force, and as it were, dragg'd into the Church by the hair of the Head, were so Prejudic'd against Christians, on the account of that and other consequent Violences which they had us'd with them, that until that Prejudice was removed, it would not be found possible to reconcile them to Christianity; it being natural for all People not to have any regard to the words of those they hate, and do reckon to be their Enemies: therefore all that are sent to Preach to the Moriscoes, ought to treat them with the same tender Affection wherewith St. Paul treated the Galatians after they had Apostatized from the Faith which he had taught them.

Secondly, The Moriscoes being a Rude and Ignorant People, ought for that reason to be treated with the more mildness, by those that endeavour'd to Convert them to the Faith: So John the Baptist did not treat the Soldiers that came to hear him, with the same Severity he treated the Scribes and Pharisees, neither did our Lord treat the Gentiles and Samaritans so Rigorously as he did the Jews: But commanded his Disciples to go among the Gentiles as Sheep among the Wolves.
Wolves, that they might gain their Hearts by their Mild, and Innocent Behaviour: wherefore, in order to the Reconciling of the Moriscoes to the Persons of Christians, they desir'd that two things might be done.

1. That the Moriscoes might be Comforted and Encouraged, by being assured, that the misery they were under at present for being New Christians, would be taken away when ever they did turn True Christians, and that notwithstanding they were the last that had come into the Lord's Vineyard, they might so demean themselves therein, as to have an equal Reward with those who had been in the Vineyard before 'em.

2. That such of the Moriscoes as were believed to be True Christians, might have Offices and Honours conferred on them, and might enjoy all the same Privileges and Immunities which are enjoyed by Old Christians.

3. That since the Mysteries of the Christian Faith were things of such a nature, as could not be believed without a Pious Affection in the Will, inclining the Understanding to the belief of them; therefore in order to the Converting of the Moriscoes to the Christian Faith; such Methods ought to be used as are proper for the begetting of such a necessary and Pious Affection in their Wills;
Wills; which it was certain, could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that Cannot be Force'd: So that tho' Force both might, and ought to be used in such cases, for the removing of all outward Impediments to Peoples embracing of the Faith, it ought not to be used to force the Will; or if it were, it was to no purpose, for they could not be constrained by it; to forfake a Religion wherein they believed their Forefathers had been Saved, to embrace another Religion, the evidences of whose credibility, they, through the lowness of their Capacities, were not able to Understand.

Lastly, That the Moriscoes being all but young Chilfians in the Faith, ought to be cherished, and handled tenderly; and all that are employed in the Converting of them ought like skilful Physicians, not to consider only the Malignity of their Distemper, but the Strength also of their Patients, and not to Administer Medicines to them which are stronger than they can bear.

And whereas the Moriscoes were accused of giving Intelligence to the Moorish Pirates, where they might come a-shore, and meet with a good Booty, the Barons did, in the name of the Moriscoes, offer to Redeem all the Captives, which should at any time be carry'd off the Land of Valentia, by any of the Moorish,
Moorish Pirates, at the cost of the Moriscoes.

By these Remonstrances of the Barons, made in a Cortes, in the Year, 1604. The King seem'd to be determin'd not to Expell the Moriscoes, but to go on, endeavouring to make them all True Christians; and in order thereunto, so soon as the Cortes was over, he Dispatched Don Francisco de Que-
sada to Rome, with an Honourable Gallery, to Negotiate the Affair of their Conversion with the Pope, who at that time was Paul V. and from whom Quesada procur'd a Breve, Commanding the forementioned Morisco Colledge to be Built, and Endowed, and the Morisco Curacies to be made an hundred pounds a-piece yearly, to encourage Men of Learning and Probity to supply them. But this Breve of Paul V. had the same ill Success with the two former Breves of his Predecessor, which had Commanded the same Endowments and Augmentations to be made.

The repeated Disobedience to so many Papal Breves, is enough to encline one to suspect, that the Popes, by whom those Breves were granted, tho' they did not know well how to deny them to the Kings when they Supplicated to have them, were not very zealous to have them Executed; because, if they had, they would never
never have endured to have had their Authority baffled thus, and especially in so great and tender a Point as this of their having a Right to apply all the Ecclesiastical Revenues, as they shall judge to be most for the Interest of the whole Church; and in a case too wherein their Authority in such an application, was backed by the Kings. But whether the Popes, by whom all these ineffectual Breves were granted, were thus secretly minded or not, it is certain these Breves were entertained by the Archbishop, as if he had known them certainly to have stood so affected as to their Execution; and who did therefore, instead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the last Pension wherewith his Bishoprick had been charged, give a Memorial to the King, wherein he pretended to reply to all the Answers which had been given by the Barons to his Arguments for the Expelling of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

1. To the Barons having Challenged those that accused the Moriscoes of holding a correspondence with the King’s Enemies; to Convict them of that Treasonable Practice by a Legal Tryal, that they might be justly Punished for it; the Archbishop Reply’d, that in a case wherein both the Law and the Fact were so notorious, there was
no need of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice. The Moriscoes Guilt in this case being Notorious, not only to his Majesty, but to all the Old Christians in Spain, who could not but observe the great Joy that was among the Moriscoes, when they heard of the Turks, or the Moors having obtained any Victories over the Christians, and particularly the Spaniards, and how that Treasonable Joy of theirs had never appeared so baresface'd, and so impudently, as on the occasion of his Majesty's late general Loss in his attempt upon Algiers.

2. To the Barons, having said, that the Moriscoes being young Plants in the Faith, ought for that reason to be tenderly handled and cherished; he reply'd, That the Moriscoes were not Young Plants, but old Barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Herefy and Treasons; the youngest of them having been planted in the Faith above four-score years; and those about Abula and Valedolid had been planted in it ever since those Countries were taken from the Moors; and who were, notwithstanding that, as much Mahometans in their Hearts, as the Moriscoes of Valentia.

3. To the Barons having affirmed, That the Moriscoes had never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion; he reply'd,
ply'd, That if their meaning was, that they were not sufficiently instructed in the Doctrines of Christianity, because they would not learn them, that was very true; but if they meant, that they had never had sufficient means of instruction, it was a great mistake in them: And supposing it might be truly affirmed of some of the Moriscoes of Valentia, That they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it could not be so affirmed of them all; or if it could of all the Valentian Moriscoes, it could not of those of Aragon and Castile; and who, for all that, were known to be in their Hearts as much Mahometans, as if they had been born, and had liv'd all their days in Tunis: And for the truth of this, the Archbishop made his Appeal to the Inquisitors, who were ready to testify, That the Moriscoes after having been for two or three Years daily instructed by them in the Doctrine of Christianity, did remain as ignorant of those Doctrines, as they were the first day they were taken up and imprisoned by them.

4. To the Barons having said, That no other than severe and rigorous methods had ever been used with the Moriscoes, to reconcile them to the Christian Faith; he reply'd, That was most false, and was demonstrated to be so by the late Edict of Grace, which had been granted to them to no purpose at all.
all: Affirming further, That the antipathy which was visible in all the Moriscoes, both for the Persons, and Religion of Christians, was too strong and too deeply rooted in their Hearts ever to be overcome by any good Offices.

Lastly, To the Barons having said, That to banish the Moriscoes into Barbary, was the way to make them all infallibly Mahometans: The Archbishop reply'd, That if the Moriscoes were not Mahometans already, though they should be all banished out of Spain, yet they needed not to go over to Barbary, but they might go into some other Christian Countries, as the Spaniards did that were banished: Whereas, if they were all already Mahometans in their Hearts, which they certainly were, it was much better that they should be so at Tunis, where their Example could do no hurt; than that they should be so in Spain, where it did much mischief; some Christians, and of Noble Families, having been lately perverted by their bad Example.

The Archbishop was seconded in these his Instances, by the Bishop of Origuela, who was one of his Suffraganes; who exhorted the King to destroy all the Moriscoes, as followeth.
As it is notorious that the Moriscoes did never embrace the Christian Religion with their Hearts, so the great danger we old Christians are all in, thorough our having such vast numbers of those Infidels among us; and thorough the Treasons they are continually plotting against us, and the rancor and hatred wherewith they do abominate both us and our Religion, and the affection they have for the Moors of Africk, and their great diligence to discover all our Secrets, that they may communicate them to the Enemies of the Christian Commonwealth, ought to alarm a Christian Prince, so as not to delay to secure Spain against such Domestic Enemies; it being much better and surer, as Cardinal Torquemeda observed, for us to destroy the Moriscoes, than to continue doubtful and scrupulous whether we may lawfully do it or not, until we are destroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulsion, was one James Bleda, a Dominican Fryer, who for several years was continually footing it betwixt the Courts of Madrid and Rome, to excite the King and the People to turn all the Moriscoes out of Spain, or to destroy them all in it; and as this hot-headed Fryer did call all the Ecclesiastics that did not
bark against the Moriscoes as loud as he had done, *Dumb Dogs*; so he did assure all the old Christian Laity, that whenever the King should give the word, they might without any scruple of Conscience, cut the Throats of all the Moriscoes, and not to spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians; but to follow the holy and laudable example of the *Croisado* that was raised against the Albigenses; who upon their having made themselves Masters of the City of Bezeir, wherein were two hundred thousand Catholicks and Hereticks, did ask Father Arnold, a Cistercian Monk, who was their chief Preacher, Whether they should put any to the Sword that pretended to be Catholicks? and were answered by the holy Abbot, That they should kill all without distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next World: which was accordingly executed.

The same Advice with this of Abbot Arnold's, was given to the Irish Papists by Con à Mabony, an Irish Jesuit, in a Book printed by him at Lisbon, but which pretended to be printed at Frankford, in the Year 1645; in which Book we meet with the following *Exhortation* to his Countreymen; to cut the Throats of all the Protestants in Ireland.
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

My Dear Irish, go on, and perfect the work of your Liberty and Defence, which is so happily begun by you, and kill all the Hereticks, and all that do assist and defend them: You have in the space of four or five Tears; that is, betwixt the Tear 1641, and the Tear 1645, wherein I write this, killed an hundred and fifty thousand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge; neither do you deny it: And for my own part, as I do verily believe that you have killed more of them, so I would to God you had killed them all; which you must either do, or drive them all out of Ireland, that our Holy Land may be plagued no longer with such a light, changeable, inconstant, barbarous, ignorant and lawless Generation of People. Neither was this Jesuit one jot more merciful to the King than he was to his Protestant Subjects; concerning whom he saith in the same Exhortation: We Catholick Irish, will not, nor never would, neither ought we to suffer our Country to be ruled by a proud King, who calls himself the Head of the Church: Let us therefore choose a Catholick King from among our own Brethren, and let us have Irish Catholick Judges and Magistrates to rule us in all Matters Temporal, and the Pope in all Matters Spiritual.

But to return to the Moriscoes:

The most Powerful Promoter of their Expulsion, was Don Bernardo de Rojas y San-
G 3 doval,
doval, Cardinal, Archbishop of Toledo, and Inquisitor-General, and Chancellor of Spain. This great Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of Lerma, by whom the King, for some years before, and for some years after the Expulsion was absolutely Governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the Moriscoes extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their Children that were under seven years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the Moriscoes, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in Spain, to defile the true Spanish Blood, with a mixture of the Moorish; and as it must be something more than ordinary that did carry a Prelate to Rome that was in such high Posts and Offices in Spain, and who had been a Cardinal for several years; so it is more than probable, that the business that carried this Cardinal Primate to Rome, in the Year 1607, was to engage the Pope, after the Example of his Predecessors, to promote the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, since they were not to be made Christians. For, whereas the Pope had, on the King's Supplication to him, dispatched a particular Breve to every Bishop in the Kingdom of Valentia, to Assemble, and Consult together about the effectual means of Converting
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 87

verting the Moriscoes to the Christian Faith, those Breves which bore date the 11th of May, 1606. and which were arrived at Madrid, some Months before the Cardinal Primate began his Journey to Rome; were not delivered to the Prelates to whom they were directed before the 15th of April, in the Year, 1608. when the Cardinal Primate was returned home; and as we have reason to believe, with new Orders from the Pope, to the said Prelates to Assemble together, not to Consult about the most proper means of the Moriscoes Instruction, according to the forementioned Breves, but for to give the King a handle for the expelling of them all; and accordingly the Valentian Prelates, did after a Consultation of some Months, come to the following Resolution, which was privately remitted by them to the King.

The Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valentia are all certainly Apostates from the Christian Faith, and are withal, so Obstinate and Pertinacious in their Infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to Convert them to it.

Upon this Resolution, being now come to Court, the Expulsion of the Moriscoes was absolutely determined, tho' it was not

G 4 Executed
Executed till two years after, neither was its being determined known to any but the Cabinet Council, before the Vespers of its Execution, when the King had put his Affairs in such a Posture, as not to fear any opposition that could be made to it by the Barons.

But though this Impolitic determina-
tion was owing chiefly to the Counsels of the Duke de Lerma, and his Brother, the Cardinal Primate; the thing that inclined the King, who was naturally Superstitious and Timorous, to be so tamely led to it by his Ministers, was, the loud and frequent calls, he was told from all parts, the Heavens gave him to it, both in Miraculous Signs and Judgments. For on this Occasion all the old Fabulous Spanish Prodigies were revived and brought upon the Stage, and were with all other extraordinary appearances and events made Calls to, and Prognostications of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, and all Publick Disasters and Plagues, were charged wholly to the account of its having been so long delay'd.

The Archbishop of Valentia, who left no stone unturned to bring about the Expulsion, attack'd the King on this blind side in one of the Memorials he gave unto him.
It is now, faith, that Archbishop, than three score and twelve years, since I first went to study at Salamanca; and I do very well remember, that all the Learned and Grave Professors of that University, did at that time blame the Carelesness of our Lord, the Emperor, and did all reckon, that God permitted the Moriscoes to remain among us, to punish, if not to destroy us, for our Sins; and I do farther affirm, that from that day to this, I never heard any Holy, Religious, and prudent person, or one that was skill'd in the Arts of Peace and War, speak of the Moriscoes, that were not of the same mind concerning them: Nay, so universal is this Opinion, that upon all new Appearances of Comets in the Heavens, or in the Air, and upon the Bell of Vilila, having Rung it self, and upon all publick Losses and Disasters, either by Sea or Land, all the Old Christians do immediately cry out that Spain will be destroyed for suffering so many Moriscoes to remain it it: Thus God is pleased by the universal voice of his People, to make his Will known to your Majesty, as he useth to do in all such cases. The King was told likewise of prodigious Thunders and Lightnings, and of Tempeasts, and Earthquakes that had been in several parts of Spain, and of its having being legible in all of them, that they were Judgments
The History of the Expulsion

Judgments on Spain for harbouring so many Infidels: And as to the ill success of the Invincible Armado, which was sent against England, in the Year 1588. The King was assured of its having been visibly a Judgment on the Spaniards on that very account: For God would never make use of the Spaniards to reduce Hereticks to the Bosom of the Church, so long as they suffered so many Mahometan Apostates to live among 'em. And the great Conjunction which was seen in the Heavens on the 24th of Decemb. 1603 tho' it was seen all Europe over as well as in Spain, was said to have appeared for no other end, but to acquaint the King with God's intention, to make use of him to destroy the Mahometan Sect, with all its great Empires.

I do affirm, faith Francisco Navarra, in a Book dedicated to the King, that what can be gathered from the late strange Conjunction in the Heavens, is the diminution of the Mahometan Empire, and the great declination of that Sect within twenty years, that is, before the Year 1623, or the Year, 1624, at farthest is expired, and that before the Year 1661, that whole Empire will be at an end, and before the Year, 1854 or 56, the Mahometan Sect will be totally extinguished; neither is the beginning only, of so great a work, referred to your Majesty.
fly, as the Wisest, and most Valiant of Kings, and the most firm Pillar of the Faith; and Christian Religion, but the greatest part of it is to be accomplished by you, your Majesty being to Conquer vast Empires, and particularly the Holy Land, which at this time is in the hands of the Mahometans.

To this Glorious Astrological Prediction, if the King gave as much credit as he did to the Bell of Vilila, a Village in Aragon, having rung itself for several days together, to Ring the Knell of the Moriscoes, and to the other prodigious Calls to expell them; his having done that is not at all to be wondred at; the securing of the Peace of their own Country, during their absence, having been always the first care of all wise and great Conquerors, which care Philip would not have taken, had he, when he went to Conquer those vast remote Mahometan Empires, and particularly, the Holy Land, left as many Mahometans behind him in Spain, as there were Moriscoes in it. The Archbishop of Valentia, after having used all the Arts and Arguments that he could devise, to perswade the King to Expell the Moriscoes, apply'd himself to the Pope, to engage him to promote it: And not being able, by reason of his great Age to go to Rome in Person to sollicit it, he
he writ to the Pope, and sent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope what followeth.

'It is now, most Holy Father, seven and forty years since I, tho unworthy, was by the Grace of God and this Holy Aposto-
lical See, promoted to the Dignity of a Bishop; two and forty whereof I have had the Charge of this Church: during all which time, tho I myself in Person, and by the Ministry of Learned, Religious, and Holy Men, have try'd all ways possible to have Reduced the perfidious Hereticks, the Moriscoes to the Bosom of the Holy Church; yet they have never continued any longer in the Faith, than from the day whereon they were Baptized, until the time they came to the use of Reason, to which they were no sooner arrived, than through the Instruction of their Parents, and of the other Ministers of that base Sect, they Apostatized from our Holy Religion, and with an astonishing obsti-
nacy embraced the Mahometan Sect, and 'tis now above fourscore years since their An-
cestors were Baptized.

All of 'em that are now alive having been Baptized in the time of their Infancy; during all which time, Parochial Churches have been Erected in most of their Villages by your Holiness's Predecessors, and
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 93

which were all planted with Ministers, and Rectors, to instruct them in the Christian Doctrine: Our Lords the Kings have also been extremely Zealous to have procured their Conversion; and in order thereunto, an Edict of Grace was granted unto them by Pope Clement VII: and your Holiness, out of the pious Zeal God hath kindled in your Breast, did Command me and the Bishops of Tortosa, Segorve, and Origuela, with several other Learned, Grave, and Religious Persons, to meet together, to Consult about the most effectual ways of Converting them; but all this has been to no purpose, for at the same time we were beating our Brains how to instruct them in the Faith, they were Plotting Treasons against the King and his Kingdoms, and against Holy Church, holding Correspondence with the Turks, and the other Enemies of our Holy Faith, Offering to assist them, and giving them directions how they might Conquer Spain.

But this old indefatigable Archbishop, notwithstanding he was clearly of opinion, that there was no need at all of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice to convict the Moriscoes of the Apostacies and Treasons wherewith he had charged them, both before the King and the Pope; nevertheless, being sensible, that the dispersion of so many
many thousands of Families as would follow upon the Expulsion, would fill the World with horror, unless it were fully satisfi'd of the Moriscoes Treasons; he did therefore, as we have seen, advise the King, for his own justification, to order a General Information to be taken all over Spain, of the Moriscoes Apostacies and Treasons; which as it might have been done with very little trouble; so care was taken by the Archbishop and his Confederates, that it shou'd have answered the end for which it was design'd; who had the following Articles in readiness to have exhibited against the Moriscoes, if such an Information had been ordered.

I. That they did all rejoice exceedingly, when they heard of the Turks, or the Moors having had any good success against the Spaniards; and that this their Treasonable Joy did never appear so barefaced as in the Year 1601, when his Majesty's Fleet suffer'd so much before Algiers.

II. That there was nothing they recommended so much as that Liberty of Conscience in all Matters of Religion, which is granted by the Turks and all Mahometans, and some Christian Princes to all their Subjects.

III. That whenever they thought they could do it with safety, they did either murther the Old Christians that came among them, and especially
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 95
cially old Christian Beggars, or did keep them in Caves, until they had an opportunity of selling them to the Barbary Moors.

IV. That the Images of the Saints, and the Sacred Reliques, which had by the Order of their Visitors been left in their Houses, were so abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very undecent Places, with their Heads downward, and with marks of great Contempt upon them.

V. When they were forced to go to Church they did express no manner of Devotion for the Sacrament, or the Images, or the Sacred Reliques; and that a certain Morisco, who had fled to Algiers, had told the Spanish Captives, That they were much mistaken if they believed, that the Moriscoes, when they forced them to go to Mafs, did worship the White Wafer which was shew'd them by the Priest; and that instead of worshipping, they were still making Figos at it with their Fingers, under their Cloaks.

VI. That when they had a mind to fright their Children, they told them, That the Christians were coming to carry them away.

VII. That they were all extremely solicitous to provide Morisco Nurses for all poor Morisco Orphans; and when they were grown up, to put them to Morisco Masters; and that this was not done by them out of charity, but purely to prevent their being made Christians.

VIII.
VIII. That none were so much honoured by them, as the Moriscoes that had been whipped publickly by the Inquisition, or had wore the St. Benito: And for the truth of this, an Appeal was made to Father Lewis Ysila, the Master of the sacred Palace at Rome; who when he was Inquisitor of Valentia, having ordered a great number of Moriscoes to be whipt publickly, one of their number that had escaped the Rod, deny'd to pay the Executioner his Fee, when he demanded it of him; telling him that he had done nothing for it; and having by that means obtain'd the honour, as he reckon'd it, of being severely whip'd, he paid the Executioner his Wages very cheerfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testify, that when he was an Inquisitor in Valentia, a certain Morisco Woman was so far from being ashamed of the St. Benit, when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have another; or of them, to make a Child she had at home a Coat.

IX. That when any of the Moriscoes escape to Algiers, or to any other Ports of Barbary, they were more zealous Mahometans, and did speak of Christians, and their Religion with more contempt, than the Moors themselves did.

X. That besides Alfaques, who instructed them in the Mahometan Law, they had Alcaides
caides among them, who punished all that transgressed it.

XI. That they reckoned no Corn grew so well as that which was sown on Sundays and Holydays.

XII. That they were such Enemies to Clocks and Bells, that they would not suffer any to be in their Houses.

XIII. That they did reckon it a great Sin in a Morisco to accuse any of his Brethren to the Inquisition.

XIV. To excuse their not sending for a Priest to administer the Sacrament to their Dying Friends, they pretended their Friends died suddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any danger.

XV. That all, or most of them that died by the Hand of Justice, did, when they were brought to the place of Execution, if not before, declare that they died in the Mahometan Faith.

Lastly, That they did all send Intelligence to the Barbary Pirates.

These, and a great many more such Articles would have been exhibited against the Moriscoes, had the King ordered a General Information to have been taken concerning them, as the Archbishop advised him to do, for the satisfaction of the World.
But the King and his Council being sensible that the Barons, if such an Information were commanded to be taken, would conclude, that it was in order to expel the Moriscoes, they judged it more advisable to neglect the censure of the World, than struggle with the Opposition they knew they should have from the Barons, if they were acquainted with that Design before it was executed.

Among these Articles, one may venture to affirm, that there are some that are mere Malicious Inventions, having either no ground at all, or only that of Common Talk; or at most, were the Facts only of some particular Moriscoes: But as to the two grand Articles of Treason and Apostacy, so far as I am able to Judge, they were innocent of the first, as to all Actual Treason; but were guilty of the last.

That the Moriscoes being in their Hearts Mahometans, might so rejoice, when they heard of the Spaniards, or any other Christians being worsted by the Turks or Moors, as not to be able wholly to conceal their Joy on such occasions; and considering how cruelly they were used by the Inquisition, that they might wish Spain under the Government of any Prince, Christian or Mahometan, that would grant them Liberty of Conscience, are things so natural, that the Testimony
Testimony of their Adversaries may be safely taken for their being true. But as it does by no means follow, that the Moriscoes were therefore actually engaged in any Treaty, either with the Moors or Turks, or French, or English, or Dutch; with all which Nations they were accused of having been in correspondence, so as to invite them by Promises of assistance to invade Spain; so I can see no reason to believe, that they were ever any wise concern'd in any such Treaties or Correspondencies: Of which, and of the Evidences the Court of Spain pretended to have of them as to France, King Henry the IVth. of France, did in my Opinion pass a very true Judgment; who having been told by the Spanish Embassador, of his being in a correspondence with the Moriscoes, in order to disturb the Peace of Spain, and of some Moriscoes having confessed as much at their Death; he made answer, That that whole business was an Artifice of the Court of Spain, which by the extremity of Tortures had forced those Confessions from the Mouths of some unhappy Wretches, executed for other Crimes; or had thrust them into their Forged Wills and Testaments; that when they should be found debauching his Subjects to commit Treasons, as it was visible they were doing at that time, they might have matter to recriminate with some appearance of Truth.

But
But though this might be one Reason why the Council of Spain did either forge such Confessions, or procure them by Tortures, or by Promises of a Pardon to Maf- fators for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of Lerma, the first Minister, and his Brother the Car- dinal of Toledo, had set their Hearts ex- tremely on the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, it is more than probable, that the accelerating and justifying of that Expulsion, was the chief Motive to that Artifice; as the French King called it; of forging or procu- ring such Testimonies.

As to the Moriscoes being in their hearts all Mahometans, I cannot see any Reason to doubt of the Truth of that: For besides that, they who were zealous against their being expelled, did not know well how to deny their being Mahometans, when they were charged with it by their Adversaries; the Moriscoes when they saw there was no remedy, but they must leave Spain, were for going no where else but to Barbary, where that Religion was profess'd; and whither they all went, who were left to their liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that was subject to the Roman Church, and not within the Spanish Dominions: And as they did all profess themselves Mahometans so soon as ever they were among the Moors, so we read
read of few or none of them, that ever fled back to Spain, or to any Spanish Garison in Barbary; which they might, and would have done, or at least have attempted it, had they been Christians.

Now considering how long the Moriscoes had been Subjects to the Spaniards, those of Valentia having been conquered by them near four hundred Years before they were expelled; and considering the pains and charges the Spanish Princes had been at to make them all Christians, and the Severities that had been used with them; and especially after they were forced to receive Baptism, to oblige them to profess and embrace the Christian Faith; the Moriscoes obstinately adhering thus to the Mahometan Sect, is certainly a most wonderful thing: But as the strangest Events have their Causes, only they are not so easily discovered as the most common, so, with submission to better Judgments, I do take the following Particulars to have been the causes of this unusual obstinacy of the Moriscoes in the Mahometan Sect.

I. The Moriscoes having from the day they were first conquered until the day they were expelled Spain, lived in great numbers together; not only whole Villages, but some Towns and Countries having had few Inhabitants in them,
that were not of that Race; now by living thus together, they did both very much encourage and confirm one another in their Infidelity, and were much safer in it from the Inquisition, than they would otherwise have been.

The II. Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a consequence of the First; which was their continuing still to speak only the Arabick Tongue; which was the case of most of their Women, and of all their Children: And as this was a great hindrance to their being instructed in the Christian Faith, few or none of their Curates, or of the Missioriarys that were sent among them understanding any thing of that Language, so it still preserved the memory among them, of their being the same People with the Moors, whose Language that was, and the Book of whose Law was writ in it.

The III. Cause was their living so in the Neighbourhood of the Moors of Barbary, that few Weeks passed without their hearing something or other of them, and of their affairs; and whereas the Moriscoes did all know that Spain had been once Conquered by the Moors their Ancestors, and did much value themselves upon it; so it is not unlikely that they might, after the Example of all Conquered Nations, which are not become one People with their Conquerors, feed themselves still with hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or Idle Traditional
The IV. Cause was the Proud and Foolish Care the Spaniards took to distinguish themselves from the Moriscoes, by calling themselves Old Christians, and the Moriscoes New Christians, and by excluding the Moriscoes from all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State; by which course, they did both exasperate the Spirits of the Moriscoes against the Christians, and their Religion, and did keep alive among them, the memory of their being descended from the Moors, which was truly the chief Root of their Obstinacy in Mahometism.

The last Cause was the Spaniard's Adoring of Images, for which, the Mahometans, as well as the Jews, have an invincible aversion.

I do not, with the Barons, reckon the Cruelties which were exercised on the Moriscoes by the Inquisition, after they were forced to receive Baptism, among the causes of their Infidelity; and the reason why I do not, is, because such terrible Cruelties, though they cannot convince Infidels of the truth of Christianity, but do rather prejudice them against it; they can nevertheless oblige them so far to Dissemble, that they shall never dare to trust their
their Children, or their Nurses with the secret of their inward unbelief: by which means their Children will be brought up Christians, after the same manner as they would have been, had none of their Ancestors ever been of any other Religion: this effect the great and uninterrupting Severities of the Inquisition would certainly have had on the next Generation of the Moriscoes after they began to be exercised, had it not been for their living together, with few or no Old Christians among them, to observe what they did.

Austine Salucio, a Wise, and Learned Spanish Dominican Frier was of Opinion, that the main Body of the Moriscoes were descended from the old Inhabitants of Spain, who, having in the Conquest of that Kingdom been Subued by the Moors, did, in process of time, lose both their former Language, and their Religion, and were Incorporated so with their Conquerors, as to become one and the same People with them; and that it must have been so he thinks is very plain, from the Moorish Territories in Spain having been always very Populous, and for some Ages before they were Recovered out of the hands of the Moors, with few, or no Christians in them, which they could not have been otherwise, few, besides Soldiers, and those in no very great
great numbers neither, and with very few Women, having overcome from Barbary, into Spain: And as to the Goths, who were and had been Masters of Spain for some Ages, when it was Conquered by the Moors, he faith, the most of them were either killed in the Battels they had with the Moors, or retired into France, and the Northern, and Mountainous Countries of Spain.

This Ingenious thought of Salucios is much confirmed by a Letter, writ in the Year, 1311 to the Council of Vien, by James, King of Aragon, wherein he affirms, that of two hundred thousand Mahometans, who were at that time in the Kingdom, and City of Granada, there were not above five hundred that were descended of true Moors, all the rest being descendents of Spaniards, who had Apostatized from the Christian Faith, and had turned Mahometans. The same Frier is of Opinion, that the main Body of the present Spaniards, must, for the same Reasons, be the descendents of those Spanish Moriscoes who remained in Spain, after it was Recovered by the Christians. To return to the thread of the History.

The King, and the Angel of his Great Council, as the Friers call'd the Duke of Lerma, on this occasion, having fix'd the Month
Month of September, in the Year 1699, for the Expulsion of all the Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valentia: Orders were secretly dispatched some Months before, to the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War, and Gallies of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, to have their Fleets ready to Sail by August next, with a certain number of Land-Soldiers aboard them, which having been done under a pretence of making some attempt upon the Coast of Barbary, new Orders were dispatched to the Fleet of Spain, which were twenty in number, and had on Board a thousand Soldiers, to Sail to the Ports of Vinares, and Albaques: to the Fleet of Naples, which were seventeen in number, and had on Board two thousand and seventy five Soldiers, to Sail to the Port of Denia: to the Gallies of Sicily, which were nine in number, and of Portugal, with fourteen Men of War, which had on Board, two thousand, four hundred Soldiers, being ordered to Sail to Alicante.

The Barons, who had not the least suspicion of these Preparations having been made to Transport the Moriscoes of the Kingdom into Barbary, were first alarm'd by Don Peter de Mercia, Governor of the Citadel of Antwerp, a great Soldier, being sent from Court to Valentia, and Don Peter de Toledo, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet being
ing sent at the same time to Denia, the first being to command the Land Forces, and the second the whole Feet, when they arrived: And though they still pretended that their Design was to make a Descent somewhere on the Coast of Barbary, the Barons did from several Circumstances gather, that that was only a blind, and that their business must be to transport all the Moriscoes. In which Suspicions the Barons were much confirmed by their Archbishop, who it seems was in the Secret, laying in extraordinary Provisions of Meal, Wine and Fuel, and taking such a number of Men and Arms into his House, as if he had expected to be besieged in it.

Upon this Alarum the Barons assembled themselves in the City of Valentia; which by the Constitution of the Government of that Kingdom they might do whenever they judged there was any occasion for it; and after having spoke their Thoughts freely, concerning the great present Preparations, they dispatched some Deputies to the Marquis of Carazena, their Viceroy; desiring to know of him, what was the meaning of them.

The Viceroy, though he was much troubled at the Military Arms being assembled, for so such Assemblies of the Barons are called, received their Deputies with great Civility
vility; desiring them to assure the Barons from him, that whatever his Majesty's Design was by the present Preparations, it was to promote the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom of Valentia; and that they could have no reason to be jealous of the Court's having any ill design upon their Liberties or Privileges, at a time, when the Duke of Lerma, who was their Countreyman, and had a great Estate among them, was the first Minister.

But the Barons not doubting after they had received this Answer from the Viceroy, That the Expulsion of the Moriscoes was the thing that was designed; and not being so certain that a first Minister will be faithful to the true Interest of his Country, as they were, that nothing could be more prejudicial to Valentia than that Expulsion; it was proposed, that they should immediately dispatch Deputies to Court, in their Names to remonstrate against it, as the worst thing that could be done to them, and the whole Kingdom. This Proposition was agreed to by the whole Body, the Count of Tindil and his Brother only excepted: Who tho' they pretended to condemn the Expulsion of the Moriscoes as much as any of the rest, did oppose the sending of Deputies to Court, which, they said, would be taken ill by the King, and could signify nothing; it not be-
ing a thing to be imagined, that the King, after he had been at such vast Expences, should by any Remonstrances that could be made to him, be diverted from executing whatever he designed thereby. This Opposition was taken most heinously by all the rest of the Barons; who told that Count and his Brother, That because they would suffer little, as to their own Private Estates, by that Expulsion, having few or no Morisco Vassals, they were not concerned for what the Publick would suffer thereby. But the constitution of the Military Arm being such, that nothing can be done in it without the unanimous Vote of all its Members, the Barons adjourned till next Morning, without having done any thing.

The Viceroy having been inform'd of the great heat the Barons had been in, he ordered the Chief Judge of the Chancery to be present at their meeting next Morning, to try to allay their Heat, and if it were possible, to divert them from sending any Deputies to Court: But the Barons, when they were assembled, notwithstanding all that Judge could say to them, did declare, That they would not be hindred either by Artifice, or unreasonable Oppositions, from discharging their Duty to their Country and Posterity.
But as they were about to have named their Deputies, the Lord Chief Justice in Criminal Matters came among them, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, to Ajourn and repair before Night to their respective Houses.

But if the Barons were angry before, this unexpected Adjournment made them much more so: And having met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords so soon as they entered the Senate House, declaring, They would not sheath them again before they had finished the business they had met about.

The Lord Chief Justice, who had been sent to them again by the Viceroy, as he was exhorting the Barons with great vehemence to put up their Swords, and to behave themselves as became good Subjects; fell down dead in the place where he stood, and never spoke a word more.

Had such a sad Accident as this happened at this time, to any of the Barons, as they were speaking against the Expulsion, it would have rung louder, as a Judgment, thorough all Spain, than the Bell of Vílila had rung on the same side.

The Report at first was, That my Lord Chief Justice was killed by the Barons in the Senate House; but his Relations and others were quickly satisfy’d that it was not so, and that
that he had died of pure Passion, thorough a too violent agitation of his Spirits.

But though the Barons were diverted for some hours by this surprizing Accident, from naming their Deputies, they both named them before they rose, and drew up their Instructions; the substance whereof was;

That they were, in their Names, to assure the King, and the Duke of Lerma, that Valencia would be absolutely ruined, if the Moriscos, by whom all its Work was done, should be turn'd out of it.

The Persons named for Deputies, were Don Philip Buyl, Baron of Munizes, and Don John Bellterra, who having posted to Madrid, and obtained an Audience of the King, they delivered the Letters they had from the Barons to his Majesty; having delivered that they had from them to the Duke of Lerma, before.

The King after he had heard all that the Deputies had to offer against the Expulsion, told them, They came too late, the Ban for expelling the Moriscos of Valencia having been published in that Kingdom before that time, as it was the Day before: The King told them farther, That he had sent a Letter to the Barons;
rons, which he was sure would satisfy them of the necessity there was of doing it: Which Letter was as follows:

Our Venerable and Beloved,

You cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, thorough a long series of Tears, to convert the New Christians of this Kingdom, and of an Edict of Grace having been granted to them, and of all the other means which have been made use of, to have instructed them in our Holy Faith; as also of the ill success of all those Endeavours, not so much as one of them, as is believed, having been converted thereby: On the contrary, their obstinacy has gone on encreasing daily, with an inclination to plot the disturbance of the Peace of these our Kingdoms.

Now the Danger and irreparable Dammage which may attend our suffering these people to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some Years ago, by several Learned and Holy men, and who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, and which they told me I was bound in Conscience to make use of; assuring me further, that I might without any scruple of Conscience, punish them all with death, and the loss of their Estates, for the Crimes whereof they were guilty; all of them being guilty of Heresy and Apostacy, and of Divine and Human Treason; nevertheless, notwithstanding we might
might have proceeded against them with the rigor that their Crimes do deserve, we continuing defirous, if it had been possible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta to be held at Valentia, to consult together, to see whether any new ways might be found out to convert them; that so we might not be obliged to banish them out of Spain: But while we were thus labouring their Conversion, we received Advice by several ways, of their having sent Deputies to Constantinople and Morocco, to invite the Turk and Muley Silem to come to their assistance, with an assurance of fifty thousand men being ready to join them when they landed in Spain, who were all as true Mahometans as any in Barbary; and would all sacrifice their Lives and Estates in their service; and to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them, It would be an easy Conquest, Spain having but few men in it that were fit to bear Arms; and yet fewer that knew any thing of Martial Discipline: They have been guilty also of holding a correspondence with Heretical and other Princes, who are Enemies to the greatness of our Monarchy; having offered to assist both the one and the other with their Forces.

Furthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turks having concluded a Peace with the Persian, and with some of his Rebellious Subjects.
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jefts, that so he may be at liberty to send his Fleet into our Seas, and that Muley Silem also has quieted his Kingdom, and is treating with the Northern Heretics about Ships to transport an Army of Moors into Spain; which those Heretics have promised to supply him with: Now in how great danger Spain would be, if it should be invaded by these and some other Enemies, I leave to you to judge.

Now, considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the Obligations we are under, to procure the conservation and security of our Kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our Good and Faithful Subjects therein, who are, of all our other Subjects, in the greatest danger; and that the Heresy and Ape-
facy wherewith our Lord is so much offended, may be extirpated; after having recommended this Affair, and caused it to be recommended to God; trusting in his Divine Favour, in a Work wherein his Glory is so deeply concern'd; We have resolved to banish all the Moriscoes out of this our Kingdom, and that of Castile, in such a manner as you will be advertized of; and with which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted; on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the security of your Persons and Affairs, and to prevent the Dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great Love I have for you, that moved me to take this Resolution; the Execution where-
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of cannot be delayed any longer, without running the hazard of seeing Spain speedily invaded by so many Enemies; and particularly, the forementioned Infidels.

We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose security and repose the effectual and speedy execution of this our Purpose will redound so much for to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquess de Carazena our Lieutenant and Captain General of this Kingdom: And this I expect from the Zeal you have for God's Service and mine, and your own Preservation: and herein you will comply with the Obligations of Faithful and Good Christians and Subjects, and will perform the most acceptable Service you can do us.

As to every thing relating to the Execution of this our Purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy; who shall in my Name direct you, and whose Directions you shall execute.

From St. Lawrence, the 11th of September, 1609.

This Letter was on the 22d of the same Month delivered by the Viceroy to the Barons, who having the same Thoughts of the Treas-
the Patronage of all the Bishopricks within their Dominions: For as that Supplication had been always, in their Kings Intention, tantamount to a Presentation, so it had been constantly the same in Fact; none for whom their King had supplicated, having ever been refused by the Popes; no more than if they had been presented by them to their Bishopricks. Now by this the World may see, as I have elsewhere observed, how dangerous it is for Princes, or Bishops, to be liberal in bestowing Complements upon Popes, who, on many Occasions, have given such a Turn to Complements, as to make them the Foundation of some acknowledged Right or other; tho' nothing was farther from their Thoughts who paid the Popes those humble Civilities, than the acknowledging any such Right by them.

The great Inconveniencies also, which attended Persons being presented to Dignities and Benefices in Portugal by the Pope, pro-prio Motu, were much insisted on on this Occasion: For whereas all the Dignities and Benefices which are in the Gift of the Bishops, that do fall in one six Months of the Year, are of the Pope's Presentation; so these Dignities and Benefices were commonly provided of Clerks who did the Church no Service nor their Patron much Honour: So that were it not for the Portuguese sacrificing their

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Resentments of the great Inconveniencies which they daily felt, by means of those Presentations, to the Reverence they had for the Apostolical See, those Presentations would lye under a very great Scandal in the World; most of those Dignities and Benefices being conferred by the Nuncio, or by his Officers, upon Persons of no known Merit, besides that of having Money; and who are for the most part absolute Strangers to those that are so kind as to help them to their Presentations; and if Portugal, said they, suffers so much by having her inferior Dignities and Benefices presented to in that Manner, how much worse would it be for her to have all her Bishopricks bestowed so?

And thus the Roman See never fails when Kingdoms are in distress, and do stand in need of her help, to fish for one Advantage or another for her self out of their being in such Circumstances: So that if they will have her Help, they must buy it dear: And by such Steps it was that the Popes ascended to that Height of Grandeur the World sees them in at present: Tho’, it is true, that since the Restoration of Learning, and which was a consequence of that, the Reformation, the Popes, on such Occasions, have not been able to drive so good Bargains for themselves as they us’d to do before.
word for word the same with that to the Barons, which I have set down at length, Page 42.

Now that this His Majesty's Command may be executed, and have its due Effect, We have commanded the following Band to be published.

I. THAT all the Moriscoes of this Kingdom, Men, Women and Children shall within three Days after the Publication of this Band in the Place where they live, and have their Habitation, depart and go towards the place appointed by the Commissaries, whom they are to follow, and obey, for their Embarcation; taking with them so much of their moveable Goods as they are able to carry, there to Embarque on the Gallies and Ships which are ready to carry them to Barbary; where they shall be Landed without any Molestation, either in word or deed to their Persons, or to the Goods they carry with them: and tho' whatever is necessary to their Subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the Ships, they may nevertheless lay in what Provision they please for themselves: with which Band,
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whoever shall not comply, but shall violate it in any particular, shall be punished with Death.

II. If any of the said Moriscoes shall, after the Publication of this Band, absent themselves from the places where they lived, they shall be Apprehended by any Person that shall meet with them, and who are hereby immediately Indemnify'd for the same, and in case any of the said Moriscoes do offer to defend themselves, against being carry'd before the next Justice, it shall be Lawful to kill them.

III. If any of the said Moriscoes shall hide, or bury any of the Goods they cannot carry with them, or shall set Fire to their Houses, Corn, Orchards, or Trees, they shall be put to death by the People of the place where it is done, and whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant all their Goods, moveables, and immovable, besides those they cannot carry themselves, to the Lords to whom they were Vassals.

IV. No Moriscoe shall, under pain of death, remove from the place where he was at the publication of this Band, but they shall all remain where they were
were at that time, until the Commissioners, who are to Conduct them to the Seaside do come to them.

V. For the Preservation of the Houses, Ingenio's of Sugar, Granaries of Rice, and Aqueducts, &c. and for the Instruction of the New inhabitants, that are to come, in all those works; his Majesty, at our Request, has been pleased to grant, that in every Town where there are an hundred Morisco Families, six may remain, with their Wives and Children, provided their Children are not, nor have ever been Married, but are under the tutorage of their Parents, and in their proportion, more, or fewer, according to the number of Families in places, only that number must never be exceeded; the nomination of all the Families that are to remain shall be left to the Lords of the Places, who must send an Account to us, of the Persons named by them; and as to the Moriscos that are to remain in places belonging to the King, and to us, care will be taken to prefer the most Ancient, and Husbandmen, and such as are supposed to be the truest Christians, or, that seem best disposed to be Reduced to our Holy Faith.
VI. No Old Christian, nor Soldier, Native, or Foreigner, shall dare to treat any of the Moriscoes ill, either by word or deed, or to meddle with the Persons, Wives, or Goods of the said Moriscoes.

VII. None shall presume to hide, or conceal any of the Moriscoes in their Houses, nor shall be any ways assistant to their being concealed, or to their absenting of themselves, upon pain of being Condemned to the Gallies for six years without remission, and of other Punishments at his Majesty's Pleasure.

VIII. That the Moriscoes may be satisfied that his Majesty intends only to Banish them out of Spain, and Land them without any vexation on the Coast of Barbary, we do permit ten of the Moriscoes that shall Embark at the first Voyage, to return, to inform those that are behind how they were used, the same shall be observed in every Embarcation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who shall not suffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuse the Moriscoes, by either word or deed.

IX. Their Children, Male, and Female, that are under four years old, whose Parents, or if they are Orphans, whose Guar-
Guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be Expelled.

