"God hath never left himself
without witnesses"

Miscellaneous Tracts

I. The History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, or Mahometans of the Moorish Race, 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. And Another in 1707.

VI. A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquisition in Lisbon, with a Person now living in London, during his Imprisonment there.

VII. A Spanish Protestant Martyrology.



by

Michael Geddes

1709 Edition

A Hail & Fire REPRINT
www.hailandfire.com

"Miscellaneous Tracts viz. I. The History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, or Mahometans of the Moorish Race, 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. And Another in 1707. VI. A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquisition in Lisbon, with a Person now living in London, during his Imprisonment there. VII. A Spanish Protestant Martyrology." by Michael Geddes, 1709 Edition, is here reprinted by Hail & Fire, 2009.

Category: Religion, Protestant, Apologetic

Copyright 2009 Hail & Fire

This book is made available online in downloadable PDF format from www.hailandfire.com and may be downloaded for non-profit, personal uses only.

If you have obtained this book in PDF format, please be notified that it is not licensed for printing, distribution or re-publication in any form whatsoever without prior written consent from Hail & Fire.

A URL link to Hail & Fire (www.hailandfire.com) may be freely published in order to encourage online reading of this book.

NOTE: The downloadable edition may be a partial or a 'working file,' and may be loaded with blanks to protect the content. Books of this sort are 'in progress works' and will be made available as paperback reprints. In the interim, please enjoy watching the work progress and reading these important and historic works.

~

See the many companion volumes under
Protestant Books & Martyrologies online at
www.hailandfire.com:

"The History of the Waldenses, Commonly called in England Lollards" (1624 Edition)
by Jean Paul Perrin

"The Martyrdom of a People: or The Vaudois of Piedmont and their History" (1914 Edition)
by Henry Fliedner

"Acts and Monuments" (1841 Edition in 8 volumes)
by John Foxe (1517-1587)

"The Israel of the Alps; A Complete History of the Vaudois of Piedmont" (1857 Edition in 2 Volumes)
by Alexis Muston, D.D. (Pastor of the Protestant Church at Bourdeaux, Drôme, France)

"History of the Waldenses of Italy, from their Origin to the Reformation" (1889 Edition)
by Emilio Comba

"The Vaudois Of Piedmont" (1873 Edition)
by J. N. Worsfold

"Miscellaneous Tracts including A View of the Inquisition of Portugal" (1709 Edition)
by Michael Geddes (Doctor of Laws)

"The Benefit of Christ's Death" (Originally published 1543 in Italian; English & Italian Editions)
by Aonio Paleario (Antonio della Paglia, 1500 - 70, Martyr)

"A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day" (1848 Edition)
by Antoine Monastier (Pastor in the Cantone De Vaud)

"The Council of Constance to the Death of John Hus" (Lectures delivered University of Oxford 1900, 1900 Edition)
by James H. Wylie, M.A.

"An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue" (Originally published 1531; 1850 Edition)
by William Tyndale

~

PREFACE

to the Protestant Reprint of

"Miscellaneous Tracts" by Michael Geddes, 1709 Edition

by Hail & Fire

PROTESTANT HISTORY & MARTYROLOGY

These works have been placed online so that those of a Protestant and Gospel faith might have these rare and historic resources readily available. Many today have hastily compromised this great cloud of witnesses for the same 'ecumenical unity' from which their own nations and peoples and families escaped by so dear a price paid in the past. To such we humbly address a word of caution: Look not to the past to whitewash it for the sake of what seems to be a new ecumenism; for the past is a record of the very trial of men's creeds and it is the record itself afforded to all that we might examine and judge the fruits of the religions and doctrines that men live by in this world. Only by putting out our own eyes of wisdom do we exonerate the doctrine and the dogma, and condemn the man only who lived by it. We may each study and analyze the facts of history; we may suspect and dissect; we may seek proofs and compile arguments and in polemical treatises put forth our findings, theories and our opinions; but we cannot change nor may we begin now to change or to suppress that which, in times past and in the ages in which the events took place, is witnessed and not denied by any party to the events, is testified by supporters and detractors alike, is recorded in decrees, dogmatic and ecclesiastical decisions, letters and histories written by men of every sort - even by all men. As Alexis Muston says to the purpose of his Vaudois martyrology and history, "Why relate such atrocities? more than one voice will exclaim with emotion. To inspire horror of the odious principles which have produced them. Do you suppose that an account of the blood which was shed will never be called for? Nay; these vile oppressors of mankind, tyrannizing by the sword, tyrannizing by deceit, tyrannizing by cupidity - these heroes of superstition and intolerance, who would have put an end to Christianity a thousand times over, if it could have been destroyed - these authors of so may wounds still bleeding in the world - must endure history to the last."

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS:

VIZ.

I. The History of the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, or *Mahometans* of the *Mooriſh* Race, 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. And another in 1707.

VI. A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquiſition in *Lisbon*, with a Perſon now living in *London*, during his Impriſonment there.

VII. A *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Martyrology.

The Second Edition corrected, with Additions.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of* Sarum.

LONDON,
Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-noſter-Row*. M.DCC.IX.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

THE

PREFACE.

THough the *General* Expulsion *of the* Moriscoes *out of* Spain *was one of the greatest Revolutions of the last Age, yet partly through the Shortness of those Accounts that are given of it in the general History of that Kingdom, and partly by reason that the Books*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

which have been publiſhed in Spaniſh *concerning it, are all out of Print, and hard to 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 impoveriſh'd; 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 ſet my ſelf to write as full an Account of it as the ſaid Books would help me to; which having finiſh'd, I was the more forward to make publick, for that I believ'd it might be of great Uſe to our own, and to all other Proteſtant Governments, not to put 'em upon imitating ſo deteſtable a Practice, abhorr'd of God, contrary to Humanity, and to all good Policy; but that, deteſting its Cruelty and Barbarity, they may be warned*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

warned by it, to be always on their Guard againſt an indefatigable 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 much more Advantage, by ſuch as are skilful in writing Hiſtory, had they had the ſame Materials, I can nevertheleſs affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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.

E R-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ERRATA.

PAge 29. Line 20. for *generral* read *general*; p. 39. l. 15. for *to trade, or to buy and ſell*, r. *from trading, or from buying and ſelling*; p. 58. l. 9. dele *he*; p. 94. l. 11. for *reyly'd* r. *replyed*; ib. l. 19. after *that* put a Comma, ; p. 122. l. 25. for *Tindil* r. *Tindil*; p. 147. l. 2. for *thoſe* r. *theſe*; p. 149. l. 15. for *was* r. *were*; p. 151. l. 2. for *and* r. *the*, and after *Government* r. *and*; p. 155. l. 3. for *Archbiſhop* r. *Archbiſhop's*; p. 162. l. ult. dele *who*; p. 163. l. 2. after *Chriſtians* add *they*; ib. l. 4. for *having* r. *and have*; ib. l. 7. for *Councils* r. *Counſels*; p. 187. l. 21. after *that* add *as*; p. 188. l. 18. for *Extacy* r. *Ecſtaſy*; p. 189. l. 12. after *himſelf* add *ſo*; ibid. l. 13, 14. for *to comply therein with the Will of a Zealot*, r. *as to act at that time after the manner of a Zealot*; p. 199. l. ult. for *writ* r. *written*; p. 218. l. 7. for *or* r. *For*; p. 238. l. 2. for *became* r. *become*; p. 256. l. 15. d. *all*, l. 21. for *have* r. *had*; p. 281. l. 24. for *Villabaxim* r. *Villabraxim*; p. 288. l. 6. in *harrangu'd* d. *r.* p. 310. l. 10. for *law* r. *low*; p. 312. l. 19. d. *in*; p. 394. l. 7. for *as* r. *at*; p. 395. l. 16. for *pulvers* r. *pulveres*; p. 396. l. 11. put the Comma after *Theſiphon*; ib. l. ult. before *Maximinus* put *St.*; p. 401. l. 21. after *which* put a Comma; p. 417. l. 19. r. *Gregory*; p. 424. l. 15. after *twice* add *a Week*; ib. l. 30. after *It* add *is*; p. 438. l. 8. d. *but*; for p. 40 r. 440; p. 450. l. 10, & 11. r. *a natural*; p. 489. l. 4. for *bear* r. *wear*; p. 524. l. 5. cloſe the Parentheſis after *me*; p. 548. l. 23. d. *that*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE EXPULSION OF THE Moriſcoes 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; yet it did not clear the Country of the