X. The Boys and Girls that are not above six years old, one of whose Parents is an Old Christian may stay, and their Mother with them, tho' she be a Moriscoe: But if the Father be a Moriscoe and the Mother an Old Christian, the Father shall be Banished, and the Children that are under six years old shall remain with their Mother.

XI. They also may stay, who have lived among Old Christians for a considerable time, and have not in the two years last past been at any of the Meetings of the Moriscoes.

XII. They also may stay, who have with the leave of their Prelate, received the most Holy Sacrament, and can shew a Certificate from their Parish Priest of their having done it.

XIII. His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant leave to the said Moriscoes, to go into any Kingdom out of the Spanish Dominions, provided they depart from their Habitations within the time prefix'd.

This is his Majesty's Royal and fix'd Will; and that the Penalties of this Band be executed, and that they shall be executed
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ted without remission; and that it may come to the knowledge of all, that it be published in the customary Form.

Dated at the Palace of Valencia on the 23d of September, 1609,

By his Excellency's Command,

Manuel de Espinosa.

The Viceroy, who of himself was no Friend to the Expulsion, no more than the other Barons, knowing how highly the Nobles and Gentry would be displeased with the Publication of this Band, and that it would make all the Moriscoes desperate, he did at the same time with the Band publish the following Orders, for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom.

From the Gate of the Palace to that of the Jews the Walls shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Governor Don James Ferrer, whose Guardhouse shall be the Cloyster of the Dominicans.

From the Gate of the Jews to that of Racafa, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don John de Castelni, whose Guardhouse shall be in the Hospital.
From the Gate of Racasa to that of the Innocents, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don Francis Juan, whose Guardhouse shall be the Porthouse of St. Vincent.

From the Gate of the Innocents to that of the Tintes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Casteller, whose Guardhouse shall be the Portall.

From the Gate de Tintes to that of Serranes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Alaques whose Guardhouse shall be the New Gate.

From the Gate of Serranes to the Palace, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde Bennel, whose Guardhouse shall be the Gate de Serrenes.

The Company of Hundred shall repair to the Close of the See Church and the Townhouse.

The Company de la Seca shall repair to the Market Place.

The Familiars of the Holy Office shall repair to the Close of St. Lawrence, and the House of the Inquisition.

The Gentlemen and Exempts shall repair to the Palace.

Five Companies shall be on the Guard every Night, one at the Gate of the Palace, which shall send Sentinels to the Magazine of Arms; another within the Palace; another
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at the Gate de Serres, which shall send Sentinels to the Magazine of Powder; and another at the Gate de Quarto; and another at St. Vincent.

The Soldiers, when they are upon the Guard, shall not leave their Posts for one minute; and to prevent Disorders, they shall not be permitted to carry their Arms thorough the Streets when they go home to their Houses.

The Gates of the City shall be shut at their usual hour, and the four chief Gates after they are once shut, shall not be opened without our Order, either by word of mouth, or writing, and sent by the Sargeant, Major, or Adjutant.

None upon pain of death shall presume to make any Alarm; and if any do presume to do it, the Captains and other Officers shall assist to apprehend them.

The Main Guard shall not beat an Alarm until they have our particular Order to do it; and if there should be any such occasion, notice shall be sent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done, or not: For as this City can be in no great danger but from a great body of men, so such a body cannot approach near to it, without our having notice of them before.
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The Villages that are about the City must keep strong Guards; and in case of any Rumor of an Army, they shall come and tell me of it, and that without saying any thing of it in the City, or to those that are upon the Guard.

In case there should be occasion for a general Alarm, it shall be given by striking the great Bell in the See Church with an Hammer, and upon that Signal’s being given, Candles shall be lighted in all the Houses, and be set in the Windows, and the men shall all repair to their Colours; and the Women and Children shall all keep within doors.

And whereas the Suburbs, and the Fifteen Convents of Fryers and Nuns that are in them are the most exposed to danger, we do order the Five Troops, which are the Guard of the Coast of this Kingdom, to be quartered there, with their other Guards; a whole Troop of which body shall patrol every night, the Command whereof I do commit to my Brother Don Pacheco y Cavillo, the Marquiss de Framista my Son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my Person, to be employed by me as there shall be occasion.

The Marquess of Carazena.
The Archbishop who had been so great an Instrument in the promoting this Expulsion, to testify his Joy and Thanks for it, and to inflame the Old Christians against the Moriscoes, did on the same day that the Band was published, publish the following Orders to be observed by his Clergy.

We Don John de Ribera, by the Grace of God, and the Holy and Apostolical See, Patriarch of Antioch, and Archbishop of Valentia, of his Majesty's Council, &c.

To the Venerable Rectors and Clerks, and to the Reverend Fathers the Superiors of the Religious of this our Archbishoprick;

I t being manifest that his Majesty was moved to the Resolution he has taken of banishing all the Moriscoes out of this Kingdom, by his holy Zeal for the Service of God, and the exaltation of his Holy Catholick Faith, and for the preservation of his Kingdoms, and of all his Faithful Subjects in peace and tranquility, we do trust in God, that his Majesty's Diligence in this Affair will meet with a ready obedience, so as to compass the Ends at which it aims. And whereas
whereas this is a matter of the highest moment, both as to the Service of God, and the general Profit of these Kingdoms, it is just and necessary that we should all have recourse to God, beseeching him so to direct this Affair, that his own Glory and Honour may be thereby exalted, and his Majesty's Life and Health may be prosperous, and this his Royal and Holy Action may compass its Ends, and Heresy and Blasphemy may be confounded: I have therefore judged it to be convenient, to command all the Reitlers and Clerks, and to desire and charge all the Superiors of the Religious to have the most Holy Sacrament uncovered in their Churches and Monasteries, on the Days hereafter appointed, and in all their Sacrifices and Prayers publick and private, to recommend to God the effectual and speedy execution of this his Majesty's Command:

On Sunday the 27th of September, at the Cathedral-Church, and at the Convent of the Dominicans.

On Monday the 28th.

On Tuesday the 29th, at St. Andrews, and St. Austins.

On Wednesday the 3th at St. John's Hospital, and the Church of the Carmelites; and so on till the 21st of October the Sacrament was uncovered every day in two Churches in that City.
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But besides this Mandate, there was another directed by him to all the Rectors, Vicars, &c. within his Archbishoprick, which was as followeth:

Reverend Father,

THIS will give you to understand, that his Majesty has taken a Resolution to expel all the Moriscoes out of this Kingdom; whereby the great and many bold Blasphemies against God and his Religion, of which you that live among the Moriscoes cannot but be sensible; and for which great Plagues from Heaven, if not the general Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom, might justly have been feared, will cease.

His Majesty being enlightened by the Holy Ghost; and in the first place, having God's Service in his Eye; and in the second place, the benefit of this Kingdom, and the security of its Inhabitants; notwithstanding he might justly have inflicted on them the Punishments, which the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws do appoint, for Hereticks, Apostates, and Traytors: He has nevertheless, out of his customary Clemency and Benignity, only banished those that troubled us; which was according to St. Paul's desire.
This I was willing you should know from me, that you and all the other Priests belonging to your Church, might return particular Thanks to God for the singular mercy of his having given us so Religious and Zealous a King; and to beseech him, both in your Publick and Private Prayers, To preserve his Majesty, and prosper him with good Success for the Service of Christianity: this Charge shall be given by you to all the Priests and People in your Parishes, that they may Supplicate His Divine Majesty to direct the speedy and effectual execution of this Affair, wherein the Glory of his Holy Name, and the Spiritual, and temporal Benefit of this Kingdom is so much concerned: You shall likewise with all possible care and diligence assist all the Officers that are or shall be employ’d by his Majesty in this Business, in all things relating thereunto; being always ready to comply with whatsoever they shall ordain, so it be not contrary to your Profession; and you shall let them know that I have ordered you so to do; And if you should want my Advice on any occasion, you may, and I hope you will write freely to me for it.

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'And whereas our Lord the King has
out of his great Piety, and for the greater
security of his Royal Conscience, Ordered all the Boys, and Girls that are under
four years old, if they, and their Parents,
or if they are Orphans, their Guardians
do consent to it, not to be Expelled, as
also, all the Boys and Girls who are un-
der six years old, one of whose Parents
is an Old Christian; their Mother, tho'
she be a Moriscoe, being to remain with
them, but in case the Father be a Moriscoe,
and the Mother an Old Christian, the Fa-
ther is to be Expelled, and the Children
that are under six years old are to remain
behind with their Mother, as also, none
of those are to be Expelled, who have lived
for a considerable time, that is, for two
years among Christians, without having
ever been at any of the Meetings
of the Moriscoes, and none of these nei-
ther, who have with the License of their
Prelates received the most Holy Sacra-
ment, having a Certificate thereof from
the Rector of their Parish: All these par-
ticulars you shall take great care to see exe-
cuted in your Parish; and if there shall be
occasion, you shall let the King's Officers
know, that I have commanded you to as-
sist them in these his Majesty's Royal
Commands, neither need you fear that
K 2 they
they will have no regard to you, seeing
the most Illustrious, and Excellent, the
Marquess of Corazena, his Majesty's Vice-
Roy has Order'd them to be advised by you.
I do farther charge you to use all Pity and
Charity with the Children that shall remain,
in Obedience to what our Lord has taught
us, saying, Suffer little Children to come
unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Hea-
ven: As to those, both you and I are un-
der great Obligations, being bound to do
more for our Sheep, and Parishioners
than for others: In all this I do hope
you will discharge the Ministry that is
committed to you, and will so demean
your selves therein, that others seeing your
good works, may be edified thereby, and that
I may have cause to thank you, both by
word and deed, for your care and Vigi-
gilance therein, of which you are to send
me a particular account, as also, of the
number of the Boys and Girls that are to
remain in your Parishes, and of their ac-
accommodations,

*Given at Our Archiepiscopal Palace, the 22d
of Septem. 1609.*

The Patriarch,
Archbishop of

Valentia

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The Archbishop not being satisfy'd with those Testimonies of his Joy on this occasion, did preach himself in the Cathedral Church the Sunday after the Band was published; which was the day whereon he had ordered the Sacrament to be uncovered in it; his Text was those words of St. Paul in the 5th Chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians: I wish they were cut off that trouble you. This Sermon being little else than an Encomium and Justification of the Expulsion: I judged it would not be improper to present the Reader with it, as an Appendix to this History.

As to the Children of the Moriscoes, of whom the Archbishop speaks here with great tenderness, he was of several minds about them. At first, when he began to solicit the King to Expell the Moriscoes, he advis'd him to detain all their Children that were under ten years old, and to sell them for Slaves in Spain, where they would be Educated in the Christian Faith. But after, having considered better on that Affair, and recommended it to God with more fervour; he begg'd the King's pardon for having given him that advice; and desired that all the Moriscoe Children that were above five years old might be Expelled, because it was known by experience to be a very difficult matter to Convert one to Christianity.
The History of the Expulsion

Pity, that was bred till he was of that Age in the Mahometan Sect: And being afterwards further enlightened, he advised the King to expel all the Children with their Parents, giving the Three following Reasons for this his last Advice.

1. Because it would be impossible to find Nurses for all the Morisco Children that were under that Age, there being at that time in the Kingdom of Valentia above six and fifty thousand Morisco Children that were under five Years old: And in all Spain there were above forty thousand Morisco Children born every Year.

2. Since great Numbers of Moriscos, Men and Women, were for the sake of some Works and Manufactures to remain still in Spain, there would be no possibility of preventing the Morisco Children being corrupted and made Mahometans by them.

Lastly, Because the Moriscoes were a People that were so extraordinary fond of their Children, and averse to their being bred Christians, that they would certainly rebel, if the Spaniards did offer to take their Children from them by force.

To these Three the Archbishop might, I suppose, have added a 4th Reason; which was, The Cardinal of Toledo's, who was the great
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great Wheel of the Expulsion; being against any of the Morisco Children being left in Spain to corrupt the Spanish Blood with the Moorish: So that any Morisco, old or young, was excepted, was owing to the Viceroy's Interest in the Duke of Lerma; which though it was not strong enough to divert the Expulsion, was able to procure all the Limitations that are in it.

After the Moriscoes were a little recovered from the great Consternation, the Publication of the Band of Expulsion had thrown them into, some of the chief Men among them met privately together at Valentia, to consult whether it was possible to divert this Terrible Storm that was come upon them so unexpectedly; the Moriscoes having for Two Years before, that is, from the time the Expulsion was determined at Court, being much less troubled about Religion than they had ever been before, since they were baptized: Their Adversaries having, during that time, winked at them on purpose to have clearer Discoveries from them of their being Mahometans; by which means few or none of them were capable of any benefit by that Exception, in the Band, of all those who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a License from their Prelates.
It was agreed at this Meeting, that they should make an Address to the Viceroys; wherein, after having given him all possible assurances of their Loyalty, and of their having never been in any manner of correspondence with the Moors, or with any other of the King's Enemies, they should offer a great sum of Money to the King, and if his Majesty would be pleased to revoke the late Band, undertake to maintain a considerable number of Gallies continually, and to build and maintain several Forts upon the Coasts to defend it against the Insults of the Barbary Moors, and of all the other Enemies of Spain; and that they would further redeem all the SpanishCaptives that were at that time Slaves in Barbary; and would for ever redeem all that should be taken by the Moors off the Land of Valenția: This Address was presented to the Viceroys by Eight of the most Ancient and Venerable Men of that Assembly: His Answer to it was, That it was to no purpose for them to think of any thing but of yielding a ready Obedience to the Band, which the King was immovably determined to have executed.

When the Deputies returned to their Body with this Melancholy Answer to their Address, a general Rising of the Moriscoes all over the Kingdom was proposed by some hot Spirits among them, as the only Remedy.
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medy they had left; but that Motion, con-
sidering the Posture the Government and
they were in at that time, having been re-
jected as Madness, they could think of no
better way to oblige the Spaniards to suffer
them all to stay, than by persuading the Mo-
risco Families, which were allowed by the
Band to remain in Spain, not to accept of
that Grace, if their Brethren were expelled,
and so to leave the Spaniards to their choice,
to keep them all, or to have none of
them.

This Expedient having in a very short
time been whispered into the Ears of all the
Moriscoes, did work one of the suddenest and
greatest Changes in them that was perhaps
ever heard of: The Moriscoes, who the Mi-
minute before had been on their Knees to their
Lords to beg, That they and their Families
might be named by them to stay, not being
to be persuaded to stay, by all that
their Lords could say or do to them; all of
them to a Man declaring resolutely, That
they would run the same Fortune with their
Brethren, let that be what it would; and
would stay if they stay'd, and go with them
if they went.

This sudden Resolution of the Moriscoes
made the Barons much more discontented
than they were before; nothing having
sweetened the Band so much to them, as the
Exception
Exception that had been procured by the Viceroy, of Six Morisco Families out of every Hundred; which was totally defeated by this. For though it had been so ordered, that the Corn-Harvest was in before the Band was published, the Vintage was hardly begun; and for the Sugars, and several other Manufactures, they were quite at an end, if none of the Moriscoes could be persuaded to stay so long as to instruct the old Christians in them; who at present were utter Strangers to them all.

And whereas the Duke of Gandia had a great Estate in such Manufactures, he did offer every sixth Morisco Family of a hundred within his Lands, what they would ask, so they would but stay with him; the Moriscoes told him, That though they were very unwilling to stay behind their Brethren, yet if he would procure them Liberty of Conscience, so many Families as the Band allowed, would remain in his Service; but that otherwise he would not be able to prevail with one single Morisco to stay.

The Duke, though he had little reason to hope that the King would gratifie him in this, did petition the Viceroy for such a Liberty only for two or three Years, until some old Christians were taught by the Moriscoes how to work those Manufactures. The Viceroy's Answer to this Petition was, That
That such a Liberty would not be granted for one day upon any consideration whatsoever; for which Answer the Viceroy was afterwards thanked by the King.

The Moriscoes were not less Obstinate as to their Children, when spoke to by their Parish Priests, to leave them in Spain: for, when their Parish Priests went to perswade them to it, by telling them how inconvenient and dangerous a thing it was to carry so many thousands of Children aboard the Gallies, that would be crowded and pester'd by other Passengers; and whose Nurses having never been at Sea before, would be so sick, that they would not be able to look after them: the Moriscoes answer to them was, that tho' they believed all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the danger and incommody of carrying so many young Children aboard the Gallies, that would be so pester'd; they were resolve'd their Children should go where they went, and that they had much rather see them die aboard the Gallies, or any where else, than leave them in the hands of a People that had been so Mercifless to their Parents.

On St. Francis's Day a thing hapned, if it was not designed, that had like to have ased the Spaniards of the Charge and Trouble of Transporting the Moriscoes: who,
who, had it not not been for the Vice-roy's prudent conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Vice-roy was at St. Francis's Church, at Mass, a Man on Horseback, contrary to the Vice-roy's express Order, came galloping with a naked Sword in his hand through the Streets of the City, crying all the way, *The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes*, as if they had been entering the Gates; and after having thus Alarm'd the whole City, he came to the Church of St. Francis, and having alighted there, and gone in, he cry'd aloud to the Vice-roy, *there is a vast Army of Moriscoes, and all well Arm'd, within sight of Sijos de Trigo, a Town within a League of Valentia, and who do cut the throats of all the Old Christians, Men, Women, and Children that they meet with*. This Man had not made an end of his Bloody Story, when an Express came to the Vice-roy, with a Letter from the Alcaide of Buriasfer, a Village belonging to the Archbishop, in the Neighbourhood of Sijos de Trigo, which confirmed all that the other had said, of the numbers, nearness, and cruelties of the Moriscoes Army.
The Vice-roy, who did not believe a syllable of this Tragical Story, tho' confirmed by a Letter from the Archbishop Alcaide's own hand, and knowing, that if he should seem to give so much credit to it as to go out of the Quire, the whole City would be put thereby in a greater Conſternation, if it were possible, than they were in already; he continued in his Seat, and sent out his Brother, and some others that attended him, to assure the People that there could be no such thing, and that it was nothing but a false Alarm: The Gentlemen that were sent out by the Vice-roy, after having endeavour'd in vain to satisfy the People, who were every where crowding into Churches and Convents to save themselves, ordered a Troop of Horse to go upon the gallop, where this great and bloody Army was reported to have been seen, who being come to the place, met with the same Alarm there, but could see nothing like an Army, nor meet with any Body that could tell them any thing more of it, than that they had been alarm'd in the same manner as the City, and as the whole Kingdom had been at the same time, as was known afterwards.

We were not told of this false Alarm's having had any Tragical Effects, only it is said, that after the publication of the
Band, the Roads, and Fields were everywhere strowed with the dead Bodies of the Moriscoes, some of them having been killed upon former grudges, and some by the Soldiers, who had been employ'd by Devout Ladies to help them to some of the Morisco Children but most of them by the Bandities, who were at that time very numerous in Valenfia.

The Commissaries that were to conduct the Moriscoes to the Sea-ports, where the Ships and Gallies lay ready to receive them, having been named by the Vice-roy, they repaired to their several Charges; and the Moriscoes of Gandia, and of the Sea Coaft having been order'd to Embarque first, six thousand of them were put on Board the Gallies of Naples, and fourteen thousand aboard the Men of War, and Gallies that were at Alicant, and eight thousand aboard the Ships and Gallies at Vinceros.

The Fleet whereon the Moriscoes were Embarqued, having joyned at Sea, had a very quick passage to Oran, a Garrison belonging to the Spaniards in Barbary, where having been all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Vice-roy of Tremexen to desire him to receive them into his Country, as a People who had been turned out of Spain for being of the Mahometan Religion: the Vice-roy having received their Depu-
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Deputies with great kindness, did immediately dispatch Cid Almanfor to them with 500 Ginets, and an 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: which Order was Executed by Almonfar with great care and tenderness; who did not suffer any of his Men, or any of the Country People to offer them the least affront, or to do them any injury in their journey. When they were arrived at Tremezen, they were kindly entertained, and allowed all the Liberties and Priviledges that are enjoyed by the Natives, and which are still enjoyed by their Posterity, who are since become very numerous in those parts: so that of all the Moriscos that were Expelled Spain at this time, these of the first Embarkation fared the best in Barbary: of which, and of their having been civilly treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to Spain by ten Moriscos that were of that Embarkation.

The King having been informed that his Fleet at two Voyages more, which were as many as it would be able to make that Year, could not Transport one half of the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valentia, he ordered all the Merchants Ships that were at Lisbon, Cales, Barcelona, &c. to Sail to the Ports
Ports of that Kingdom, great numbers of Ships came also from Genoua, Majorca, and the other Islands, and were hired by the Moriscoes, who did not care to venture themselves on the King's Ships; by which means all the Moriscoes of Valentia that were not in Arms, were landed in Barbary before the latter end of November: The Transported at this time were in number an hundred and forty thousand Men, Women, and Children.

A Bold Morisco, whose name was Melini Siqueira having retired after the first Embarcation to the Mountains of Sugar, which were wholly inhabited by Moriscoes, he exhorted them to take up Arms, and defend themselves and their Families; and to die rather with their Swords in their Hands, than to go tamely aboard the Gallies, like so many Sheep to be murthered, as all the Moriscoes that had embark'd, had been to his certain knowledge. With this Dismal Story Melini had in a short time got fifteen thousand Moriscoes together in a body, who having proclaimed Melini their King, did all promise to live and die with him.

This Morisco Army upon the Viceroys having sent no Troops against them until the Embarcations were all over, is said to have grown very cruel and insolent, and to have murthered all the Priests and Fryers they could
could lay their hands on, and to have burnt publickly all the Images and Reliques that were in their Churches and Houses, and particularly the Images of St. Vincent Ferrera, who had preached many years to their Ancestors: But so soon as the Embarkations were dispatched, Don Anfin Mexia was sent with a great Body of Veteran Troops to reduce them, and though the Moriscoes fought very desperately, and had the advantage of the Ground; yet being both ill Arm'd, and ill Officer'd, they were quickly subdued; and their King Melini having been taken Prisoner, was sent to Valentia, where he was put to death as a Traytor.

There was another great Insurrection of the Moriscoes at the same time in the Meula de Cortes, raised by one Vincent Turigo, with the very same Story: This was quelled by the Conde Carlet, with a great slaughter of the Moriscoes; whose Leader Vincent having been taken, he murthered himself in Prison.

The Morisco Men and Women that were made Prisoners in these two Insurrections, were immediately embark'd, and put a-shore on the Coast of Barbary; but their Children, whowere a great many thousands, were sold by the Soldiers to the Spaniards, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats a piece.
Upon this great sale of Morisco Children, a hot Debate arose among the Casuists, Whether it was lawful for those that had bought them, to make them Slaves? and the King inclining to the Merciful Side, did by a Proclamation declare them, Not to be Slaves, and, That they should only serve those that had bought them, and would give them a Christian Education, as many Tears after they were Twelve Tears old, as they were under Twelve when they were bought.

A fierce Debate did arise likewise betwixt the Viceroy and the Archbishop, concerning those Children. The Viceroy, who thought Valentia was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the Moriscoes which had been sold by the Soldiers, that were under 15 Years old, affirming, That being dispersed among the old Christians, and having no Parents nor Relations near them, to corrupt them, they would all of course become true Christians. But the Archbishop, who pretended to know better than the Viceroy, after what age there was no making a Mahometan a true Christian, was for having all the Moriscoes, that were above seven Years of age, when they were bought, banished; and having writ to the King about it, he affirm'd, That if all the Moriscoes which had been sold by the Soldiers were kept in Spain, a great many thousands of them being ten, twelve, and fifteen
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Teen Years old, that after two or three Generations, Valentia would be filled with Mahometans again. The King, after having heard what was to be offer'd on both sides, gave Sentence, That all that were above seven years old, should be forthwith transported into Barbary, as the Archbishop had advised. With which Sentence the Viceroy was so much displeased, that he suspended the Execution of it until his Majesty was better inform'd; affirming to everybody, That it would be a less Cruelty to cut the Throats of all those harmless and helpless Creatures, than to leave them on the Shore of Barbary, with no body to take care of them, the Parents, and near Relations of most of them having been killed in the late Insurrections. I could never learn whether this Command of the King's was ever executed, and so can only say, that if it was, we need not wonder at his, having been under such great terrors of Conscience when he was upon his Death Bed, as we are told he was.

The Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valencia being all either banished or killed, on the 2d of January, 1610, the Band for Expelling all the Moriscoes in the Kingdom of Granada, Murcia, and Sevil was published by the Marquess of St. German, in the Form following:

L 2. The
As Reason of State does oblige in Conscience to exterminate all Things out of Kingdoms and Common-wealths that are scandalous, and prejudicial to Good Subjects, and dangerous to the Government, and offensive to God, so it is manifest from Experience, that all those Mischiefs have hapned to the Kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and Sevil, by means of the Moriscoes that live in them; who besides their being descended from those who rebelled in the Kingdom of Granada, and who begun their Rebellion with murthering and martyring all the Priests and Old Christians they could lay their hands upon; and did invite the Turk to come and assist them; and who, that they might repent of their Wickedness, and live peaceably and honourably, after the manner of Christians, were removed out of that Kingdom, having had such things prescribed to them, as were sufficient to have produced that Effect; have deny’d to yield Obedience to our Orders, or to embrace our Faith, but have to the great dishonour of God, gone on detracting it, as is manifest from the great Multitudes of Moriscoes that have been punished by the Office of the Holy Inquisition: And who besides their having com-
mitted divers Robberies and Murthers on
the Persons of Old Christians, have sent
Deputies to the Turks to desire his assistance;
having also solicited other Princes to send
them succors, offering them their Persons
and Estates if they would assist them; which
Treasonable Councils having never been
discovered by any of them, but on the con-
trary conceal'd and deny'd by them all, is
a manifest Proof of their being all alike
minded and affected as to the Obedience
they owe to God and us, and to the secu-
ritv of these Kingdoms.

All which having been consider'd, toge-
ther with the strict Obligation we are un-
der to procure the Conservation and Good
of our Subjects, and being desirous to com-
ply with that Obligation; We have with
the Advice of divers Learned, Pious and
Prudent Persons, and who are very zealous
for Gods' service and ours, determined to
banish out of the Kingdoms of Granada,
Murcia, and Sevil, and out of the Town
of Hornacos, all the New Christian Morif-
coes, Men, Women, and Children, that
live in them: It being expedient when a-
ny heinous or detestible Crimes is commit-
ted by some particular persons of a Com-
munity; to dissolve the said Society, and
to exterminate all those, great and small,
who do subvert the Orders of Good Go-
vvernment,
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government, to prevent the spreading of their Contagion.

We do therefore by vertue of these, or
dain and command all New Christians,
without exception, living or residing with-
in the Kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and
Sevil, and in the Town of Hornares, of
whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Natives as
Strangers, whenever, or for whatsoever
cause they came into them, Slaves only
excepted, within 30 Days after the publi-
cation of these our Letters, to depart out
of all the Kingdoms and Dominions of
Spain, with their Sons and Daughters, Men-
servants, and Maid-servants, and with all
of their Family, that are of the Morisco
Race; neither shall they at any time here-
after, presume to return to live in them, or
pass through them, or any part of them,
and we do prohibit them to go thorough
the Kingdom of Valentia, or Aragon, or
to presume to stay in them: And in case a
ny of them shall after the expiration of the
said Term be found in any of our King-
doms and Dominions, they shall be punish-
ed with Death, and have their Estates con-
sficated, to be disposed of at our pleasure
which Punishments they shall incur ipso fa
lo, without farther Sentence, Process, or
Declaration.
And we do furthermore prohibit all Persons, of whatsoever Quality, State, or Pre-eminence in any of our Kingdoms, to receive, or entertain, or after the expiration of the said Term, publicly, or privately, to protect any of the Moriscoes, Men, or Women within any of their Houses or Precincts, upon pain of forfeiting all their Goods, Vassals, Castles, and other Inheritances, as also, all the Graces we have bestowed on them, to our Treasury.

And notwithstanding, we might justly have commanded all the Goods, Moveable, and Immoveable of the said Moriscoes being the Goods of Traitors, guilty of both Divine, and Humane Treason, to have been Confiscate to our Treasury: Nevertheless, being willing to treat them with Clemency, Our Will is, that within the term of thirty days, they may sell their moveable Goods, and such as do move themselves, and may carry the price thereof with them, but not in Money, Gold, or Silver, nor in Jewels, nor in Bills of Exchange, but in Commodities that are not Prohibited, and which shall be bought of the Natives of these Kingdoms, and not of others, and shall be likewise of the growth of these Kingdoms. And the said Moriscoes, and Morisco's
risca's, may, during the term of the said thirty days, dispose of themselves and such Goods, and may change them for the said Commodities and Fruits, and may, paying the customary Dutys, carry with them what they have bought, reserving all their immovable Goods to Our self, to be laid out for the Service of God, and the good of the Publick, as shall be judged most convenient: We do declare, that We do take their Persons, and all their Goods, during the said term, under Our protection, and Royal Publick Faith, that they may, during the said time, go about in safety, and security, and may change, or alienate the said moveable Goods, or, which do move themselves, and may lay out the price thereof, whether in Gold, Silver, or Jewels, in buying the Commodities of these Kingdoms of the Natives, and that they may not, during the said term, be any ways injured in their Persons, or Goods, under the Penalties incurred by those that do violate the Royal Publick Faith. And we do furthermore grant Power and License to the said Moriscoes of both Sexes, to carry the said Commodities and Fruits out of these Our Kingdoms and Dominions, either by Sea or Land, paying the customary Duties for them, provided, as is above said, that
that they export no Gold, Silver, or stamped Money, or any other Commodities prohibited by the Laws of these our Kingdoms, either in Specie, or in Bills of Exchange nor no other Goods and Fruits that are Prohibited, only they may carry so much Money with them as is necessary to the defraying of the Charges of their Journey by Land or Sea: And we do command all the Ministers of Justice of these Kingdoms, and all the Commanders of our Gallies and Galleons, to cause all the foresaid Orders to be observed and fulfill'd, and to yield all convenient favour and assistance to the due and speedy execution of the same.

And we do command these our Letters, and all that is contained in them, to be published by the Mouth of a Cryer, that they may come to the knowledge of all, none may pretend ignorance.

Given at Madrid, the 9th of December, 1609.

I, The KING.

Andrew de Prada.
Notwithstanding the Moriscoes were commanded by this Band, to Take all their Children with them: the Marquesses of St. German had a secret Order from the King, To stop the Children, Male and Female, that were under seven Years old; of all the Moriscoes that fraughted Ships to carry them and their Families to Barbary, or to any Country that was not subject to the Pope. But the Moriscoes having had some intelligence of this Order, all of them that had Children under that Age, fraughted Ships, or took their Passage for France, or Italy; to which Countries the most of them never went; having after they were at Sea, made a new Bargain with the Masters of the Ships, to put them ashore in Barbary; and those that did go to Italy with their Families, made no stay there, but did pass over to Barbary by the first opportunity that offer'd.

The King's having given leave to these Moriscoes to sell all their movable Goods, and all that did move themselves, and to carry the Price of those Goods away with them, in the Fruits and Manufactures of Spain bought of the Natives, tho' it looked like a Favour, was of very little benefit to them; for being so limited, the Natives bought the Moriscoes Goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.
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On the 29th of May, 1610, the Band for the Expulsion of all the Moriscoes in the Kingdom of Aragon was published by Gaston de Moncada, Marques of Aytona, Viceroy of that Kingdom; by which Band sixteen thousand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of Aragon: And on the same day the Band for expelling all the Moriscoes in the Principality of Catalonia, was published by Don Hector Pignatello, Duke of Monteleon the Governor; Which two Bands of Expulsion being almost Word for Word the same with that of Valentia: I shall not here insert them.

By a Letter baring Date the 2d of January, 1610, the King gave leave to all the Moriscoes in Old and New Castile, Estremadura, and Mancha, to sell all their movable Goods, and go into France; but as there was not one Morisco Family that made use of that surprizing Licence, so had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been stoppt; this Licence having been granted for no other end, but to discover how the Castilian Moriscoes stood affected to the French, with whom the Court of Spain, to justifie their Expelling of them, would needs have them to be in a Correspondence.
upon the Moriscoes not having left Spain when they had leave, they were all expelled by the following Band, which was published on the 11th of July 1610.

The King.

Whereas we have commanded the Expulsion of all the new Christians, and Moriscoes, Men and Women who lived in the Kingdoms of Valenția, Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Catalonia, and Aragon; for the Reasons and Causes mentioned in the several Bands We did order to be published, and we did also give Permission to all of that Race inhabiting in the Kingdoms of Old and New Castile, Estremadura, and Mancha; to go if they had a mind to it, out of these our Kingdoms and Dominions; and having been by divers certain ways informed, that such of them as have not made use of that License, do continue in quiet, and do go on selling their Estates with an Intention of leaving these Kingdoms, and being satisfy'd, that the Moriscoes all over Spain were all affected alike as to God's Service and ours, and the Good of these Kingdoms; all the Endeavours that have been used thorough a long Series of Years to convert them, and the Examples of the Old Christians, the Natives of these Kingdoms
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doms, who do live so Christianly and so loyally, having had no good Effect upon them: On the contrary, they have with a strange Obstinacy and Obdurateness, entred into Conspiracies against us, our royal Crown, and these our Kingdoms of Spain, having solicited the Turk and other Princes for Succours, with Promises to serve them with their Lifes and Fortunes: And notwithstanding this undutiful behaviour which is so offensive to God, has been layd before us, by Men of great Piety and Learning, and who have further assured us, that we were bound in Conscience to remedy it, and might without any Scruple proceed against them, with the Rigour that their Crimes do deserve, and to punish them all with Death and the Confiscation of their Estates, as Hereticks, Apostates, and Traytors both to God and us: Nevertheless, we not being willing to use rigour, but to use Clemency with them after having recommended this Affair to God, whose Honour is so much concerned in it, we have resolved for the Security of our Kingdoms, and of our good and loyal Subjects, with the Advice of our Council of State and Prelates, and other prudent Persons, zealous for God's Service and ours, to expel out of the said Kingdoms of Old and New Castile, Estre-
madura, and Mancha; all the new Christians of Valentia, Granada, and Arragon, that live therein, Men Women and Children; it being reasonable when any heinous and detestable Crime is committed by some of the Members of a Society or Community, to dissolve the Society for it, the lesser suffering with, and for, the greater; or when any do corrupt Coun-tries, Cities, or Villages, that they be ba-nish'd out of them, to prevent the spreading of their Contagion.

We do therefore by Virtue of this present or of a Copy of it signed by a publick Notary: Command and Ordain all the said New Christians and Moriscoes of Granada, Valentia, and Arragon; living in the said Kingdoms of Old and New Castile, Estremadura, and Mancha; Men and Women of whatsoever Age, or for whatsoever Cause they did come into and reside in the said Kingdoms, within 60 days after the publication of this Writing, to go out of Spain and all the Dominions there-of; with their Sons and Daughters, and all their Servants that are of the Moriscoe Race, neither shall any of them hereafter ever presume to return into them, or into any part of them, either to live or pass thro' them, which Command is no to be so understood, as to expel any Chris-
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 159

Aliens that are married to Moriscoes, or
their Husbands, Wives, or Children, nor
any of the Moors who have come of their
own accord from Barbary, that they
might profess Christianity, nor any of the
Moriscoes that are Clerks, Friars or Nuns,
nor such of them as are Slaves of the Re-
bellion of Granada.

And we do prohibit the Moriscoes that
are to be expelled, to pass thro' the King-
doms of Valentia, Aragon, or Castile, but
to repair to the Ports of the Kingdoms of
Murcia, Granada, and Andaluzia; or to
return into any of our Kingdoms upon
pain of Death. And in case any of them
shall after the expiration of the said Term,
be found in any of our Kingdoms, they
shall be put to Death, and their Estates shall
be forfeited and apply'd to such uses as we
shall judge fit: To which Punishments we
do deliver them, as Persons condemned
de facto, without any Process, Sentence, or
Declaration.

And we do prohibit all persons, of
whatsoever state, quality, preheminence, or
condition, publickly, or privately, to re-
ceive, entertain, or protect any Morisco or
Morisca, after the expiration of the said
Term, in any of their Lands or Houses, or
in any other place, upon pain of forfeiting
all their Goods, Vassals, Fortresses, and o-
ther
ther Inheritances, together with all their Pensions to my Treasury. And notwithstanding we might justly have seized on all the Goods of the said Moriscoes Movable and Immovable; as on the Goods of people, guilty both of Divine and Humane Treason; nevertheless, being willing to use Clemency with them, it is our pleasure that they may, during the Term of the said 60 Days, sell all their Movable Goods, and all that do move themselves, and carry their Prices with them, but not in Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels, nor in Bills of Exchange, but in such Commodities as are not prohibited, and are bought of the Natives of these Kingdoms, and of none else; and the Moriscoes and Moriscas may, during the term of the said 60 days, dispose of their movable Goods, and of those that do move themselves, and with the Price of them, may buy the said Commodities and Fruits of the Country, and carry away with them those they buy so, their Real Estates being forfeited to our Treasury, to be apply'd to the Service of God, and of the Publick, according to our Directions; and we do declare that we do take, and do receive them under our protection, Royal Security, and Defence; and do so secure them and their Goods, that they may go about safely, and sell, change, or alienate all their said
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

said movable Goods, or that do move themselves, may lay out the Money; Gold, Plate, or Jewels, they receive for them, on Commodities bought of Natives of the Country; neither will we suffer any, during the said Term, to offer them any injury in their Persons or Goods, under the Penalties suffered by the Violaters of the Publick Faith.

And we do farther grant License and Power to the said Moriscoes of both Sexes, to carry the said Commodities and Fruits out of these Kingdoms either by Sea or Land, paying the customary Duties for them; and notwithstanding it is against the Laws of our Kingdoms to export any Gold, Silver, or Jewels out of them, we do grant them License to export them, provided it be all registered, and the one half be paid to our Treasury at the Port where they embark, where an Officer shall be appointed to receive it, as has been done by the other Moriscoes that were banished.

And we do Command all Magistrates and Justices, and all the Commanders of Gallies and Galeoons, to see that all that is here ordered be observed and fulfilled, and to yield all convenient Favour and Assistance to the due and speedy Execution of the same.
We do Command these our Letters, and all that is contained therein to be publish-ed by the Voice of a Cryer, that so none may pretend Ignorance.

Given at Aranda the 10th of July 1610.

I the KING.

Anthony De

The Spanish Historians are not agreed about the number of the Moriscoes that were expelled Spain at this time; some say they were a Million, others, that they were nine hundred Thousand, but by the most they are said to have been six hundred Thousand Men, Women and Children, besides the slain, and detained.

This great loss of People falling upon a Country that was far from being overstock'd with People before, which in Truth no Nation can be; and which besides those that were expelled, had few that were industrious, or that were skilled in most of her profitable Manufactures, it was such a fatal blow to Spain, that she has not to this day, nor is ever like to recover of it, For as it is visible to every Body that Spain is
is not a quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, so long as she has such prodigious Numbers of Priests, Monks, Friars, Nuns, &c.
and has the great and constant drains of the 
Indies, Flanders, and Italy: So it is 
not less visible, that her scantling of people are by their Pride and Superstition, more than by their Climate, made so lazy, that nothing, not not her being the sole Mistress of all the Treasures of the Indies, can never make her rich: which vast Treasures to' dug and brought into Europe by none 
but Spanish Subjects, can never stay in Spain while the Indies from whence they are brought, are supply'd with Goods, not manufactured in Spain, but in foreign Countries.

It was not long after these Expulsions, that Spain began to feel the bad effects they led upon her, as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to Philip the 
I. by a Junta that had been assembled by the King, to consider how the ruinous Rate of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd;

The depopulation and want of People in Spain, is at present much greater than was ever seen or heard of before, in the Reigns of any of your Maje-

M 2
The History of the Expulsion

fly's Progenitors; it being in Truth so great at this time, that if God do not provide such a Remedy for us, as we may expect from your Majesty's Piety and Wisdom, the Crown of Spain is hastning to its total Ruin and Destruction; nothing being more visible than that Spain esta a pique de dar in terra, that is, is on the Point of falling flat on the Ground, its Houses being in Ruins every where, and without any Body to rebuild them, and its Towns and Villages do lye like so many Desarts.

In the same Year whereon this melancholy Memorial was delivered to the King the Duke of Lerma the chief Author of all these depopulating Expulsions, was turned from Court, and out of all his Offices, his chief Confident and Counsellor Don Rodrigo Calderon, being committed at the same time to Prison, was after two years and a half Imprisonment, put to death publickly in the great Placa of Madrid; the Duke his Patron's head having been secured, by the Pope's having covered it with a Cardinal's Hat, after he began to find himself in danger, which was not many Weeks before, his falling into Disgrace.

His Brother the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, who had been a zealous Promoter of the Expulsions, died, a few days after the
of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 165

the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Discontent: There was also one Baltasar de Sandoval Dean of Toledo, who was either Brother or a near Kinsman of the Duke's, and who after the Expulsions, was made a Cardinal by Paul the 5th, so that there were three Cardinals living at the same time of the Family of Lerma, which is more than any Family, the Pope's own families not excepted, has to boast of; so great a Service was the Expulsion the Moriscoes reckoned to be by the Court of Rome.

King Philip, who died soon after, is said, by a Famous Spanish Historian, to have had his Conscience, upon his Death Bed over-whelm'd with Horrors: And though we're not told by any, what it was that caus'd them; yet considering, that besides these humane Expulsions, we read of nothing his whole Life that was Black or Tragi-cal: It may reasonably be presumed, that was the Memory of the Expulsions that quieted his Conscience so much: Neither it any wonder that they should do it; to live, contrary to all the Laws of Religion, and Humanity, made above an hundred thousand Families miserable beyond expression; being a dreadful thing to reflect on,
when one is summoned by Death to answer for it before the Divine Tribunal; where they are to have Judgment without Mercy, who have shewed no Mercy to their Fellow Creatures.

A S E R.
A SERMON

Preached in the Cathedral of Valentia,

By the Archbishop of that City,

On the Sunday after the Band for the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of that Kingdom was Published.

Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament:

Though the Gospel of the Day is full of Doctrine, teaching how we ought to love God, and our Neighbours, which are the two Hinges
Hinges whereon the whole Doctrine of the Gospel turns; nevertheless, I have not thought fit to spend the little Time that is allowed me, on that Subject, remitting it to some other Occasion: What at present offers itself in this City and Kingdom, and with which you are all acquainted, being more urgent. Neither do I reckon that in doing so, I transgress the Rule that ought to be observed by those that ascend the Pulpit, but do therein rather comply with what the Spirit of God hath taught us; directing us to apply our Doctrine to the Occurrences of the Times; after the Example of Skilful Physicians, and Prudent Stewards, who have recourse to the Distemper that is most dangerous, and the Affairs of the Family that are the most pressing: This St. Paul advised his Disciple Timothy to do; instructing him in the Method he was to use in his Preaching: Preach, saith he, the Word; but does not tell what Word: On purpose to teach, that in this place, no other Words but those of God ought to be spoken, which only do deserve, by way of Eminency, to be called The Word; And which, as our Lord saith, giveth Spirit and Life. But the Apostle goes on; Preach the Word without being weary; and with great instance and vehemence, and observe the Opportunity and Occasion, and let not your Words be as the Words of an Imprudent Man; which the Holy Spirit compares to spoils strow’d and scatter’d in the way.
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way, without order or consideration. This Do-
ctrine the Apostle himself learnt from what
Christ said to his Disciples, That he deserved
to be called the Faithful Steward, who paid
his Lords Servants what was owing to them;
and he the prudent, who gave them their
Meat in due time and Season: And St.Chry-
sostrom, Speaking of this place, faith, Two
things our Lord assigned here as necessary,
and which do so depend the one on the o-
ther, that if the one be wanting, the other
is of no advantage; Faithfulness in looking
after the Rents; and Prudence in dispensing
Provisions in their season: And it is the Ob-
servation of St. Hierome, that when the Pro-
phet Malachy faith, The Priest's Lips shall
preserve Knowledge; that his meaning was, Tha:
the Lips of the Priest is to preach Knowledge,
and to publish Doctrine in its season. We may
therefore very well forbear to speak at this Time
of the Man that was cured of the Dropsie, to
treat of the present Novelty we see in this King-
dom; out of which his Majesty has commanded
all the New Christians to depart, which is a thing
of greater consideration and importance, than e-
ever happened to our Ancestors, or than may ever
be seen by our Posterity: Let us therefore be-
seek the Lord to assist us with his Grace, taking
the most Blessed Virgin for our Intercessor,

etc.
To treat hereof, I have thought fit to consider the Words of the Apostle St. Paul, writ to the Galatians:

G A L. V. 12.

I wish they were cut off that trouble you.

The Holy Apostle had endeavoured to convert the Gentile Greeks of that City to the Faith of the Gospel, and a great many of them had given some Signs of their being converted; but who, thorough the Bad Conversation of the Gentiles, among whom they lived, had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City; the Apostle, in order to remedy those Mischiefs, writes to them: And the first Remedy he prescribed was; That for their Conservation, and for the Cessation of Disturbances, to beseech the Lord, that the Infidels that troubled them might be cut off.

The Word, Utinam, has a great Emphasis, signifying a most anxious and fervent desire; as if he had said, I wish I could see those that trouble you cut off and destroy’d; O that God would be so gracious to me, as to
to let me see those that disturb and scandalize you, drove out from among you.

Now such an Affection and Desire, is what all in general ought to have, it being an effect of that zeal for the honour and glory of God, which is every ones Duty; being part of the Command of Loving God, which is the First Commandment of the Holy Law; Zeal being the effect of that Love; so where there is no great love for God, there is little zeal for his honour; and by how much the greater such a Love is, so much the greater is such a Zeal; and whereas God's Love, which is infinite, is much greater than any other Love, so, for that Reason, God's Zeal is much greater than any other Zeal; insomuch, that he is called by way of Excellency, The Zealot, as we are told by one that knew much of God, and had spoke with him, as one Friend speaketh with another; and so as when ye hear the Almighty, the Infinite, the Saviour, the Glorifier named, you understand God; so when you hear the Zealot, you ought to understand it of God likewise. The Divine Apostle discovered his Holy Zeal, in saying, O that I might see those that trouble your Peace expelled from among you: A wish worthy of an Apostle and Minister of God, and most acceptable to our Lord; and that it was so, our Lord would have St. John know from his own Mouth, and by whom it
it is left written in the Book of his Revelations, for the Information of all future Ages; the Holy and Beloved Apostle faith, On the Lord’s Day; a Day famous for having been consecrated by the Triumphant Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ: As if we should say, our Lord Christ spoke to me on his own Day, on the Day whereon he received the due Reward of his Obedience; which was the Lord’s Day: And he commanded me to tell the Bishop of the City of Ephesus, I know the Works that thou dost, and the Troubles thou undergoest in thy Ministry, and the patience wherewith thou endurest them; and leaving the most important to the last, I know likewise thou canst not bear with them that are evil: And in the same Extacy and Rapture our Lord Christ commanded him likewise, to tell the Bishop of Smyrna, I know thy Tribulation, and how, though thou art rich before me, thou art poor in the Eyes of men, and art spoken against, and outraged by those, who say, they are faithful, but are rather of the Congregation of Satan. So from what we have laid, we may gather how acceptable a thing it is to God, that we should be zealous for his Honour, and for abhorring Evil Doers, undergo Trouble and Persecution.

And
And this same Doctrine which Christ was pleased to declare to St. John by word of Mouth, he himself preached in Fact to his Apostles, and all the Faithful, and that not only once, but twice, and upon the most solemn occasions, and that on purpose to make his Followers sensible of its great Importance, and that we, Pastors and Bishops might learn with our Lord Christ, who is called by St. Peter, the Pastor and Bishop, and who, when he had occasion, shewed himself zealous for the Honour of his Eternal Father, complying therein with the will of a Zealot.

The Apostles and Evangelists, St. Matthew, and St. John, do give us an Account of a thing that hapned twice to our Lord Christ. St. John faith, it hapned once at the beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his first Miracle in of Cana of Galilee. And St. Matthew said, it hapned a second time, four days before our Lord was Crucifi'd; so that our Lord did, both at the beginning, and end of his Preaching, teach us this Doctrine: Our Lord Christ, says the Evangelist, went into the Temple, and seeing that what was done there was contrary to God's Honour, the Zealous God took the Cords, wherewith the Sheep and Oxen were bound, and having made a Whip of them, he went about shaking
king it at those Cattle, and Men, driving them all out of the Temple; and as to those that sold Pigeons, he commanded them to be gone with them; and going up to the Tables of the Money-changers, he threw them down upon the Ground, scattering about the Money that was upon 'em: Now let us consider this Fact, and we shall see, that besides its being the greatest Miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. Hiero-rom faith it was, who affirms it to be greater than the Raising of Lazarus from the Dead; the repressing of so many, and in the sight of so great a concourse of People, after such a manner, none of them offering to lay hold of him, or denying to obey him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving his Death, being a thing, that nothing but the Almighty God could have done. But to pass over this, and come to that which Men and Angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one, of our Saviour's Mildness, Modesty, and Composure to do such a work; to whip Men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break tables, and throw Money about, not appearing to be Actions suitable to the benignity and practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet Isaiah faith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb, and that when they should take his
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his Cloaths from him, he would not open his mouth, as was accomplished at his most Holy Passion; and who, when he was Cursed, Cursed not again, when he was Tormented, did not Complain, having resign'd up his Will to his Father Eternal, who Judgeth Justly, and yet this very mild Lamb, whole Patience and Silence under Injuries was so much admired by the perverse President, when there was an occasion offered of remedying things that were offensive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may say, his Composedness, he changed the Mildness of a Sheep into the fierceness and boisterousness of a Lion. There is one word spoke by St. John, that in my Opinion, is worthy of our Consideration, in being a satisfactory Answer to all that has been said; that Disciple faith, he remem-
bered that it was written, the Zeal of thy Honour, that is, of thy House, the Temple being the place where God was Honoured, as eaten me up, that is, has mashed and chewed me as a thing that is eaten, broken and chewed: From whence I gather, that the Disciples being astonished at this strange action of their Masters, and conferring together about what should be the cause of his having done a thing so contrary to his custom, what was said by the Holy King David occurred to them, and what he had both
both done himself, and had Propheced of Christ, of whom he was a Type, saying one to another thereupon, this zeal is like that of the mild, and patient King David, who was a King of such Benignity and Clemency, that he allledged his Benignity and Clemency to God, who judgeth the thoughts according to truth, knowing the heart, who finding himself Persecuted, said, Lord remember David and all his Mildness, which was so great after he was Anointed King, that being Persecuted by Saul, to take away his Life, with that eagerness wherewith a Fowler pursues a Partridge in the Mountains, when he had two opportunities of having kill'd Saul, and was advised to it by his Companions, he would not do it, nor lay hands on him: but besides this, hear another Instance of his Mildness; When a Kinsman of Saul's met him, and Cursed him bitterly, and cast stones at him, as one cast off by God, David was so far from revenging this Affront, that he repoved one of his Company for offering to do it, saying, let him Curse me, since God would have him do it. How clear a proof is this of David's Mildness?

But you must now hear something of the Zeal that accompanied this Mildness, and the Fury wherewith he flew upon God's Enemies, who spoke Blasphemies, and committed
mitted Sacrilege in his House; the zeal whereof faith he, has confounded me, and the beholding the Offences that are committed has destroyed me, the abhorrence I have for those that will not love God being so vehement, that it has cast me into an Hecate Fever, which consumes me, neither did he only in his Life-time revenge the Injuries that were done to God, but at his Death he charged his Son Solomon to revenge them; so that in David we see, a King that is Mild and Rigid, Merciful and Severe, a Pardoner, and a Revenger, and that was both patient and zealous.

And I do now ask the Question, whether Kings that are both Benign and Rigorous, ended with David? No, let us give thanks to God, for having given us a King with those Qualities, and let us thank him a thousand times for such a singular Mercy, who is able to express the Modesty, Mildness, and Benignity our Lord the King Don Philip III. brought into the World with him, and which continued with him in his Childhood, and continues now he is of perfect Age; it is known to every Body, and all that have ever been in his Royal Presence have felt it, and are astonish'd at it, and do publish it to all the World, and this is the Mildness of David, so this
great Mildness has been exercised, not only towards his own Faithful Subjects, but towards Infidels and Traytors to his Royal Person and Crown: his Majesty from the hour he began his happy Reign, having been extremely afflicted with the Offences have been done to God in Spain, by the Moriscoes that live in it; who notwithstanding their having been baptized, do follow the Law of Mahomet, teaching it likewise to their Children, and observing all the Rites of the Alcoran publickly, and despising the Ceremonies of the Holy Church, and deriding the Sacraments, Images, and other Sacred Things: All which Mischief, his Majesty endeavour'd to have remedy'd with Mildness, and with so great application, as if he had no other Business, procuring Edicts of Grace of his Holiness, and writing to the Bishops of this Kingdom concerning it; manifesting likewise how earnestly he desired the reduction of those Infidels, by commanding Places to be erected for the Instruction of their Boys and Girls, and ordering a Junto of us to meet in this City, to find out some ways, if it was possible, to cure those Hereticks of their Obstination and Obduratness, which was lamented by him with such tender Expressions, as filled us all with admiration and confusion; having likewise to facilitate this Conversion, made Offers of Rewards
wards and Priviledges to those that would turn: All which proclaims the greatness of his Majesty, Clemency and Benignity, as it does also the greatness of the Moriscoes Wickedness, who had shut the Door against the Truth of the Gospel, and against all the Means that could be made use of for their Conversion: These are the Demonstrations of David's, I mean, of our Lord the King's Clemency and Benignity.

Let us now cast our Eye on the Zeal for God's Honour, which his Majesty has joined with this his Benignity and Mildness: Who having been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidst all these Endeavours used for the Conversion of those People, that they were plotting, and sending Embassies to the Turk, and other Heretical Princes and Potentates, who were Enemies to God, and the Crown of Spain, to invite them to invade and conquer it, offering them an 150000 paid Soldiers, and divers other Conveniencies; by which Promises made to encourage the Enterprize, the said Infidels were so far engaged, that they were preparing all Necessaries to invade us the ext Spring; so that within six Months we should have had the Turkish Fleet, and that if our other Enemies upon our Coast, and must have seen Spain in a most forlorn and tretched Condition; for though thorough
the mercy of God, and the ardure and power of the King, we trust those Traytors would not have been able to have compafs'd their Desires; nevertheless, taking us unprepared, we should not have been able to have succour'd all the parts of the Kingdom, and so must necessarily have sustain'd great Losses, in the destruction of our Holy Temples, and by Sacriledges committed against the most Holy Sacrament, and the Contempt that would have been put upon those Sanctuaries and Reliques, which are preserved in this Holy Temple, and in other Churches, as the most precious of all Treasures, and in the Murther and Martyrdom of all of us that are now alive; and of our Children and Brethren; and finally, in having the Name of Mahomet venerated in Spain, and that of our Lord Jesus Christ blasphemed.

All which Evils we should infallibly have incur'd by having these Domestick Enemies among us, who do thirst to drink our Blood, that they may make themselves Masters of Spain: For which reason the Spirit of God did council us by the Mouth of the Wise-man, Not to have our Enemy near us, nor to suffer him to sit by us; because he will undoubtedly endeavour to turn us out of our Seat, that he may take it to himself. You have now heard of, and do admire at the Mildness
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

Mildness our Lord the King has used with these People, and at his Patience in winking at their Faults; let us now treat of his Majesty's Holy Zeal and Resolution.

His Majesty finding all the Remedies he had apply'd to the Conversion of these People unsuccessful, and that instead of profiting thereby, they were the more hardened in their Errors and Heresies, he resolv'd to use a Remedy; which besides its being the only Remedy that remained, is so admirable and divine, that Human Prudence without a particular light and succour from Heaven could never have found it out, for the Example of the World, and the admiration of all that do, or shall ever live therein:

Methinks I hear the Lord our King using the same Words with the Royal Prophet, in the 17th Psalm, The time is come, Lord, to do; without telling what was to be done; to signify, that the Work was so admirable and amazing, that it would astonish the World when they beheld it, and that that Work would comprehend a great many other Works within it; as if we should say, the Work of Works, the Enterprize of Enterprizes; for such is that which we have now in our hands; Who my Brethren is able to exaggerate it with Words, or is able to conceive the Christianity, the Prudence, the Magnanimity, the Grandeur, that are contained
tained in this Work. For my own part, I find myself unable to express and dissect it, and so I shall give it over, and content myself with having said, that it is a Work worthy of such a King, and that such a King was worthy to be the Author of so Catholic and wise a Resolution.

And whereas all his Majesty's faithful Subjects do desire that the effects of the Prudence and Holy Zeal wherewith God has inspired his Royal Soul may appear in his Government, as also the effects of his Grandeur, and of the Power of his Royal Crown, so in this Work we see our Desires abundantly comply'd with; which does not only equal all that has ever been done by his Famous Predecessors, but exceeds them all, so as to eclipse them: And that you may be sensible of the Truth of what I say, it is fit you should understand, that the Expulsion of the Moors out of this Kingdom, has been a thing that has been much desired and endeavoured, by our Lord the King's Predecessors, tho' never executed by them.

Let us begin with the First Conqueror, the Famous King Don James, who being at Calatagud two and twenty Years after he had subdued the Kingdom of Valentia, was, as the History informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, That there was News, that one of the Chief Men among the Moors of Valentin...
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Vientia had taken the Castles of Gallineva, Pe-go, and others; at which, though the King discovered he was troubled, nevertheless he comforted himself, using the following Words, *I am glad they have given us occasion to drive them all out of the Kingdom, that where the filthy Name of Mahomet is invoca-
ted, the sweet Name of Jefus our Master, Re-deemer, and true God may be praised and ado-
red.* And accordingly, on the Day of the
Epiphany, in the Year 1262, the Command
of the King was published in this very
Church, *That all the Moors should within a
Month depart out of the Kingdom of Valentia.*
This had no effed: by reafon of the Wars
that broke out with the King of Castile; ne-
evertheless, the said Christian and Valiant
King continued still determined to banifh
them all, and did accordingly in his *Will,*
which he made a little before his Death,
charge his Son King Don Pedro to
do it.

Don Ferdinand, who according to some
Writers, was the first that was honoured by
the Church of Rome, with the Title of Catho-
lick, and which has been ever since retained
by the Kings of Spain, did likewise, as Hi-
storians tell us, command them all to be ba-
nished; which is confirmed by what is rela-
ted in the *Letters* writ by our Lord the Em-
peror Charles the Vth, to the Lords of the

N 4

Vassals
Vassals of this Kingdom, in the Year 1525; in which the following words are to be met with: After our happy Succession in these our Kingdoms and Dominions of Spain, the Thing we have laid most to heart, was to cleanse them from Infidelity, Imitating therein the Catholick King and Queen, my Grandfather and Grandmother of Glorious Memory, who took so much pains in that matter: For which Reason we are determined, not to suffer any Moors to remain in any of our Kingdoms, otherwise than in Slavery: To which Determination his Majesty was pushed on by Pope Clement the VIIIth; who by a Breve, Dated at St. Peter's at Rome, the 12th of May, 1524, Exhorted him to procure the Instrution of the Moors; and in case they refused to be instructed, to command them all, Either to leave Spain, or to be made Slaves: The Result of which Diligence, was the taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, as was the Baptizing of them; imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosome of the Church, they would all have become Believers; but Experience has shewed, how they abused that Sacrament, with great Sacrilege and Blasphemy.

Our Lord the King, Don Philip II. After he Succeeded in these Kingdoms, had the
the same desire, and accordingly, in the Year 1568, he commanded the Prelates of this Kingdom to meet together to find out some Remedy, the most Reverend Don Fernando de Loaze, being at that time Archbishop of this Metropolis, in which Assembly there were several considerable constitutions framed, which having been found to be of no advantage, in the Year 1587, another Assembly was appointed, at which I was present, in which there were made several new Constitutions, after which, his Majesty being satisfied that all the diligence he had used did signify nothing, and that they still persevered in their Heresie, he resolved either to have sent them all out of Spain, or at least, to have transplanted them into the In-land Countries, which would have been attended with the same, if not greater Inconveniencies.

Finally, the last year, we, the Prelates, were Assembled again by his Majesty's Command, as you all know: now from what has been said, it is manifest that this Enterprize has been desired by a Pope, an Emperor, and four Kings, who were all hindered from Executing it by the greatness of the Work, under which they all sunk, and were worsted by it; they were sensible of the necessity there was of clearing Spain of them.
them, acknowledging the evident danger it was in, whilst those Domestick Enemies remained in it, but the moles and greatness of the Enterprize did so far Conquer their Courage, that they were overcome by the multitude of inconveniencies which were represented to them, as the consequence thereof. Which mighty Enterprize, I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the Paternal Succour where with it attends the Actions and Person of our Lord the King; that that which a Valiant Conqueror, a Catholick King, an Emperor, so much celebrated in the World, for the many Victories he gained over the Turks and Hereticks, and Catholicks too that were his Enemies; and a King whose Prudence was so well known and admired tho' they desired it, durst not undertake it is now executed by our Lord the King, with so great Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our Lord God, with such admirable Courage and Prudence, that we now see it begun, and shall, by the favour of God see it quickly concluded and ended, and the Kingdom of Valentia Recovered, not in many years, as it was Recovered by the Christian Kings, but in a few Months more. Does it not appear to you that I had reason to say, that this is the greatest Action that we
we have seen in our own, or have Read of in past times. After this, how great ingratitude would it be in us of this Kingdom, not to acknowledge with particular thanks, the Mercy which God, and his Majesty has done us, in beginning this Noble Enterprise here, ought we not to return thanks to God for his having chose this, among the infinite Kingdoms first to receive Safety; and his Majesty, for having been pleased to Order us to be an Example to all his other Kingdoms, so as not to gain only the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, who were Natives among us, but also the Expulsion of the Moriscoes of other parts, and that it will be Recorded in the History of Valentia, that it was the first, which for its Holy Zeal deserved to have their Kingdom freed from Hereticks, and which by a signal demonstration has given a testimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great cheerfulness, what its King and Lord has Ordained and Commanded: In all which the Duke of Lerma has bore a great part, out of the singular Love wherewith his Excellency attends to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and of all that live therein.

Brethren, I am not able to express how great a comfort it is to me, to see, and hear how this has been entertained by all in general, and particularly, by all those that are
are interested therein, who, notwithstanding, they must, as we all know, sustain great damage thereby, have nevertheless, both by word and deed yielded great conformity to it, saying, that since this Expulsion will be so much for the Service of God, and his Majesty, they did not only reckon their Goods to be well lost, but did further offer their own and and their Sons Lives therein; a Resolution worthy of most true Christians, and of most Faithful Subjects: Methinks I have seen that which the Apostle, St. Paul, writing to the Hebrews, prized so much, *Te have taken*, faith he, *chearfully the spoiling of your Goods*, he commends them for two things, and which do both deserve great Praise: the first is the suffering the loss of their Goods, which is a great work, but it is yet greater to take it with cheerfulness, which is not only good, but an heroical work, and the work of an Apostle; to see ones self Rich to day and Poor to morrow, and to take that with patience and cheerfulness for the Service of God and the King is a mighty work, and which deserves to be acknowledged and rewarded, we need not weary our selves to prove this, that Example the Holy Spirit has given us, and which is related by three Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke will do it abundant-
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ly: St. Peter, with the freedom of a Private, and Favourite, and as superior to the rest of the Apostles, said unto our Lord Christ, Master, behold we have left all that we had, and followed thee, how will you pay us for what we have done for you? the Lord answer'd those that had followed him, and said, that he would do them great Honour, that they should sit with him to Judge Men: and not forgetting others who had, or should at any time leave their Goods for his sake, he faith to all such, they that have left House, &c. all the three Evangelists do put House in the first place, and the Greek word here, as also the Hebrew, in Psal. 123, signifies not only a material House, but a family likewise, and all things belonging to its support; as health, honour, and goods, and all things else, so that to leave the support of a Family is an heroical work, and which deserves a great reward, this the Nobility of Valentia has done, some losing Vassals, and the advantages they had by them, others losing their Rents, and all this with cheerfulness, as thorow the Mercy of God we see, and for which I do return infinite thanks, and do hold my self unworthy to have such Sheep; and whereas they have done this their part, they shall also partake of the Promise which our Lord Christ made to those that have left their
their Goods for the sake of the Gospel, as St. Matthew has it, or, who have left their Goods for the Kingdom of Heaven, as St. Luke hath it, None of them shall fail to receive in this Life much more than they have lost, and in the time to come life Eternal this is what Christ our Lord has promised, who cannot be worse than his word being not only true, but truth itself, so that we may rest secure of having this promise fully comply’d with, and that the benefits will be innumerable, which will follow upon this holy and admirable work such as Honour, the greatest Honour that is, being to live in the Company of Believers, and the greatest dishonour and disgrace, is, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who let them be of what Quality soever, tho’ a King; cannot be so much as looked upon, without being affronted. So the Prophet Elijah told Joram a wicked King of Israel, As the Lord liveth, in whose presence I am, that had it not been out of respect to King Jehoshophat who is a Believer, and the servant of God, I should not have regarded what you say, nor have seen thy face, because thou art an Infidel. Neither would the Prophet so much as salute him, because it would have been a fault to have done it, as it is to us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the number of those that do not confess our Lord Christ to be true God, which
which Mahomet did not, and of whom the holy Apostle St. John faith, Receive them not into your House, and say not Godspeed to them, for they that salute them do in some manner partake of their faith. what greater honour can we have in this Kingdom, than to have all that live therein faithful to God and the King, and without any mixture of Heretics or Traytors? And of this honour the Temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be stiled the Lords of faith-ful Vassals, which they could not be stiled before, but the Lords of Infidel Slaves. And as to the common People, what greater Good can they receive, or what that can be compared to their having the most holy Sacrament reserved in the Church of every Village; what Honour, what Authority, what Comfort, what Ease, what Joy must his yield? This is that which makes Villages tho' never so small to be most illustri-ous Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth but of the King of Hea-ven, this is the only thing that can be esteemed Grandeur. And so the Royal Pro-phet David, desiring to extol the Eminen-}

...
and greater beyond comparison can we say of every little Hamlet, where not the Ark of the Testament, and the Urn of Manna, but the true and living Body of our Lord abideth.

Ye are all Witnesses, of the incommode-
ty it was to pious People, to go to their Villages where this great Consolation was wanting, which hereafter ye shall enjoy, and be possessed of the greatest Treasure in Heaven, which is the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ: And ye shall see your Churches which were full of Dragons and wild Beasts, filled with Angels and Seraphims: When this Expulsion is over, I do intend if God spare me life, to visit all the places where the Moors lived, and having kissed the Ground of the Churches, to return Thanks to our Lord, for seeing them freed from so great Impurity: as they were defiled with by their treading in them, in conformity whereof I beseech all of you, that have Villages which have been inhabited by Moriscoes, or in which they have had any Houses, to make a great Festivity, the greatest you can possibly make on the Day whereon the most Holy Sacrament shall be lodged in your Churches, and to take care to adorn the Holy Altar where it is to be reserved, as much as you can possibly: This Care will be very proper for the Ladies and other
other pious Women, remembering the Regalo which the two Sisters Martha and Mary made to our Lord Christ, when he came to them weary with having Preached, and quite tired with the Infidelity of Men. It is the very same Lord you will now have in your Churches, and that not mortal and passible, but immortal, and impassible: Regalè him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Sense of the great Mercy he does you in condescending to dwell among you, after so many and so great Blasphemies and Affronts as have been offered to him in those very places where you now have him; with this Consideration you will kindle in your hearts, a Devotion for the most Holy Sacrament, and thereby acquire innumerable benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that one who are much the Servants of our Lord, and are learned too, are of Opinion, that the Reason why our Lord has ordained that this holy Expulsion should begin in his Kingdom, was that he might reward the Devotion that is in it for the most holy Sacrament, which is greater here than it is in any other part of Spain, as is manifest from the Fesitivities, Proceffions, Illuminations, and Ceremonies which they perform in its admirable Feast, honouring it as much as humane Poverty and weakness is able
able to honour the eternal Son of God, which continues among us, for the remedying of all our Evils spiritual and corporeal. Neither is it a thing of small Consideration, that hereafter we shall all be quiet in our Consciences. But I do not care to insist on Point, on which I have formerly said an writ a great deal, and could say and write much more on it. For if the holy Scriptures dictated by the Divine Spirit do command us to abhor the Enemies of God, and if the Royal Prophet said, That it threw him into a Fever, when he saw those that had transgressed the divine Law, how shall we be able to answer for our having treated those Hereticks familiarly, esteeming them as friends, and being in Amity with them, notwithstanding we beheld them performing the Ceremonies of Mahomet, and we our selves did acknowledge them to be Mahometans, tho' they had been baptized. Who among us has had the Zeal of Mathias of whom the holy Scripture saith, That when he beheld on of the People of Israel offering Sacrifice to Idol at the Commandment of the perverse King Antiochus, he was so set on fire by the zeal of the Lord, that his Bones trembled, and flying up on him that sacrificed, and him that commanded him to do it, he killed them both: This is the zeal of a Servant of God, and which is so acceptable to the divine Majesty, that
Phineas for the doing the same was commended of God; and Moses faith, that tho' he was determined to have inflicted a severe punishment upon the people, he was appeased and did remit his wrath, for the zeal of Phineas who killed the Transgressor of the law of God. My Brethren, we had all need make a general Confession, and I my self sought to do it in the first place, who knowing the Blasphemies of those People, and seeing it with my Eyes, have lived forty years in peace with them: And notwithstanding I might plead the example of other learned Prelates, and who were much the servants of our Lord, who have dissembled and gone on with them, nevertheless had I been worthy of the zeal of our Lord, such Examples would not have sufficed. A general Confession of the Barons, and Lords of Vassals, likewise necessary who tho' when I treated with 'em about their obstinacy and their observing their feet openly, used to tell me, that did not belong to 'em, but to the Inquisition or the Ordinary, to punish them for it. Nevertheless it is certain, that if they had had a zeal for the honour of God they would never have permitted it. A general Confession also necessary to all that have trafficked and have had any dealings with 'em, for had you had a zeal for the honour of God, and esteemed it more than your profit, you would
would never have been their Friends, but would have abhorred 'em, and fled from 'em. And I beseech all of you that know any thing of the Language of those cursed Creatures to forget it.

I have deferred to speak to what concerns Goods to the last, of which I know some have complain'd, but with the forementioned moderation. It cannot be deny'd but that at first, until things are well settled, the Rents of the Lords of Vassals will be less than they were, neither will the Rents that were charged on the Villages of the *Moriscoes* amount to so much as they did; but how inconsiderable are these losses which when compared to the benefits that will result from hence, cannot properly be called a damage; so they who have sold Copy-holds, or Leases to buy a Manor, tho' their Rents may be lessened thereby, are not said by us to have done any prejudice to their Estates, but rather to have improved them, as they likewise do, who do abate of their Pensions for to have them charged on Estates, where they will be more secure, this very thing has now happened; seeing both the quality of Estates, and the Security of recovering the Rents of them, are to be reckoned beyond a greater Rent with a risque of losing it.

And whosoever will but truly consider the
of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

Eminent Danger we were in of losing both our Estates and Lives, while those People lived among us, will reckon himself happy, and to be in a better condition, by having what remains secured to him. For as wise Solomon has it, Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than to have great treasures with strife and fighting.

Among the Felicities of the Sons of Israel, reckoned by the Spirit of God, in the reign of King Solomon, one was, That men lived in safety, sleeping under the shade of their Vine and Figtree, having none to be afraid of. Thus we shall be in this Kingdom for the future, where thorow the mercy of God, the Paternal Care of his Majesty, every thing will thrive with us, and the Earth itself will grow more fertile, and will yield the fruit of Blessing. It is a thing ye all know that we have not had one Fertile Year since the Time that the Moriscoes were Baptized, whereas now they will all be fertile, the Land having been impoverished, made barren, and poisoned by their Blasphemies and Blasphemies, or with so many Sins and Abominations, as the Royal Prophet David hath it; don't think, that this is nothing but a Fancy, since the Divine Scriptures do every where affirm, that for Sins, God deprives People of Temporal Blessings. Let us but live in the Service of our Lord, and observe his Holy
Holy Law without wronging our Neighbour; and we shall abound with all Good Things; hear what the Lord himself has said, Obe my Commandments, and keep my Law, and do promise, you shall live in the Land without fear; and the Land which you possess shall bring forth Fruit in such abundance, that you shall eat and be full; and that without any fear, but with an entire rest and security; and your Harvests shall be so great, that the Reapers shall work until seed time, and the makers of Wine shall meet the Sowers, and ye shall build in places which were Deserts, and plant Vines, and drink of the Wine thereof, and sow Garden and eat of the Fruit of the Trees you have planted; and ye shall never be turned out of your Houses, saith the Lord. All this the Lord has promised by his Prophets; I say again, We shall abound with all Good Things; for he who bestows upon us the Heavenly and Eternal Blessings of Grace, will not, saith the Royal Prophet, deny us Temporal and Earthly Blessings; for which Reason the man may be called happy, who trusteth in the Lord. Let us do so, and be contented with what our Lord shall be pleased to dispense to us, giving him infinite thanks for his mercy.

And I with my weakness and misery do supplicate him to give me light, that I may know how to do it, who, tho' a great sinner...
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ner, I will venture to use the words spoke by a holy Man, to whom I am like in being Old, O Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word, for now having seen my desires comply'd with, I am contented to die, whenever our Lord shall be pleased to take me, leaving my Churches free from the impurities wherewith those Hereticks defiled them, and my Flock secure from the Treasons they were machinating, but above all, now that our Lord God will be Adored and Served, and Praised for ever.

FINIS.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by Eminent Persons that were engaged in these Wars.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.
THE PREFACE

THE Wars of the Commons of Castile, which broke out in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Vth. tho' they are mentioned in all the Histories of those Times, little more is said of them than that they begun in such a Tear; and that the Commons being at last dispersed, and some of their Leaders being put to death, all things were quieted again.

The shortness of which Account; considering how great a Revolution this was, and how full of useful Lessons both for Princes and Subjects; I can attribute to nothing, but to the known Partiality of the Spanish Historians for the Honour of their Country; on whose so much boasted of Loyalty to their Princes, these Wars of the Commons were thought to reflect too much, to be transmitted at large by them to Posterity.

When
When I have said that this History is chiefly taken out of Letters writ to Ministers of State by Persons of great Note, and who were personally engaged in these Wars, I think I have said enough to recommend it to the Curious; who cannot but know, that the Materials of a True History are no where else to be met with so well; and especially in the Case of Civil Wars: In which, as both sides are commonly something in the wrong, so for that reason the Wisest and Best Men on both Sides are always the farthest from a Blind Bigotry for the whole of their several Causes: And which Moderation never discovers it self any where so plainly, as in Letters writ to Publick Ministers by their Confidents: For though Publick Ministers, may, in such Cases; industriously impose False Relations on others, they themselves must not be abused by such Relations.

This is the Case of most of the Letters, out of which the main of this History was Collected; they were written to the Lord Chancellor of Castile, who was at that time in Germany with the Emperor, by his Great Friend and Confident, the Learned Peter Martyr, an Eye Witness of these Wars; and who, though he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the Evil
Evil Counsellors by whom the Commons were provoked to take up Arms; much more than he does the Commons, for having taken them up after having been so highly provoked to it.
In the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the Vth.

DONNA Isabella, the Sovereign Queen of Castile, &c. and Wife of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, having departed this Life on the 26th. of November, in the Year 1504; By her Death, the Crown of Castile, and of
of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, descended to Dona Joanna, her Eldest Daughter then living, and who was Married to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, Eldest Son of Maximilian, the Emperor, and Arch Duke of Austria; and who, at that time was in Flanders with her Husband, and her Eldest Son, Charles.

The Deceased Queen having been sensible of her Daughter Donna Joanna’s weakness, and much displeased with her Son in Law Philip, for having been a very unkind Husband; by her Will, made not long before her Death, she constituted her own Husband, King Ferdinand, Governor of Castile, during the time of their Grandson, Prince Charles’s Minority.

But Philip, who was a brisk Prince, coming not long after with his Queen into Spain, did, with the Assistance of the Castilian Nobles, who were extremely weary of Ferdinand’s Severe Government, oblige his Father-in-Law to leave Castile, and go to his own Kingdoms: Philip, among other things, being much dissatisfied with his Father-in-Law, for having after he was above sixty years of age, concluded a Marriage with a young Beautiful French Princess, whose name was Germana, in hopes of having Male-issue by her, to Succeed him in the Throne of Arragon.

But
But Philip, who had lived apace, dying a few Months after Ferdinand had left Castile; his Queen, whose Brain was somewhat Distemper'd before; did, upon this loss, sink into so deep a Melancholy, that those which were about her, had much ado to keep her from Famishing her self: And, as during the whole time of her Husband's Sickness, she had never, tho' she was big with Child, day nor night, stirr'd from his Bed side: So having, some days after he was Buried been told by a Monk, that he had read in some Legend or other, of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen years, she immediately commanded her Husband's Body to be brought into her Bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the Coffin, and laid it in a Bed of State, with its Face uncover'd, she kept it there as long as she lived, which was above twice fourteen years; and when she was awake, was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

And as the Queen's Fondness for her Husband, who had little deserv'd it from her; so her Jealousie of him was so much increas'd by his Death, that she would never suffer any Woman but her self to go near his Corps; nor none of that Sex, besides her old Servants and Confidents to come within the doors of the Room where it lay.

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And having left Burgos, with a Resolution never to see that, nor any other City any more, she travelled in the Night by Torch light, with her Husband's Corps drawn in a Herse by six Flanders-Mares, from one obscure Village to another, until she settled at last at Tortelas; where, in a very mean House, she was delivered of a Daughter, without the help of a Midwife: For as there was no persuading of her to lie inn, in any other Room but in that where her Husband's Corps was; so she would not hear of a Midwife, though never so ancient, being brought into it.

The Breath was not well out of Philip's Body, when the Grandees were all to pieces, about the Administration of the Government, during Prince Charles's Minority: The Nobles who had appear'd most forward in driving Ferdinand out of Castile, talked high against his being recalled to be their Governor; alleging, that if his Government was grievous to the Nobles before, it would be much more so now, after he had been so highly provoked, by their having joined with Philip against him; His being married to the Princess Germana, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her, was likewise urged as an unkind thing to the Posterity of their Queen Isabella; and which, if he were
its Governor, might prove of dangerous consequence to Castile.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom did always give very pertinent Answers; being addressed to, to know to whom she would have the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, My first born Son and Heir Charles is too young to administer the Government himself, and Maximilian my Father-in-law, cannot well leave the Empire, and his own Hereditary Dominions or if he would, he is altogether a Stranger to the Tempers and Customs of my People, which are all perfectly understood by my Father, and who has with great toil and danger much enlarged my Territories: But when she was desired, after so wise an Extemporary Answer by a Publick Instrument to constitute he Father Governor of Castile, during her Son's Minority, not a Word more was to be had from her; neither would she to her Dying Day, ever be persuaded to put her Hand to any Writing, or to give any Reason, why she would not do it; only on other occasions, she would sometimes say, That it was scandalous for the Widow of a Good Husband to let any thing trouble her Thoughts, but the memory of her great Loss.

Cardin
Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, the wisest and most disinterested Statesman, that Spain, or perhaps any other Kingdom, ever had, at first seemed to agree with the Nobles, to exclude Ferdinand from the Regency; to which his near Relation to the Prince gave him so good a Title; but being sensible that no man was so fit as Ferdinand to govern Spain at that time, he so managed the Council of State, that he prevailed with them to send to Ferdinand, who was then at Naples, to desire him to come and take upon him the Administration of the Government, during the time of his Daughter's Indisposition, and of his Grandson's Minority: And though the Queen would not be persuaded to give any countenance to his coming, by writing a Line to invite him; yet having been desir'd by his Ambassador at her Court, to order Publick Prayers and Supplications to be made in all the Churches, for his safe Arrival in Castile, she made Answer, It should be done; and added, that she doubted not but that God would both give her Father a Prosperous Voyage; and would bless him in the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms.

Ferdinand being arrived in Castile, went directly to visit his disconsolate Daughter; and though the place he found her in, was extremely incommmodious, both for her self, and
and the Court, he had much ado to persuade her to leave it, to go to Santa Maria de Campo, from whence he intended to have moved her to Burgos, and to have fix'd her there, so soon as the Castle of that City (which was held out against him, by one Emanuel, the great Favourite of King Philip) was reduced: But the Queen, when she came to Arcos, suspecting that her Father intended to carry her to Burgos, she would not go a step further; telling him, That she was resolved never to see the Place any more, wherein she had been so unhappy as to lose the Best of Husbands: And though Arcos was a Town of bad Air, and very inconvenient for the Court, it was five Months before he could persuade her to leave it, to go to Tordesillas, a pleasant Village, and wherein she had a Palace in the Neighbourhood of Valedolid; but having at last prevailed with her to remove, she travelled all the way by Night, with her Herse; stopping still at the first House she met with; though it was a Cottage, after the Day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark Night; and when she was desired by her Father who accompanied her, not to feed her Melancholy by travelling after such a dismal manner; all the Answer he could have was, That the Sun ought never to see a Woman after she was so unfortunate as to be a Widow.
It was happy for Spain, that it had Ferdinand for its Governor at this time; for besides that, during his 9 Years Regency of Castile, he kept it in perfect peace at home; in that time he obtained for it, of the Pope, the Investiture of the Kingdom of Navar; thorough which considerable Accession, and the immense Treasures of Gold, Plate and Jewels, which were yearly imported from the Indies, Spain was never in so rich and flourishing a Condition, as it was in, at the time of Ferdinand's Death; who died at Madrid, on the 23d of January, 1516: and by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen Germana, the Crown of Aragon descended to his Daughter, the Queen of Castile. Spain, after Ferdinand's Death, was wisely governed by Cardinal Ximenes, until Prince Charles, who was just then of Age, arrived; which was not till 18 Months after his Grandfather's Decease. This Delay was looked on by the Spaniards as a Trick of the Flemings to draw Money out of Castile; but whether that was so or not, it is certain that Flanders has been ever since, drawing such sums of Money from hence, that it had been happy for Spain, never to have had any thing to do with it.
Never was any Prince more welcome to a People, than Charles was to the Spaniards when he first came among them; the great Character had been given of him by all that came from Flanders, having made the Spaniards expect him with great impatience, who promis'd themselves all manner of happiness under the government of so hopeful a Prince: but Charles had not been a Year among them, before he had lost their Hearts to a degree, none of his Ancestors had ever done before, thorow his being absolutely govern'd by his Flemish and French Ministers; and above all, by the French Lord, Philip Crovi de Chevers, who had been his Governor, and who, though otherwise a very great man, was insatiably covetous.

The first thing Charles did after he Landed, was the Discharging of his Brother Ferdinand's Governor, and Præceptor, and all his other Spanish Servants, and placing French, and Flemings in their room; which change, as it was heinously taken by the Infante himself, so it was highly resented by the Spaniards; to whom Ferdinand, who had been bred among them, was very dear; as an Affront put upon their Nation: This Order was executed by Cardinal Ximenes a few days before he died; by whose Death the Archbishopricick of Toledo, which next
next to the Papacy, is the Richeft Dignity in the Roman Church, being commonly reckoned to be worth fourscore thousand English pounds per year; having become vacant, it was begg'd by Chevers, and who obtain'd a promise of it from the Prince, for his Nephew, William de Croy, and who, tho' he was then Bishop of Cambay, was but a very young man: by which strange promotion, and made so soon after the Prince came among them, the Spaniards plainly perceived, how great, both the Power, and Impudence of the Northern Ministers were, in having dared, so soon, to lay their hands on the highest, and richest Dignity of the Kingdom.

The Prince, and his Sister Donna Leonora, whom he had brought with him from Flanders, made no stay any where until they came to Tordesillas, where their Mother was, and where she had been above ten years, without having once stirred out of the Room where her Husband's Corps lay: She is said to have receiv'd her Son and Daughter with great tenderness, and to have entertained them with some Discourse: Whilst the Prince was with his Mother at Tordesillas, his Natural Uncle, the Archbishop of Saragoca, and who, had the Archbishoprick of Toledo, became vacant, during the time of his Father Ferdinand's Government, was
was to have had it, came to wait upon him to Congratulate his safe arrival in Spain. But the Prince suspecting that his business was to beg the Archbishoprick of Toledo, he commanded him, without having seen him, to leave Tordejillas, and to go to Valedolid and to wait there for him; fearing, it is like, that if he had remained any time at Tordejillas, he might have found some opportunity to have spoke with the Queen and to have begg'd it of her; the Archbishop, who was a Man of a great Spirit, so resented this unkind Entertainment, that having left Tordejillas in a Rage, he went directly to Arragon, of which Kingdom he had been Viceroy some years before, and ever since his Father's death.

A Cortes, or Parliament having met at Valedolid, on the 5th of February, 1511 The first thing proposed to it, was, whether considering the Queen's Indisposition the Administration of the Government shou'd not be committed to her Eldest Son, Prince Charles; but tho' this was presently, unanimously agreed to, the second thin proposed, which was, whether during his Mother's Life, he should have the Title of King, or only that of Prince Regent, but a long debate; however, it was conclude at last, that he should presently have the Title of King, but so that all Publick Ad
should run in both their Names; the usual Oaths of Governing, according to Law, and of not Infringing or violating any of the Liberties, or Privileges of the Subjects, having been taken by the King, the Cortes was moved to give Money to defray the Charges of the Government, which were represented to be very great at that time: But the Commons, before, they would part with any Money, insisted on having two old Laws revived; that none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church State; and the Second was, That it should be Death to send Money out of the Kingdom; but the Northern Ministers, at whom these two Provisions were levelled, by the assistance of the Bishop of Badaiox, who had been the King’s Spanish Preceptor in Flanders and of Garcia Padilla, Commandator of Calatrava, so managed the Cortes, as to prevail with the Majority, both to drop those Provisions, and to grant the Sum that had been demanded, and which is said to have been the greatest that was ever given by any Cortes: And tho’ this great Donative, for so all the Money that is given by a Cortes is called by the Castilians, was not to have been paid in less than three years; it was, with the deduction of an high Interest, advanced immediately by the Itali-
an Bankers of Valedolid, and, as was uni-
versally Reported, was, as soon as it was
Received, Distributed by the King, among
his Northern Ministers, and by them sent
into Flanders in Specie. Several of the great
Cities, but above all, that of Toledo, being
very angry with the Cortes for having given
the King so great a Sum of Money before
he had consented to the reviving of the two
forementioned Laws, did, as soon as the
Cortes was dissolved, send Commissioner
to Court, to Remonstrate against Stranger
being preferred, and suffered to send Mo-
ney out of the Kingdom, offering to prove
that in less than a year, eleven hundred
thousand Ducats, had been sent by the Nor-
thern Ministers out of Castile, into Flanders,
but the young King having been possessed
by those Ministers, that the Spaniards were
a People not to be Governed, but with a
Rod of Iron, he turned a deaf ear to all
such Remonstrances, dismissing the City
Commissioners with Threats, as persons
disaffected to his Government.

Emanuel, King of Portugal having at this
time, by his Embassador desired Donna Leo-
nora, the King's Sister, for his Wife, this
Proposition was had in detestation by all the
Castilians; for besides that, Emanuel had
been married to two of her Aunts, and had
Children by them both; he was old enough
to be her Grandfather: But notwithstanding all the World cried shame at sacrificing so young and beautiful a Princess to Chever's Covetousness, who was known to have received one and twenty thousand Ducats, by order of the Portugal Ambassador from a Banker of Valedolid: The Match was concluded, and the Infante sent to Portugal, attended by Chever's Lady, who had been her Governess, and who was said to have received a great Reward there, for having persuaded that Princess to so unequal a Match.

Chever's observing the Discontents of the Castilians against the Government to run very high, persuaded the King to send his Brother Ferdinand to Flanders, and to appoint Mr. Buere, a Flemish Nobleman to attend him, in quality of his Governor: The thing that helped Buere to this Remote Employment, was, his having called Chever's a Traitor to his Face, for having ever since he came into Spain, sacrificed all the King's Interests to his own and his Lady's Insatiable Avarice.

The King having thus disposed of his Brother, and Eldest Sister, he had his Posthumous Sister, Donna Catherina, stole from her Mother, with whom, ever since she was born, she had been mewed up in a dark Room; but the Queen, when she came to
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Miss her Daughter, was so discomposed, that she vowed never to eat or drink till her Child was restor'd to her again; which at the end of two Days, the King was forc'd to do, his Mother, having during that time, neither eat, drunk, or slept.

The Cardinals Hat the King had obtained of the Pope for Adrian a Dutchman, who had been his Præceptor, and to whom Tortosa, one of the Richest Bishopricks in Spain had been given, having been brought to Valèdolid; the King and the whole Court were present at the Solemnity of Adrian's receiving it: And though Adrian was, and deservedly, the best beloved by the Spaniards of all the Northern Ministers, yet the Clergy reckoning that this Hat, was, at Rome, placed to the Spanish account, they were extremely incensed to see all their highest Ecclesiastical Dignities thus conferr'd on Strangers: For such they reckoned the Flemings to be, though the King's natural born Subjects.