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Moors: For 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.) were of that Race; beſides great numbers of them ſcatter'd all over *Caſtile*, *Eſtramadura*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. And 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 *Mahometan*; inſomuch that few or none of them, in a long Series of Years, were converted to the Chriſtian Faith by all that the *Spaniſh* Friars could do or ſay to them. For in truth the *Mahometans*, of whatſoever Nation (being all taught from their Infancy, to value themſelves extreamly upon their Religion, as being the Reigning Religion in ſo many great Empires, and to deſpiſe all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs) are a ſtubborn ſort of Creatures for a Man to convert, and eſpecially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have an invincible Averſion.

The *Spaniſh* Princes being ſenſible, how dangerous a thing it was, by reaſon of their near Neighbourhood to *Barbary*, to have ſo many *Moors* in their Dominions, and

and eſpecially on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, where moſt of 'em lived, were at a loſs what to do with them. To have murdered 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 ſtarts, and preached a few Sermons to theſe Infidels, being very angry 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 (except ſuch as thought themſelves affronted by the *Moors* not having turned *Chriſtians*, upon their Preaching) to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of converting Infidels to the Faith; the Council of *Toledo* alſo having expreſly forbidden the forcing of Infidels to be baptized; and *Thomas Aquinas*, with other Divines, having declared it unlawful to baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents Conſent, they were not purſued at this time. And there were theſe farther Reaſons why they ſhould not have been uſed at all, *viz.* that the *Moors*, when they were regnant, and had the Power in their hands, had never forced any of their Chriſtian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the Publick Exerciſe of their Worſhip: Whence it muſt needs

needs be extremely ſcandalous for Chriſtians to uſe violent Methods againſt them; and moreover King *Ferdinand*, when the City of *Granada* was ſurrendred 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 Perſwaſions of the Archbiſhop, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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

Ports appointed for their Embarcation; 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 enrag'd, 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 aboard, 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: But, as 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 exerçis'd by the Inquiſition, upon all of

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

dare to oppoſe him in his Converſions, 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 permitted to ſpeak with the Archbiſhop: Which being granted, *Zagri*, when he appear'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 perſwade me to that, beſides thoſe I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lordſhip'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 barbarouſly 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 ſetling a Pen-

ſion

ſion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life. The other *Mooriſh* 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 being 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 ſurrendred 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 Courier, by whom he had ſent his Letters, his Conduct was ſeverely cenſured 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 Inſtructing 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*,

mines, who thereupon declar'd, *That whenſoever 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 fortify'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 Militia, and fortify their Houſes, the Great Captain and the Count *de Tindel* were upon 'em with an Army of *Veterane* Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken *Huyar*, 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

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

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 Archbiſhop 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, were condemned for Apoſtacy by the Inquiſition of *Sevil*, in the ſpace of forty Years: of which number, four thouſand were

were burnt, and thirty thouſand were reconcil'd, the reſt having made their Eſcape into *Barbary*, upon their Fears that they were in Danger of being taken up by that Court.

By means of this great Deſolation made by the Inquiſition, *Garibai* ſaith three, *Ileſcas* ſaith five thouſand Houſes were left void, and without Inhabitants, within the Diſtricts of the Inquiſition of *Sevil*: Of which Complaint being 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 Havock 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 Sum 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 ſeeming to lend an Ear, *Thomas de Turrecremata* (a *Dominican* Fryar, 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*, being carried 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 threatned to treat all

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*, immediately diſpatch'd the Learned *Peter Martyr*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador, to the Soldan, to ſatisfie 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 Mamalukes, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 baptiz'd, 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 compell'd 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*, 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 encreas'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 Inquisition's burning great Numbers of them every Year for having apostatiz'd, if

they

they may be truly ſaid to have apoſtatiz'd from *Chriſtianity*, who, tho' forc'd to profeſs it, had never believ'd it, as all, or moſt of them that were put to Death, declared at the Stake when they came to die.