It was not long before the Clergy let the King know how much they resented his having bestow'd the richest and highest Ecclesiastical Dignities on Foreigners: Who having been assembled presently after by the Cardinal Adrian, to settle the Payment of the Tenths of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices and
and Promotions in Castile, which had been given to the King by the Pope: The Clergy by their Prolocutor told the Cardinal plainly, That as they were not oblig'd to pay those Tenths, but when Spain was actually invaded by Infidels; so since that could not be pretended now, they were resolv'd not to pay them: Neither did they, tho' much urged to it by the Cardinal, and by several Great Lawyers sent to them by the King, who endeavour'd to satisfy them of their being bound to pay those Tenths, having been granted to the King by the Pope, who was Lord of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to carry on a War against the Turks, who were by Sea, as well as by Land, growing formidable to all Christendom.

The King being settled in the Throne of Castile, went next to Saragoca, the Metropolis of Arragon; where having assembled a Cortes, that Assembly was according to Custom, opened by a Speech made to them, by an Officer, call'd, The Pronotary of the Kingdom: Wherein he desired the Cortes, To take into their consideration the state of the Kingdom, and how the Government was to be administered, now their Queen was so much indisposed. The discontented Archbishop of Saragoca made answer, That as the Arragonese had always been faithful to their Princes, so they would now take time to consider of what was
was fit to be done by them in their present Circumstances: But though he did all that he was able, to have obstructed the King's Business, the Government was settled in the same manner as it was in Castile, and the King took the usual Oath of maintaining to the Aragoneses all their Liberties and Immunities, which at this time were the greatest that were enjoyed by any People under a Monarchy. After this, the Cortes being moved to supply the King with Money, and to do it with expedition; they made answer, That it was not their Custom to give Money before the Grievances of the Kingdom were all redressed; and the Debts owing from the Crown to the Subjects stated in order to be paid. Upon which two Heads the Cortes spent so much time, that the King having received Advice of the Death of his Grandfather Maximilian, he sent a Message to them, to let them know, That if they did not quickly dispatch the Affairs they had in hand, he should be forc'd to leave them undone, being in a great haste to go to Germany, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had been so long; and that the more, because the French King pretended to it; and who, if he should gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to Spain, than before. Upon which Message, though the Donative, which had been
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been demanded, was granted, so much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown debts, and other publick uses, that but little remained for the King to dispose of.

From Saragoca where he had met with much trouble, and but little Money, the King went to Barcelona, the Metropolis of Catalonia, where he met with less Money and more trouble; having been detained there nine Months before the Cortes of that Principality had settled him in the Government; and had given the Donative which he had demanded; and when they had given it, they appropriated it so to the payment of publick Debts, that when they were all discharged, there remained but five and twenty pounds for the King's own use, who had spent near a Million of Castilian Ducats which are more than Catalonian Pounds among them: And whereas several of those Debts were of a very long standing, the Catalonians being ask'd by the Ministers what they meant by reviving such old Debts, made Answer, that perceiving how the Flemish and French Ministers, by whom the King was governed, were come into Spain as into an Enemy's Country, intending after they had plunder'd it, of all they could lay their hands on, to return with its Spoils to Flanders; they judged it was
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was time to see those publick Debts discharged, which out of Affection to their former Princes who had lived among them and had been as Fathers to them, they had let sleep so long: The Catalonians and all the rest of the Spaniards complained likewise very much of all Offices being sold by Chevers and his Lady, which they said was a practice had never been heard of before in Spain.

Whilst the King was detained at Barcelona, he received the News of his being chosen Emperor, and was desired by the Envoy sent to him by the Imperial Diet, to make haste to come to them: The Spaniards were so far from rejoicing at this News, that they said, it was one of the worst things that could have befallen Spain, which by this means would become as a Province to Germany, where their King would reside for the most part, to the draining of Spain of all its Treasure, to support an high, empty foreign Title: But the young King who had other Thoughts of it, was in such haste to go to Germany, that he put off his Journey to Valenția, whither he was to have gone next, sending the Cardinal Adrian thither to acquaint them with the Reason why he did not come to them as he had designed; and to desire them after the Example of Castile and Aragon, to settle him in the Throne.
But when the Cardinal came with this Commission, to Valentia, he found that City turned upside down; the Citizens having a few days before, turned all the Nobles, save one, who they said was an honest Man, out of the City; and committed the Government of it to the 96 Syndicks or Wardens of the 48 Companies of Tradesmen, to whom the Cardinal having addressed himself, and acquainted them with his Business; they told him, That the Constitution of their Government was such, as did not permit them to own the Prince to be their King, before he was declared to be so by a Cortes, and had taken an Oath to govern them according to Law: And when they were told by the Cardinal, that the King had taken that Oath at Barcelona, in the presence of their Commissioners; they reply'd, That would not do, and that they would send Commissioners to the Prince to let him know so much, and to acquaint him with their Reasons why they had turned the Nobles out of their City, whose Tyranny, they said, was grown unsupportable to Men that were free born: And accordingly they dispatched a substantial Shoemaker, and Carpenter to the King; and who having waited on him at Saragoca as he was returning to Castile for a fresh Supply of Money, were well received by him, and dismissed with a Promise, that so soon
as he returned from Germany, he would come and hold a Cortes among them, and make such Laws as should secure them from being tyrannized over by the Nobles. And in the mean while he ordered the Vice-chancellor of Aragon, and one Garcias an eminent Lawyer to go to Valentia, and examine the matters in difference, betwixt the Nobles, and the Commons, and to make a true Report of them to those he should name, to determine them.

The King being in great want of Money when he returned to Valedolid, called a new Cortes; and to make the Castilians sensible of his being highly displeased with them; he appointed that Cortes to meet at the Groin, a Sea-port Town in the Province of Galicia, and where as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he designed to embark for Flanders, and upon the Castilians having remonstrated against the assembling of their Cortes in a remote Province, that had not so much as one Vote in it, as the most unreasonable thing that had ever been done by any Prince. The King threatened that if they did not behave themselves more dutifully, and lend such Procurators to the Cortes he had called, as should grant him, as much Money as he had occasion for, That he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of Castile, into that loyal Pro-
vance; by which strange Acts and Threatnings, the Castilians, out of whose Purses, the Money given by that Cortes was to come; were so incensed, that they every where said openly, That they were treated by their Flemifh King, and his Countreymen, more like Slaves, than like free born Subjects; the commanding a Castilian Cortes to meet in Galicia, and the demanding of a new Donative, before the time was expired, where in the former was to have been paid; and the commanding all Cities and Towns to send such Procurators to that remote Cortes as should grant all the Money that should be demanded of them; and threatening them if they did not, to remove all Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom; they said was a Language no Castilian King had ever spoke to their Subjects in before; and as indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his northern Ministers had been hard to say, was the only way to govern Spaniards.

The Citizens of Valedolid, who so long they had the Queen in their neighbour hood, expected to have both the Court, and the Cortes, when it met, still in their City, were so enraged, by these strange doings, and several Stories that were grafted upon them by discontented Spirits, that they took up Arms; resolving not to suffer the King to go without their Gates, before he had
had changed both his Measures and his Counsellors: But the King not being willing to change either the one or the other, taking the advantage of a Tempestuous Night, when the Streets and Gates were thinly guarded, he got out of Town; and having made his Mother a short visit at Tordesillas, he rode post to Compostella, where he thundred out a Proclamation against the City of Valedolid, Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offer'd to his Royal Person, to have forfeited its Charter, and all its Privileges; and commanding all its Markets and Fairs to be kept in other places. From Compostella, having paid his Devotions to the Body of St. James the Apostle, the Patron of Spain, he went to the Groin, where he was waited upon by Don Peter de Lasso a vega, and Don Alonso Sylva, who were sent by the City of Toledo, to protest against the Assembly called by the King at the Groin, as no Lawful Cortes: As also to let the King know that, his having nominated a Stranger to be their Primate, was against the Laws he had taken an Oath to observe: This Message was delivered with that Freedom and Courage, that the King commanded Lasso upon his Allegiance to repair immediately to the Castle of Gibraltar, whereof he was Governor and Sylva, To go to Naples, and look after his Regiment that was there: And the Conde d
Palma, Governor of Toledo, who had come along with those Commissioners to acquaint the King with the Turbulent Estate of that City, had his Commission taken from him; for not having curbed the Insolency of that proud place; which the King said, \textit{Should be taught better Manners than to fly in his Face if they had not their wills in all things.} Don Peter de Giron, a Brisk young Nobleman waited on the King at the same time, to desire to have Justice done him against the Duke de Medina Sidonia; his Kinman, who by force kept from him a great part of his Estate; to which Petition the King having returned a rough answer; Giron clapt his hand on the hilt of his Sword, and swore, that if the King would not, \textit{that should do in Justice;} and the King having bid him do, and do his worst; he reply'd, \textit{he new what he had to do, and so withdrew.}

The Cortes being Assembled, the Galicians, who have no Voice in that Assembly, judging this to be a very proper time to obtain the Privilege of having Procursors in it; the Arch Bishop of Compostella, and divers Galician Nobles, went in a Body to the Convent, where the House of Commons Sat; and finding the Doors shut, they sent in word, that they desired to be admitted, having something of great moment.
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ment to that Body, to communicate to it; but the Commons knowing their Business, would not suffer their Doors to be open'd to them, whereupon the Archbishop and the Nobles made a Protestation in the open Street against all that should be done in that or in any other Cortes, wherein the Province of Galicia had not Procurators of their own to represent them: The Commissioners of Toledo, who had not gone to their Posts the King had commanded them to repair to, made a Protestation likewise against all that should be done in that Assembly; to which, the City, not looking upon it as a Lawful Cortes, had sent no Procurators; and the Procurators of Salamanca, having protested against the giving of a new Donative before the Time was expired for the payment of the former, were expelled the House for adhering to that Protestation: And though great numbers of the Procurators, an of the chief Cities, did violently oppose the giving of any Money the Sum that had been demanded was granted by a Majority; and what were said to have been hired by Bribe and by Promises of Offices made to them by the Bishop of Badajos and the Commandador of Calatrava; who for such Practices, were every where calle...
Flemifh Tools, as the Nobles for looking on, and complying with such things, were call'd Chever's Journeymen, and who, so they could but have a share of its Spoils, did not care how much their Country was Plunder'd by Forigners.

The Cities and Towns of Castile having been in a great Ferment before, were so inraged when they heard of the Cortes having given a new Donative, and of the Methods it had been procured by; that it was visible to every body, that if a speedy and effectual course were not taken to prevent it, there would be a General Revolt of all the Commons of the Kingdom, as there was already of the Commons of Valencia, who had now chased away their Viceroy, for having attempted to recall the Expelled Nobles; and the Citizens of Toledo having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governor had been treated at the Groin, and how they themselves had been threatened for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's Illegal, and Arbitrary Proceedings; it was generally believed, the great Com- uflion Spain was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have returned to Castile, to do something that might quiet the minds of the Commons; but the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, they persuaded the King to
proceed in his intended Voyage; and without giving the Spaniards so much as a promise of ever making any change of those Measures, whereby he had rendered himself and his Government so odious among them; and accordingly, on the 22d of May, 1520, He Embark'd at the Groin, leaving the Cardinal Adrian sole Governor of Castile, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man was said to have no Power, but only to dispose of small Ecclesiastical Preferments as they fell; and who, when any thing that was considerable was desired of him, did use to tell the Petitioners, that if they would have it, they must go to the King in Flanders for it, which the Spaniards said, was to send them to Chevers to buy it of him.

When the Commissioners of Toledo returned home from the Groin, they were met, and Conducted to their Houses by the whole City with loud Acclamations of their being True Castilians, and, who, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, deserved to have Statues Erected for them, in every City and Town in the Kingdom; and the Citizens who were all in Arms before, were now Form'd into Regiments; The Chief Command of the Soldiery being committed to Don John de Padilla, a Nobleman of great Courage, but very young, and of no Experience, and who was persuaded by his
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his Lady Donna Maria Pacheica, Daughter to the Marquess de Mondeiar, a Woman of rare Wit, Beauty, and Courage, to accept of that Employment.

The City of Toledo having thus put their Militia in Order, sent Letters to all the other Cities, and great Towns of Castile, to inform them of the causes of their having taken up Arms, and to exhort them to associate together, in the defence of their Common Liberties, which were so insolently Invaded and trampled upon by Foreigners; and neither to pay the Donative Granted by that Illegal Assembly at the Groin, nor the Excises called Alcavalas, which having been given by a Cortes, above an hundred years before, only for eight years, were still kept up, and were contrary to Law, required as a standing Tribute.

Most of the Cities and great Towns of Castile, having, after the Example, and at the Instance of Toledo, taken up Arms; They did all enter into an Association, obliging themselves by an Oath to stand by one another, and never to lay down their Arms until their Laws and Liberties were secured to them and their Posterity, and until all that have invaded them, and had betray'd their Country were brought to Condign Punishment, to terrify others from ever making any more such Attempts.

But
But as none had render'd themselves so universally Odious as they, who in the Gallego Cortes had given their Voices for a new Donative; so the People having been furnished with a List of all their Names, they murthred 'em wherever they met with 'em; and in all places, did either burn or pull down their Houses. So the People of Segovia, understanding that Tordefillas, who had bin one of their Procurators in that Cortes, and had Voted for a Donative, was returned home, they went to his House, and having met with him, they asked him what news he had brought from the Groin: Tordefillas, who was a haughty Man, having answered, That he had something else to do, than to give an Account of what was done in a Cortes to a Rabble: they immediately laid hands on him, and after having dragged him by the heels through all the Streets of the City, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, and that with so great a Rage, that they would not suffer a Fryer, who begg'd it of them upon his Knees, to Confess, and Absolve him; crying out, that none but the Hangman could Absolve Rogues, that had Betrayed their Country; and a grave Man that was standing by, was hanged up with him, only for having muttered, That this was both Impious and Barbarous, as was also a publick Notary, who was found in
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in a corner, writing down the names of the Ring-leaders of that Tumult.

At Burgos likewise, the People pulled down the Houses, and burnt all the Furniture of two of their Procurators, whose Names were Mota, and Jefferys, for having Voted a Donative: and Jefferys, who came to Burgos not long after, in Company with the French Ambassador, having threatened, as he was going out of the Gates with the same Minister to Tordesillas, that when he returned to Burgos, He would have his House rebuilt with the Skulls and Bones of the Rascals who had pulled it down: He was pursued until he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Church two Miles out of Town; and notwithstanding all that the French Ambassador could plead in his behalf, as being of his Retinue, and the Priests could say to them against violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they drag'd him from the High Altar, crying out, That a Rogue that had betray'd his Country, ought not to have the Benefit of any of its Sanctuaries: And having carried him back to Burgos, beating him all the way most unmercifully, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, bidding him, Go and build his House with their Skulls.
At Zamora the people were kept from pulling down the Houses of their Procurators, who had made their escape, by their Bishop Don Antony d'Acuna, a Prelate of great Knowledge and Courage, and who in this War was one of the Commons Chief Captains, as well as Counsellors; he had been Dean of the Chappel to Queen Isabella, and was in her Favour so much, that had Toledo become vacant in her latter Years, it was generally believ'd she would have conferr'd that Archbishoprick upon him: And though this Bishop and the Prior of Complutum, were the only great Prelates that declared themselves openly to be on the side of the Commons, most of the rest were, in the beginning of these Troubles well-wishers to them; that single Act of the Kings, having made a Foreigner, and who was very young too, Archbishop of Toledo, having contributed more to this Civil War, than all the other Male Administrations put together: And so zealous were most of the Priests and Fryers for the Commons, that they canonized their Cause, Chriftning their Supreme Council, The Santa Junta. And though few of the Nobles did ever join with the Commons, yet they were all so far well-wishers to the main of their Cause, that none of them Acted vigorously against them, until they were forc'd out of that Neutrality, by the Com-
mons threatening the Nobles, if they did not join with them, with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands.

The Associated Cities and Towns having agreed to lodge the Supreme government and direction of all Publick Affairs, in an Assembly made up of the same Members with a Cortes; and having appointed the City of Abula to be the place where that Assembly was to meet and sit: Procurators were accordingly chose by all the Associated Corporations, and were sent to Abula in the same Numbers, but with much larger Powers than they used to be sent to a Cortes. The Cardinal Governor, dreading the Ill Effects of such a great Assembly, did all that was in his power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, having offer'd them if they would not do it, both a Pardon for all that was past, and a redress of all their true Grievances; of which he affirm'd, That the greatest Patriot in Castile, was neither more sensible, nor more desirous to have 'em all remedy'd than he was: And when the Junta was assembled, he dispatched Commissioners to them with the same Propositions, offering if they would lay down their Arms, to procure for them all that they had desired when they first took them up.

But
But the junta, which from its birth is said to have design'd to carry things much farther than the Commons had looked when they first revolted, sent the Cardinal word, That though they had a very great honour for his person, and did not in the least doubt of his being a Friend and well-wisher to the Castilians and their Liberties; nevertheless, since their Laws did not allow any that was a Foreigner to be their Governor, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to style himself, or act any longer as Governor of Castile: Offering him at the same time, not only their Protection, but their Favour, if he would either come and live among them, or live any where else in Castile, as a Private Person: And as to the Pardon he had offer'd, they said, They were not sensible of their ever having done any thing to make them stand in need of one; and that as they had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, having no other way left to recover and preserve their oppressed Laws and Liberties, so whenever they were sufficiently secured to them and their Posterity, they should be ready to lay them down, and after the Example of their Ancestors, in the quiet enjoyment of the same Rights and Priviledges, to continue his Majesty's most obedient and faithful Subjects. And to satisfy all the World, as well as the Cardinal of the justice of their Arms, the junta set forth a Manifesto, containing
taining the Reasons of their having had recourse to them, and the Terms whereon they should be ready to lay them down again: In all which, they pretended to desire nothing that was new, or that was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs, which the King at his first coming to the Crown, had taken an Oath to maintain. The chief things required by the Commons in this Manifesto, were:

That the King shall reside and keep all his Courts in Castile; or if he shall at any time have occasion to be absent, it shall not be lawful for him to appoint any that are not Natives of the Kingdom to be its Governors.

That none but Natives shall be capable of any Office or Benefice, either in Church or State.

That the King shall not marry, but with the consent of his Cortes.

That no Foreigners shall be naturalized.

That the Procurators shall be paid for their attendance on the Cortes, by the Corporations they serve for.

That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any Office or Sallery to any of the Procurators of the Cortes, or to name their President.
fident, nor to send Letters that are not open to any of the Procurators.

VII. That a Cortes shall be assembled once in three Years at least, and which shall sit and consult about the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom.

VIII. That there shall be no Free Quarters, either for Soldiers, or for any of the King's Servants, for above Six Days, and that only when Soldiers are upon a March, and the Court in a Progress: After the Expiration of which Six Days, the Chief Magistrates, in the Place where they are, shall appoint how much they shall pay for their Quarters.

IX. That the Rewards which have been given or promised to any of the Members of the late Assembly at the Groin shall be all reserved.

X. That the Excises shall be reduced to the state they were in, at the death of Queen Isabel.

XI. That all that has been given from the Crown since that Queen's Death shall be resumed.

XII. That all New Officers erected in the King's Household, since that Queen's Death, shall be dissolved.

XIII. That none shall hold two Offices in the King's Household.
XIV. That all Priviledges which have been at any time granted to the Nobles to the prejudice of the Commons, shall be revoked.

XV. That the Government of Cities and Towns shall not be put into the Hands of any of the Nobles.

XVI. That no chief Magistrate of any City or Town shall receive any Sallery from any Nobleman.

XVII. That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all Publick Taxes, equal with those of the Commons.

XVIII. That no Gold, Silver, or Jewels shall upon pain of Death be sent out of the Kingdom.

IX. That it shall not be lawful for the King to give away any Money before it has been paid into the Treasury.

X. That no Corregidor of any City or Town shall continue in that Office above a Year, unless the People of the Place do petition to have him continued in it.

XI. That the Corregidors shall be paid their Sallaries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.

XII. That the Goods of Persons accused shall not be given to any, before they are convicted and condemned.
XXIII. That whosoever shall presume to execute any Office after they are convicted of having bought it, shall be punished with Death.

XXIV. That if any of the King's Officers are convicted of having done any Wrong to the Subject, they shall not only be turned out of their Places for it, but shall be for ever rendered incapable of all Publick Employments.

XXV. That none shall be compelled to purchase Papal Indulgences; and that all the Money arising from such Indulgences shall be employ'd against the Infidels, and all Pensions granted upon it shall be revoked.

XXVI. That the late Breve Subjecting the Ecclesiasticks in several Cases to the King shall be abolished.

XXVII. That Prelates who do not reside with their Flocks six Months in a Year, shall lose all their Profits, during the time they are absent.

XXVIII. That the Custom-house for Indian Goods shall never be removed from the place where it is at present.

XXIX. That neither Sheep nor Wool shall be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom.

XXX. That the Queen shall be allow'd a Royal Maintenance.
The Junta, which was now Ador'd and Obey'd every where almost, that they might not seem to have laid their Flemish King aside, as well as his Dutch Governor, by having never, since they took up Arms, made any manner of Application to him, they named Commissioners to go and wait upon him in Germany, and who having laid all their Grievances before him, were ordered to let him know, That if he would remove, and punish those Evil Councilors, who had been the Authors of all the late Male Administrations, and would call a free Cortes, and therein give his Royal Assent to all the forementioned Provisions, and which being all agreeable to the Laws and Customs he had taken an Oath to maintain, they said, he could not in Justice deny to his Commons, that they would then not only lay down their Arms, which they had, contrary to their Inclinations, been forc'd to have recourse to, but would become Examples of Fidelity and Obedience to his Person and Government, to all his other Subjects. They were ordered likewise to endeavour to satisfie the King, That by granting to the Commons all that they desired, his Crown would be enriched, and his Power and Authority, by lessening of that of the Nobles, would be much increased.
With these Instructions the Junta's Commissioners, of whom Father Paul de Leon, a zealous Dominican Fryar, was the first, pass'd thorough France to have waited upon the King in Germany; but having, before they were got out of the French Territories, received intelligence from some Friends they had in the Court, that there was an Order from the Emperor, To apprehend and make them all close Prisoners, as soon as they set foot on German Ground; they all returned home, full of Furious Exclamations against the Northern Ministers, whom they called The King's Governors, inflaming their Countreymen, where ever they came, by assuring them, That nothing but their Swords could ever open a way for their Grievances to the King's Ear thorough those Brigades of Harrys that were about him.

This Treatment of their Commissioners was highly refented by the Junta, as a thing that had no President in Castile, none of their Kings having ever before deny'd the hearing to the Complaints of any private Subject that addressed themselves to them, and much less to the whole Body of the Commons of the Kingdom, waiting upon them with a representation of publick Grievances: and so despairing of ever being able to obtain any Relief from the King, they resolved to apply themselves to the Queen, and if they found
found her in her Senses, which she was universally reported to be in, to persuade her to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self, which upon a false supposition of her not being capable of managing it, had by a Cortes been rashly committed to her Son; by whom, and his Northern Ministers, the Castilian Laws and Liberties had been so trampled upon, that the Commons had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, to preserve them from being utterly destroy'd.

The Cardinal, who hitherto had used no violence with the Commons, being unwilling to begin the shedding of Blood in a Military way, when he came to be acquainted with this Design of the Junta's, he resolved to hinder its execution by entering upon action; and having been informed that Segovia was but weakly fortify'd, and had no strong Garrison in it, he order'd one Ronquelos, an experienced Commander, to march with a Body of Veteran Troops, and surprize that City, which was one of the most mutinous in the whole Kingdom; but having to that end sent to Medina Campi, where the King's Stores of War were kept, for some Canon and Ammunition, the Inhabitants, who had made themselves Masters of all the Magazines, sent him word, That they would blow the Magazines, and themselves with them, sooner.
Sooner than furnish Canon and Ammunition to destroy their Countreymen for standing in defence of their Common Liberties: Which Repulse, though it mortify'd the Cardinal extremely, did not divert him from prosecuting his Design on Segovia; toward which, Ronquelos marched in great haste; and though he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much superior to him in number, which had rashly attempted to have stop'd him in his March, he had not well invested that City, when he was glad to draw off his Men, and retreat with great precipitation to Valedolid, upon having receiv'd intelligence, that Padilla was advancing towards him with an Army to force him to a Battel, for which he was no ways prepared.

The Cardinal's first Hostile Enterprize having thus miscarried; his second was, to recover, if it were possible, the King's Magazines in Medina, before the Junta had put a Garison into that place, which he reckon'd now he had begun to commit Hostilities upon them, they would do speedily; and accordingly he commanded Don Antony de Fonseca, General of all the King's Forces in Castile, to draw together all the Troops he could, and whatever it cost him, to make himself Master of those Magazines.
Fonseca, when he came before Medina, having receiv'd the same Answer to a Summons he had sent to the Magistrates by a Trumpeter, as was given by them before to the Cardinal, he began to thunder upon them with his Canon, and with Granado's, designing so soon as he had made a Breach in their Walls, which were not very strong, to have assaulted them; but a Granado, or Canon Bullet happening to fall into the Magazine where all the Powder lay, set fire to it, and which blowing up, laid not only the Magazines, but all the Buildings in the Town in Rubbish, under which most of the Inhabitants, that were not upon the Walls, were smothered and buried. Fonseca, upon this dreadful Blow, summoned them a second time, for the sake of the Canon, which were all the Stores that were left unconsum'd, to surrender upon discretion; which he Inhabitants having refused to do, he assaulted them on all sides; but the Defendants being put into a perfect fury by the lamentable destruction of their Town, maintained their Walls and Gates so well, that Fonseca, after having made several Attacks, and in which he lost a great many of his best men, was obliged to retreat, leaving the unhappy inhabitants Masters of the great Heap of Rubbish he had made.
The News of the Defoliation of Medina enraged the whole Kingdom almost to madness; for besides that, it was a large and well built Town, the Merchants Goods which had been lodg’d in the Francifcan Convent against the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued in three hundred thousand Ducates: The Junta so resented this great Loss, that they proclaimed Fonseca, an Incendiary and a Publick Enemy to his Country; commanding all people, where ever he came, to treat him as such; and th’ Cardinal, to throw the Odium of an Act on which had put the whole Kingdom into great a flame, off the King, and himself wholly upon Fonseca, did by a Proclamation declare solemnly, That Fonseca had no Order from him either to fire Canon upon or to throw any Granado’s into Medina; and that for having done it, to the utter destruction both of that Town, and of his Majesty’s Magazines, he had not only taken his Commission from him, but did further declare him for ever uncapable of any Publick Employment, leaving him to th’ Vengeance of the Law, for what he had done.

The People of Valedolid, who by the Cardinals residing with them, and restoring to them their Charter, and all their former Priviledes, and promising not to require
the new Donative; had till this time been kept from associating with the Commons, did now break loose, and having taken up Arms, they declared, that they would look on no longer, to see their Countrey destroyed, for asserting its Rights and just Liberties; and not being satisfy'd with what the Cardinal had done to Fonseca, they set fire to a noble and richly furnish'd House he had in their City, lamenting that they had not its Owner to have burnt him in it: From burning of Fonseca's House, they went to the House of Don Francisco Serna, who had been active for the Court in the late Assembly at the Groin; which they pulled down, and burnt all its Furniture, as they did also the House of one Portelli, a rich Italian Banker, for having not long before given a Project into the Lords of the Treasury, how the Revenue of the Excises might be advanced.

At Burgos, the People had Murder'd their Bishop, who was Brother to Fonseca, for having drop'd some words in Fonseca's Vindication, had he not escaped out of Town before his Palace was beset by them; and tho' they spared his Palace, they vented their Fury on all they found in it that belonged to him, bringing all his Goods out, and burning them before his Gates: And at Medina, one Cornelius Nepos was stabb'd by Badilla,
Badilla, a shearer of Cloath, only for having said, That had they let the Cardinal have the Canon he sent for, Medina had not been in Ruins; and one Vera a Bookseller was torn in pieces by the People, only for having said, That he saw no reason why the King should not have had his own Canon when he sent for them: and upon a Report that Fonseca, who did not know where to hide his head, was coming to abscond himself in the Queen's Court in Tordesillas, the People told the Marquess of Denia the Queen's Keeper, That if that Incendiary dared to come within their Walls, he should find no Sanctuary among them, no not in the Queen's own Bed-chamber.

The Cardinal, now that Valedolid, where he had all along Resided, had joyned with, and sent Procurators to the Junta, apprehending, that that Assembly would now execute their Design of setting up the Queen, offered to them, that If they would promise to let all things remain in the same State they were then in, until he returned again, to Go in Person to Germany, to represent all their Grievances to the King in such a manner, that he did not doubt of prevailing with him to Redress them, and to remove all those Ministers from about him, who had been the Authors of them: But the Junta, which did not doubt of the Cardinal's having all a long...
OLICITED the King by Letters to do that which he now offer'd to go in Person to Germany to perswade him to; desired the Cardinal to set them see the Answers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Representations he had made, be cause, by that they should be better able to judge what would be the Success of his waiting upon the King in Person, and up on the Cardinal's desiring to be excused for not making the Answers he had received from the Court Publick, the Junta concluded those Answers to be so unsatisfactory, that the Cardinal durst not publish them or fear of making things more desperate; but they thanked the Cardinal for his good will, and told him, that they had reason to believe, that his going in Person to Germany would have no other effect than his true, and honest Remonstrance had had, and that was a vain thing for him, or them, ever to hope for Redress of any of their Grievances, whilst the King was entirely in the hands of those who had been the Authors of them all, and whom the Commons insisted on having removed from Court, and punished.

The Junta having thus answered the Cardinal, whom they commanded a second time, not to style himself, or to Act any longer as Governor of the Kingdom; they dispatch'd Don John de Padilla, the Dar-
ling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horse, to wait upon the Queen, and to persuade her, if it was possible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her Self. When Padilla arrived at Tordesillas, he was received with a wonderful joy by all the People; and having obtained leave from the Marquess of Denia, to wait upon her Majesty, after he had kissed her hand he acquainted her at large with all the Malignant Administrations, and Tyrannies of her Son and his Northern Ministers, by whom he was absolutely Governed, and who, he said, treated the Castilians more like Slaves than like free born Subjects, and did either sell all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State, or give them to their own Relations; and how the Commons of Castile, having in vain Petitioned to have those Evil Counsellors removed, and their Insupportable Grievances Redressed, had been forc'd to have recourse to their Arms; to preserve those ancient Laws and Liberties which had been before always peaceably enjoyed by their Ancestors, under her Majesty's Royal Progenitors: And at last he conjured her, as she had any love for her Countrey, and the good people of Castile, who were so dear to her Blessed Mother, for to come abroad, and take upon her Self the
The Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be absolutely ruined.

The Queen, to whom all that Padilla had told her was News, having heard him with great attention, made answer, That so long as she lived her good people of Castile should not be oppress'd: But when she was desired by Padilla to come abroad, and make a publick Declaration of her having taken upon herself the Government of her Kingdoms, which he said was the only way whereby she could reserve them from being ruined, she would not speak a word more, though Padilla upon his Knees urged her most passionately to promise to make such a Declaration, and to let her loving Subjects see her abroad, which he said, was the thing in the world they desired the most.

However, upon what the Queen had said, Padilla reported to the Junta, that upon the representation he had made to her of the great Miseries of Castile, she had promised, to resume the Government, and to rule them according to their Ancient Laws and Customs; upon which Report the Junta removed from Bula to Villabraxim, a Town in the Neighbourhood of Tordesillas; from whence, after a few Days, they went all in a Body to wait upon the Queen, with a Petition to her in the Name of all the Commons of Castile, to come abroad and take upon her self the Government
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Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be ruined: The Queen made Answer, That so soon as her Health would permit it, she would do all that her good People had desired of her. But when she was importuned to signify so much presently by a Proclamation, and to take her own time to go abroad, she intreated the Junta, to have a little patience, without saying a word more to them.

But though the Queen her self would not do it, the Junta upon the Promise she had made them, set forth a Proclamation, declaring, that her Majesty had resolved, out of the tender love she had for Castile, and the good people thereof, to take upon her self the Government, and after the Example of all her Royal Progenitors, to govern her Subjects according to the Ancient Laws, and not to suffer them to be any longer tyranniz'd over by Strangers.

Never was any thing receiv'd with a greater or more universal joy than this News was all over the Kingdom of Castile, in which for several Days nothing was hear'd, but Long may our Castilian Queen live, and may Foreign Counsellors perish; and as the next night after, the Queen's having assumed the Government, was celebrated at Tordefellas, Valedolid, and all the neighbouring places with Illuminations and Fireworks; it was cele-

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Prated so in all parts of the Kingdom, as soon as they had the News of it: And to give the Queen some Diversion, a Tilt on Horseback was performed by several young Noblemen under the windows of her Apartment; the Queen stood in a Balcony to see it, and seemed to be well pleased both with the Exercise, and the loud Acclamations of the People, who had flocked together to see her.

Upon the Queen's having been thus diverted, the Junta conceived hopes that she might be perfectly cured of her Melancholy, and to that end they dismiss'd her Keeper, and all the other Officers that were about her, that were suspected to be in her Son's interest, putting Don Alonfo Quintinilla and his Lady, in the room of the Marquiss of Denia and his Marchioness; and believing that a Living Husband might be a proper means to cure her of her distemper'd fondness for her Dead Husband's Body, they released Don Ferdinand, a Prince of the House of Naples out of his Prison, in which he had been kept several Years, with an intention of marrying him to the Queen. But that prince, we are not told for what Reason, having quickly left the Commons, and made himself a Prisoner again, this great Design came to nothing: The Junta being, it is like, afraid that they might have disoblige their Queen,
Queen, had they gone about to have persuaded her to have married one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons never to have taken any notice of this distemper'd Princess; who having relapsed soon after into her former Melancholy, and to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably have contributed, the Junta's having contrived to have set her on the Throne, was the cause of the first disunion that had appeared in that Body: For though the desiring the Queen to take the Government upon her self has been carried in the Junta by a great Majority, yet its having been violently opposed by several of the Procurators of some of the chief Cities, and particularly by those of Burgos, made such a Rent in that Assembly, as was never well cemented: For besides that, that great City was much influenced by the Constable of Castile, who lived in it: It was very much disoblige the Junta having given the first Place in a Cortes to the Procurators of Toledo, to which Bugos had always pretended: Which Controversie, betwixt those two great Cities, though it was of a very long standing, no Cortes had ever taken up on it to decide.
The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the Junta's having got the Queen in their keeping, and at the great joy the news of her having promised to come abroad, and take the Government into her own hands, had been entertain'd with, all over the Kingdom, dispatch'd the Bishops of St. Lucar, and of Oviedo, who were both reckoned to be well-wishers to the Commons, to Tordesillas; to which place the Junta was come, with some new propositions.

But tho' the Junta would not receive those two Popular Prelates, as Deputies sent to them by the Governor of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience, as Messengers sent to them by the Cardinal, and having considered the Propositions which they brought, they desired them to let the Cardinal know, that tho' the Commons of Castile did not doubt of his being a true friend to them and their Liberties, yet they ad no reason to think, that he had Interest enough in the King to be able to do them any Service.

A few days after, four Persons of Quality were by the Junta dispatched to Valedo, to Command the Cardinal, in the name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of Castile, not to presume to call himself, nor any longer as Governor of the Kingdom.
dom, and to command the Council of State to come with all its Books, and Officers, to Tordejillas, where their Sovereign Queen kept her Court: the Persons in this Commission were, Don John de Padilla, General of the Forces of Toledo; Don Francis Bravo, General of the Forces of Segovia; Don Alfonso Aguila, General of the Forces of Aëbula; and Don John Zapata, General of the Forces of Madrid, and who had for their Speaker, Father Alfonso Medina, an Eloquent Dominican Fryer.

These Commissioners were received by the People of Valedolid with all the expressions of a great Joy, and having been admitted into the Council of State, which had been Assembled by the Cardinal, at their request and at which, the Cardinal himself was present; the first thing they desired, was, that Father de Medina might be heard, which having been granted, that Fryer in a long Tragical Harangue, laid before the Council, the great Miseries the Kingdom groaned under, and the causes of all these Miseries; and having extolled the Holy Junta, as he call'd it, to the Skyes, as an Assembly of the wisest Men, and best Patriots, that had ever been before in Castile; he earnestly exhorted the Council, as they desired to prevent the Ruin of their Country, to joyn themselves to the Junta, which had
had no other Aims, but the Security of the Publick Liberty, and the Preservation of the Rights of the Subject: All which, he had, should the Commons, now they had taken up Arms, to assert them, be Conquered by the King, and his Court, would eternally lost, and Castile, of the most enowned, would become the most Contemptible, and Miserable Kingdom in the World. After the Fryer had done speaking, the Commissioners delivered their Message, and commanded the Cardinal and Counsel of State to yield Obedience to it, on pain of the Queens', and Common's High Displeasure.

The Cardinal, after having complained that the Junta's having flighted all the kind, and sincere Offers he had made them of his Service, and re-primanded Father Medina severely, for having left his Cell, to turn a Pimpeter of Sedition; desired the Commissioners to let the Junta know, that being a King's Natural born Subject, he was no Foreigner in the Eye of the Law of Castile, and that as he had never been in a Correspondence with any that were Enemies to the Liberties of the Subject, so he was resolv'd never to enter into any such Correspondence. After the Cardinal had done speaking, the President of the Council told the Commissioners, That the Cardinal having been
appointed by the King, Governor of the Kingdom, during the time of his Absence; it was not lawful for them to assemble anywhere without his Order: The Commissioners answered, The Junta will be obeyed, and so left the Council, and went straight to the Town-house where the Magistrates of the City had been ordered to attend them; and who having been harangued by Fryer Medina, and told among other things, That if they did not execute the commands of the Holy Junta on the Cardinal, and the Council of State, they would pull down the Vengeance of Heaven, and on the whole Kingdom upon their heads, they promised to see the Junta obey'd in that and in every thing else, so far as they had power to serve it; and they were as good as their word, for after this, they did no only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governor of the Kingdom but confined him to his House, obliging all the Privy Councillors they could meet with, to go with their Officers to Tordesillas; the Cardinal who had been twice taken, and brought back to his House, as he was attempting to have got away, understanding that Dr. Olmedilla, and Dr. Benardino, two Famous Lawyers, and who had always been suspected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own accord to Tordesillas; he sent to speak with them.
them before they went, and when they waited upon him, he told them, that since they would go to the Junta, he would have them let that Assembly know, that if they would promise to let things continue as they are until he returned, that he would go to Germany, as the Solicitor of the Commons of Castile, with their King, and from whom, if he were with him in Person, he did not question to obtain as much for them as they could in reason desire of him. The Lawyers did not only promise to acquaint the Junta with this Proposition, but did they would use their utmost endeavour to persuade them to accept of it; which, then they were at Tordefillas, they were so far from doing, that instead of telling the Junta, that the Cardinal desired to go to Germany, to Serve the Commons, they told them, that he desired to have leave to come them at Tordefillas, to confer with them; which the Junta agreed, but upon four conditions.

The First was, That he should not Assume the Title, nor use any of the Ensigns of Governor of the Kingdom.

The Second was, That he should not come with any Guards.
The Third was, That he should go strait to the Lodgings which should be provided for him, and not go abroad without the Junta's Leave.

And the Last was, That he should send no Letters to the King, nor to any other Person, without having first shewed them to the Junta.

Don Peter Giron, who was a great Friend of the Cardinals, was sent by the Junta, to wait upon him to Tordefillas, if he would agree to those Conditions; but the Cardinal when Giron had acquainted him with the business, deny'd that he had ever said any thing to those Lawyers, about having leave to go to the Junta; and being vehemently urged by Giron, to go to them, however; alleging, That he would be able to do both the King and the whole Kingdom great Service by it; he reply'd, That unless he were carried to the Junta by force, he was resolved never to go to the place where they sat upon any terms, and much less upon the dishonourable terms which they had been pleased to prescribe: So he continued under confinement at Valedolid, until he received Advice of Don Henrique Henriquez, thl Admiral of Castile, being marched into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn of the Garrifons of Arragon and Catalonia and having after that stole out of the Cit
of the Commons of Castile.

by Night, attended only by one Servant, he led to Rioseco, a Castle belonging to the Admiral: And where he had not been long, before the Biscainers, whose Barren Countrey is their only grievance, sent him some Troops for his Guards, with an offer of more to reduce the Commons of Castile to obedience.

The Island of Gervis, which is one of the yrites, having at this time been taken from the Spaniards by the Turks, the Garison that was in that Island, when it was landed in pain, was courted by both Sides to join with them; and Giron having been employed therein by the Junta, acquitted himself forell, by having with his own Money gained most of those Soldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generalissimo of all their Forces, to be great discontent of the Soldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much less Giron, of whose delity they were still jealous, should be set over Padilla; who was commonly called by them the Hannibal of his age: and who if the Populace could have had their wills, had been proclaimed King of Castile; as he was y the Vicar of Mediana, a Town in the neighbourhood of Abula; who exhorted is Auditors to say three Ave Marys with a soft profound Devotion; one for the Holy Junta,
Junta, That God would prosper it: A second for his Majesty, Don John de Padilla; and a third for her Majesty, Donna Maria de Padilla, That God would prolong their Days: And when he observed the Congregation appear'd astonish'd at what he had said; he told them boldly, That they who aimed at nothing but the Publick Good, were fit to be Sovereigns, and not they who oppress the People, and went about to rob them of their Liberties.

The first thing Giron, after he was made Generalissimo, was ordered by the Junta to do, was to sack Alhagio, a Castle belonging to Fonseca, in revenge for his having burnt Medina Campi: but that Castle being well fortified and manned, Giron, after having assaulted it several times, and lost a great many Men before it, was obliged to give it over; which ill success in his first Enterprize, did very much increase the suspicion the Commons had of his Fidelity to them, by reason of his being nearly related to the Admiral, and most of the Grandees, which they looked on as their most dangerous Enemies: But the Junta having been satisfy'd by Giron, of his having done all that he was able, to have executed their Orders, continued him in that high Post, until he gave them their Deaths Blow; but whether
thorow Treachery, or only thorow ill Con-duct, is not known certainly.

Don *Tinigo de Velasco*, Constable of Castile, having still appeared extremely discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live quietly in his House in Burgos, until now, that it was discovered, that in the beginning of the Troubles, he had persuaded a Messenger that had been sent by that City to the Province of Marindatis, to invite them to enter into the Association, not to go, and that he had kept him concealed in his House ever since: The Rumour of which Discovery, having raised the Populace, they surrounded the Constable’s House, threatening to set fire to it, if their Treacherous Messenger were not immediately brought forth to them: At first the Constable deny’d that there were ever any such person in his House, and gave the people leave to search it all over for him, and when he found that would not do, he offered to deliver their Messenger, if they would promise only to spare his Life; but being told, that they would not make any such Promise, but would burn him with their Messenger in his House, if he did not immediately bring him forth; the poor Wretch was put into their hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Constable’s Gates, on which they threatened to hang the Constable himself too, if he did
not immediately leave Burgos: The Constable promised to obey them, and before Night he removed with his whole Family to his Countrey House in the Neighbourhood of that City; where having lived privately till the heat of the Populace was assuaged: He entred into a Treaty with the Magistrates, offering, if they would promise, not to commit any Act of Hostility until they could have an Answer from the Court, to join with the Commons, in case the King deny'd to give his Assent to the following Provisions being passed into Laws:

1. That none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.
2. That it should be death to carry Money out of the Kingdom.
3. That there should be no such thing as Free Quarters.
4. That the Excises should be reduced to what they were anciently.

Lastly, That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon the Subject, unless they be given by a Free Cortes.

Whether the Constable was in earnest in this Treaty, or designed only to amuse the Commons, and to gain time till the Army he had sent for out of Navar was come up to him; upon the Magistrates of Burgos having agreed to
to it, he put two of his Sons as Hostages into their hands: And after that, he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the Junta, for to labour to persuade that Assembly to come to the same Agreement, and to threaten to leave them if they did not, or if they talked any more of depriving the King of the Authority and Title which had been conferred on him, by the Cortes of the Kingdom.

The Cities of Zamora and Soria, having come to an Agreement with the Nobles in their Neighbourhood, upon the same Articles, sent the same Orders to their Procurators; to which Articles the Junta having absolutely refused to agree, or not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great heat and disunion was caused by it; all which separate Treaties, and seeds of Dissention, the Junta, had it been as hot in Execution, as it was in Council, might very easily have prevented: For, if upon the Burning of Medina Campi, by which the whole Kingdom was put into a Flame, they had but removed the Queen to Toledo, and had secured the Cardinal, the Constable, the Conde Beneventum, and a few more of the Grandees in the same City, they had never been troubled with these Divisions, nor in all probability had ever been destroyed by any Spanish Army.

But
But from making such bold, but necessary steps, the Junta was hindered, partly by the hopes they were still in of gaining the Nobles to join with 'em, but chiefly by the feeble fear of making their Case desperate, which, considering what they had already done, was certainly a great weakness in them.

The King, who had not seem'd to regard the Remonstrances which had been made to him by the Cardinal, and others, concerning the dangers his Crown was in, in Castile, when he heard of the Junta's having got his Mother into their hands, and of its being given out, and universally believed that she was perfectly in her Senses; and had promised to take the Government of the Kingdom upon her self, he was very much alarm'd, and judging it to be absolutely necessary for him to do something to quiet the minds of the Castilians, and to give them hopes of having all their grievances redressed, he appointed the Constable, and Admiral of Castile, in Conjunction with the Cardinal Governors of the Kingdom, and promised to return speedily to Castile, and to call a Cortes, and therein to grant his good People all that they could in reason desire of him.

But when this Commission arrived, and was opened, as the Constable and Admiral did,
did both declare that they would not accept of it, because it did not give them Power sufficient to accommodate Matters with the Commons; so the Junta declared it to be void, for two Reasons;

1. Because it made the Cardinal, who was a Foreigner, one of their Governors.

2. Because it had been Signed out of the Kingdom, which they said, such a Commission ought not to be.

But at this time a Letter of the Cardinal's to the King was intercepted, & made publick by the Junta, which, as it increased their former good Opinion of the Cardinal, so it confirm'd 'em in their despair, of ever obtaining any Redress of their Grievances from the Court. In which Letter the Cardinal told the King, with a Dutch Freedom, that all the Miseries of Castile had flow'd from his own side, and that as often as he considered how great the Evils were which that Kingdom had been brought under by his Covetous, and Tyrannical Ministers, and how he had left the Castilians, without giving them any hopes of seeing those Evils ever remedied, he knew not well how to condemn the Commons, seeing their Case so desperate, for having had recourse to Arms: He told the King farther, that he must not hope ever to see a good end put to the present Disturbances, until Castile found it self Governed

of the Commons of Castile.
vernèd by its King, and according to its Laws, and not according to the Wills and Passions of Covetous and Arbitrary Ministers: and that the King might not trust too much to the Power and good Affection of the Nobles, he assured him, that they were no less discontented than the Commons, with the Government of his Ministers; the Conde of Beneventum having told him plainly, that if the King did not satisfy the Commons, by granting them all their just Demands, that he was resolved to joyn with them; and for the Admiral, that he had said openly, that the Sparks in Germany, who had no Honours and Estates in Castile to lose, and who, after they had enraged the Commons almost to Madness, were got out of their reach, must not think, that they who had both to lose, and were in the Jaws of the Enraged Commons, would not take some course to preserve themselves, and their Families; and that he had said farther, that he would joyn with the Commons, to help them to a Redress of their known, great Grievances. In the conclusion, he told the King, that if he did not remove all those Ministers that had oppress'd and provok'd the Castilians so highly, and did not Govern the Castilians with more Wisdom and Moderation, that they would certainly lay both him and his Ministers
Iters aside; at least, whilst his Mother liv'd, who in one great Point was said by the Castilians, *To be wiser than her Son:* Which was, that none could persuade her to part with any thing; whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpies he was governed by.

The Commons made great use of this Letter, to justify their having taken up Arms; as they did also of a new Project of the Northern Ministers, which had fallen into their hands, how the Revenues of the Crown might be increased, that the King should never have any occasion to call a Cortes for Money.

The Admiral having advanced with his army near to Río Seco, left it there, and without having seen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his Menial Servants, to Tordellas; where finding the Gates shut against him, he sent a Servant to desire leave to come, having an Affair of great moment to communicate to the Junta, and which he was certain would be acceptable to them.

But the Junta knowing the Admiral to be a crafty Man, sent him out word, *That if he had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it by writing,* the Admiral then desired, *That his Kinsman Giron might be sent out to hear what he had to offer;* who having been
been left by the Junta to his liberty, to go out to the Admiral, or stay, sent him word, *That the Post he was in, would not suffer him to wait upon him*, knowing very well, that if he had gone out to him, he should have encreased the Jealousies the Commons had of him already.

But though the Admiral was much displeased with the Junta, for having deny'd to hear what he had to offer to them, yet having, when he was come near to Riofeca, been met by the Cardinal, with all the Troops he had got about him, he cry'd out to the Soldiers, *You must turn your Arms against the Moors, and not against the Commons of Castile, who are our own flesh and blood, and must not be reduced to obedience by force, but by a redress of all their true Grievances*. And so zealous did the Admiral appear to have these Com motions ended in that manner, that he went within a few days a second time to Tordeillas attended only by his own Domesticks, where finding the Gates shut again, he desired the Junta, if they would not suffer him to come in, to send out some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; which having been done, the Admiral delivered the following Article to the Deputies, offering, if the Commons would be satisfy'd with them, to join with them, until the King should give his assent to their being passed into Laws.
The Articles were,

I. That none that are not Natives of Castile shall be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.

II. That it should not be lawful to send Money out of the Kingdom.

III. That the Excises shall be reduced to what they were formerly.

IV. That the Authority of the Alcaldes of the Court shall be retrenched.

V. That the great Expences of the Court shall be lessened.

VI. That Sumptuary Laws shall be made.

VII. That no Wool shall be exported.

Lastly, That all the Commodities of the Kingdom shall be exported on Homebuilt Bottoms.

These Articles having been perused by the Deputies, the Admiral asked them, *What they thought of them?* they told him, *They had no power to conclude or treat, but only to report to the Junta what should be offer'd:* He then desired to know, whether they believed the Junta would be satisfy'd with them; they answered, *they did not think they would;* and being asked why, they said, *because they had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of Burgos, from the Constable:* However, they promised to make

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a true Report to the Junta of all that he had said and offered; which having been done, the Junta sent the Admiral out word; That though all that he had offer'd was good, yet it fell so much short of what the Commons insisted on, and with good reason; that they could not without betraying the Trust reposed in them by the Commons of Castile, be satisfy'd with so little; and did therefore refer him to the Manifesto; which had been published by them, of the Things the Commons insisted on having granted; intreating him, as he loved his Countrey, to join with them upon those Terms: This Answer so incensed the Admiral, that being returned to Riofeco, he took upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom; and having called a Council the next day, he declared in it, That the Commons were so high and unreasonable in their Demands, that nothing was to be thought of but fighting it out with them; and accordingly all that were in Arms, under the name of the Communities of Castile, and all their Counsellors and Abettors were by sound of Trumpet, commanded to lay down their Arms and to dissolve all their Junta's and Councils, upon pain of High-Treason; offering them a Pardon for all that was past, if they did so immediately: Which Proclamation was so far from striking any Terror into the Junta, that they answer'd it with another and
and which they commanded to be read in all the Markets of Castile; wherein they declared all of whatsoever degree or quality, that should by force of Arms, or by any other way oppose the Commons of Castile, in the asserting of their Rights and Just Liberties, and in their Endeavours to remove Evil Counsellors, and bring them to condign punishment, to be Traytors to their Sovereign Queen, and their Country, commanding all people to look on them, and treat them as such, upon pain of Death.

The Admiral, who did not expect to have had his Proclamation so briskly answer'd, was sorry for what he had done; and being sensible that the Commons at that time were very strong as well as high, he resumed the thoughts of amusing them by Treaties until the Navar Army were got into Castile; and so having added some new Articles to those which he had formerly offered, he sent them to Villabraxim, where the Army of the Commons had their Head Quarters, by Fryar Antony de Guevara, who at that time was much cry'd up by the Commons for the freedom he had used with the Ministers and the Nobles in some Sermons which he had lately preached at Riofeco.

Fryar Antony, who was a vain self conceited man, imagining that nothing was able to withstand the force of his Oratory, gladly accepted
accepted of this Employment; but having gone five times betwixt Riofeco and Villa-braxim, without having been able to obtain an Audience, he grew angry, and was so clamorous, that the Junta thought fit to appoint some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; who having called Fryar Antony, before them, he begun an Harangue, which lasted above half an hour, in which he wished that the Duputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governors and the Nobles that were at Riofeco; and of which, because they had not been so happy as to hear them, he gave them some account, and particularly, of the bold and free Expressions which he had used; and after having told them how roughly he had treated the Nobles, he took the Junta to task, and represented all their Designs and Actions, in the blackest colours his hot Head could furnish his fluent Tongue withal; and without sparing to reflect severely on several of the Deputies that were present, as Ringleaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

When the Fryer had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of Terræfilius than of a Mediator, the Commissioners demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propositions he was ready to make both
both which he delivered to them in Writing, and assured them, in the King's and the Governors, and which was more, in his own name, that they should all be faithfully observed to them, if they were accepted by the Junta: which, having had the Propositions and Declamation sent to them, they judged, that the Propositions having nothing new in them that was material, should have no Answer returned to them, but for the Declamation, they commanded the Bishop of Zamora, who was one of the Deputies, To give it the Answer that it deserved, and so to dismiss the saucy Fryer; commanding him, not to presume to come any more to Villabraxim, or to any other place which had declared it self for the Commons.

The Deputies having ordered Fryer Antony to appear before them, the Bishop of Zamora gave him the following Reprimand.

Fryer Antony de Guevara,

THE Declamation you made here the other day, was long, silly, and saucy; for I must tell you, that you prated to us like a Boy that neither understood what he said, nor what he would be at: You must certainly either have taken the Habit of a Fryer upon you when you were
were very young, or you must be one of strong Passions, and a weak Judgment, or else you could never have imagined, that by such a Declamation, you should have been able to have persuaded us to accept of what you had to offer: I have been told, that you were one of a Free and Bold Tongue; and so long as you exercised that Faculty on the Nobles, you were reckoned to have some Judgment, as well as Zeal; but though they bore with you when you lashed them as they deserved, there is not the same Reason that we should suffer you to rail at us as you did the other day: And I must tell you, that it was happy for you, that none of our Captains were present when you did it, for if they had, they would certainly have made that saucy and impudent Declamation your last; for which, though we should have been very sorry, we should not have known how to have helped it: However, since a Fryer in his Cell may possibly not be sensible of what this poor Kingdom has suffered, thorough the covetousness and tyranny of Foreign Counsellors, we will judge charitably of your Intentions, though we cannot but condemn the Folly and sawciness of your Words; and for the future, when you speak to persons of Gravity and Authority, you must learn to observe the Rules of Decency and Good Manners; and when you would persuade people to any thing, you must use soft words, and
not such as provoke and exasperate: Go therefore in God's Name, and do not you come among us any more: for if you do, you will be treated as a Spy: And for those you call the Governors, you may tell them, that though they may have power to promise, it does not appear that they have power to perform.

But though Fryer Antony did not succeed in his Publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his Private Negotiation with Giron, who he faith, was engaged by him to betray the Junta; but as it is not probable that Giron did ever betray his Party, so if he did, it was by persons of higher Quality, and better Conduct that he was persuaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinswoman; and who after Fryer Antony's Negotiation was at an end, went several times to Tordefillas, when Giron was there, to promote a Conjunction of the Nobles with the Commons, for whom and for their Cause, that Lady pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal.

But whoever it was that persuaded Giron to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain, that the Junta, in order to remove the Governors farther from the Queen and their Head Quarters did by Giron's Advice, command their Army, which had been Quartered about Tordefillas, to March, and make
make themselves Masters of Villa Panda, by which means they hoped to be able so to hinder Provisions from going to Riofeco, that the Governors would be forc'd to leave it. But Villa Panda was no sooner Invested by their Army, than the Admiral was before the Gates of Tordefillas with a Body of three thousand Disciplin'd Foot, and seven hundred Horse; and having in the King's Name Summoned the Junta to Surrender the Town to him; upon their having denied to do it, he Assaulted it on all sides at once, and in a few hours carry'd it by Storm, but with the loss of great part of his Men; the People, but above all, the Priests and Fryers having defended the place until their Ammunition was all spent; neither would they after that, capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very last, with Sword in hand; the Admiral, tho' he carry'd the place by Assault, gave Quarters, and most of the Procurators of the Junta having fallen into his hands, he made them close Prisoners, giving the Plunder of the Town to his ill paid Soldiers.

When the Admiral first appeared before the Town, the Queen was desired by the Junta, to go upon the Walls, and command him upon pain of High-Treafon, not to Attack a place where she was in Person, which she not only refused to do, but com-
manded them to go and open the Gates to him, saying, *The Nobles had never been Traitors to the Crown of Castile.*

When the News of this terrible Blow reached *Villa Panda*, the Army, which had made themselves Masters of that place, without any loss, was ready to have Mutiny'd, and it was in every Body's mouth, that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordeillas* on purpose to give the Admiral an opportunity to Surprize it; and *Giron* fearing that if he stay'd any longer with the Army, he might be torn in pieces by the Soldiers, he stole out of *Villa Panda* by Night, and tho' when he was miss next Morning, every Body concluded that he was gone to the Admiral to receive the reward of his Treachery, he never went near him, but fled directly to a Remote Castle, where he lived privately till the Wars were ended; and tho' after that, his Life was spared, he was Bannished, for the whole term of it, into *Africk*: So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraordinary Priviledges, which *Fryer Anthony*, in a consolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the happiness of a person of Quality, being Bannished his Native Country, he was but ill rewarded for that Service.
The Procurators of the Junta, who had escaped falling into the Admiral's hands, fled to Valedolid, from whence they dispatched a Currier to their Army, commanding it to come to 'em with all possible expedition; the Army did so, having left a strong Garrison in their dear bought Villa Panda, which, now the Governors had left Rioseco, and were removed to Tordesillas, was of little use to the Commons; and Padilla fearing left the Admiral might have followed his blow, and have attacked Valedolid, threw himself into that City, with the Recruits he had Raised at Toledo, to have formed a Flying Camp.

And seeing it would have required time to have filled up the Junta with new Procurators, a select number was presently chosen by the Heads of the Commons, to have the Supreme Government in all publick Affairs, with the Title of a Council of State. And as this New Council, finding the Queen in the hands of the Nobles, never made use of her Name, but in conjunction with her Son's, according to the constitution of the Cortes, so from its very Birth it pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Person, and the Support of his Royal Dignity, giving out, that if the King would but grant the Commons their just demands, that they would make him the Greatest,
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Greatest, and Richest Prince that ever wore the Crown of Castile, by a resumption of all the Crown Lands, which were in the possession of the Nobles; and so confident were the Commons that the Court would bite at this great Bait, that it was in every body's Mouth, that yet before Harvest, the Nobles would be all sent aBegging, and that without being injured, seeing all their Estates had been given to their Ancestors by weak Princes, to whom they had been worthless Favourites, and not on account of any Services, which had ever been done them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: In somuch, that the Commons now seem'd quite to have dropt their Quarrel with the Northern Ministers, to fall the heavier upon the Nobles, and after this, no grievance was so much insisted on, as the whole charge of the Government being thrown upon the Commons by the Nobles, having Robb'd the Crown of all its ancient Lands and Revenues, and which intolerable Burden the Commons declared they would not bear any longer.

But to whatsoever this great and sudden change in the Commons owed its Birth, whether only to the great indignation they had conceived against the Nobles, for having taken the Queen out of their Hands; or to the Design of terrify the Nobles into a conjuncti-
junction with them; or to their having entertained some hopes, that they might have gain'd the King and his Ministers by the tender of so great a Donative, as that of a the Alienated Crown-Lands and Revenue or to the persons whereof this new Council consisted, being better affected to Monarchy than the leading Men in the Junta, who were strongly suspected of having had a design to form Castile into a Commonwealth; certain it is, that after this new Council was erected, the Nobles having rob'd the Crown of all its Lands, was made the chief and standing Grievance of the Kingdom, and the Public Evil of all others, the Commons seemed to have set their hearts the most on having remedy'd; this Council was likewise careful not to employ any, of whose Fidelity they were not well assured; and not judging it to be safe to trust a single person any more with the chief command of their Armies they appointed the Bishop of Zamora, and Don Gonzalo Gusman, Nephew to the Commandador of Calatrava, and James Gusman in one Commission Joint Generalissimo of all their Forces; but the Soldiers, who were for having Padilla and none else for their General, would all have mutiny'd upon this Commission, had not Padilla gone among them, and told them, That the Chief Command had been offer'd to him by the Council, and that he knowing
knowing himself not to be qualifi'd for so difficult a Post, thorough his want of Tears and Experience, had absolutely refused both to be Sole Generalissimo, and to be one of the Three; to command the Forces of Toledo, which he had undertaken, being a burthen heavy enough for young Shoulders: And upon the Soldiers not being satisfi'd with that, Commands having been given from him upon his having been so modest as to refuse it; he told them plainly, That if they did not immediately approve of, and submit to what the Council had done, that he would leave the Army, and retire to his Country-House, and not meddle any more with Publick Business, the Soldiers perceiving by this that Padilla was in earnest, promised to obey their new Generals in all things; and new Levys of Men having been ordered to be made in all the Provinces, the people lifted themselves everywhere in much greater numbers than they had ever done before, so that within a Month after the loss of Tordefillas, the Commons were much stronger in the Field than ever they had been since the beginning of the Troubles.

But there were two things the Council initiated the Junta in, and which in the end were the ruin of them both; the one was, the keeping in a manner only on the defence; all so though for above eighteen Months, they
they had the whole Kingdom almost at the devotion; yet neither of them did any thing in a Martial way, that was considerable, towards the disabling of the Nobles to make head against them: The other was, That the Council notwithstanding its having begun so briskly with the Nobles, as to threaten them with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands, did afterwards no less than the Justa suffer itself to be amused with Treaty after Treaty, until a powerful Army was brought out of Navar to destroy them.

But in the mean while the Admiral perceiving that the Commons by the great blow he had given them, were become both stronger and more resolute than they were before, he endeavoured to have created Jealousy in them of all the Nobles that were among them, by some Letters which he pretended to write to the King, but which I took care to have intercepted by the Council; in which Letters he acquainted the King with the Nobles, which were among the Commons, being grown so weary of serving them, that they were entered into a secret treaty with him; and did all offer, if they might be assured of a Pardon, to leave the Commons at his Mercy; and having named all the Nobles that were among the Commons, he earnestly intreated the King, That they might all have their Pardons in as an
able a Form as they could desire; assuring him, that the Commons, so soon as they were deferred by those Nobles, would quickly moulder away, and come to nothing: But this stratagem of the Admirals, was defeated by his having over acted in it: His having named Padilla and some others of the Nobles in those Letters, of whose Fidelity to them the Commons were too well assured, to entertain the least suspicion of their being in any such secret correspondence to their prejudice, made the Council conclude, that it was nothing but a Trick of the Admiral’s to have made them mistrust their best Friends, so that instead of being jealous of those persons that were named in the Admiral’s Letters, they confided the more in them for his having named them; concluding from hence, that they were in no correspondence with him.

This Trick of the Admiral’s having succeeded so ill, his next was to get the Pope’s Nuncio to offer his Master’s Mediation, and which that Minister, who was entirely in the interest of the Court and the Nobles, was forward to do, that he counterfeited a Letter from the Cardinal de Medicis, by whom the Papacy was governed at that time, commanding him to offer it: This Mediation having been first offered to the Governors, and to the Nobles, they readily accepted of it;
it; and the Council of the Commons, tho' they were sensible, that the Nuncio in this Negotiation would be the Admiral's Spy or Agent, much rather than a Mediator, yet fearing lest it might bring them under a great Odium, should they refuse the Pope's Mediation, they accepted of it too, when it was offered to them, but at the same time did intend to observe the Nuncio narrowly and if it were possible, not to suffer him to come within the Gates of Valedolid; and accordingly, having had word sent to them by the Nuncio, that he intended to be with them the next day, they ordered the Deputies named by them for the Treaty, to go and meet the Nuncio, and conduct him to a Monastery of St. Hierom, that stood in the Suburbs.

But the Nuncio, when he was in the Monastery, having been told by the Deputies that was the place, the Council had appointed to Treat with him in, he answered them in a great Passion, that if he were not suffered to Treat with the Council itself, and in the City, that he would immediately give over his Mediation; the discrediting the Sincerity of the Minister of the Common Father of Christendom, in a Mediation of Peace, as it was plain they did, being such an Affront as was never before put upon His Holiness by any that were
were called Catholicks; which Answer having been sent to the Council, tho' it increased their Suspition of him, yet, dreading that they might offend the Pope, by thus distrusting his Nuncio, they ordered their Deputies to let him know, that Lodgings were provided for him in the City, and that they were ready to hear what he had to desire of them: The Portugal Ambassador, who was in company with the Nuncio, Offered his Master's Mediation likewise, but the Council knowing him to be a Tool of the Admiral's, put him off, by telling him, that they hoped, the Nuncio alone would be able to accommodate Matters: That Minister, however, kept close to the Nuncio, who having had an Audience of the Council in an hour or two after he was in Valedolid, he desired them to let him have their lowest terms they were content to come to an agreement with the Nobles upon, which having been put into the Nuncio's hands the next day, he sent them by his Secretary to the Governors, who having perused them, desired that the place of the Treaty might be an House, which stood in the mid-way, between Tordesillas and Valedolid; and that the Deputies of the Commons might have full power to Treat, and Conclude upon all Points, as their Deputies should have.

But
But tho’ the Council agreed to the place nominated by the Nobles for the Treaty, they would not give their Deputies power to conclude any thing before they were acquainted with it, and had approved of it, notwithstanding the Nuncio urged them strongly to have done it.

But the next Morning, as the Nuncio and the Portugal Ambassador were going out of the Gates with the Deputies of the Commons to the place of the Treaty, the Guards having observed, that those Ministers had two laden Mules more in their Retinue than they had when they came, their whole Retinue was stopp’d, by an Order from the Council, and their Baggage having been narrowly search’d, there was a great Sum of Money found in it, and which after a short Examination, was discovered to have been paid by a Banker in Valladolid, to a Servant of the Nuncio’s, by the Admiral’s Order; which Money, as was supposed, the Nuncio was to have employ’d in Bribes, to some of the chief of the Commons Deputies at the place of the Treaty.

The Nuncio having returned in a great Storm, to his Lodgings, sent his Secretary to the Council, to demand the Money that had been taken from him, and satisfaction for the Affront that had been put upon
upon the Common Father of Christendom, accusing them of having Violated the Laws of all Nations, in what had been done to him by their Officers; and as he was told, by their Order, the Council bid the Secretary tell his Master, that they could justify what they had done, and that were it not for the great Veneration which they had for his Holiness, whose Minister he was, tho' unworthy of that Character, that they would have made him have known, that one that has taken upon him the Person of a Mediator, ought not to be employed as an Agent by either side; and as for the Money, they said, they knew it was none of his, but the Admiral's, and that they were resolved to keep it.

The Nuncio having received this answer, left Valedolid, and when he came to Torrefillas, he told the Admiral in a Fury, that he Commons were Rebels, fit to be hanged, and not to be treated withal, and that there was no other way of reducing them to Obedience, but by pursuing them in all places with Fire and Sword.

But the Admiral, having something more to Castile to lose than the angry Nuncio, did not think fit to take his Counsel; only to gratify him a little, he writ a Letter, and sent by a Trumpeter, to the Magistrates of Valedolid, commanding them upon pain of
High Treason, to Dissolve the Council that was in their City, and having done that, to lay down their Arms, and return to the Obedience of good Subjects:

To which Letter, the following Answer was returned by the same Trumpeter, by the Magistrates of that City,

The Letter your Excellency sent us by this Trumpeter, contains two heads. The First is a Command to return to the Obedience of their Catholic Majesty's. And, The Second is a Threat, to pursue us as Rebels, if we do not presently comply with this your Command.

As to the first, as this Noble City, and in Truth, all the Commons of Castile, have been always Faithful to their Princes, so it was nothing but the great Affection and Zeal this City has for their Catholic Majesty's, that induced them to join themselves to the rest of the Commons that are now in Arms, by whom nothing is desired that is not for their Catholic Majesty's Interest, as well as for the Interest of the whole Kingdom, to both which great Interests, the Nobles are at this time, and have always been Enemies: For, who were they that Apprehended King John, and made him a close Prisoner? were they not the Nobles? And by whom was that King set at Liberty, and Restored to his Royal Dignity? was it not by the Commons, and particularly, those of this City?
And who were they that deprived King Henry, Son to that King John, of his Crown, and after an Ignominious manner gave it to his Brother? were they not the Nobles? and by whom were the Authors of all those Evils driven out of Abula, and that King restored, was it not the Commons? and by whom, but by the Nobles, were the Portugueze brought into this Kingdom, with an intention of taking the Crown from Queen Isabella, and her Husband Don Ferdinand, to give it to a Stranger? and by whom were the Portugueze driven out of this Kingdom, and the Crown secured, but by the Commons?

And who are they but the Nobles, that have Robb'd the Crown of its ancient Lands and Revenues, so that in the hundred Leagues which are betwixt this City and that of Compostella, he Crown has only three Towns, the rest being all in the possession of the Nobles, by which means he Crown is forced to Burden the Commons with new Taxes, and Tributes, to support its Authority, and Dignity; and for that reason he Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are resolved to have all the Alienated Lands, and publick Revenues restored to the Crown; the Nobles being so Rich, and the Crown so Poor, being visibly the great and standing Grievance of the Kingdom; and whereas the Commons, if their Catholick Majesty's ill but be pleased to grant them all their just demands
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demands, will desire nothing farther of them; the Nobles, when they shall bring in the Account of the Charges they have been at in this War, against their Country, the small pittance of Lands that remain still to the Crown will not be found sufficient to satisfy them.

As to your threatening to pursue us as Rebels, with Fire and Sword, if we do not presently yield obedience to your Command, it is not unlikely that you, and the Nobles that are with you, may begin such a War upon us; but if you do, as we know certainly that it will be offensive to God, and contrary to their Catholick Majesty's Intentions, and pernicious to our common Countrey, so we are resolved to fight it out with you; and whereas we aim at nothing but the support of their Majesty's Authority, and the security of the Laws and Publick Liberties of the Kingdom, so we doubt not but thorough God's assistance, in so just a Cause, that we shall be able not only to defend our selves against all your Violences, but to destroy all the Forces you shall be able to bring into the Field against us.

We do nevertheless out of the great love we have for our common Countrey, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more intreat you, and the Nobles that are with you, to join with the Commons, in supplicating his Majesty to redress all their great Grievances, which if you shall
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continue to refuse to do, we will come against you with the Armies of their Catholick Majs.
flies, as against Traytors and Enemies to your Countrey.

It is plain from this last Paragraph, that the Commons, for all their talking so high of stripping the Nobles of all their Crown Lands, would have let them alone with those Lands, if they would but have joined with them to have procured the redressing of their other Grievances; for it would otherwise have been a madness in the Commons to have expected that of them.

The Council, by whose directions this Answer was returned to the Admiral's Letter, to let him know how they resented his carriage towards them, ordered part of their Army to go and sack Turrelabaton, a Castle that belonged to him; with which Design, the Admiral having been acquainted, by the Spies he had among the Commons, he march'd with all the Troops he could draw together, to have covered it; but not finding himself strong enough to face the Forces that came against it, he withdrew to some Mountains that were near, from whence he looked on, and saw his Castle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground; and as he was retreating to Tordefillas, the Commons sent him word, by one of his Servants, That it should not be long before
before they would make that place too hot for him. Presently after they plundered and sacked Ligalos, a Castle of the Conde Bene-ventum, and bid his Servants, go and tell their Lord, That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Countrey, ought not to be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, for to sup-port their Tyrannies.

Had the Commons handled the Gran-dees thus a Year sooner, they had cert-ainly forc’d them to join with them; but it was now too late, the Navar Army being now ready to enter Castile: But to put a stop to their present furious Hostilities, till that Army came to put an end to them, the Bishop of Laodicea, and Garcia Loiafa, a fa-mous Dominican, who were both very popu-lar, were dispatched by the Admiral to Va-ledolid, to try if they could obtain a cessati-on of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehement-ly solicited by those two Popular Ecclesia-ficks for a Cessation, and a new Treaty, told them plainly, That they had been so often abu-sed by such Shams, that they were resolved ne-ver to listen to any Proposition made to them by the Admiral: Neither would they, had not Padilla, to whom they did not well know how to deny any thing, desired that there might be a Cessation only for a Week, that
the Recruits of Toledo, which had begun to march, might get up to the Army, without being disturbed. Upon which short Cessation, a Treaty was likewise yielded to, at which the Admiral and Nobles offered such Terms to the Commons, that Don Peter de Lasso, Padilla, and most of the Commons Deputies were so far satisfy'd, as to endeavour to have promoted a conjunction upon them.

But the Council, when those Propositions came to be reported to it, rejected them for two Reasons; the one was, That they fell short of redressing some of the Commons chief Grievances: And the other was, That they did not give the Commons a sufficient security of the Fidelity of the Nobles, if they should join with them: And thus ended the last Treaty betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, their Differences being, after that, left to the Sword to decide.

And so the Council having had intelligence, that the Prior of St. John had got a considerable Body of Men together about Mota, and was very active against them, they sent the Bishop of Zamora with a Force much superior to the Priors, to clear the Countrey of him: But the Prior when the Bishop drew near him, finding that he was not strong enough to keep the Field, pretended to be so great a Friend to the Commons and their Cause
Caused, that he offered to join his Troops to those of the Bishops, to maintain it: And having by this Pretence obtained a Truce for two days, he fell upon the Bishop the night before the expiration of that term; and having made a great Slaughter of his men before they could stand to their Arms, the rest were all dispersed; the Bishop himself having narrowly escaped being made a Prisoner.

The Prior endeavoured to excuse this Breach of Faith, by pretending that his Men had fallen upon the Bishop without his Order; and the Town of Mota, which had been the Prior's Head Quarters, having in his absence, declared for the Commons, shut its Gates against him, tho' he return'd to it Victorious: and being resolv'd to defend it itself against him to the last, as soon as the Prior began to Fire upon them, they lodg'd all their Women, Children, and best Goods in the great Church, from whose Tower they annoyed the Prior very much with a piece of Canon they had planted upon it; but a Barrel of Powder hapning to take fire in the Tower, shaked the Church so, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it: by which terrible Blow, the Besieged were so disheartned, that they immediately Capitulated, and delivered the Town to the Prior.
The people of Burgos being alarm'd with the News of a great and well disciplin'd Army, which had been drawn out of Navar, advancing towards them; they seiz'd on the Constable; and having made him a Prisoner, they sent to the Council for Men, Artillery, and Ammunition, to defend their City, in case it should be attack'd, as they had cause to fear it would very speedily: The Council knowing of how great importance it was to their Affairs, not to suffer that City to come into the Hands of the Nobles, they immediately dispatched the Bishop of Zamora and Padilla with a great Body of Troops, and all other Necessaries, and with Orders, to fortify that City, and put a strong Garrison into it; and to assure the people, that if they were besieged, the whole Force of Castile should be sent to their relief: But before those two Generals were got half way to Burgos, they had intelligence of that City's having come to an agreement with the Constable, and that they had received the King's Regidor, whom in the beginning of the Troubles they had chased from among them: upon this sudden change Zamora and Padilla were ordered by the Council to go and help the Conde de SalvaTerra to recover Ampudia, which had been taken from him by some Troops of Biscainers, upon that Conde's having declared himself on the side of the Commons;
Commons; which having been done by those two Generals with very little loss, they returned to Medina Campi, where they refreshed their Troops, which were much fatigu'd by a long March thorow a Mountainous Countrey, until the Recruits of the Cities of Salamanca, Segovia, and Abula came thither; which Recruits, notwithstanding all the Admiral's Endeavours to have intercepted them, they convey'd in safety to Valedolid; to which place, such large Recruits came at this time from all parts of the Kingdom, that the Commons Army was now much greater than it had ever been before.

But as their Soldiers were all raw and undisciplin'd, so among all their General Officers, though they abounded with such there was not one of any Experience in War and among the Subalterns there were but few that knew much of it.

And though the Council could not but be sensible that such a Herd, though never so numerous, and personally never so stout would not be able to stand before the Veterane Army that was coming against them from Navar, we do not read that they ever apply'd themselves to the French, though at that time in open War with the Crown of Spain, to have diverted that Army from coming into Castile, by cutting them out work at
home: And if it is strange that the Council did not make use of the French to divert an Army which was the only Force that could have destroyed them, it is more wonderful that the French, who have never suffered much by their being too slow, should not, without being solicited to it, have done the Commons of Castile so great a piece of Service: For tho' it is true that the French over-run the Kingdom of Navar, with the more ease, for their not having invaded it, until after the Army was drawn out of it into Castile; yet by having given that Army leisure to subdue the Commons, and which they must needs know it would do with great ease, they lost that Kingdom again, in as short a time as they had conquer'd it; upon that Armies having returned home victorious and much stronger too by having been reinforced in Castile by the Admiral's Troops which could not otherwise have been prepared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this Navar War, that Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Jesuits was, to the great unhappiness of the whole world, hurt at Pamplona with a Bullet; that hurt having been the occasion of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his having turned first an Enthusiast, and afterwards the Contriver of a Society that has done much more mischief in the World than Bullets and Gun.
Gunpowder, abating them this one thing of their having wounded Loyola and not killed him.

The Navar Army being come near to Burgos, the Constable forgetting all the Promises he had made to that City, concerning the redressing of several of the Commons chief Grievances, went and put himself at the head of it; and having taken upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom, he by sound of Trumpet proclaimed all that were in Arms under the name of the Communities of Castile; or that were any way assisting to them, Traytors; but at the same time, offered them a general Pardon, if they would immediately lay down their Arms, and return home quietly to their Houses; and having put a good Garison into the Castle of Burgos, he marched towards Tordeillas, having sent to the Admiral to come and meet him with all his Forces, that being joined they might, if it was possible, bring the Commons to a Battel, before the French, who had enter'd Navar as soon as the Spanish Army was drawn out of it, had made themselves Masters of that Kingdom.

The Council, whose Wisdom it would certainly have been, to have done all that was in their power to have avoided being brought to a Battel, and which might have been
been done, by having drawn their Army out of the Field, to garrison their Cities and great Towns; few or none of which the French would have allowed the Governors leisure to have besieged; neither were the Governors provided of a Train of Artillery, and other necessary Materials for such a Work; But instead of taking this safe course in their present circumstances, trusting, it is like, to their great numbers, they commanded their whole Army to march, and Encamp it self about Turrelabaton, with Orders to prevent the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, and to Fight either of them single, if they found it necessary to keep them from joyn-

But the Constable, who before had Marched directly towards Turrelabaton, having received Intelligence of the Common's, whole army being Encamped about that place, altered his course, and Marching day and night, chopped berwixt Valedolid and Turrelabaton, so as to cut off all Communication betwixt the Council and their Army, where having been joyned by the Admiral, they immediately sent a Trumpet Valedolid, commanding that City, upon Sin of Treason, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garison they were ready to send to them: with which Summons to the Magistrates, and others, that had any thing
thing to lose, were so terrify'd, that they were for sending the Keys of their Gates presently to the Governors, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindered them from doing it, had not a Dominican, and a Trinitarian Fryer run through the Streets, crying out the City was Betray'd, and would, if it were not speedily prevented, be put into the hands of the Nobles, upon Discretion, with which out-cry, the Populace having been rai\ed, they, with their two Fryers at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-House, where having threatened to cut the Throat, and burn down the House of the first Man that talked of delivering up the City to the Nobles; they brought out the City-Standard, and having set it up in the Field without the Gates, they commanded all that were able to bear Arms upon pain of Death to repair to it immediately, to defend the City, and the Common Liberties of their Country, which were at the point of being lost.

But the Governors being sensible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, that Velledolid and all their other Places would fall into their hands of course, never intending to lose time; which the French being victorious in Navar, made to be very precious.
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to them in slow Sieges; and accordingly, the very next day after their Armies were joined, they marched directly toward Turrelabaton, where the Commons Army still remained; and fearing left when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, that they might retreat to some Mountains which were near, they sent all their Horse, with a great number of Trumpets before, with Orders, If they found the Commons moving towards the Mountains, to fall upon their Rear, and keep them in play till the Foot came up: And

It was so as the Governors had apprehended, the Common's Generals, so soon as they heard of the conjunction of the two Royal Armies, having resolved to decamp, and intrench themselves among the Mountains, where, if the Governors should attempt to force them to a Battel, their Cavalry, in which their main strength consisted, would be but of little use to them.

But as a great, but undisciplined, and ill Officer'd Army, is an unwieldy Body for any Regular Motion; so before the Commons had dislodged, news was brought by their Scouts, of the Governor's whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they Marched so fast, that they would quickly be up with them: The Common's Raw Generals, who were at their wits
wits end, were so long in deliberating, whether, now that Night was coming on, it would be safest for them to keep their Ground, and wait for day-light, or decamp immediately, and make their Retreat in the dark; that before they could come to any Resolution upon that point, they were Alarm'd with a mighty noise of Trumpets, upon which, they Commanded the Army to Dislodge immediately, and with the greatest Silence possible, to retreat towards the Mountains.

But so strangely were the raw Soldier terrify'd by the darkness of the Night, and the great noise of Trumpets, which still drew nearer and nearer, that they no sooner began to move, than their Horse and Foot were all thorow one another, and their Ranks being all broke, instead of Retreating Orderly, they fled towards the Mountains in the greatest Confusion imaginable.

So that the Royal Cavalry, when they came up, meeting with no manner of Opposition, trotted thorow them in the dark, without losing, or killing one single Man, unless it were some that they rode over; and before it was light, they had put themselves betwixt the foremost of the Foot and the Mountains. And tho' after it was day, the Common's Officers did all that...
that was possible to have brought both their Horse, which were got among the Mountains, and their Foot into a Body, telling them, that if they would but fall upon the Royal Cavalry, which was so tired with their long March, that their Horses were scarce able to stand, or their Riders to sit them, that they might with great ease, cut them all to pieces; yet so great was the Consternation they were in, that there was no persuading either the Horse to face about, or the Foot to draw into a Body to Fight their way to them: So the Officers perceiving that it was in vain to strive any longer, shifted every Man for himself as secretly as he could, endeavouring by byways, to have got into Navar, of which Kingdom they had heard the French had made themselves Masters.

The Foot having laid down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the Subalterns by the Governors, who having left their Foot behind them, were at Turrelebaton very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediatly, and run home to their Houses before the Governor's Infantry came up, which would not easily have been kept from stripping them.

X 2

But
But tho the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so Mercifully by the Governors; the General Officers that were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, escaped not so well: Don John de Padilla, and Don John Bravo, and Don Francis Maldonada having been taken Prisoners, were all three Beheaded the next day after the Rout; Don Peter Maldonada, was likewise Sentenced to die; but having been Reprieved, at the intercession of his Uncle, the Conde of Beneventum, he, and the Bishop of Zamora were committed close Prisoners to the Castle of Zimanchas.

The News of this cheap, and compleat Victory, brought the Keys of Valedolid, and of all the other Associated Cities and Towns, except Toledo, to the Governors; with humble Petitions for a General Pardon, and so strangely intimidated were the Commons in all places by this single Blow, that notwithstanding the Army they had been dispersed by, and all the other standing Forces of the Kingdom March'd forthwith against the French, who having over-run Navar like a Torrent, were ready to enter Castile, and tho' there did not want those who did all that was possible in all places to have perswaded them to take up their Arms again, and not to lose so fair an opportunity, to recover their lost Credit, and
and dying Liberties; they were not to be moved anywhere to do it. So that never did any Cause which was espoused by the whole Body of a People, and which had been allowed time to put it self under some Government, fall so flat all at once as this of the Commons of Castile, no Place besides Toledo, having made the least Effort to renew the War, after they had once heard of their Army's being dispersed.

And as to Toledo, it was kept from Submitting by the Clergy, but chiefly by Padilla's Widow, who having the Populace at her devotion, called on them incessantly, not to lay down their Arms, until they had secured the Liberties they had taken upon to defend, and until they had taken Vengeance too on those Butchers, meaning the Governors, who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots; and having sent a Currier to the French General, to sollicite him, Now he had conquer'd Navar, to march into Castile with all possible Expedition, to give life to the Commons again; upon a Promise from that General, That he would do so; she sent Letters all over Castile, to exhort the Commons, to take up their Arms which they had so dishonorably laid down; telling them, That if they did not make use of this favourable Juncture, they must, to their Eternal Infamy, entail Slavery upon themselves and their Posterity, X3 since

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since they could never expect to have the like Opportunity again, of preserving themselves a Free People.

There not being strength enough left in Castile, to reduce Toledo by force, the Governors employed the Marquis of Vilena, who had a great interest in the Sylvas, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he could persuade it to submit; but that Negotiation having taken air, the Sylvas were all turned out of the City; as was Don John de Cardenas also, upon suspicion of his being in a correspondence with the Governors. Padilla's Widow was vehemently solicited too by her Brother the Marquis de Mondejar, either to persuade Toledo to submit, or to leave it; promising her a great Reward from the Governors, if she would do either; but all the Answer he could have from her, was, That as she did not care to outlive the Liberties of her Country, so, had she a thousand Lives, she would lose them all, rather than receive any favour from those Traytors to their Country, who had butchered the brave Padilla, for no other Reason, but for his having stood up for its Liberties.

But whilst this Hero of a Woman was thus labouring to have raised a new War, the News came of William de Croy, the young Flemish Archbishops of Toledo being dead in Flanders, and of Don Antony de Fonseca, Archbishops.
of the Commons of Castile.

bishop of Compostella, who was a Castilian, being named by the King to succeed him. And whereas that young Flemish Archbishop had been all along the Clergy's chief Grievance, as soon as they knew of his being taken away, they did not only desert Padilla's Widow, but conspired with her Enemies to have turn'd her out of Toledo; and when they found that was not to be done whilst the people were so much at her devotion, to ruin her credit with them, the Clergy confidently gave out, That she was a Witch, and that the Negra Maid she kept was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, that furnish'd her with charms to fascinate people into a veneration for her: And to satisfy all her Adorers, that they were bewitched by her, they affirmed, That by virtue of some very strong Exorcisms, they had forc'd the Devil to confess as much out of the Mouths of several of her chief Admirers.

But so resolute was this Lady, who had no other Charms but those kind Nature had bestow'd on her, that though she found her credit ruined, by this Report, with the Populace, who began now to look upon her as no other than a Devil, yet no Promises nor Threats were sufficient to oblige her, either to leave Toledo, or to endeavour to persuade that City to submit itself to the Governors: And when her House was assaulted by the Bishop
Bishop of Leon at the head of a Multitude whom he had disinchant with Exorcisms, she, with her own Servants, and some of the Ringleaders of the first Tumults, defended it against him for some hours; and when at last she found that there was no remedy, but that she must either capitulate (which that Bishop offered several times to do) or must be made a Prisoner, she stole by night out of the Back-Gate of her House, in a disguise, with her Sister, the Countess of Montecute, and having escaped out of the City, she fled to Portugal, where she was kindly entertained by the Noble Family of the Pacheico's, which was her own Maiden Name, and to which she was nearly related in Blood; neither did she ever return to Castile, or make any Application to the Emperor, or to any of his Ministers, for a Pardon.

The day after Padilla's Widow left Toledo, which was the 10th of February, of the Year 1522, that City sent Deputies to the Governors with its Submission, and with a most humble Supplication to them for a General Pardon for themselves, and for all others who had been any ways engaged in the late Troubles: And thus ended the War of the Commons of Castile, which began in the Month of April, of the Year 1520. Neither did the War of the Commons of Valentia last much longer; Which having been all along carri-
ed on with much greater fury and devastations than that of Castile, ended in a great slaughter of the Commons in a Field Battle.

I have no where met with the Particulars of that War, and though it was on foot at the same time with this of Castile, I do not find that there was ever any correspondence or communication of Councils betwixt the Commons of those two Kingdoms, either before, or after they took up Arms.

The September following the Emperor returned to Spain, where he was the more welcome for having lost Chevers, who died in Germany, and as it was said, Of pure passion, upon his Master's having enter'd into a strict Alliance with the Pope, against the French, without having made him privy to it.

It was generally expected that the Emperor, to quiet the Minds of the Castilians, and to reconcile them to his Person and Government, would presently after he came among them, have granted them a General Indemnity; but he was so far from doing that, that the first Thing he order'd, was, The beheading of the Bishop of Zamora, and of Don Peter Maldonada, at Simanchas; and of seven of the principal Procurators of the Junta, at Medina Campi; and when an Indemnity came to be granted, it was so clogg'd with Exceptions, that
that it gave but little satisfaction to the Castilians; two hundred and seventy persons being excepted in it from pardon, by name, among whom were Padilla’s Widow, Don Peter Giron, Don Peter de Lasso, the Conde de Salvaterra, and a great many of the Cadets of the best Families in Castile.

The Emperor having returned from Germany very poor, and much in debt, he assembled a Cortes at Valedolid; and though the Procurators of that Assembly were all Courtiers, and most of them had been ill treated too by the Commons, when they were in Arms, yet they had both too much Sense, and too much Honesty, to sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, either to their own Private Interests, or to their Resentments; which upon such an occasion, a weaker and less steady People, than the Castilians are, would have been in danger of having done; for at the opening of this Cortes, the following Wise and Honest Speech was made to the Emperor, by Dr. John Rodrigo Pisa, the Prolocutor of the Commons.
of the Commons of Castile.

THE

Prolocutor's Speech.

Most Sacred Emperor, and our Catholic King,

WE the Procurators of these Kingdoms do humbly supplicate your Majesty, to do the Kingdoms we represent, the Justice, as to believe that they do not yield in Loyalty and Fidelity to their Princes, to any of your other Dominions.

And as there is not one Procurator in this Cortes, that is not either of your Majesty's Household, or in some Office or other of your giving, and that was not a sufferer too for your Crown in the late Seditions; so they do all with hearts full of Loyalty, and with much affection for your Royal Person and Government, beseech you to be informed by this your Great Council, of the true State of the Affairs of Castile, with which the Senators, which are still about your Majesty, may not be so thoroughly acquainted. And though this Cortes cannot but lament the great Mischiefs of the late Seditions, yet I must take the liberty to tell your Majesty, That if you will but be pleased to consider what it was that gave birth to those Seditions, you will not be able to wonder at them: For is it any wonder that the demanding of a Tribute so imperiously as that
at the Groyn was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the instigation of some who prefer'd their own Private Interests to those of the Publick, to give ear to the Commissioners which offer'd Sound Council, should beget great Disturbances? and which would never have been, had the People, according to the Ancient Custom, been heard, and had their Grievances redress'd: For had a Cortes been call'd to consult about the Publick Good, and not only for to give Money, which was the case of that at the Groin, they would not only have given your Majesty the Money you desired, but a great deal more, if you had occasion for it: But those things being past, I shall say no more of them, but will speak to what is present. Tour Majesty was pleased in your Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To consult us about what will be for the Advantage of these Kingdoms; and after that, to demand some Money of us for the support of your Government; which Order, for being agreeable to the Ancient Custom, was very welcome to all your Majesty's Good Subjects; whose Grievances shall be first laid before your Majesty; and which we do most humbly supplicate to have redressed; neither ought it to be any prejudice to this course, that of late years, it has been the custom for Cortesies, first to give Money, and after that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so long as the other is both more ancient, and more reasonable.
We do therefore throw our selves at your Majesty's feet, humbly supplicating, that the Grievances of the Subjects may be first considered and redress'd, that so we may afterwards with the more freedom, do every thing that will any ways contribute to your Majesty's Grandeur and Happiness, which we shall always study to augment.

The Emperor, who was not at all pleased with this free Speech of the Prolocutors, told the Cortes upon it, That though no Prince could be better disposed than he was, to make all his Subjects easy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Custom introduced by so good Policy, as that had been, of a Cortes first dispatching what was demanded of them by the Crown: Because, if the giving of Money were postpon'd to the remedying of Grievances, the redressing of them would no longer be looked on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckoned to have been purchased with Money; and which otherwise would not have been given: Besides, should it be known at the Great Turk's, and some other Courts, that his Subjects had prescribed New Laws to him, his Figure and Authority would be much lessened by it: He desired them therefore, Not to lose time in needless Debates, but to go immediately upon the Supply which he had demanded of them, and after that was finished, he promised, that they
they should have no cause to complain of him, for having deny'd any thing that is reasonable to the good people of Castile.

But the Cortes, notwithstanding this Promise, being still jealous, that if the Money were once given, they might be sent home with their Grievances unredress'd, did in a Body humbly supplicate the King, That the Grievances of the Kingdom might be first taken into consideration, giving him all possible Assurances, of supplying him with the Sum he had desired, after they were all once remedy'd: But having been told by the King, That it was in vain for them to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolved never to grant; they gave it over, and presently voted the Sum that had been desired; which was, forty hundred thousand Ducats, to be paid in three Years. After that the following Bills having been agreed to by the whole Cortes, were presented to the King, to have his Royal Assent to them.

I. That no Benefice or Office, Ecclesiastical, or Civil, shall be Conferred on any Foreigner.
II. That the King's Guards shall all be Castilians.
III. That the Judges in the Country shall not be paid out of the Fines of Persons that have been Sentenced by them.
IV. That no Money shall be given, or promised to any Person whatsoever, out of the Penalties of Delinquents, before they are convicted.

V. That no Money shall be given away, before it has been paid into the Exchequer.

VI. That no Monk, or any other Ecclesiastical Person shall be capable of buying any Lands now in the Possession of Laicks, and in case any such Land should fall to them by Inheritance, they shall sell it to the Laity.

VII. That it shall not be Lawful to sell any Grain standing in the Field.

VIII. That no Man shall be hindered from wearing a Sword.

IX. That no Masquerades shall be Tolerated.

The King is said to have given his Royal Assent to some of these Bills; but to which of them, we are not told.

The Clergy, who three Years before, had deny’d to pay the Tenths of their Benefices to the King, were now glad to compound with him for their Fourths, which were given to the King by Pope Adrian, their late Governor; who had been chosen Pope whilst he was in Castile.

But the Italians, when Adrian came among them, finding him too honest a Man to
to make a good Pope, they dispatched him quickly into the next World; neither have they ever since thought it safe, to trust a Tramontan, or any other, that was not by Birth, Education and Conscience, an Italian, with the Reins of the Papal Empire.

FINIS.
VIEW

OF

Two Castilian CORTES.

INTRODUCTION.

Having in the foregoing History, so often had occasion to mention the Castilian Cortes, I should have been glad here to gratify'd the Curious with a History of their Origin, Progress, Authority, Customs, &c. of that August Assembly; of whose great Name the Modern Spanish Cortes is a Shadow only; but having never seen nor heard of any Book on that Subject, which is very strange, considering that no Nation in the World is so unmercifully
mercifully oppress'd, as Spain, with Voluminous Histories of Particular, and many times very Little, Persons and Places: Instead of such a desirable History, I can only present the Reader with a Short Account of Two of those Assemblies, and which are not very Ancient: The First having met in the Year 1390; and the Second in the Year 1406. They were both called by Don Henry II. King of Castile; in whose Life written in Spanish by Gill Gonzalez D. Avila, Historiographer to King Philip IV. I met with the following Accounts; and which tho' short and imperfect, yet are sufficient to satisfy any person, of the Ancient Spanish Cortes having been the same with the English Parliament: And with the Assembly of the States in France: The Northern Nations, which pull'd down the Roman Empire, having all had the same Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy, as well after, as before their Crowns became Hereditary; which the Gothick Spanish Crown was not for some hundreds of Years after the Goths had settled themselves in Spain; the Authority of the Government in all those Nations being lodged so, in the King, and the Estates, that no Laws could be made, repealed, or suspended, nor no Money raised upon the Subject, but with their Common Consent.

Which
Which Happy Constitution of Government, is now nowhere to be met with, where the Crown is hereditary, but only in England and Scotland: And may it for ever continue in them, to be an Impregnable Bulwark against Anarchy and Tyranny, the Two Great Plagues of Mankind.
A VIEW OF A CORTES

Assembled at MADRID in the Year 1390.

The People of Castile being extremely dissatisfy'd, with the Persons named by King John I. in his Will, to be their Governors, during his Son King Henry II's Minority; the young King by the Advice of his Council did on the 22d of October, in the Year 1390 call a Cortes to meet at Madrid, on the 15th of November, for to settle the Regency, as they should judge to be most convenient for his, and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.
A View of a Cortes, &c. 325

The Persons named by the deceased King to be Governors, were Don Alonso, Marquis de Vilenä, Constable of Castile, Don Peter, Archbishop of Toledo, Don John, Archbishop of Compostella, Don Peter Nunneres, Master of Calatrava, Don John Alphonso, Conde of Niebla, and Don Peter Goncales Steward of the Household.

The WRIT sent by the King to the City of Abula.

Don Henry, by the Grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Sevil, Corduba, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, and Algeziva; and Lord of Biscay, Molina, Conceio, &c.

To the City of Abula, Health and Grace, as to those in whom we do much confide;

Having in my former Letters acquainted you with the Death of the King, my Father and Lord; whom may God pardon: This to let you know, that by the Advice of the Persons who were Counsellors to my Father, hom may God admit into his Holy Paradise, I have determined to call together all the Pretes, Masters, Condes, and Ricoshomes, and the other Nobles, and all the Procurators of the Cities and Towns of these my Kingdoms and
A View of a Cortes

and Lordships; to treat about the Regency, and about whatsoever else shall be for my Service, and the Honour and Safety of my Kingdoms.

And having to that End, summoned all the said Prelates, Dukes, Masters, Condes, Ricoshomes, and all the Procurators; you having a Right to sit and vote in a Cortes, must, so soon as this my Writ comes to your Hands, choose from among your Selves, Two Good and Sufficient Procurators, to Act for God's and my Service, and for the Common Good of the said Kingdoms; and with this we command you to comply so, that your Procurators may without fail, meet me at Madrid on the 15th of November next.

Given at Madrid the 22d of October, in the Year of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1390.

I, The KING.

I Peter Alfonso, caused this to be written at the Command of our Lord the King.
NOTES on this WRIT.

[DUKES.] Though this was an Antient Title in Spain, it was never Hereditary in any Family, before the present King’s Father made it so, after the Example of France; who Created his Brother, and who was present at this Cortes, Duke of Bonaventum.

[MARQUISE] This was no Hereditary Title in Spain neither, before the time of the present King’s Grand Father, who made Don Alonzo, a Son of Don Peter’s, King of Aragon, Marquise of Villena.

[MASTERS.] These were the heads of the three Military Orders, of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava; which three Rich and Powerful Masterships are now lodged in the King, who sets Presidents over them, with the Title of Commendador Major.

[CONDES.] This was for many Ages, the highest hereditary Title in Spain, until the present King’s Father, and Grand-Father, to lessen the great power of the Condes, Created Dukes and Marquises above them; and that the Condes might be the least sensible of their being Sufferers by this change, the first Dukes and Marquises were all Infante’s, or Princes.
of the Blood, and who, before they had those new Titles, were superior to the Condes.

[RICÓSHOMES.] This was the common Title of the Barons of Spain, it is the compound of a Gothic and Latin Word; whereas Manrique, the name of a Noble Spanish Family, and that signifies the same, is wholly Gothic; this Title is agreeable to the description of Nobilities, being nothing else but Riches long Possessed in a Family.

The Richoshomes were of two sorts, the First, and most Honourable, were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckoned to be of the same Antiquity with the Monarchy, if not older; the Castilians, having at first been under the Government of a Conde, and afterwards under that of two Magistrates, who were called the Judges of Castile. The Second were those that were made Richoshomes by a Patent from the King.

One was created a Richohome, by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties, and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was, the King gave them a Standard, and a Caldron, signifying by the Standard, that when there was occasion, they might Arm their Vassals, and oblige them
them to follow their Standard in the Field; and by the Caldron, that they were bound to Maintain their Vassals, when they fought for them.

From among your Selves] The Procureators of the Cities and Towns in a Cortes were anciently Members of their own Body; and lived in, or near the Place they Represented: The Cities and Towns of Castile had always chose all their own Magistrates, until they were deprived of that Privilege by this present King, who set a Magistrate over them, with the Title of Corregidor; this great Innovation cost much Blood in several places; above a thousand having been kill'd in Sevil, before that City could be brought to Submit to it: All which Blood was spilt to little purpose, the Cities and Towns having in the next Reign recover'd their Ancient Privilege, tho' they have since lost it, with all their other Liberties.

A LIST of the Procureators that were present at this Cortes.

Sancho Garcia de Media, 
Garci Perez de Camargo, 
John Lopez de Sansoles, 8.

For the City of Toledo. 
Peter Lopez de Ayala. 
Perafon de Ribera. 
John Gaitan. 
John Alphonso de Zurita. 
Martin Gonzalez Tracyperos 5.

For the City of Leon. 
Pero Nunnes de Villafanna. 
Fernand Alvarez de Leon. 
Goncalo Fernandez. 
John Ruiz. 
Alfonso Fernandez 5.

For the City of Sevil. 
Fernan Gonzalez. 
Diego Fernandez. 
Garci Perez de Morales, 3.

For Corduba. 
Lope Guitierrez. 
Peter Vanegas. 
Alfonso Yanez, 4.

For Murcia. 
John Sanchez de Ayala. 
Sancho Rodriguez, 2.

For Jaen. 
John Pelais. 
Fernan Arias. 
Peter Sanchez, 3.

For Abula. 
Alfonso Gonzalez. 
Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For Salamanca. 
Rui Gonzalez. 
John Sanchez. 
Rui Fernandez. 
Rodrigo Yanez. 
El Dr. Antony Sanchez. 
Alfonso Godinez. 
Andrew Dominguez. 
Julian Gomez, 8.

For Zamora. 
Fernan Rodriguez Esparegas. 
Ordonnio Ruiz. 
Perivan de la RUN. 
Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For Segovia. 
Garci Alfonso de Uva-
cana. 
Fernan Sanchez de Vir-
tes, 2.

For Soria. 
Garci Alvarez de vera.
Assembled at Madrid.

Fernan Sanchez.
John de Morales.
Fernan Sanchez, de Talavera, 4.

For Valedolid.
John Manso.
Goncalo Nunnes.
Goncalo Gomez.
Rui Sanchez, 4.

For Placentia.
Garcia Goncalos Mariscal.
Diego Gomez de Almagrez, 2.

For Baeza.
Fernan Ruiz, Narvar.
Lewis Goncalen.
John Garcia, 3.

For Ubeda.
Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez, 2.

For Toro.
Diego Garcia.
John Nunnes.
Fernand Gomez.
Alfonso Ruiz, 4.

For Calaborra.
Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Goncalen Falcon, 2.

For Oviedo.
John Estrevanes, 1.

For Xerez.
Lucas Fernandes de Lobjano.
Peter Garcia de Miseria, 2.

For Astorga.
Diego Alvarez, 1.

For Rodrigo.
Sancho Gomez de Ferreira, 1.

For Badajoz.
Goncalo Sanchez, 1.

For Coria.
Rodrigo de San Millan.
John Alfonso Pany Agua, 2.

For Guadalaxava.
John Ortega.
Gorci Lopez, 2.

For Coruna.
Goncalo Annes Ferreiro, 1

For Madina del Campo.
Goncalo Ruiz.
John de San Pedro, 2.
For Cuenca.
Nunno Gonzalez de Torre.
John Rodriguez de Navaltan.
John Sanchez, 3.

For Carmona.
John Martinez de Lea.
Gonzalez Martinez, 2.

For Ezija.
Alfonso Terrizandez.
Peter Diaz, 2.

For Vitoria.
Peter Gonzalez.
Peter Garcia, the Son of Michael Garcia, 2.

For Logronno.
Goncalo Garcia, 1.

For Fruxillo.
Fernan Asfonso.
Rui Gutierres, 2.

For Carceres.
Lorenco Yannes.
Garcia Martinez, 2.

For Cadix.
Sancho Garcia.
Fernan Gonzalez, 2.

For Xeriz.
Goncalo Ruiz.
Alfonso Sanchez.
John Fernandez de Sandoval.
John Garcia, 4.

For Bejar.
Gill Fernandez.
Diego Sanchez, 3.

For Villa Real.
Bartolomew Martinez.
Goncalo Gomez.
Alfonso Sanchez, 3.

For Cuellar.
Velasco Perez.
Diego Garcia.
Alfonso Garcia, 3.

For Tariff.
John Ramires de Alenmar, 1.

For Huete.
Peter Fernandez Barajas.
Alfonso Rodriguez, 2.

For Anduiar.
Alfonso Gonzalez de Priego.
John Sanchez, 2.
These are the Procurators that were present in this Cortes but whether they be all that belong to that Assembly, I cannot say, having never seen any other List of them but this.

The Cortes having met at Madrid, on the day appointed; it was Opened with a Speech, made by the Archbishop of Toledo, who exhorted them to Settle the Regency so, that the Kingdoms might not suffer under this, as they had done under some former Minorities.

But tho' the Cortes began with the Regency, they would not Settle it, nor do no other Business, until the Coin of the Kingdoms, which had been rais'd by the King's Grand-father, to the great Damage of the Subjects, as it always is; was brought down to its ancient Standard, and Value, which having
having been done by a Law, on January 21, on the last day of the same Month the whole Cortes Assembled in the Church of St. Salvador, and did by a Solemn Act Declare; That the Regency, during the King's Minority, should be in a Council, which they had named, and, that the King, at Sixteen Years, should be of Age: Obliging all the Persons nam'd by them to be of that Council before they Acted, to take an Oath to Observe the following Ordinances.

I. Not to Increase the Standing Forces of the Kingdoms, above four thousand Soldiers in Garisons, and fifteen hundred Ginets.

II. That they shall not begin any War without the consent of the Cortes.

III. That they shall not Raise any Money upon the Subject, that has not been given by a Cortes.

IV. That they shall not Banish, nor put any to Death, before they have been Try'd and Condemn'd by their proper Judges.

V. That they shall not Pardon Murder.

VI. That they shall preserve all the present Alliances, and enter into no new ones, without the consent of the Cortes.

The Persons Named, and Appointed by the Cortes, to be of this Council, were, Don Fadrique, Duke of Bonaventum, Don Pedro, Condé de Trastamara, Don Peter, Arch bishop
Assembled at Madrid.

bishop of Toledo, Don John, Archbishop of Santiago, Don Goncalo Numnes, Master of Calatrava, Peter Lopez d' Ayala, Alcalde of the City of Toledo, Alvar Perez Osorio, Ruiz Ponce de Leon, Peter Suarez, Aldelantadi of Leon, and Asturias, Garci Goncales Mariscall. For the Kingdom of Castile, Garci Ruiz, Sancho Garcia de Medina, and Ruy Sanchez.

For the Kingdom of Toledo, Perafante de Ribera, and John Gaiton.

For the Kingdom of Leon, Alfonso Fernandez, and Rodrigo de Esparrigios, and John Alvarez Maldonada.

For the Kingdom of Andulacia, Fernan Goncales, and Lope Rodriguez.

For the Kingdom of Murcia and Jaen, John Sanchez de Ayala, and John Pelais de Burcio.

For Estramadura, Fernan Sanchez de Vervis, and Alfonso Goncales.

This Council consisted of Ten Nobles, and Fourteen Commoners, who were Procurators in this Cortes. And to make this Charge the easier, one half of each were Ordered, untill the King was of Age, to attend on him one six Months in the Year, and the other half, the other six Months.

The Regency being thus setled, the King came to the Cortes, and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the Following Oath.

I do
I do Promise and Swear, to Maintain, and to cause to be Maintained, to all the Nobles, Prelates, Churches, and Masters of the Orders: And to all Cities, Towns, and Villages, all the same Privileges, Grants, Franchises, Exemptions, Good usages and Customs, which they enjoyed in the Reigns of the King my Grandfather, and of the King my Father, and in the same manner.
A VIEW OF A CORTES

Assembled by the same King at Toledo, in the Year 1406.

KING Hen. II. Intending to have a War with the Morish King of Granada; who, he said, had broke the Truce that was made betwixt them, in several particulars; would not begin it until he had advised about it with a Cortes; and having to that end, called a Cortes, to Meet at Toledo, on the 29th of November, in the Year 1406. It was Opened when it Met, by the following Speech, made by the Infante, Don Fernando, the King's Brother; the King, tho' then at Toledo, being so much Indisposed, that he was not able to be present at it in person.
YOu, The Prelates, Condes, Ricosshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindered by Sickness from coming to you in Person, as he intended; He has therefore Commanded me to acquaint you with the Reason of His having Called you together at this time, which is to let you know, that upon the King of Granada's having broke the Truce, by having deny'd to Restore the Castle of Ayamonte, and to pay the Tribute that is due, he intends to begin a War upon that Barbarian; you are therefore desired to take this Matter into your Consideration, and if you shall judge this War to be just, and for God's, His Majesty's, and His Kingdom's Honour and Service, to consult what Provisions and Forces will be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, and to Supply his Majesty with Money sufficient to defray all its Charges.

To this Speech of the Infante's, the following Answer was returned, in the Name of the whole Cortes, by the Bishop of Siguenca.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricosshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, her assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name, with very great Satisfaction; do all Supplicate you.
your Highness, as you are Lord of Lara, and the Judge of all the Nobles, to let them, according to ancient Custom, first have your Opinion of this War, that having your judgment of its Justice, and Convenience they may Consult together about what has been by you proposed to them in our Lord the King's Name, and may do whatsoever shall be judged to be most convenient.

Upon which Address of the whole Cortes, the Infante, as Lord of Lara, declared, That he judged the War he had proposed to them to be so Just, and so much for God's, and His Majesty's Service, that he was ready to Serve in it with his whole Force, and Estate, and to be the foremost in all Toils and Dangers.

After this Declaration of the Infante's, the War was, after a short Consultation, Voted, to be both Just, and Holy, by the whole Cortes, and, which promised to Assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But though the Cortes was unanimous in voting the War, yet when they came to consider how great an Army and Fleet would be necessary to carry it on with vigor, they were so divided, that the King, that no more time might be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. John Rodriguez, one of the Procurators
of Salamanca; wherein was a List of the Forces and Provisions his Majesty judged to be necessary: Which were, ten thousand Lances, four thousand Ginets, and fifty thousand Foot, for the Land Army: And a Fleet of thirty Armed Gallies, and fifty Ships of War to guard the Streits, and Six heavy Canon, a hundred Shot of Powder, two Engines, twelve Battering Rams of Iron, a great number of Spades, twelve pair of Bellows, and six thousand Waggons.

The Cortes having very minutely computed the whole Charge of Maintaining such a Fleet and Army for six Months, and of all the other Provisions in the King's Paper, found it would amount to an Hundred Millions, and two Hundred Thousand Maravedies; which being judged by them to be a Sum much too great for the Subject to pay, they Ordered, that one third should be Raised upon the Subject, and that the other third should be taken out of the great Treasure that was in Oviedo, and the last third out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown. And a Bill having been Passed accordingly, and presented to the Throne,—the Infante told them, that the King expected to have the whole Charge of the Forces, and Provisions contain'd in the Paper he had caused to be laid before them, supply'd by the Subject; all that the King
by the same King at Toledo.

King could spare out of his own Treasury and yearly Revenues, being to be employed in the Hiring, and Paying of the Foreign Troops, over and above those mention'd in that Paper, which the King intended to make use of.

But the Cortes adhering stifly to their Bill, and which they said, laid more on the Subjects than they were well able to bear, the King at last passed it; but at the same time desired, that in case the Sum which they had given, should be found not to be sufficient, that they would impower him, without Assembling a Cortes, which would require time, to Raise Money upon the Subject, to supply that Deficiency. And tho' the giving the King such a Power was fiercely opposed, by a great many of the Procurators, as a thing that struck at the very Root of the Authority of a Cortes, it was carried by a Majority; and tho' it was granted only for that year, yet that was enough to create such a President, as would encourage their future Kings to desire to have the same Power and to take it very ill if 'twere deny'd them; and by such weak, or corrupt concessions as these, it was, that the Spanish Cortes came to lose all their Authority.

The King, who by having taken from the Cities and great Towns the power of choosing their own Magistrates, and by se-
veral other Oppressions, had rendered himself very Odious; happening to die before the Members of the Cortes had left Toledo; they Caball’d together to lay aside his Son, who was but a Child, and to bestow the Crown on his Brother the Infante, Don Ferdinand, who had always been very Popular. But the Infante, when the Crown was offered to him in the name of most of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by Rui Lopez de Avila, Constable of Castile, and who was one of the young King’s Governors; he generously refused to accept of it, telling the Constable, and the Nobles that were with him, That neither Covetousness, nor Ambition were strong enough in his Breast, to make him do so Barbarous and Inhumane a thing, as to Rob an Orphan, and who was his Nephew, of his Crown: But the Constable, who would not be put off with this Answer, endeavoured to persuade the Infante by the following Speech, to change his mind.
THE

Conftable's SPEECH.

SIR,

Having humbly Supplicated You to accept of the Crown of Your Father, and Grandfather, and withal assured You, that this is so earnestly desired, not only by the Nobles, but by the Body of the People, that You need not fear meeting with any Opposition in it; We, who Scorn, either to Dissemble or Flatter, must now tell You farther, that as it is a Dishonorable thing to obtain a Crown by Vile and Base Methods; so to refuse a Crown, when finding it self in Danger, it begs Your Protection, looks like Weakness, and Cowardice.

Do not the Nature and Origen of all Royal Powers sufficiently teach us, that Crowns, when Reason of State requires it, may Lawfully be taken from one, and given to another:

For in the beginning of the World Men lived scattered in the Fields as Wild Beasts do now, neither was there any such thing among them as Societies or Communities, only in particular Families, some respect was paid to those among them, who were in Age and Prudence superior to the rest; but the Dangers People found themselves exposed to, of being Opprest by others that were stronger, and the frequent Quar-
Quarrels which happened among themselves, and with Strangers, were the things that induced them to form themselves into Societies; and to choose one for their Head, who was by his known Valour and Prudence, able to Protect and Defend them against all others.

This was the beginning of Societies, and the Origin of all Royal Authority, which in those ancient times was not procured by Negotiations and Subornations, but by Temperance, Fortitude, and Integrity; neither did Royal Authority in those days descend by Inheritance from Father to Son, but it was still given by the consent of the People, who, when their Prince died, chose one from among themselves to Succeed him; for it was nothing but the exorbitant Power of Princes that first made Crowns hereditary, So, that they must descend to their Children, tho' never so unfit for them; and can any thing be more dangerous than to have the Arms, the Treasures, and Government of a People committed to one Blindfold, and for no other Reason, but because he was the Son of the deceased Prince, by which means, that which was due to Virtue and Merit only, comes to fall into the hands of one that has never given the Publick any Assurance of his being fit to Govern them. I shall not make use of remote Examples to confirm the truth of this to you.
by the same King at Toledo.

Upon the Death of King Henry I. was not his Elder Sister, Donna Blanca, who was Married into France, laid aside, and his younger Sister, Donna Berenguela Declar’d Queen? The Wisdom of which Action was made Illustrious, by the Sanctity, and perpetual Felicity of her Son, Don Ferdinand: was not the younger Son of Don Alonso the Wise, for the proofs he had given of his Valour, and good Conduct, preferred likewise to the Sons of his elder Brother, Don Ferdinand? But we need go no farther back than Tour Highness’s own Grand-father King Henry, who deprived his Brother, and his Daughters of the Crown, to which, had not this Action of Tour Grand-father’s been Lawful, our deceased King could have had no Title. And in Portugal, did not the Master of Aviz Seize on the Crown in the same manner? whether he did it Lawfully, or not, is none of our Business to inquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head, against all the Power of Castile: And in Aragon, was not the Crown but the other day taken from the Daughter of King John, and given to her Uncle, Don Martin, tho he was then in Sicily? In a word, has it not been always held just, for the Communities or People, when necessity required it, to alter any Constitution, tho’ at first Established for the Publick good:

Had
Had we pitch'd on a Stranger, or on one not Royally Descended, we might then have been blamed for doing such a thing; but who can reckon that we, in our present circumstances do amiss, in desiring to have a Prince of the Royal Family for our King, and of whose good Government we are so well assured?

Consider therefore how dishonourable a thing it will be for You to slight the universal Affection of this Nation, and to avoid the Trouble and Burden of a Crown, by denying Your Countr'y Your Protection, at a time when it has so many difficulties to struggle withal, tho' it begs it of You with bended Knees: Grant us therefore but this Request, and we will not, because it is needless, charge you to Govern us with Your customary Prudence, and Temper.

This Speech, though it had its Policy backed with several Ancient Prophecies, and very fresh Visions of the Infante's being King of Castile; could not move him to accept of that Dignity: and so he dismiss'd the Constable, and the rest of the Nobles, with telling them, that though he could not but thank them for their good Will, he was not able, in this Matter, to do them any Service, but only to promise, not to acquaint his Lord, the King, nor the Queen Mother with any such Proposition, having ever been made to him.
And it was not long before this singular Virtue of the Infante’s was Rewarded; for within six Years after, he was Chosen King of Aragon, and in less than an hundred years, the Crown of Castile came by Marriage to his Grand-son Ferdinand, and is to this day on the Head of his Posterity.

FINIS.
AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
Manuscripts and Reliques

Found in the Ruins of the Uninhabitable Turpian Tower, in the City of Granada, in the Year 1588: And in the Mountain called Valparayso, near to that City, in the Year 1595.

Parturient Montes, nascetur ridiculus Mus.

DON Peter de Castro, y Quinnones, Archbishop of Granada, having in the Year 1588, ordered an old Tower, which was some nuisance to his Cathedral, to be taken down; the Workmen, in digging amongst its ruins, lighted
lighted on a Leaden Box; and having opened it, instead of the Treasure of Barbary Gold, they expected, they found in it a large Sheet of Parchment, written on both sides, after a very uncouth fashion, and in it a piece of Linnen Cloth, about the bigness of half a Pocket-Hankerchief, and a Small Bone.

The Workmen, not knowing what to make of such a Conjuring Sortment, for such it must have appeared to them, lodged it all in its Box again; and having carried it to their Master the Archbishop, he not thinking such things himself, or at least pretending that he did not, summoned all the Criticks and Antiquaries that City and Country afforded to try their skill upon it.

The Letters in the Manuscripts were alternatively black, and coloured, and the Words were all in Chequers, and so legible, that it was plain at first sight; that in one part of the Writing, the Words were all Arabick; and in another part all barbarous and ill-spelt Latine; and in the third and greatest part, the Words were all Spanish, and the very same that is now spoken: a doughty Evidence of these Manuscripts fifteen hundred Years Antiquity.
But notwithstanding the Criticks understood the signification of every Word in this Venerable Manuscript, they could make no sense of them as they lay; nor perhaps never would, had not its Author, who had been at so much dull pains, to make it mysterious, been so kind as to leave a Key in the Margin, to let the Age into it, that should be so happy as to find it: Which was done by still skipping over the next Word from the Top to the Bottom, and so back again: And though by thus hobling it over, the Criticks could make no very good sense of it, yet they found its Author's meaning as well as they could have done had he placed his Words in their common Order.

At the top of the Parchment there were five small Crosses within one large Cross.

The first thing in the Writing was, A Title in Arabick, declaring, That therein was contained, A Prophecy of St. John the Evangelist, concerning the End of the World.

The next thing was a Narrative, declaring how St. Cecilius came by that Prophecy, and the Linnen Cloth, and the Bone that were in it.

The Third thing was a Commentary of St. Cecilius's upon that Prophecy. And the last was a Relation of one Father Patrick, by whom this Treasure was hid in the Apostle's Days.
An Account of the

The Prophecy of S. John the Evangelist, concerning the Consummation of the World, in the same Words as it is in the Parchment.

La edad de la lux, ya commencada por el Maestro, y con su passion redimida con dolor del cuerpo: y los prophetas passados; quo alumbrados de la tercera persona esperaran su venida.

Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar: porboca deste Maestro, en la misericordia preferido: alos seys siglos cumplidos de su advenimiento por peccados graves el en mundo, q' cometidos serantinieblas, se levantaran muy escuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales se estenderan por ministros furiosos, q' en ellas seran criados; com q' la lux de nuestro sol se eclipsera; y el templo del Maestro y su fe, graves persecuciones padeceran: y los quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coracones endurecidos, segundas tinielbas se levantaran en las partes de aquilon y d ellas un dragon saldra, que por su boca, arrojara simiente; que sembrada la fe dividira en setas y con la otra iunta da el mundo ocuparan, de las occidentales partes.
Manuscripts and Reliques, &c. 343

tes saldran los tres enemigos, su malicia aumentando por su Maestro la sensualidad traeran y con lepra nunca vista el mundo, se nilicionara la lux en parte diminuta de la tierra se retirara adonde con naufragios sustentada serán en el abrigo de la columna de piedra, con estas señales prodigiosos y otras que el Cielo mostrara el genero humano sera amenazado y en especial el sacerdocio y anunciado el Antichristo, que sera brebe su venida con que esta prophecia se cumplira, y el iuyzo final se acercara, cuando se manifestara al mundo, esta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplida, del medio dia saldra el iuez de la verdad, quando le plazera.

This Prophecy rendered into English.

THE Age of the Light now begun, by the Master, and with his Passion redeemed with the pain of his Body: And the past Prophets who being enlightned by the Third Person, waited for his coming: I having been preferred in Mercy, will by the Mouth of this Master give an Account of the End of the World. Six Ages being accomplished from his coming on account of the grievous Sins of the World, which being committed, will be Darkness, and very great Darkness will arise in the Eastern parts, and which will extend it self to the West by the furious Ministers that are bred therein;
with which the light of the Sun will be
eclipsed, and the Temple of the Master and
his Faith will suffer grievous persecuti-
ons.

And fifteen Ages being accomplished tho-
rough obstinate and obdurate Hearts, a se-
cond Darkness will arise in the Northern
Parts, out of which will come forth a Dra-
gon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth,
which being sown, will divide the Faith in-
to Sects, and which being joined with the
other, will occupy the World. From the West-
ern parts three Enemies will come forth,
who having Sensuality for their Master, and
increasing in their Malice, will infect the
World with such a Leprosy as was never
seen before; and the Light being much di-
minished will retire, but will in its Ship-
wracks be supported, by being under the
protection of the Pillar of its Stone.

With these prodigious Signs, and others
which Heaven will shew, Mankind will be
threatened, and particularly the Priesthood:
And Antichrist, whose coming is at hand,
being manifested, this Prophecy will be ac-
complished, and the Final Judgment will
draw near: and when this Truth, Truth,
Truth shall be manifested to the World, and
accomplished, the Judge of the Truth shall,
when he pleaseth, come from the South.
The NARRATIVE.

St. Cecilius to partake of the Merits which are purchased by the visiting of Holy Places, santered to Jerusalem, and as he was returning home, having taken Athens in his way, he professed Theology there, according to the Greek Method; but having been so unhappy as to lose his Sight in the Voyage, he continued stone blind until he had visited Dionysius the Areopagite, who was at that time Bishop of Athens; and who having confessed St. Cecilius, and given him the Body of Christ, rubbed his Eyes as soon as Mass was said, with the Handkerchief wherewith the Blessed Virgin had wiped off the Tears mingled with Blood, which were shed by her, when she was present at her Son's Passion.

Dionysius having helped St. Cecilius thus to Eyes, showed him a Prophecy written in Hebrew by St. John the Evangelist, and which had been rendered by him into Greek.

Concerning the Consummation of the World, and a Bone of the First Martyr St. Stephen. St. Cecilius having by strong importunity obtained a Copy of this Prophecy, he translated it into Spanish, and wrote a Commentary upon it in Arabick, which was his Mother Tongue: He obtained likewise one half the Handkerchief which
An Account of the

which had cured him of his Blindness; and the
Bone of the First Martyr St. Stephen; all which
Reliques he laid together to be preserved until
God for the Instruction of Princes should be plea-
sed to discover them to the World.

The next thing is St. Cecilius's Commentary in Arabick, which the Inventors have
not thought fit to publish, in that, or in any
other Language; and all they tell us out of
it, is, That by an Age is meant an hundred
Years; so that the False Prophet was not to
rise in the East till Six hundred Years; nor
the Diabolical Dragon to appear in the North
till fifteen hundred Years after Christ's Birth;
but faith nothing of the three Enemies in the
West, nor of the Pillar of its Stone: which are
the two things in the Prophecy, that wanted
a Commentary most. But as it is plain, that
by the False Prophet in the East, Mahomet
is meant; and by the Dragon in the North,
Dr. Luther; so I do much suspect, that Dr E-
gidio, and Dr. Constantin, and Dr. Cazala,
who were all burnt in Spain for being Prote-
fants, in the beginning of the Reign of Phi-
lip the IId, are the persons meant by the
Three Enemies in the West: And as for the
Pillar of Stone, though St. Cecilius faith
nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. Ma-
dera, the Publisher and Champion of these
Antiquities, faith, That Spain is meant by
it, and that upon no less Authority, than
that
that of the Prophet Elaias; who speaking of the Spaniards in the 24th Chapter of his Prophecy, calls them, Habitatores Petæa.

St. Cecilius closeth his Commentary with the first seven Verses of St. John's Gospel, in Arabick, as they are sung in the Roman Church, and with this Subscription:

Cecilius Bishop of Granada

The Last thing in this Immortal Vellum, is, A Relation in Latin, not very classical, tho' writ in Nero's days, by one Father Patrick a Priest.

Father Patrick's Relation.

Relatio Patricii Sacerdotis, servus Dei: Cecilius Episcopus granatensis, cum in Iberia set, & cum videret dierum suorum finem, oculte nifi dixit, se habere pro certo suum martyrion & apropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in leo amavit, thesaurum suarum reliquiaram mi-i commendavit, & me admonuit, ut oculte ha- erem, & in loco locarem, et ut in potentiam Maurorum nunquam veniret, affirmans esse the-saurum salutis atq; scientiae certæ & plurimum aborasse, & iter fecisse terra mariq; & de-
An Account of the
here esse in occulto loco: donec Deus velit illum
manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in
eo loco clausi ubi jacet, deum rogans ut eum ob-
servet reliquiae quae hic jacent sunt profeciae
divi Joannis Evangelistae, medius pannus quo
Virgo Maria abstersit ab oculis lacrimas in pas-
fiione sui filii sacrati.

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deogratias.

This Relation turned into English.

'The Relation of Patrick a Priest
the Servant of God: Cecilius Bi-
shop of Granada, being in Iberia, and see-
ing the end of his days approaching, tol-
me in private, That he knew for certain
that he should speedily suffer Martyrdom
and whereas he loved me in God, he re-
commended to me the Treasure of his Re-
liquies, and charged me to keep it secret
and to lodge it in a secret place, that i
might never fall into the hands of the
Moors; affirming it to be a Treasure of
Health and certain Knowledge, and that
he had been at great pains, and traveled
both by Sea and Land, and that it ought
to be kept in a secret place, until God shall
"be pleased to bring it to light: I to the "best of my knowledge hid it in this place, "beseeching God to keep it: The Reliques "which lie here are, The Prophecys of St. John "the Evangelist, concerning the End of the "World; Half of the Cloth wherewith the "Virgin Mary wiped the Tears from her "Eyes, shed by her at the Passion of her "Holy Son; and a Bone of St. Stephen the "first Martyr. Thanks be to God.

Thus far Father Patrick, a Proper Name enough for the Relator of such a blind Sto-
ry, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce: which has not so many Sen-
tences as it has Blunders in it, with clear E-
vidences of its being supposititious.

But as Blind as it is, the discovery of the Indies was not entertained in Spain with greater joy than this Discovery was; but chiefly in the City and Kingdom of Granada; which having been recovered out of the hands of the Moors long after all the other Spanish Provinces, had but a poor stock of Reliques; the Treasures of all others, the Spanish Cities and Towns do value them-
selves the most upon: A Famous Miracle-
working Relique being of more advantage to any place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

A a 4 The
An Account of the Galicians, whose true Legend of St. James of Compostella, stood in great need of some ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely at its having received so Authentick a Confirmation.

One good Effect however, tho' it was not miraculous, this Discovery had; which was, that it furnished the Spaniards with something else to think and talk of, besides the loss of their great Armado, which happened the same Year.

This Invention having succeeded so well, gave encouragement to new Adventures; and a Report having been spread abroad, That a prodigious Treasure of Gold and Jewels had been hid by the Moors in a Mountain called Valparaíso, about half a Mile from the City of Granada; the people, after having received the best Directions, which were to be had from Cunning Men, went to work in some of its Caverns, which it was very full of; where they had not dug long, before they met with a Plate of Lead, with the following Inscription upon it:

Corpus uftum Divi Mefitonis Martiris, pasus est, sub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of St. Meselon, who suffered under the Power of Nero.

This
This Relique having been carried to the Archbishop, he was so transported with joy, that he resolved to spare for no Cost, nor Pains, to find the Altar of this burnt Martyr; and having set all hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28th of March, 1595 delivered of a second Plate, with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis Imperii, Marci Calendis pasus fuit Martirium in hoc loco illupalitano electus ad hunc effectum, sanctus Hifcius Apostoli Iacobii discipus cum suis Discipulis Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centulio, per medium ignem in quo vivi ambusti fuerunt eternam vitam petentibus transire, ut lapides in calcem conversi fuerint; quorum pulvens in hujus sacræ montis cavernis jacent, qui ut ratio postulat in eorum memoriam veneretur.

"In the second year of Nero's Empire "on the Kalends of March, St. Hifcius a "Disciple of the Apostle St. James suffered "Martyrdom in this place of Illupulis, "which was chosen for that purpose, with "his Disciples Turillus, Panuncius, Mara- "nus, and Centulus, passing thorough the "midst of the Fire wherein they were "burnt alive, to Life eternal, and were "burnt as Stones are to Lime: whose Dust "is lodged in the Caverns of this holy "Moun-
An Account of the Mountain; which as Reason requires, "ought to be venerated in Memory of them."

On the 10th of April of the same Year, the Workmen as they were digging after this great Vein of Ashes, did light on a third Plate of the same Metal, with the following Inscription upon it.

"Anno secundo Neronis Imperii Kalendis Aprilis patus est Martirium in hoc loco illupi- lito, Thesiphon dictus priusquam convertere- tur Abenathar, divi Jacobi Apostoli discipulus, vir literis & sanctitate præditus, plumi tabu- lis exscriptis librum illum, fundamentum Ec- clesiæ appellatum, & simul passus sunt sui disce- puli, dius Maximinus, Luparius, quorum pul- vis & liber sunt cum pulveribus divorum Mar- tyrum in hujus sacri mont. cavernis in eorum memoriam veneretur.

"In the second Year of Nero's Empire, on the First of April, St. Thesiphon, who be- fore he was converted, was named Abena- ther, suffered Martyrdom in this Place of Illupulis, he was a Disciple of the Apostle St. James, and was endowed with Learning and Sanctity; he transcribed into Tables of Lead, the Book called, The Foundation of the Church; and with him suffered Maximinus and Luparius, His Dust and Book"
Book with the Dust of divers Martyrs are in the Caverns of this holy Mountain, and let them be reverenced in their Memory.

After so many Notices of so great a treasure of Martyr's Ashes; the Workmen at last came to a large Cavern, which looked like a Prison or Dungeon, wherein they met with a great many Bones; and with lumps of Earth of a whitish Colour, and which were judged to be the Ashes of the Martyrs; who in one of the Plates were said to have been burnt like Stones into Lime: This Dungeon supply'd the Church of Granada, which before had few or no Reliques, with more ancient sacred Bones and Ashes, than all the Churches in Spain had besides; but as Covetousness has no Bounds, they went on still with their work, and on the 21th of April they met with a leaden Box wherein was a Book with this Title — Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae Salomonis characteribus scriptus, A Book of the Foundation of the Church written in the Characters of Salomon.

Upon so ancient a Manuscript and upon so great a Subject, not having been published all this while; and nothing having been ever quoted out of it, one cannot but think that either the Spanish Criticks, who have it in their keeping, do not know how to deci-
decipher Salomon's Characters, or that there is nothing in this Book, that favours the Papal Supremacy in the Church.

But tho' this ancient Manuscript has never been once quoted, one of the same Antiquity, and found at the same time and in the same place, has been frequently; and to decide a Controversy which the Pope himself dare not mount his infallible Chair to determine, tho' solicited to do it by a splendid Embassy sent to him by the King of Spain solely for that Purpose.

This Manuscript is in Arabick, and was writ by St. Cecilius: its Title is —

De Domo Glorii & Domo Tormenti.

Of the House of Glory, and the House of Torment.

In this Book, after divers high Encomiums of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is found the following Definition made by all the Apostles of her Immaculate Conception.

Illa Virgo Maria, illa sancta, illa electa; a primo originario; peccato praeservata fuit; atq; hae veritas Apostolorum Concilium est; quam qui negaverit, maledictus, & excommunicatus erit, & salutem non consequetur, sed in aeternum damnabitur.

She
"She the Virgin Mary, She the Holy, She the Elect, was preserved from the first and original Sin, and was free from all Guilt; this Truth is a Council of the Apostles, and let who will deny it, he is accursed, excommunicated, and shall not acquire Salvation, but shall be damned for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for these Manuscripts and Reliques that this Apostolical Definition was found in their Company, for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been questioned by any Person in Spain: And the Dominicans, who, where they dare do it, do now call them late and gross Impostures, would have been their boldest Champions.

The Vein of Manuscripts holds out still; and on the 25th of April a Box covered with thick Lead was found, and in it a Book written on leaden Plates, with the following Title.

*Liber de Effentia Dei, quem Divus Thifiophon Apostoli Jacobi discipulus in sua naturali lingua Arabica Salomoni characteribus scriptit: & alium, fundamentum Ecclesiae appellatum, qui in hujus sacri Montis Cavernis jacet.*

Deus
Deus a Nerone Imperatore hos duos liberet libros, imposeuit finem hic sui operibus scribens miracula & vitae interitatem sui magistri ut in hujus sacri montis est.

"A Book of the Essence of God, which divine Thisphon a Disciple of James the Apostle, writ in his own natural Tongue which was Arabick in Salomon's Characters, and another called The Foundation of the Church, which is in the Caverns of this holy Mountain.

God deliver these two Books from Nero the Emperor; he put an end to his Works, writing the Miracles ——— of his Master ——— who is in the ——— Caverns of this holy Mountain.

I do suspect that the Storm the pretending to have St. James's Body in their Granada Mountain, would have brought upon all these new found Reliques from Compostella, and all the other quarters of Spain, was the thing that made all the Chasmes at the end of this Writing; for it is pretty plain from the remaining pieces of words, that when they were entire, they said, that the Body of Thisphon's Master who was St. James the Apostle, was buried in the Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that had not the Founders of these Manuscripts and Reliques, had more Judgement than the
the Forgers of them, their Credit had been ruined for ever in Spain by this single Indiscretion.

For tho' some poor Churches rather than go to Law, and spend a great deal of Money at Rome, have suffered such differences to be compos'd by the common Miracle of multiplying the same individual Body so, that they all had it; Compostella is both too rich, and has its Title to St. James's Body, too strongly guarded by a numerous Order of valiant Knights, to have stoop'd to so common an Expedient.

And this they who had the Examination of these Manuscripts, when they were first found, knew very well, and so did very discreetly obliterate that bold Pretence, contenting themselves with what they knew Compostella would be willing to allow them, hat is, the Bones and Ashes of that Apostles Disciples; and which had they pretended to more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot understand how the Church could have suffered much had this Book with the Title of its Foundation, and its Companion, fallen into Nero's hands, and had been destroy'd by him, against which e that hid them prays, as if it would have een the greatest loss the Church could ave sustained.
On the 30th of April the Basket was pinned with a Plate of Lead: with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis Imp. Kalendis Februarii pasus est Martirium in hoc tano divus Cecilius sancti Jacobi discipulus, vir literis linguis & sanctitate prædictus, Prophe
tias divi Joannis commentavit, quæ sunt po
stæcum altis reliquis in sublimi parte inhabi
tabilis turris Turpiane, sicut dixerunt mihi sui
discipuli dius Setentrius, & Patricius, qui cum
illo paci sunt quorum pulveres jacent in unius
sacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam ve
neretur.

"In the second Year of the Empire of
"Nero on the Kalends of February, St
"Cecilius a Disciple of St. James suffered
"Martyrdom in this Place of Ilipulis, a
"Man endowed with Letters, Tongues,
"and Holiness; he Commentaried all the
"Prophecy of St. John the Apostle, which
"with other Reliques are lodged in the
"high part of the uninhabitable Turpiane
"Tower, as I was told by his Disciples:
"St. Setentrius and Patrick, who suffered
"with him, and whose Dufts do lye in the
"Caverns of a certain Mountain, which
"in Memory of them ought to be ven-
"rated.

This
This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower wherein the first Reliques were found; and tells us farther, that it was then uninhabitable; but it does not tell what made it to be so, neither is it easy to guess; since it could not well have been ruinous 1500 Years before it was taken down; and haunted it could not be, having so sacred a Treasure lodged in it.

This Collection of Manuscripts having been unanimously judged to be genuine by all the Criticks and Antiquaries, in Lead, and Parchment, as well as in Words Phrases and History; the Archbishop caused a Te Deum to be sung with great Solenmity in his Cathedral, for the Invention of so inestimable a Treasure, and which having been magnify'd by the Preachers as the greatest Largefs any City had ever received from Heaven; the Peoples Devotion for the Mountain which had been delivered of so blessed a Treasure, was so great, that in a short time there were above four hundred Crosses erected upon it; neither would the People have rested there, but would have had Altars likewise set up, and Masses said upon them, had not their Zeal been restrained by the Archbishop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.
And to that end, the Archbishop sent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope Clement the VIII. from whom he received a special Commission to call an Assembly to determine it. But before the meeting of that Assembly; the Dominicans, who should those Manuscripts be judged genuine, were by the Apostles accursed, excommunicated, and damned to the Pit of Hell, for denying the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin; mustered all their Forces, and made such Objections against them, as one would think should so far have ruined their Credit, that it was not possible for one of common Sense; and much less, for an Assembly of wise and learned Men, to have Judged them to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing.

The first Objection was, That the Prophecy which was found in the Tower, was in true modern Spanish; a Language that was no where in the World for some hundreds of Years, after Nero's Death.

The second Objection was, That St. Cecilius is called in them Bishop of Granada whereas there was no such Bishopsick, nor no such City in a great many hundred years after Nero's Death; Granada having been built, and named so by the Moors 700 Years after Nero's Time, neither was it ever
ever a Bishoprick till it was made so by Ferdinand and Isabel, above 1400 Years after Nero.

The third Objection was, That in the Writings the Moors are named as in Spain; so that the Writings were in danger of falling into their hands; whereas it was 700 Years after the Death of Nero before the Moors came into Spain.

The fourth was, That Arabick was a Language not known either in Barbary or in Spain, till above 500 Years after the Death of Nero.

The fifth was, That in the Apostles days nor a great many Years after, the Titles of Divus, and Sanctus, were not given to Christians; and especially whilst they were alive.

The sixth was, that the fourteen first Verses of the Gospel of St. John as they are sung in the Roman Offices, are in this Writing, which Gospel was not writ till several Years after Nero's Death.

The seventh was, That St. Stephen's Body was not found before the Reign of the Emperor Honorius, who was 300 Years after Nero.

The eighth was, That the Holy Ghost was not called the Third Person till after the Apostle's Days.
The ninth was, That such a fantastical way of Writing, was late and unworthy of the Gravity of St. Cecilius.

The tenth was, That the whole had the Air of a Fraud in it very sensibly.

These were the Objections which were made against the Writings found, in the uninhabitable Turpian Tower.

Neither were the Objections made against those which were found in the Mountain less unanswerable.

The first Objection was, That all Historians do agree, that there was no Persecution in the second Year of Nero.

The second was, That it is certain, that Illipula was not near the Place, where Granada stands.

The third was, That the Mountain wherein these Reliques were found, having been the place where publick Malefactors were put to death and buried; there was Cause to believe that the Bones and Ashes which had been found in them, were the Reliques of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book called Fundamentum Ecclesiae, was condemned a thousand Years before, by Pope Gelasinus as spurious.

The fifth was, That the Word Essentia, as
as it is here used, was a Term lately devised by the Schoolmen.

The sixth was, That St. Hiscius having been called Abenathar before he was converted, and St. Thisphon having writ in Arabick and in the Characters of Salomon, has the Air of an idle Tale.

The last was, that the Words, the Phrase, and the Spelling of the Latine in these Manuscripts are so barbarous and false, that they must have been written a great many hundred Years after Nero's Death.

To these Objections which were made in Spain, several others may be added.

1. That the whole of this blundering Imposture, stands upon the Story of St. James the Apostle, having been in Spain, and having made a great many Disciples there; which is as gross a Fiction, as any in the Roman Legends; and was condemned as such by an Archbishop of Toledo when it was first broached, which was a thousand Years after the Apostles Days.

2. There are several Doctrines found in these Writings, which were not hatched till some hundreds of Years after the Death of the Apostles; as its being meritorious to visit holy Places, Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, the immaculate Conception, &c.

Lastly,
Lastly, none of the Persons named in these Writings were ever heard of in a great many hundred Years after the Apostles Days; and some of them, as Centurius, Luparius, Patrick, &c. were never heard of before the time of this Discovery.

I shall give the Reader only a Taste of the Answers returned by Dr. Madera to some of these Objections.

One Answer is, That the Spanish Language was the very same as it is now; not only in Nero's Days, but before any Roman ever came into Spain.

Another is, That the City of Granada was in being, and was a Bishoprick, and was called by that Name in the Apostles Days.

A third is, That Arabick was a Language used in Spain and Barbary, long before they were conquered by the Arabs.

And a fourth is, That St. John's Gospel was written before the second Year of Nero, and that in that Year there was a great Persecution.

All which are such monstrous Absurdities, that one would not think it possible, for a Person of any knowledge in Antiquity, to affirm them to be Truths. And yet Dr. Madera, who was a very learned Man, does it, and with an Assurance which no Truths that are not undeniably attested can lay Claim to; only in his Preface where he speaks.
speaks of the Disposition of Mind, that is necessary to the passing of a true Judgement on such sacred Antiquities; he seems to have had some Misgivings about them, in exhorting all that would judge aright of such Matters, not to suffer Thoughts to arise in their hearts against them; that is to say, they must not allow themselves the liberty to think of any thing, that would shake their implicit Belief of them.

Now it is by this very course that all sensible Roman Catholics are kept from discovering the gross falsity of Transubstantiation, and of divers other Errors and pretended Facts, the vile Bondage of thought the Roman Church keeps her Sheep under, being her chief security.

But though they whose Minds stand thus affected to any thing, do not disbelieve it, because they are resolved not to suffer their Minds to do that, yet they cannot be said to believe it, any farther, than a forced not disbelieving, is believing.

And how acceptable such a belief, if it deserves that Name, even when its Objects happen to be true, can be to God, who requires a Reasonable Service from his Reasonable Creatures, I leave to any one to judge.

And as the Answers returned by the Champions of these Manuscripts and Reliques to the Objections which had been made
An Account of the

made against them, are monstrously absurd, so their Arguments to prove them to be genuine, are of the same Stamp.

One of their Arguments is, That these Manuscripts and Reliques have as strong Evi-
dences of their being true, as those had which were found much after the same manner at Corduba, or as those of St. Placidius, found in Sicily.

I believe this may be true; and if it would have given any strength to their Argument, they might justly have added, and as of those of Compostella, and of the Itinerant Chapel of Loretto, and as of an hundred more, which are all equally kept in credit, by pure dint of Forehead, or by bondage of Thought.

Their 2d Argument is, That if these Writings were supposititious, they must have bin forged either by a Mahometan, an Heretick, or a Catholic: The two first, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this nature, would not forge Writings which should condemn their own Sects; & as for a Catholic, he is not capable of so ill a thing as the counterfeiting of Writings and putting Saints Names to them.

It will easily be granted, that the Mahometan and Heretick had no hand in these Writings; but that a Roman Catholic is not capable of doing such things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be granted so easily; such Pious Frauds as these
these having never been used so much by all the Sects of Religion put together, or with so good success as by the Roman Church and her Members, for some hundreds of Years.

The 3d. Argument is, That they have proved themselves Genuine by the vast Multitude of Miracles, which have bin wrought by them, since they were discovered.

What strange Infidels does this Argument make the Dominicans, who live in Granada, to be, who will not be convinced by so many Miracles wrought under their Noses? but since in Disputes among themselves, when innumerable Miracles are, by both sides affirmed to have been wrought in favour of their contrary Causes; that pretence is by both rejected with Scorn and Contempt. Why may not such a pretence in this Case, deserve to be treated in the same manner? however, there is one thing, would the Patrons of these Reliques be persuad ed to, that would help them to more Credit in the World, than their giving out, that they have wrought a thousand Miracles in Granada, and that is, if they cannot spare them all, to send one of 'em to work but one single Miracle on the Exchange of London, or of Amsterdam; for what ever they may think, it is no small pre-
An Account of the prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles, which are Confidently said to be wrought daily by the Reliques in the Roman Church, in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of several of that Churches Doctrines, that it is their constant ill Fate, to be wrought no where, but among those who do not want their Testimony; but never among those that do.

But their Last, and in Spain, unanswerable Argument, is the following solemn, and unanimous Decision made in their Favour, by the Archbishop of Granada, in a full Assembly of Ecclesiastics and Laicks, called together for that purpose.

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We, Don Peter de Castro, by the Grace of God, and the Holy Apostolick See, Archbishop of Granada, and of his Majesty’s Council, with the Assent of the the most Reverend Prelates, Don John de Fonseca, Bishop of Guadis, and of his Majesty’s Council, our Co-Provincial and Suffragan, and Don Sebastian Quintero, Bishop of Galipoli, and Don Alfonso de Mendoca, Abbot of Alcala la real.

Having Examined all the Reliques which were found at the taking down of a most
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most ancient Tower in this our Church, in the Year, 1588; as also all those which were found in the Mountain near this City, called Valparayso, in the Year, 1595.

and the Knowledge and Approbation of such things belonging to us by common Right, and by the Council of Trent, as also by a Special Commission from our Most Holy Father, Clement VIII. We have seen this Process, and all the Informations, Confirmations, and Diligences which are made therein; and having consulted and deliberated with most Learned, and Pious Men, as well Divines, as of all other Faculties, whom we have Assembled and having done every thing else that was necessary, or that seemed to be convenient.

We being all Unanimous, do with one Mind and Sense, declare what we ought; and we do Declare, Define and Pronounce the said Reliques contain'd in this Process, to wit, The half of the Cloath where-with our Lady, the Glorious Virgin Mary wiped off her Tears, shed at the Passion of her Son, our Redeemer; and the Bone of St. Stephen, the first Martyr, to be, and they truly are half the Hankerchief of our Lady, and the Bone of the first Martyr, St. Stephen; and to have been hid, shut up, and kept within the Wall of a most an-

cient
An Account of the ancient Tower, which stood in the place whereon the Chief Church of this City was Built: having been put into a Leaden Box, glewed within and without, in which Box there was likewise a Relation of one Patrick a Priest, written in very ancient Parchment; which declares, that the said Reliques were there, and that they had been hid by the Command of St. Cecilius, all which was found in the said Leaden Box in the said Year, 1588. on the 19th. of March, being Saturday, the day of St. Joseph, in the taking down, and Demolishing the said Tower.

And we do likewise Declare, Define, and Pronounce, the Bones, Ashes, Dust, and the white Clods, which in the Year 1595, were found within the Caverns of the said Mountain, called Valparayso, to be the true Reliques of the Holy Martyrs, who are now injoying God, and are Reigning with him in Heaven; to wit, of the Holy Martyrs, St. Cecilius, and St. His- cius, St. Thesiphon, the Disciples of the Blessed Apostle, St. James of Zebedee; as also of St. Septentrio, and of Patrick, the Disciples of St. Cecilius, and of St. Tu- rillus, Panuncius, Maranius, Centulius, the Disciples of St. Hiscius, and of St. Maxi- minus and Luparius, the Disciples of St. Thesiphon, as also of Mesiton, and that
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all the said Saints, Cecilius, Hiscius, and Thesiphon, and all their said Disciples, and St. Mesiton, did Suffer Martyrdom, and were all Burnt alive within the Caves and Caverns of the said Mountains, for Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, and for His Holy Catholick Faith, and for Preaching, and Publishing of the Holy Gospel, in the Second Year of the Empire of Nero.

St. Cecilius and his Disciples on the first of February; St. Hiscius and his Disciples on the first of March, having been burnt as Stones turned into Lime: And St. Thesiphon and his Disciples on the first of April as is declared and shewed by four Plates of most ancient Lead, written in the Latine Tongue, in most ancient Characters; and some other Instruments of most ancient Lead; all which were inclosed and hid within the said Caverns until now, that we found them in the said Year 95; all which is manifest, and is resolved and confirmed by this Process, God having also demonstrated and proved the same by many Miracles.

In consequence whereof, we do declare, That the said Reliques ought to be receiv'd, honoured, venerated, and adored, with due honour and worship, as the true Reliques of our Lady; and of the said Martyrs, who do reign with our Lord God; according
according as the Roman Catholick Church
useth to venerate the Reliques of Saints:
And that they ought to be publickly shew'd
to Christian people, and to all the Faithful
for that purpose, that all may invocate ’em.
And we with all these here Assembled, do
so receive and venerate them, and we do
command, that they be all put in a safe place,
and which shall be judged by Us, or Our
Successors to be most Decent.
And we do farther declare, the said place,
and Mountain of Valparayso, in whose Ca-
averns all the said Saints suffer'd Martyr-
dom, to be a holy and sacred place, and
which ought to be honoured and venerated,
as the said Plates do command, in me-
emory of the said Saints, who suffer'd Mar-
tyrdom in them; and to enjoy all the Pre-
rogatives, which are by Common Right,
and by the Canons given to such sacred
places; and we do command this to be ob-
served; and by this our Senteuce we do so
pronounce and command, and do sign it with
our Name, and seal it with our Hanging Seal.

Peter de Castro Joannes Episcop.
S. Episcopus Galipol. Alphonius Abbas
Subscripti.
Subscripti.

‘We the Lords of the Royal Audience, and
Chancery of his Majesty residing in this Ci-
ty, and who having been named by his Lordship the Lord Archbishop, are here present, do subscribe and sign it: Licentiate Peter Mallem de Rueda, Dr. Antony Burrab, Dr. Antony Corriero, Li. Don Ochao de Lugando, Li. Don John de Cuniga, Li. Don Baltasar de Lovencana, Don John de St. Vincente, Li. Don Francis de Teiada, y Mendoca; Li. Grey-ory Lopez Madera.

For the most Illustrious Archbishop of Santiago Li. Don John de St. Clemente, Arch-deacon of Neodes; Li Alonso Lopez Canon: For the Dean and Chapter of the said Metropolitan Church of St. Jago, Dr. Luke Alonso de Castro, Archdeacon of Voux, and Canon: For the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church of Corduba, Don Rodrigo velarde de Morillon: Dr. Diego Lopez de Fromesta, John de Riaca de Caneto, Dr. Alvare de Cardenas: For the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church of Guadix, Dr. Don James de Santa Cruz, Saareda Chantor Li. Christopher Sanchez de Soto doctoral Canon: For his Lordship and the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Granada, were present Dr. Don Peter Guerrero Treasurer; Li Don Peter de Molina, Doctoral Canon and Professor of Canon Law, and Aposto-lical Inquistor: Li. Don George de Texeronia Dean: Dr. Don Lewis de Castella, Arch-deacon: Dr. Don Lewis de Raya Schoolma-
An Account of the

After: Dr. Don John de la Canal Prior: Dr. Don Francis Pacleo, Canon and Professor of the Scripture: Dr. Don Goncalo Sanchez Luzeno Magistrall, Canon and Professor of Divinity: Li, Justin Antolinez de Burgos, Provisor and Vicar General of Granada; for the most Reverend the Bishop of Almeria, Dr. Peter Martinez de Espinoza, Chaplain of the Royal Chappel; Fryer John Ramirez, Provincial and Difinidor General and Consulter of the Holy Office of the Order of St. Francis: Fryer James Ocon, Dr. Provincial, and Vicar General of the Order of the most Holy Trinity: Francis de Quesada, Provincial of the Society of Jesus; Fryer John de Polanco, Prior of the Carthusians: Fryer Vincent Cano Valenceula, Master of Divinity, and Prior de Santa Cruz la Real; Fryer Fuftero, M. Guardian of St. Francis; Peter de Vargas, Rector of the Society of Jesus: Master Fryer Hernando de Peralta, of the Order of St. Austin: Master Fryer Francis de Segoria, of the Order of St. Hierrom: Fryer John Romera, M. and Rector of the Study of Santa Cruz de Real of Granada: M. Fryer Francis Nunez, the Chief Preacher of the Convent of St. Austin, in Granada; M. Fryer Peter de Medina, Professor of Divinity, and Difinitor of Andulazia of the Order of the Mercy; Thomas Sanchez, a Theologe, and a Professed of the Society of
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of Jesus; Mart de Castillo, M. of Divinity, and Rector of the Jesuits College in Sevil; Austin Quiresius a Theologue of the Society of Jesus.

Note, That though there are Fryers of all other Orders among these Subscribers, there is not one of the Dominican; the Eyes of that Order, which in all such Matters are commonly shut as close as any others, having been opened, as to this, by the Apostolical Definition of the Immaculate Conception which was found among these Manuscripts.

The Glorious Victory, bold Authority here had over Learning; Reason, and common Sense, plainly demonstrates how little regard in matters of Religion, is due to the determinations of any Assembly, that holds it to be lawful, if not meritorious, to lie for God, by making use of pious Frauds for the encouragement of Devotion; let such Assemblies be never so numerous, and the Persons they consist of be never so eminent for Wisdom and Learning, and for Integrity too in all other Cases: For could any thing, but that vile Opinion having reigned in this Assembly, ever have made, so many Persons of great Wisdom and Learning, and in such high Posts, so far to have disgraced their Judgments, and prostituted their
their Consciences, as Solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably Spurious, and but of yesterday, for to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred years standing.

For that all these Manuscripts were Forged, and hid, after the City of Granada, was in the year 1492, Recover'd from the Moors, is too Notorious for any that is able to Read, them to doubt off: And if by the three Enemies in the West, mentioned in the Prophecy, Dr. Egidio, Dr. Constantine, and Dr. Cazala, are meant, as it is more than probable they are, these Manuscripts must not then have been forty years old when they were found; those three great Glories of Spain, for Learning, Zeal, and Piety, not having been taken up by the Inquisition for being Protestants until after the year 1550.

But though the Manuscripts are all palpably very Modern, it is not improbable that the Reliques of Bones and Ashes may be as ancient as the Plates say they are; the Caverns wherein they were found having been the Burying place of publick Malefactors, in the times of the Romans.

Neither is it any new thing, that the Bones and Ashes of such should come to be Venerated, and being visited with great Devotion, that they should be reckoned to work Mirac-
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Miracles; the complaint, that some whose Souls were in Hell, had their Bodies, or some part of them Venerated on Earth, being near as ancient as the Superstition of Venerating Reliques: And let Reliques be whose they will, when they are visited by great Multitudes of People with Devotion, for to help them to Health, unless none that visit them do ever recover, which in such Multitudes would be a Miracle indeed, they will infallibly be reckoned to have wrought Miracles.

FINPS.
A VIEW OF THE COURT OF INQUISITION IN PORTUGAL:

With a LIST of the Prisoners that came forth in an Act of the Faith celebrated at Lisbon, in the Year 1682.

THE Court of Inquisition, which in Portugal is commonly called, The Holy Office, and The Holy House, consists of an Inquisitor General: The Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Assessors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advocate,
A View of the Court of

The Inquisitor General, who is commonly called the Inquisidor Mor, is named by the King, but confirmed and authorized by the Pope, to act as his Delegate; he lives constantly at Lisbon, in an House in the Inquisition, which belongs to his Office. It is a Place of so great Dignity and Profit, that the Cardinal Infante Don Henry, and Albert Cardinal, Arch-Duke of Austria, were in it, and Don Verissimo Alencastro left the Primacy of Braga for it.

The Counsellors of the Supreme Court are all named by the Inquisitor Major, but must before they act have the Kings' approbation. This Council sits constantly twice a Week at Lisbon.

The Inquisitors, who are commonly Secular Priests, do belong either to the Supreme Court which is fixed at Lisbon, or to the Inquisitions of Coimbra, Eborac, or Goa in the East Indies, which Courts have all the same Inferior Officers, and Stiles, and have all their Acts of the Faith.

The Assessors are Divines, Civilians, and Canonists, which are consulted by the Inquisitors in all different Cases.

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly Dominican Fryers.
It is to be hoped, the Heresy of Doctrines, is better understood by these Qualificators, than the Etymology of the Word Heretic, was by the Writer of their Repertorium printed at Venice in the Year 1588, who to shew his Critical Learning, faith, the Word Hæreticus, according to some is compounded of Error, and Recto; because an Heretic errs from what is right: According to others it is derived from Erctiscor, which signifies to divide; and according to some it comes from Adhaerio, because it is one's adhering obstinately to an Error, that makes him an Heretick. And with the same stock of Learning it was, that another Inquisitor proved from St. Paul's Words, Hæreticum devita, that Christians were commanded to deprive Hereticks of their Lives.

The Secretary writes down whatever is said judicially in the Inquisition.

The Advocate Fiscal prosecutes the Prisoner with his utmost skill and diligence to convict him of Heresy.

The Treasurer has the Estate and all the Goods of the Prisoner put into his hands, when the Prisoner is apprehended.

The Familiars are the Bayliffs of the Inquisition; which tho it is a vile Office in all other Criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the Inquisition, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom that is not
not in it, and who are commonly employ'd by the Inquisitors to apprehend people. Neither is it any wonder, that persons of the highest Quality do desire to be thus employ'd, since the same plenary Indulgence is by the Pope granted to every single exercise of this Office, as was granted by the Lateran Council to those that succoured the Holy Land.

The Gaolers are directed by the Inquisitors, how to dispose of, and how to treat their Prisoners, and are straitly charged not to give, nor to suffer them to have any manner of Intelligence.

The Inquisitors, and all their Officers do take an Oath, not to discover any thing that is said or done within the Walls of the Inquisition to any Person whatsoever; neither is there any thing more severely punished by this Court, than the violation of that Oath.

And whereas the Popes having thus appointed Inquisitors to be the Judges of Heresie, was a great Incroachment on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which, the Papal ever since it pretended to be Monarchical, has sought by a thousand ways to lessen; the Popes, to make this Incroachment go down the easier, allowed two Priviledges to the Bishops; the one was, that the Inquisitors should not have Authority to Imprison a Bishop;
Bishop: And the other was, that before they condemned any person as a Heretick, they should send to the Bishop of the Place, to concur with them in that Sentence; which two Constitutions, though they are still in force, are of little benefit to the Bishops; who though they may not be imprisoned upon suspicion of Heresie by the Inquisitors, may be confined to their Houses by them, until they have inform'd the Pope, as the Archbishop of Toledo was in the Reign of Philip II. And if the Bishop when he is acquainted with the process of the Prisoner, should refuse to agree to his being condemned, the Inquisitors may pass Sentence notwithstanding; for in this, as in all other Cases, the Divine Authority of Bishops, when it happens to clash with the Papal, must still give way to it.

The Court of Inquisition proceeds summarily, and most commonly upon a Denunciation, which, does not like an Accusation, disable the person that makes it to be a Witness, and to denounce; The Inquisition, forceth all that can do it, by Edicts in the Form following.

To All and singular Christians, as well Ecclesiastics as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatsoever Degree, Order, Condition, Preeminence, Dignity, or Authority, the highest not excepted. Know ye, That we by the Se-
ries and Tenor of these Presents, and by our Authority, and by that of the Office we execute here, do Charge and Command, That within twelve Days after the Publication hereof, the first four of which are to be as the first, and the next four as the second, and the last four as a peremptory and third Canonical Admonition; all that do know or suspect any of Heresies, to come and inform against them; upon Pain of the greater Excommunication laxæ Sententiae, and which shall be ipso facto incurred, and from which they cannot be absolved by any, but by our Lord the Pope or by us: And we do further Certifie, That whosoever, despising the Penalty of this Excommunication, shall forbear to inform us, shall moreover be proceeded against as a Favourer of Hereticks.

If the Informer, when he comes in, names any Witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined, do take an Oath, not to discover to any person their having been with the Inquirers, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw, or heard within that Court.

All people, tho' never so infamous, and though they stand convicted of Perjury, are in favour of the Faith, and in detestation of Hereticks, admitted by the Inquisition to be Witnesses, Mortal Enemies only excepted.

This
This Exception is of little benefit to the Prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are, that have informed and witnessed against him.

The Depositions of the Informer, and Witnesses, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following Order put into his hand.

By the Command of the Reverend Father N., an Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, let N. be apprehended, and committed to the Prisoners of this Holy Office, and out of which he shall not be released, but by the Express Order of the said Reverend Inquisitor.

If several persons are to be taken up at the same time, the Familiars are commanded to order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the Familiars are so expert, that a Father and his three sons, and three Daughters, who lived together in the same House, were all carried Prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing anything of one another's being there, until seven Years afterwards, when they that were alive, came forth in an Act of the Faith.

The Prisoner being apprehended and carried with all possible secrecy to the Inquisition, is delivered to the Goaler.
The Prisons of the Inquisition are little
Dark Rooms, and which have no other Fur-
niture but a hard Quilt, and a useful Pot: The Prisoners are not suffered to see any Bo-
dy but their Keeper, who brings them their Diet, and with it a lighted Lamp, which
burns about half an hour; neither must their
Keeper without leave from the Inquisitors,
tellany Discourse with them.

After the Prisoner has spent two or three
days and nights in his Melancholy Apart-
ment, he is carried by his Keeper before the
Inquisitors; who before they ask him a Que-
tion, do make him take an Oath, to return
true Answers to all their Interrogato-
ries; and if he has ever been guilty of any
Heresie, to confess it to them.

The first Question the Prisoner is asked,
is, Whether he knows, why he was taken up by
the Inquisition? and if he answers, That he
does not know; he is then asked, Whether he
knows for what Crimes the Inquisition useth to
imprison people? if he answers, For Heresie,
he is admonished upon the Oath he has tak-
en, to confess all his Heresies, and to disco-
ver all his Teachers and Complices: If the
Prisoner denies that he ever held any Heres-
ies, or had ever any communication with a-
y Hereticks, he is gravely told, That the
Holy Office does not use to imprison people rash-
ly, or without having good grounds for what
they do, and that therefore he would do well to confess his Guilt, and that the rather, because the Holy Office, contrary to the custom of all other Courts, is severe to those that deny, but merciful to all that confess their Guilt.

If the Prisoner persists in denying, that he ever held any Heresies, his Goaler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the place from whence he came, and the Prisoner is admonished strictly to examine his own Conscience, that the next time they send for him, he may be prepared to make true and full Confession of all his Heresies, Teachers, and Complices: The Prisoner having been allowed two or three days more to do this in: He is brought before the Inquisitors a second time, and is asked, Whether he comes prepared to confess; and if he answers, That he cannot without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such Confession as they desire of him; they do then ask him, Where he was born, and what his Parents were, and where he went to School, and who were his Schoolmasters, and where he has lived all his time; and with whom he has conversed most; and who has been his Confessor; and when he was last at Confession, and at the Sacrament; with twenty more such Questions: And being told, That they have sufficient proof of his being a Heretick; they command him, since he cannot repent of his Heresies, un-
less he confesseth them all, to go back to his Prison, and there pray to God for Grace to dispose him to make a true and full Confession to the saving of his Soul, which is all they seek after: And being again allowed two or three days to pray, and consider on what the Inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading, Not guilty, he is then asked some Questions concerning the Heretical Doctrines he stands charged withal: For example, Whether he believes Christ to be bodily present in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore Images, and to pray to Saints and Angels? And if he affirms, That he did always firmly believe these, and all the other Doctrines of the Roman Church; he is asked, If he always believed these Doctrines, how he came to speak against them? and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, That since he is so obstinate in his Heresies, of which they have a sufficient proof before them, they will order their Advocate Fiscal to form his Process, and to convict him of them. But in case the Inquisitors have not sufficient Evidence, notwithstanding, to draw a Confession from the Prisoner, they have told him oftner than once, That they had: They do then fall a Note lower, and tell the Prisoner, That though they may not have sufficient proof of his Heretical Words and Actions to
convict him of them; that yet they have sufficient to put him on the Rack to make him confess them: And having fixed the day when he is to undergo the Tortures, he, when that dismal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a Confession as is expected from him, is led to the place where the Rack is, attended by an Inquisitor, and a Publick Notary, who is to write down the Answers the Prisoner returns to the Questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor, whilst he is upon the Rack: During the time the Executioner is preparing that Engine of unspeakable Cruelty, and is taking off the Prisoner's Cloths to his Shirt and Drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the Prisoner to have compassion both on his Body and Soul, and by making a true and full Confession of all his Heresies, to prevent his being tortured; But if the Prisoner saith, That he will suffer any thing, rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the Inquisitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture; which in the Inquisition is given by twisting a small Cord hard about the Prisoners naked Arms, and hoisting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is fastened: And as if the miserable Prisoners, hanging in the Air by his Arms, were not Torment enough, he has several quaffations or shakes given him;
him; and which is done by screwing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which disjoins his Arms, and after that the Torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the Prisoner is first hoisted from the Ground, an hourglass is turned up, and which, (if he does not prevent it by making such a Confession of his Heresies as the Inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him Questions, expects from him,) must run out before he is taken down, to promise to make such a Confession, if they will take him off the Rack, not being sufficient to procure him that Mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately if they do not give him some ease; that, as the Inquisitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon their Rack do think they are ready to do.

If the Prisoner endures the Rack without confessing any thing, which few, or none, though never so innocent, are able to do; so soon as the Hour-glass is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Prison, where there is a Chirurgeon ready to put his Bones in joint. And though in all other Courts, the Prisoners having endured the Rack without confessing the Crimes for which they were Tortured, clears them, and makes
makes void all the Evidence that was against him, yet in the Inquisition, where whatsoever Humanity and right Reason have established in favour of the Prisoner, is left to the discretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwise; the Prisoners that will not confess any thing, being usually Racked twice; and if they stand it out, tho' few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the Prisoner makes the Confession the Inquisitor expects he should on the Rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the Prisoner has had a day or two rest, carry'd to the Prisoner, to set his hand to it, which if the Prisoner does, it puts an end to his Process, the want of sufficient Evidence to have Convicted him, being abundantly supply'd by this extorted Confession, being thus sign'd by him: But in case the Prisoner, when it is brought to him, refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the extremity of the Torture, he is then carried to the Rack a second time, to oblige him to repeat and sign the same Confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a Prisoner in the Inquisition for Herefsie, to escape the Rack, since neither the Professing and Maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is Charged, nor the denying D d
nying of them, can secure him from it, the first being commonly Racked, to make them discover their Teachers and Accom- 
plices, and the Second, to oblige them to confess their own Guilt; and if a Priso-
er does confess his having spoke some Heretical words, but to save his Estate, stands in his having spoke them Rashly, and in a Passion, without an Heretical Mind, he is Racked to make him discover whether it was to or not, or whether his Thoughts were not the same with his words. If a Prisoner either makes no Confession at all, or does not confess the particular Heretical Words or Facts wherewith he stands Charg-
ed, and with which the Inquisitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing besides his denial to offer in his own defence, and if he has, to make use of it: For now the Advocate Fiscal, upon their having Evidence enough against him, is ordered to form his Process. Here, if the Prisoner alledgedth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular Heretical words, or Facts, he stands charged withal, and who the persons are that have informed and witnessed against him, that it will not be possible for him to make any defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because, to let him know the particular Heretical words or Facts might lead him to
the knowledge of the Informers and Witnesses; who, by the fundamental Law of the Inquisition, must never either directly or indirectly be discovered to him.

Now for this singular and inhumane Custom of not letting their Prisoners know the particular Facts they stand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witnessed against them, the Inquisitors have nothing to say, but that it is necessary to the Security of the Lives of the Accusers and Witnesses, which, if they were known, would be in so great danger; that none would dare to venture to inform or bear witness against Heretics in their Court. Which Pretence tho' it might have some ground, when Courts of Inquisition were first erected, no City, no not Rome itself, having submitted quietly to them when they were first introduced; it is now notorious to all the World, and to none more than to the Inquisitors themselves that it is altogether groundless, and especially in Spain and Portugal, where the Inquisition is not only established by Law, but by a wonderful Fascination, is so fixed in the Hearts and Affections of the People, that one that should offer the least Affront to another, for having been an Informer or Witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand pieces; and did the Prisoners
that have been in the Inquisition, but know certainly, who the Persons were, that had informed and witnessed against them, they durst not for their Lives speak one word against them, or shew them the less Respect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a Custom so singularly unjust and cruel, and upon a Pretence all the World knows to be altogether groundless, is a Confidence not to be matched any where, that I know of.

The Prisoner, being thus deny'd the knowledge of the Things and Persons, without which it is scarce possible for him, tho never so innocent, to make any Defence, he is notwithstanding that graciously asked by the Inquisitors, whether he desires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it: If the Prisoner faith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the Inquisitors shall appoint, and who before they have seen their Client, must take the following Oath.

J. N. Doctor of both Laws, do in the Presence of the Lords Inquisitors of this Place against Heretical Pravity having my Hand on the holy Gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully, to defend and maintain the Cause of N. a Prisoner, in the Prisons of this holy Office, who stands
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stands accused and impeached for Causes mentioned in its Acts: But so as not to use any Trick or Cavil, or to instruct my said Client how to conceal the Truth in Judgment: And I do farther promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said Client to be guilty of the Crime or Crimes wherewith he stands Charged, That I will thereupon immediately dismiss his Cause; and if by having searched narrowly into his Case, I shall discover that he has had Complices in his Heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy Office: All which I do promise upon Pain of Perjury, and of an Excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy Office. So help me God, and these holy Gospels.

The same Oath is taken by the Prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him, tho' in Truth, both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitor's Engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the Prisoner against himself and his Friends, rather than any thing else.

The Prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, and who are not suffered to know any thing more of his Accusers, and of the Witnesses against him, than he himself knows; he is asked by them whether he would have any Questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have inform-
informed and witnesses against him, or would have them examined upon any Points: And in case the Prisoner, furnish-eth his Advocate with any such Questions or Points, they are put by him into Form, and delivered to the Inquisitors.

The Prisoner is asked also whether he has any Witnesses of his Orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are sent for, and heard by the Inquisitors: And as these Witnesses do go to the Inquisition with trembling hearts, so they are extremely cautious, not to say any thing concerning the Prisoner, that shall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a suspicion of Heresie; and by the Laws of the Inquisition, no Relation of the Prisoners within the fourth degree can be a Witness for him. When the Prisoner's Advocate and Proctor are dismissed, they take an Oath that they have no Copy of the Defence, the Prisoner made for himself, and that they shall never speak of it to any person whatever, neither is the Prisoner ever suffered to see the Depositions of his own fearful Witnesses, no more than the Depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the forementioned, there is another common Process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have Murder'd themselves,
or died a natural death in their Prisons. The Process against the first is short; his having Murdered himself, being judged such an evidence of his Guilt as is sufficient to Convict him of the Heresies wherewith he was Charged: The Process against the second is carry'd on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner as it would have been, had the Prisoner been alive, and the Prisoner's Relations and Friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in defence of the deceased, are by a Publick Edict summon'd to appear before the Inquisitors within forty days, to give their Evidence; and if upon this Summons none do appear to offer any thing in vindication of the deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do, the deceased, after the expiration of that term of days, is acquitted, or condemned, in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive; and if he is Condemned, his whole Estate is forfeited, and his Body, and Effigies are burnt at the next Act of the Faith, as are the Bodies and Effigies of those that had Murdered themselves.

But the power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in its Prisons, but to the Bodies, Estates and Good Names of all, that after their decease shall be Convicted of having died Hereticks: 
and tho' as to the Estates of those that are Convicted of having dy'd Hereticks, they can go no farther than forty years, as to the taking of their Bones out of their Graves and Burning them, and the depriving them of their good name, there is no limitation of time. When a competent number of Prisoners are Convicted of Heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted Confession, or upon the evidence of certain Witnesses, a day is fixt by the chief Inquisitor for a Jail delivery, which is called by them, an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on, they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine of the Clock in the Morning.

The First in the Procession are the Dominican Fryers, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their Founder, Dominic's Picture, and on the other side a Cross, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, Justitia & Misericordia: Next after the Dominicans come the Penitents, some with Benitoes, and some without, according to the nature of their Crimes; they are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and barefooted, with a Wax Candle in their hand; next comes the Penitents who have narrowly escap'd being Burnt.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 409

Burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by Fire; this Habit is call'd by the Portugueze, Feugo revolto, or Flames turn'd up side down: Next come the Negative and Relapsed that are to be Burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upwards, and next come those who profess Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the Roman Church, and who besides Flames on their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three days before upon their Breasts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a Famous Spanish Inquisitor calls this Procession, Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum, and so it is in truth, there being something in the looks of all the Prisoners, besides those that are to be Burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolating, beyond what can be imagined, and in the Eyes and Countenance of those that are to be Burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The Prisoners that are to be Burnt alive, besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually Preaching to them, to abjure their Heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in defence of the Doctrines they are going to suffer Death for professing, they are
are immediately gagged, and not suffer’d to speak a Word more.

This I saw done to a Prisoner, presently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquisition, upon his having look’d up to the Sun, which he had not seen before in several Years, and cry’d out in a Rapture; How is it possible for people that behold that glorious Body, to worship any Being but him that created it? After the Prisoners comes a Troop of Familiars on Horseback, and after them the Inquisitors, and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor General upon a White-Horse, led by two Men, with a Black Hat, and a Green Hatband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employ’d as Familiars in the Procession.

In the Terreiro de Paco, which may be as far from the Inquisition, as White-hall is from Temple-bar; there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand people; and at the one end sit the Inquisitors, and at the other end the Prisoners, and in the same order as they walked in the Procession, those that are to be burnt, being seated on the highest Benches behind the rest, and which may be ten Foot above the Floor of the Scaffold.

After some Prayers, and a Sermon, which is made up of Encomiums of the Inquisition, and
and Inve&ives against Heretics, a Secular Priest ascends a Desk, which stands near the middle of the Scaffold, and who having first taken all the Abjurations of the Penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the same Order they walked in the Procession, at last he recites the final Sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to death, in the words following,

WE, the Inquisitors of Heretical Prawnty, having, with the Concurrency of the most Illustrious N. Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, or of his Deputy, N. called on the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Glorious Mother, the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our Tribunal, and Judging, with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that so our Judgment may be, in the sight of God, and our eyes might, behold what is just in all matters betwixt the Magnisfick Doctor N. Advocate Fiscal on the one part, and you, N. now before us on the other, we have Ordained, that in this place, and on this day you should receive your definitive Sentence, We do therefore by this our Sentence put in Writing, define, pronounce, declare, and Sentence thee, N. of the City of Lisbon, to be a Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative, and professed Heretick, and to be delivered, and left by
A View of the Court of

us as such, to the Secular Arm: and we by this our Sentence, do cast thee out of the Ecclesiastical Court, as a Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative and professed Heretick, and we do leave and deliver thee to the Secular Arm, and to the Power of the Secular Court; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that Court so to moderate its Sentence, as not to touch thy Blood, or to put thy Life in any danger.

Is there in all History, an Instance of so gross and confident a Mockery of God, and the World, as this of the Inquisitors earnestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not to put the Hereticks they have Condemned, and delivered to them, to Death? For were they in earnest when they make this Solemn Petition to the Secular Magistrates, why do they bring their Prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those Magistrates, in Coats painted over with Flames? why do they teach, that all Hereticks, above all other Malefactors, ought to be punished with death? and why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joynt Petition, as never to fail to Burn all the Hereticks which are delivered to 'em by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their Hands? And why in Rome, where the Supreme, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Authority are lodged in the
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 413

the same Person, is this Petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old Canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the Blood of any Person whatsoever, would be a much less Dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on, observing that Canon, by making a Petition which is known to be so contrary to their Principles, and Desires.

The Prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with Chains, and before the eyes of the Inquisitors; and being carried first to the Secular Goal, 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 ’em one by one, In what Religion they do intend to die? If they answer, that they will die in the Communion of the Roman Church, they are Condemned by him, To be carried, forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be first Strangled and afterwards burnt to Ashes. But if they say, They will die in the Protestant, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then Sentenced by him, To be carry’d forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be Burnt alive.

At
At the place of Execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many Stakes set up as there are Prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry Furz about them: The Stakes of the Profeß'd, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a small Board whereon the Prisoner is to be seated, within half a Yard of their top; the Negative and Relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the Profeß go up a Ladder betwixt the two Jesuits which have attended them all day; and when they are come even with the forementioned Board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits do spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the Profeß to be reconciled to the Church of Rome; which if the Profeß refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the Executioner ascends, and having turn'd the Profeß off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies close to the Stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and carry them with him into the Flames of Hell Fire, so soon as they are out of their Bodies: Upon this a great Shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the cry is, Let the Dog's Beards, Let the Dogs Beards...
Beards be made; which is done by thrusting flaming Furzes fastened to a long Pole against their Faces; and this Inhumanity is commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal, and is always accompanied with such loud Acclamations of joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a Bull Feast, or a Farce being dull Entertainments to the using of a professed Heretic thus inhumanly.

The Profess's Beards having been thus made, as they call it in jollity, Fire is set to the Furz which are at the bottom of the Stake, and above which the Profess are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the Seat they sit upon: and if there happen to be a Wind, and to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reacheth so high as their Knees: So that though if there be a calm, the Profess are commonly dead in about half an hour after the Furz is set on fire; yet if the Weather prove windy, they are not after, that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death: But tho' out of Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Sufferers; so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*, Mercy for the love of God; yet it is beheld by people of both Sexes, and of all Ages, with
with such Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the Reader may not think that this inhuman Joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty that is in those peoples disposition, and not of the Spirit of their Religion, he may rest assured, that all publick Malefactors, besides Hereticks, have their violent deaths nowhere more tenderly lamented, than among the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

Within a few days after the Execution, the Pictures of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their Breasts when they were brought to the Stake, are hung up in St. Domingo's Church, whose West End, tho very high, is all covered over with these Trophies of the Inquisition hung up there in honour to Dominic, who, to fulfil his Mother's Dream, was the first Inventor of that Court: Dominic's Mother, when she was ready to be brought to Bed of him, having dream'd that she was delivered not of a Human Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 417

A

LIST

Of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the Faith, celebrated in the City of Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1682.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men that died in the Prisons, and were absolved.</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Punishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diogo de Chaves a new Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, and a professed Knight of a certain military Order, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simao Roiz Chaves a new Christian, a Man of Business, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ee

Antonio
A View of the Court of Punishments.

Antonio Nunes de Royga, a new Christian, a Bachelor, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of Sebastião Nunes de Lisboa, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Bernardo de Souza, who was of no Calling, a Native of the Town of Montemor velho, in the Bishopric of Coimbra, and Inhabitant of this City.

Luis de Silva de Menezes, part of a New Christian, who lived upon his Estate, a Native of the City of Évora, and Inhabitant of the Town of Aveiro.

Manoel da Costa, a New Christian, a Merchant and Native of the City of Leiria, and an Inhabitant of this of Lisbon.
Persons who did not Abjure.

Ages.

54. Antonio Pereire, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of Chafim, in the Bishoprick of Miranda, and Inhabitant of this City, for having swore falsely before the Tribunal of the Holy Office, in Matters of the Faith.

75. Simaon Henriques, a New Christian, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured de vehemente, for the Crimes of Judaism, in an Act of the Faith, celebrated therein in the Year 1656: Imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.
A View of the Court of
Punishments.

26. Manoel Dos Santos Annes, who has no Calling, a
Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Santa-
rem, for having feigned
himself a Familiar of the
Holy Office, and in the
name of the said Tribu-
nal, testify'd the clear-
ness of the Blood of cer-
tain persons, having ac-
cepted of Money from
some for the said Effect.

For Sodomy.

30. Salvador Veira, a Mer-
chant, Native and In-
habitant of the Vil-
lage of Amoro, in the
County of the Town of
Almada, Negative.

18. Antonio de Olivero, a Tay-
lor, a Bachelor, the Son
of Manoel de Olivero, who
was a Wine-Mer-
chant in the Village of
Bellem, in the County
of this City, convicted,
confesseth, and was the
Patient.

5 Tears in Brasil.
To be Whip-
ped, and to
be Three
Tears in the
Gallies.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 421

Ages.

20. Manoel Baijaon, a Carpenter, a Bachelor, the Son of Mainoel Roiz, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of Bellem, in the County of this City, convicted, confessed, and was the Patient.

23. Domingo Lopez, a Bachelor, and Footman, the Son of Pedro Lopez, a Labourer, Native of the Parish of St. Pedro di Adais, in the County and Village of Guimeraon, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confessed, and the Patient.

19. Joseph Gomez, a Taylor, a Bachelor, the Son of Miguel Gomez, Native of the Parish of Sileiro, in the County of Guimaraens, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confessed, and was the Patient.

Ibid.

The same, and 5 Tears in the Gallies.

The same, and 10 Tears in the Gallies.

E 3 37
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Description</th>
<th>Punishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Manoel Machado Negueira, a Bachelor, a Schoolmaster of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Porlodemos, and Inhabitant of this City</td>
<td>The same, and 10 years in the Gal-lies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abjuration de Leve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Antonio Laurencio de Almada, a Soldier of the Regiment of Algarves, Native of the City of Faro, and Inhabitant of Spirito Santo, in the State of Brasil</td>
<td>Prison, during pleasure, Whipping, and 5 years in the Gal-lies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco Antunes, a Labourer of the Village of Fermoan foam, in the County of the City of Guarda, and Inhabitant of Rapoila, of the said Bishoprick, for the said Fault.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
34. Joan de Conto Toledo, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of Praya, in the Island of Tercera, and Inhabitant of Santos, under the Government of the Rio de Janeiro, for the said Fault.

35. Manoel Nunes, a Taylor, Native of the Village of Quintaon dos Gallegos, in the County of the City of Guarda, and Inhabitant of the Hamlet of Mauracaon, of the said City, for the said fault.

36. Manoel Jorge, a Seaman, Native of the Island of Pico, and Inhabitant of this City, for the same fault.

37. Manoel de Almeyda, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of Cadalsaon in the Bishoprick of Guarda, for the said fault.
Age. Alvaro Colaco, a Bachelor, and who was a Soldier, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of Lourinhâo, and who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the Moors.

Abjuration de vehemente.

30. Manoel dos Anios, an Old Christian, a Bachelor, & has no Calling, the Son of Matheus Correa, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of Alagoada, in the Island of Gracioza, for having taken some Consecrated Crumbs out of the Sacrary of a certain Church.

36. Manoel Joan, a Bachelor, and Barber, the Son of Francisco Joan, a Labourer, Native of the City of St. Luis, in the State of Marignao, for the faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil.
Ages. Punishments.

32. *Agostino Roiz de Olivierio,* a Painter, Native of this City, and Inhabitant of Torresnoves, for having spoke Heretical, RASH, Scandalous, INJURIOUS, and to Pious Hearers, offensive propositions, against our Lord and his most Holy Images.

35. *Joan vas,* a Bacheler, and who was a Soldier, the Son of *Simaon vas,* a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Abrantes, for the said fault.

*Abjuration for Judaism de vehemente.*

Ages. Punishments.

51. *Luis de Mattos Couto,* a New Christian who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of *Spirito Santo,* in the State of Brasil.

57. *Pedro*
57. Pedro Roiz da Maya, a New Christian, Native, and Inhabitant of this City.

48. Jasper Francisco, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

62. Estavaon da Par Moreno, a New Christian who lived on his own Estate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Alchacere.

45. Pedro Cardozo, a New Christian, a Skinner, and Bachelor, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town.

42. Vasco Francisco Azei\textsuperscript{t}ado, a New Christian, who was a Soldier, the Son of Benjamin Gomes Azei\textsuperscript{t}ado who was a Judge, Native of the Town of Vidigui\textsuperscript{t}ora, and Inhabitant of this City.

33. Vincente de Seixas, a New Christian, a Bachelor, the Son of Manoel de Seixas, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Alcacer.
67. Manoel Paiz de Souza, a New Christian, the Son of Manoel Lopez Paiz, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the laid Town.

55. Francisco de Almeida Neagrao, a New Christian, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Pedrenero, for the same fault of Judaism, and for having spoke Propositions with an Heretical Obstinacy after he had been Reproved for 'em.

52. Manoel Lopes de Leon, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of Tomar, and an Inhabitant in this City, for the same fault of Judaism, and for having, when he was in the Prison, had communication with persons abroad.

A Person

Punishments:

The same.

The same, and
Three Years in Brasil.

The same, and
Two Years in Algarve.
A Person who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Ages.

48. Joan Alexio, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native of Montemor, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant in Sevil, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the Church of Sevil, in the Year 1672 for the Faults of Judaism; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.

The Reason of this person's not having Abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.

Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

32. Diego Lopes Ferraoa, a New Christian, a Scribe, Notary, and Inhabitant of the Village of Fradaon, in the Hundred of the Town of Covilhan.

Prison, during pleasure, and the Habit, which shall be taken off in the Act of Faith.
Ages.

48. Martos Mendes, a New Christian, a Smith, a Native of the Town of Desdanha a Nova, an Inhabitant of Fundaon, in the Hundred of Covilhan.

52. Francisco Mendes, a New Christian, a Shoemaker, Native of the Town of Benamanon, an Inhabitant of the Village of Fundaon, in the Hundred of the said Town.

28. Mathias Roiz, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of Villa Real, in the Archbishoprick of Braga.

44. Antonio Lopes Arroyijo, a New Christian, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of Chafim, and Inhabitant of Carrazedo Montenegro, in the Hundred of the Town of Chaves, in the Archbishoprick of Braga, who Abjured de Levi for the fault of Judaism, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the

City
430

A View of the Court of Ages.

City of Santiago, in the Year 1662, Imprison'd the second time for having been defective, and for a Relapse into the same.

25. Manoel Lopez, a New Christian, a Carrier, a Bachelor, the Son of Pedro Lopez, an Inn-keeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Argolos in the Archbishops of Evora.

62. Joan de Santa Maria, a Moor by Nation, the Son of Maca, a Native of Salter, and Inhabitant of this City, for having returned to the Sect of Mahomet after he was baptiz'd a Christian.

A Second Abjuration.

31. Bernardo Sequeira, part of a New Christian, a Barber, Native of the City of Lamego, and Inhabitant of the City Porto.

30. Joan de Crus, a New Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 43

Punishments.

68. Pedro Aluaves de Moras, a New Christian, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of Elvas.

35. Domingo Cardozo, part of a New Christian, an Officer of the Chancery, a Native and Inhabitant of the City of Lamego.

54. Gabriel Gomes, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of Fundao.

49. Luis de Bulaen, half a New Christian, an Officer in the Court of the Crown, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

The Third Abjuration.

41. Ayres Roiz, a New Christian, a Practitioner and Native of the City of Guarda, and an Inhabitant of this City of Lisbon.

69. Fernaon Roiz Penco, a New Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native of the City of Badayos, in the Kingdom of Castile, and Inhabitant of this City.
A View of the Court of Ages.

33. Luis Serraon, more than half a New Christian, a Bachelor, a Student in Divinity, the Son of Antonio Serraon de Crafio, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

35. Laurence de Costa, half a New Christian, a Dealer in Horses, the Natural Son of Martin da Costa, a Farmer of the Revenues, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

48. Manoel Carralho, half a New Christian, who lived by his Practice, Native of the Town of Cavalhaon, in the Hundred of the City of Garda, an Inhabitant of this City.

39. Francisco Roiz Mogadouro, a New Christian, a Bachelor, the Son of Antonio Roiz Mogadouro, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.
The Fourth Abjuration.

71. Antonio Serraon de Crafio, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City.

72. Antonio Serraon de Crafio, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City.

29. Pantaleon Roiz Mogadouro, a New Christian, a Bachelor, the Son of Antonio Roiz Mogadouro, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who did profess the Law of Moses.

45. Pedro Duarte Ferraon, the fourth part of a New Christian, an Officer in the King's Bench, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Joseph Francisco, a Nick-named, Barraon, Bachelor, and Shepherd, the Son of Domingo Francisco Vagado, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Azambuja, for the Crime of Witchcraft, and for having made a Covenant with the Devil.

Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission.

Punishment.

The same.

The same, and to be confined to a Convent.

ff 53
Punishments.

Miguel da Cunha, half a New Christian, a Shopkeeper, a Native of the Village of Alcâides, in the Hundred of Covilha, Inhabitant of the said Village. Perpetual Prison and Habit with-out remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Tears, in the Gallies.

A Person that did not Abjure, and wears the Habit.

Henrique Nunes Salvador, a New Christian, and who was a Merchant, a Native of Colminar el Vigo, in the Kingdom of Castile, and an Inhabitant of Villa Flor, who was Reconciled by the Inquisition of Coimbra, in the Year, 1652, having been twice since Imprisoned for having been defective, i.e. in his Confession, and for the faults of a Relapse.

Women
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 435

Women that died in the Prisons, and were Absolved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anna Lopez de Barros, a New Christian, the Widow of Manoel de Medina, a Native of the Town of Morchola, and Inhabitant of this City.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izabel da Costa, a New Christian, the Widow of Simaon Lopez Torrez, an Advocate, a Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of the Village of Sacavom, in the Hundred of this City.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons who did not Abjure.

27. Anna Roiz, nick-named a Toupa, Married with Manoel Roiz a Carter, a Native and Inhabitant of Abrantes, for having feigned Visions, and for Presumptions of her having had a Covenant with the Devil.

3 Years to Crafto Marin.
436  A View of the Court of
Ages.

46. Magdalena da Cruz, the
Wife of Augustíno Nunes,
who was Alcaide of the
secret Prisons of this In-
quifition, a Native and
Inhabitant of this City
for having co-operated
to corrupt certain Offi-
cers of the Holy Office
to give intelligence to
persons in the Prisons,
and to receive answers
from them to Persons
that were abroad.

58. Juliana Pereira Marry'd
with Francisco de Matos,
a Surgeon, Native of the
Town of Setuval, and
an Inhabitant of this
City, for having disor-
dered the just regiment
of the Holy Office, in
having by Bribes cor-
rupted a certain Officer
of the said Tribunal, to
reveal the Secrets there-
of, to know the State
of some of the Prison-
ers affairs.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 437

Punishments.

79. Cathirna Antonia, who has some part of a New Christian, the Widow of Christovan Roiz, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Buarcos, Reconciled by the Inquisition of Conimbra, in the Year 1629, imprisoned the second time for the faults of a Relapse into Judaism.

Abjuration de Leve.

28. Joanna Da Paz, who has three fourths of a New Christian, married with Joseph Pessoa a Merchant, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of Judaism, and for having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer of the Holy Office.

48. Catherina Baretta, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio de Crafo, a Native of Villa Franca, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of Witchcraft.

Prison during pleasure, and 2 Tears in the Algarves.

The same, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Tears in Brasil.
30. Ursula Maria, a Maid, the Daughter of Francisco de Salhas, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of Albas Vedros, and an Inhabitant of this City for the same Fault.

31. Maria Pinheira, married with Goncalo da Gama Violante, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the same Fault.

A Person who wears the Habit, but does not Abjure.

Maria Cardoza, part of a New Christian, the Widow of Joan Mendes, a Taylor, a Native and Inhabitant of Montemor novo, in the Archbishoprick of Evora, reconciled by the Inquisition of the said City, for Judaism, in the Year 1667. imprisoned a second time for having been defective in her Confession.
Inquisition of Portugal, &c. 439

An Abjuration in forma for Judaism.

Ages.

22. Maria Gonfalvez, nicknamed Amarintha, part of a New Christian, the Daughter of Joan Francisco, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of this Village of Majorca, in the Hundred of the Town of Montemoro velho, in the Bishoprick of Coimbra.

35. Leonor Mendes, a New Christian, married with Marcos Mendes Ferron, who is in the List, Native of Idanha a nova, an Inhabitant in Fundaon.

62. Joanna da Paz, more than half a New Christian, married with Diogo Ramos, a Native of the City of Samora, in the Kingdom of Castile, and an Inhabitant in this City.

55. Catarina da Costa, a New Christian, married with Francisco da Rocha, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Punishments.

Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which she is to take off in the Act.

The same.

Prison and Habit during pleasure.

The same.

The same.
A View of the Court

Ages.

Punishments.

23. Anna Manoela, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Joan Lopes Cardozo, a Merchant, Native of the Village of Berim, in the Kingdom of Galliza, and Inhabitant in Chares.

The same.

23. Maria de Souza Chares, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Salvador de Souza, a Salt merchant, Native of St. Jago, in the Kingdom of Galliza, and an Inhabitant in Chares.

The same.

The Second Abjuration.

57. Anna Roiz, a New Christian, the Widow of Pedro Alecia, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of Bonaventua, in the Bishoprick of Samorra in the Kingdom of Castile, and an Inhabitant of Chares.

The same.
of Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 441

Ages.

25. Izabel Borges, the fourth part of a New Christian, the Daughter of Manoel Roiz, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Montemoronenro, in the Archdiocese of Evora.

42. Anna Maria de Souza, a New Christian, Married with George Coelho, Native of Sevil, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant of Fendaon in the Hundred of Covilhan.

64. Catherina de Croisto, a New Christian, the Widow of Domingos da Silva, Native of Sevil in the Kingdom of Castile, and an Inhabitant in this City.

49. Guiomar Henriques, a New Christian, Married with Miguel da Cunha, who is in the List a Farmer of Taluoco, Native of the Village of Alcaide in the Hundred of Covilhan, an Inhabitant in Fendaon in the Hundred of the said Town.
442  A View of the Court of

Punishments.

45. Gracia de Lima, Married
with Manoel Nunes, a
Native and Inhabitant
of Fundon.

The Third Abjuration.

22. Izabel Maria, half a New
Christian, Married with
Raphael da Silva, who
lived by his Practice,
Native of Sevil, in the
Kingdom of Castile, an
Inhabitant of this City.

The same.

40. Violante Henriques, a New
Christian, the Widow of
Miguel Henriques a Mer-
chant, Native and Inha-
bitant of the Village of
Fundaon, in the Hun-
dred of the Town of
Corilhan.

The same.

53. Brittes Rebella, part of
a New Christian, Married
with Manoel das Ne-
vas a Surgeon, Native
and Inhabitant of the
Town of Montemoro novo
in the Archbishopsrick of
Evora.

The same.
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 443

Ages.

59. Isabel Roiz, part of a New Christian, married with Luis Nunez, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of Mallorca, in the Bishoprick of Conimbra.

27. Maria Semeda, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Matthias Semeda, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of Portalegre.

42. Maria Nunes da Costa, a New Christian, married with Ayres Roiz, who is in the Lift, Native and Inhabitant of this City.

55. Francisca Serraon, half a New Christian, the Widow of Luis de Bulhaon a Physician, Native and Inhabitant of this City.

The Fourth Abjuration.

66. Izabel Henriquez, a New Christian, the Wife of Simon de Souza, a Merchant, Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of Fundan, in the Hundred of the Town of Covilhan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Punishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Anna Pessoa, a New Christian, married with Manuel Lopez de Leon, a Merchant, who is in the Liff, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Crime of having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer in the Holy Office.</td>
<td>This poor Woman's Crime was, That she bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to convey a Letter to her Husband, after he had been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years.</td>
<td>The same, and Two Years in Algarves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Ignes Luiza, a New Christian, the Widow of Pedro Alexio, a Merchant, Native of the Town of Alvito, in the Archbishoprick of Evora, an Inhabitant in this City.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Ignes Paixana, the fourth part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Laureneo Paixana, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The same.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 445

Ages.

32. Constantina Navarra, a New Christian, married with Joseph Roiz, a Goldsmith, Native of Sevil, in the Kingdom of Castile, and Inhabitant in this City.

26. Brittees Henriques, a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Roiz Magadauro, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, who professed the Law of Moses.

This Gentlewoman had been 10 Years a Prisoner in the Inquisition, and so must not have been above 16 when she was taken up; she was so rack'd in it, that she was quite criped.

72. Paula de Craflo, half a New Christian, married with Antonio Duarte, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.
Thereza Maria de Jesus, more than half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Serraon, an Apothecary, who is in the Lift, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Tears in Brasil.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were received.

Ignes Duarte, half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Serraon, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Isabel do Valle, a New Christian, the Wife of Diogo Roxes, a Native of the Village of Berim in Castile, and Inhabitant of Villaron, in the Hundred of Chaves.
The Persons delivered to the Secular Arm.

43. Gaspar Lopez Pereire, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Bachelor, the Son of Francisco Lopez Pereire, a Native of the Town of Mogadouro, an Inhabitant of Madrid, and Resident in this City of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of Moses, Obstinate, and Impenitent.

33. Antonio de Aguiar, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of Lamilunilla, near to Madrid, an Inhabitant of Sevil, and Resident in this City of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of Moses, Obstinate, Impenitent.
42. Miguel Henriques da Fonseca, a New Christian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of Avios, an Inhabitant in this City of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of Moses, Obstinate, Impenitent.

These three were Burnt alive, within two hours after the Inquisitors had delivered them to the Secular Arm.

32. Pedro Serraon, more than half a New Christian, a Bachelor, the Son of Antonio Serraon, an Apothecary, who is in the Lift, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, Negative, and Obstinate.

This Last, was first Strangled, and afterwards Burnt to Ashes with the other Three.

FINIS.
THE
SPANISH
PROTESTANT
Martyrology.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.

How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and revenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.
THE

PREFACE.

THE Eminent Spanish Divines, that were sent by the Emperor, Charles V. and his Son Philip, into Germany, England, and Flanders to Convert the Protestants in those Countries to the Roman Faith, having by Conversing with the Reformers, and Reading their Books, been themselves Converted to the Catholick, returned home, full of Zeal to Propagate that Holy Faith through their Native Countrey; and being Persons, both by their Exemplary Piety, and great Learning, extremely well qualified for so great and Blessed a Work; their Success in it was such, that had not a speedy, and full Stop been put to their Pious Labours, by the Merciless Inquisition, the whole Kingdom of Spain had in all likelihood been Converted to the Protestant Religion, in less time than any other Countrey had been ever before.
So Mightily grew the Word of God, and prevail'd by the Labours of such Great Men, and who had been called to the Knowledge and Love of it, after such an extraordinary manner.

And to satisfy the Reader, that I do not Affirm this without good Warrant, I shall here set down what is said concerning those Holy Men, by the Writer of the Historia Pontisc- cal, a Zealous Papist; and by Paramus, an Inquisitor, in his History of the Inquisition.

In former times, faith the Author, of the Historia Pontiscal, The Prisoners that were brought out of the Inquisition to be Burnt, or with St. Benitos, were mean People, and of a bad Race: But in these latter years we have seen its Prisons, Scaffolds, and Stakes filled with Illustrious Persons of Noble Families, and with others, who, as to all outward appearances, had great advantages over their Neighbours, as well for their Learning as for their Piety. Now the Fountain of this, and of many more Evils, faith he, was our Catholick Princes, out of the great Affection which they had for Germany, England, and other Countries, that were not under the Obedience of the Roman-Church, having sent divers Learned Men, and Preachers out of Spain into those Parts; hoping by their Sermons, to have Con-
Converted those that were in Error, to the way of Truth; but such was their Misfortune, that instead of Reaping Fruit by that Diligence; the Preachers that had been thus sent by them, to give Light to others, returned home Blind themselves: And having either been deceived, or possessed with an Ambition of being esteemed Learned, and of having improved themselves in those Foreign Countries, they followed the Example of the Hereticks, who had Broached Hereby in them.

And in another place the same Author speaking of the same Persons, and of the Converts which they had made, faith, All the Prisoners in the Inquisitions of Valedolid, Sevil, and Toledo, were Persons abundantly well Qualified. I shall here pass the Names in Silence, that I may not, by their bad Fame, Stain the Honour of their Ancestors, and the Nobility of the several Illustrious Families which were Infected with this Poison: And as those Prisoners, faith he, were Persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop, which was put to that Evil, been delayed but two or three Months longer, I am persuaded, all Spain had been put in a Flame, by them.

And of the Disposition Spain was in at this time, viz. betwixt the Year, 1550, and 1560, to have Embraced the Protestant Religion;
we have a farther Testimony from Paramus, who in his History of the Inquisition, Affirms, That had not the Inquisition taken care in time, to have put a Stop to those Protestant Preachers, the Protestant Religion would have run through Spain like Wild-Fire; People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes having been wonderfully disposed to Embrace it.

So Powerful were the Doctrines of the Reformation in those days, that no Prejudices, nor Interests were any where strong enough to hinder Piously disposed Minds, after they came thorowly to understand them, from Embracing them; And that the same Doctrines have not still the same Divine Force, is neither owing to their being grown Older, nor to Popery's not being so gross, nor to any change in Peoples natural Dispositions, but is owing purely to the want of the same Zeal for those Doctrines in their Professors, and especially, for the three great Doctrines of the Reformation, which the following Martyrs Sealed with their Blood; which were, That the Pope is Anti-Christ; That the Worship of the Church of Rome is Idolatrous, and that a Sinner is Justified in the sight of God by Faith, and through Christ's, and not through his own merits.
There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertized of.

The one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquisitors and their Creatures Reports of the Prisoners that are put to Death, by them, since nothing is more notorious, than their reckoning it to be so far from being a Sin, that they reckon it to be Meritorious, by Slanders and Calumnies, to Rob all of their Good Name, whom they deprive of their lives, representing them always as such Monsters of Wickedness, that whatever their Religion had been, they had deserved for their Immoralities to have suffered death.

And so the vast Numbers of the Albigenfes were put to death for having separated themselves from the Communion of the Roman Church, on the account of the Idolatry of her Worship, the Inquisitors had the confidence to affirm, That they held it Lawful to deny the Christian Faith with their Mouths, to avoid being Persecuted for it, they affirmed, that the Devil, having been unjustly thrown out of Heaven, ought to be Worshipped more than God, and that Promiscuous Venery was Lawful, but Matrimony was Hell and Damnation, and that the Murthering of Infants, and drinking of their Blood was their daily practice in their Assemblies of Worship.
456 The PREFACE.

And whereas the Inquisitors do in this vile and unnanly Course imitate their Predecessors, the Heathen Persecutors of the Christian Faith; so, if I am not mistaken, all such Persecutors are forced to take this base Course in their own defence; and that thorough the great Body of Mankind, having still too much good nature and humanity left in them, long to suffer people whose lives are owned to be unblamable, to be tortured, and put to cruel Deaths, meerly on the account of some speculative Persuasions in Religion.

The Second thing the Reader of this Martyrology is to be advertiz'd of, is; Not to wonder at his meeting with no Account of what was said by the following Martyrs, either at their Tryals, or at their Death: For as all things within the Inquisition, where they were try'd, were transacted with a wonderful secrecy; so if any its Prisoners, when they are brought out to be burnt, do either in the Procession, or on the Scaffold where they receive the Sentence of Death, or at the Stake, offer to speak a Word in defence of the Religion they are about to die for, they are immediately gag'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

And thus that Unity, the Roman Church boasts of so much, is preserved by methods, which must necessarily maintain Unity in any Body of men: For can any Society that destroys
all presently that differ from it, let its Errors be never so many, or so gross, be possibly trouble'd with any Divisions? And as that Pope, who on his Death-bed called the Inquisition, The Pillar of the Church of Rome; was perfectly in his Senses when he spoke these Words; so I doubt that Church will never do its bold pretence to Infallibility, which it would persuade the World, is the cause of its Unity, the honour to try how it would maintain Unity in it, without the help of Inquisitions, and other sanguinary Methods.
A

The text is not legible due to the quality of the image.
About the Year 1440, great numbers of people were, at the Instigation of the Inquisitors, driven by the King's Musqueteers out of the Highlands of Duringo in Biscay, to Valedolid, and Domingo de Calcadar, and who were burnt alive at those places, for having refused to abjure divers Doctrines which are condemned as Heretical by the Roman Church.

We are not told what the Doctrines were; such multitudes of people were thus put to death for professing; but it is more than probable...
probable, that they were the same with those of the Vadois among the Alpes; the Primitive Faith having, till about this time, been preserved entire in some Mountainous and almost inaccessible Countries, by reason of their having never been before haunted by any Popish Fryers or Inquisitors to corrupt it, or to punish its stedfast Professors with death.

Mr. Nicholas Burton.

The first that Suffered Martyrdom in Spain for being a Protestant, that we Read of, was Mr. Nicholas Burton, an English Factor, who was Burnt at Sevil, in the Reign of Queen Mary of England; Mr. Burton's Goods and Notes having been all Seized when he was Apprehended, the Merchants of London, to whom those Goods and Notes belonged, sent one Mr. Frampton to recover them, and dispose of them: But the Inquisitors, after having Baffled M. Frampton for some Months with frivolous preten- ces, did put a full stop to his Negotiation, by Imprisoning him on suspicion of Here- fie.
Dr. Augustine Cazalla.

In the Year 1558, Dr. Augustine Cazalla, Canon of the Church of Salamanca, and who had been for several years, Chaplain and Preacher to the Emperor, Charles V. in Germany, was taken up and imprisoned by the Inquisition of Valedolid, for being a Protestant; as was also his Mother Donna Leonora de Vivera, at whose House the Protestants used to assemble to worship God; and his three Brothers, and two Sisters, and their Servants; who had been all converted by him to the Catholic Faith; for such I do reckon the Protestant to be, for being the same with that Faith, that was professed by the whole Christian Church when the Creeds were made. This most pious and learned Martyr is acknowledged by Parmus an Inquisitor, to have been a most Eloquent Preacher: And who after having undergone all the Cruelties of the merciless Court of Inquisition, in which his Mother died, was with thirteen more, professing the Protestant Religion brought forth and burnt to Ashes in an Act of the Faith. The Inquisitors gave out after his Death, That he had reconciled himself to the Church of Rome in their Prisons; which they did on purpose to prejudice his Converts against his Memory.
Memory and Doctrines: For had he been penitent, why did they burn him, having never relapsed? And would it not have been more for their Interest to have suffer'd him to live, and to have obliged him to have preached to his Converts to follow his Example, than to have burnt him out of the way?

_Herezulo._

_Herezulo,_ a most Devout and Eminent Lawyer, was burnt alive at the same time, and in the same place with Dr. Cazalla, by whom he had been converted. I have nothing more to relate of this Blessed Martyr, but what is said of the admirable Constancy and Courage wherewith he suffered the cruel Death of being burnt alive, by the Writer of the _Historia Pontifical_, who was present at his Martyrdom: _I was so near the Bachelor Herezulo, when he was burnt alive, faith the Writer, that I observed all his Gestures and Motions_; for he could not speak, having his mouth gag'd for the Blasphemy he had uttered against the Roman Church; _he appear'd to me to be a most resolute and hardn'd person_; and tho' I marked him very narrowly, _I did not discover the least Sign or Expression of any uneasiness in him_; only, _that he had a sadness_
sadness in his Countenance, beyond any thing I had ever seen before.

Dr. Perez.

Dr. Perez, A Secular Priest, of great Learning, and Exemplary Piety, and a most fervent Preacher, was brought out of the Inquisition, and burnt in the same Act of the Faith: Of all which Glorious Martyrdoms, Charles Prince of Spain was a Spectator; and who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father; and as was commonly said, For his having discovered a strong Affection to the Protestant Faith.

Don Carlos de Sefo.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the same Court of Inquisition, Don Carlos de Sefo, a Nobleman of an Illustrious Family, with forty Protestants more, was brought out and burnt alive, professing the Protestant Religion; of whom, and of one John Sancho, who had been a Servant to Don Peter Cazalla, who was burnt at the same time with his Brother: The Writer of the Historia Pontifical faith, That they endured being burnt alive, with a Courage that astonished all that beheld it.

Donna
Donna Leonora de Cisneros, the Widow of the Blessed Martyr Herezulo, after several Years imprisonment in the Inquisition of Valedolid, was brought out and burnt alive; which painful Death she underwent with a courage nothing inferior to that of her Husband: Of which Blessed Couple, and Don Carlos de Sefo, the Writer of the Historia Pontifical faith, That they endured being burnt alive, as if they had been made of Stone, and not of Flesh and Blood.

Soon after the Inquisition of Valedolid had made this terrible havock of the Church of God within her Districts, that of Sevil broke in with no less cruelty and fury upon the Church of God gathered in the City, by the Ministry of Dr. Egidio, and Dr. Constantino, the Two great and shining Lights of Spain, and who before they were suspected of being Protestants, were universally acknowledged to be so.

Dr. John Egidio was first Rector of the University of Complutum, and from thence was called to be Doctor of the Chair in Divinity at Licensa, where he had not been long before he was chose Canon and Preacher.
er of the Cathedral Church of Sevil by the Dean and Chapter of that City. In all which Posts, but particularly in the last, he behaved himself so well, that he was beloved and admired for his shining Piety, his profound Learning, and great Humility, by all that knew him, and by none more than by the Emperor, Charles V. who us’d to call him His Preacher, and who, in the Year 1550, bestowed Tortosa, one of the Richest Bishopricks in all Spain upon him. But before this Great, and Holy Man was Consecrated a Bishop, he was taken up by the Inquisition of Sevil for being a Protestant, and a Teacher of that Faith: when, or how he died in the Inquisition we know not; but it is certain, that some years after he was Apprehended, his Bones were brought out and Burnt in an Act of the Faith Celebrated in that City, as the Bones of one who had died an impenitent Protestant Heretick. In a Letter writ, and dated from Trent, on November 19, 1551, by a Titular Bishop, to the Bishop of Arras, it is said, We hear from Spain, that the nominated Bishop of Tortosa, meaning Doctor Egidio, is Condemned by the Inquisition to Perpetual Imprisonment; I shall therefore, faith that Hungry Titular, be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you will be pleased to remember me, in case the Bishop...
466  The Spanish Protestant
of Elna be Translated to Tortosa, which is
by this means become Vacant.

Don John Pontio de Leon.

On September 24, 1559, Don John Pontio de Leon, Son to Don Rodrigo Conde of
Baylen, was, with divers others, Professing the
Protestant Faith, Burnt at Sevil; these Bles-
sed Martyrs were all Converted to the Ca-
tholick Faith by that Learned Saint, Doctor
Egidio, and did, both in their Lives, and
at their Deaths discover themselves to be
Sons, not unworthy of such a Ghostly Fa-
ther. The Doctrines they Suffered Martyr-
dom for Professing, were,

1. That the Worship of the Church of
Rome was Idolatrous.
2. That the Pope was Anti-Chrift.
3. That Men were Justified by Faith, and
not by Works.

Dr. Constantino Pontio.

Dr. Constantino Pontio, Chaplain, and as
some say, Confessor to the Emperor Charles
the V. and Canon and Preacher of the Ca-
thedral of Sevil, was after that Prince's re-
signation of his Crowns, and retreat to
Spain, taken up by the Inquisition of that
City,
City, as a Protestant Heretick; and who having died in the Prisons of the Inquisition, the Inquisitors best knew how, his Body with divers of his Books in Manuscript, were brought out and burnt in an Act of the Faith: Among his Books that were burnt, one bore the Title, of An Account of the True Christian; which he maintained the Protestant to be; and Of the Antichristian Church; which he proved was the Roman. There was likewise among his Books a Treatise against Purgatory and Indulgences. A Second Treatise against Transubstantiation, and a Third, against the Merit of Good Works.

This Learned Doctor was Ordered by the Emperor to attend his Son, Prince Philip, in Quality of his Preacher, into Flanders, on purpose to let the Flemings see that Spain, at that time, was not without its polite Scholars and Orators. And so in the History of the Prince's Voyage, Printed at Madrid in Spanish, in the Year 1550. Doctor Constantino his Preacher is said to be, The greatest Philosopher, the most Profound Divine, and the most Eloquent Preacher, that had been in Spain in many Ages.

Which Just Character of this great Saint, was, after he was Condemned as a Protestant, by the Inquisition, by order of the Index Expurgatorius Blotted out of that History; and on this Passage the Expurgator
of the Book, which is in my Hands, was so liberal of his Ink, that I had much ado to Read it.

Here the Reader is to take notice, that among the other vile Arts practised by the Church of Rome, to support the Credit of her gross Errors, one is, that she will not allow any that have been her Adversaries, ever to have had any sort of Learning; as if it were not possible for any that had any degree of Learning, to doubt of the truth of any of her Doctrines: And so if in any of the Books permitted to be read by the Index Expurgatorius, Erasmus, Calvin, Scaliger, Grotius, Casaubon, or any other Protestant Writers, do happen to be honoured with the Title of Learned, that Title must be blotted out, as a thing that did not belong to them.

It is reported, That the Emperor Charles theV. when he heard of his Chaplain Dr. Constantino being taken up by the Inquisition, should say, If Constantino be an Heretick, he is not an ordinary one; alluding to his extraordinary Piety and Devotion, as well as Learning.

John Gonsalvo, a Secular Priest.

Father John Gonsalvo, a pious and fervent Preacher, and who was converted to the Catholick
Catholick Faith by Dr. Egidio, was burnt at the same time and place with his Dear and Intimate Friend Don John de Leon; to which blessed Couple, what was said of Saul and Jonathan, may be properly applied: They were pleasant and lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.

This blessed Saint, as he was going to the Stake, began to sing the 109 Psalm, but being commanded to give over singing, he obey'd, well knowing, that if he had not, he should not have been permitted to speak a Word more; and having when he came to the Stake, observed, that one of his Sisters, who was to be burnt with him, looked much dejected, he cry'd out to her, Be of good courage, dear Sister, and keep the Faith; but as he was going on with his Exhortation, the Officers ordered him to be strangled, pretending, that he meant the Faith of the Roman Church: And thus Policy, when nothing else can, will make Inquisitors be merciful: For the truth is, the Inquisitors finding the people much affected with the admirable Courage and Constancy of Mind wherewith the Protestant Martyrs did suffer the most painful of all Deaths, being burnt, or rather roasted alive, they began to fear the consequence of entertaining them daily with such dangerous Spectacles; and for that Reason, until those great Examples were
were pretty well forgot, they either strangled the Profest before they burnt them, pretenting they had at the Stake desired to be reconciled to the Roman Church; or having died in the Inquisition, they burnt them in Effigie.

Juliano Fernando.

Juliano Fernando, who for his low stature, and thin Body, was commonly called Little Julian, was taken up by the Inquisition of Sevil, for having imported, and dispersed great numbers of Spanish Libels, which had been Printed in Germany. And tho' it is a hard matter to know any thing that pассleth within the Walls of the Inquisition, we are told by some that were in its Prisons at the same time with this Saint, that they once heard him, as he pass'd by the doors of their Prisons, cry out, Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van, that is, The Fryers are Baffled, they are Baffled: And at another time, Curridoz van los lobos, curridos van, that is, The Wolves do flie, they do flie. And in the Morning before he was to be Burnt, meeting with a great number of Protestants in the Hall where their Flaming Habits were put on, he cry'd out to them, Dear Brethren and Sisters, be of good Courage, and Triumph over Death. And having
ving thereupon been gagged all day, a certain Priest, whose name was Ferrando Rodriguez, and who formerly had himself been well inclined to the Protestant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, desired he might be ungagged, boasting, that he should be able to persuade him to be Reconciled to the Romish Church, which he was so far from being able to do, that that Saint, after he had with great Patience, heard all that that Priest was able to say to him, answered him with a holy zeal, Thou Apostate, how darest thou, contrary to the Conviictions of thy own Conscience, go about to persuade me to save my life by Abjuring the Truth? with which severe Reproof, that Apostate was so enraged, that he cry'd aloud, Shall Spain, the Conqueror of Nations, have its Peace disturb'd by such a Dwarf as this? Executioner, Burn that Incorrigible Heretick, which was done immediately; one of the Officers that stood by, having, either out of Compassion or Fury, given him a dreadful blow on the head with a pole, amidst the Flames.

Father John de Leon.

John de Leon, a Monk, of St. Isidore, in the City of Sevil, having been Converted by Doctor Egidio, to the Catholick Faith.
The Spaniard Protestant

Faith; did, with several more Monks of the same Monastery, and who were likewise Protestants, make his Escape to Frankfort in Germany; and not thinking himself safe there, he went to Geneva, and there remained, till Queen Mary of England's death: When being invited by the English Refugees to go along with them to England, he kindly accepted of that Brotherly Invitation; but having escaped the Traps which had been laid for him, and the other Spanish Refugees, at Cologn, and other places in Germany, he, and one John Fernaidel, another Spanish Confessor, were discovered at Middleburgh in Zealand, which was then under the Spanish Dominion, as they were ready to have Embarked there for England.

And having been told by the Officer that seized him, That he was the Man he looked for, he turned about to his Companion, and said. Come Brother, let us go, God calls us to Suffer for his Gospel; if we do not forsake God, he will not forsake us.

This Saint, after having been carried to Prison, and racked there to make him discover the places where the rest of the Spanish Refugees absconded themselves, was put aboard a Ship, which carried him to Sevil, having been kept in Chains and gagged all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which
which was nothing but dry Bread and Water: He was likewise brought gagged out of the Inquisition, and so continued until he was burnt, without discovering any thing that looked like fear or uneasiness.

Dr. Christopher Losada.

Christopher Losada, an Eminent Physician, was burnt at the same time for being a Protestant, who, as all the rest did, suffered death with a joy and unconcernedness, that amazed all that beheld it.

I am apt to think, that the unhappy Michael Servetus, the most Eminent Physician of his Age, was one of the Spanish Refugees of this Persecution; but where ever that unhappy man learnt the Heresies for which he was put to death at Geneva, certain it is, that he did not bring them out of Spain with him; none that were put to death in that Kingdom for being Protestants, having by their Adversaries, ever been charged with any of his Heresies.
Christopher Aurelio.

Christopher Aurelio, an Eminent School Divine, and who by reading the Scriptures had been converted to the Catholick Faith, was burnt in the same Act of the Faith, triumphing over Death as a conquered Enemy.

Garsias Arias.

Garsias Arias, a Monk of St. Isidore, and who was commonly called Dr. Blanco, did like St. Paul, of a Violent Persecutor, turn a Zealous Professor of the Catholick Faith, for the Testimony whereof he was burnt at Sevil, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to suffer for so good a Cause. This Monastery of St. Isidore was the great Seminary of the Protestant Religion in Spain, five Monks having been taken out of it by the Inquisition, and burnt; and twelve having made their escape out of it, repaired to Geneva.
Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne, who, though but a young Man when he was Burnt, had been eight years a Professor of Humanity in St. Isidore's Colledge in Sevil; he was a Person of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gag'd out of the Inquisition, and continued so till he was Burnt, praising God with his eyes and hands, not being permitted to Praise him with his Lips.

Donna Maria Bohorquia.

Donna Maria Bohorquia, a young Lady of such admirable Knowledge and Piety, that Dr. Egidio did use to say, That none could discourse with her of Divine Matters (and she did not care to talk of any other) without being made both wiser and better by her: When she was but a Girl, she Learnt Latin to be able to read the Bible, which in Spain was not at that time to be met with in any other Language, and having by indefatigable Study, in a short time acquired so much skill in that Tongue, as to be able to hear the Divine Oracles speaking in it to her Conscience, she so apply'd herself to them, that she had the whole Bible almost by
by heart; neither did she, after she had once tasted of that, ever care to Read in any other. When she was brought out of the Inquisition to be Burnt, with an heavenly joy, spread all over her Countenance, she began to sing Praises to God, with a most Melodious Voice; and having, when forbid, refused to give over singing, she was gagged, and continued so till she was brought to the Stake. But the Fryers, dreading the ill effects, her Example, both in her Life, and at her Death might have on the Minds of the People, if they believed her to die a Protestant, cry'd out after she was fastened to the Stake, She is Converted, and desires before she dies, to be Reconciled to the Church of Rome. And so pretending to give her Absolution, she was immediately strangled, and Burnt.

There were a great many more Women, and several of them of high Quality, burnt at this time both at Valedolid, and at Sevil, for being Protestants; and who being all learned in the Scriptures, the Inquisitors, who are all utter Strangers to those Divine Books, were not able to discourse with them about the Truths revealed in those Oracles of God: This provoked Paramus, a Furious Spanish Inquisitor, to declare vehemently against Women's being suf-
suffered to read the Bible, and against the Protestant Religion likewise, for permitting Women, contrary to St. Paul's prohibition, to speak in their Publick Assemblies of Worship: As if Women that Studied the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Ministerial Office upon them; and as if the Protestant Religion, when they are so qualified, did allow them to do it; whereas in Truth, no People are so far from assuming any of the Ministerial Functions, as those who are most Conversant in the Scriptures, which do expressly condemn that Presumption; neither did any of the Spanish Protestant's Laity, Men or Women, ever take upon them to Preach in the Assemblies of their Worship, nor did any of their Teachers ever allow the doing of it to be Lawful. But thus the Inquisitors, as I have observed, do make no Conscience of Calumniating those they Burn, and of loading the Religion, for which they Suffer, with unjust, and many times, inconsistent Reproaches.

The Blessed Saints, I have here named, tho' they were the Leaders, were for number, but a small part of that Glorious Army of Spanish Protestant Martyrs, Burnt at this time by the Inquisition, and who for the exemplary Piety of their Lives, and
and the admirable Patience and Courage, wherewith they Triumphed over Death, in the most Terrible of all its Shapes, were nothing inferior to the Martyrs of any other Nation in any Age.

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