In the Year 1526. the Emperor having ſpent the Summer in the City of *Granada*, and been ſplendidly entertain'd there by the *Moriſcoes*, with an Exerciſe call'd *Leylas*, which is ſaid to be the more diverting to the Spectators, for being dangerous to the Actors, a *Memorial* was put into his Hand by *Don Franciſco de Venegas*, *Don Michael de Aragon*, and *Don Lopez de Benazara*, three of the Corrigidors of that City, filled with Complaints of the inſufferable Grievances the *Moriſcoes* were under from the Clergy, Judges, *&c.* with an humble Supplication to him, to command them all to be ſpeedily redreſſed.

The Emperor being much ſcandalized at the Chriſtians being guilty of ſo great Cruelties and Injuſtices, did with the Conſent of his Council, appoint the Biſhop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Quintana*, Doctor *Vtiel*, *Pero Lopez*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevara*, to prepare themſelves to go forthwith to viſit the City and whole Kingdom of *Granada*, in order to enquire into the Merits of that Charge; and withal to look into the Behaviour of the *Moriſcoes*, and how

they stood affected to the *Christian* Religion. The Visitors, where-ever they went, found there was but too much of Truth in the Complaints the *Moriscoes* had made to the Emperor, of their being very ill used; but at the same time the *Moriscoes* did plainly discover themselves to be *Mahometans*; and that tho' it was then above seven and twenty Years since they had all been compelled to be baptized, there were not seven and twenty, no nor seven of them, that were true Christians.

This Report having been made by the Visitors, a *Junta* of the Court-Prelates and Lawyers was assembled to view their Processes and Relations, in order to find out some Remedy for both those Evils. The Members whereof this *Junta* consisted, were, the Archbishop of *Sevil*, who was Inquisitor General, the Bishop of *Osma*, the Emperor's Confessor, the Archbishop of *Granada*, the Bishop of *Guadix*, the Bishop of *Almareia*, the Bishop of *Mondonnado*, the Bishop of *Oren*, the Commendador Mayor of *Calatrava*, *Francisco de los Covos*, Doctor *Guevera*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera*; who, after having held divers long Consultations, did at last agree on the following Orders, for the Benefit of the *Moriscoes*.

First, That the Court of Inquisition, that was in the City of *Jaen*, should be re-

removed from thence, and fix'd in the City of *Granada*, where moſt of the conſiderable *Moriſcoes* lived, to be a near and ſtanding Terror to them.

Secondly, That all Offences committed by the *Moriſcoes* before the Year 1527. ſhould be forgiven, but for ſuch as they ſhall commit after that, they ſhall be rigorouſly proceeded againſt by the Inquiſition.

Thirdly, That the *Moriſcoes* ſhall no longer ſpeak *Algavareia*, that is, *Mooriſh* or *Arabick*, but ſhall all ſpeak *Aljamaia*, that is, *Spaniſh*, as it was call'd by the *Moors*; and that all their Writings and Contracts ſhall be in *Spaniſh*.

Fourthly, That the *Moriſcoes*, Men and Women, ſhall no longer wear the *Mooriſh* Habit, but ſhall have their Cloaths all in the *Spaniſh* Faſhion.

Fifthly, That upon pain of Death no Taylor ſhall make any Cloaths, nor no Maſon ſhall build any Houſes, after the *Mooriſh* manner.

Sixthly, That no *Moriſca* ſhall be brought to bed, without having an old *Chriſtian* Woman preſent at her Labour, to ſee that no *Mahometan* Ceremonies be uſed on that Occaſion.

Laſtly, That for the inſtructing of *Moriſco* Children in the *Chriſtian* Faith, whoſe Parents will not inſtruct them in it, a Col-

lege shall be erected in the City of *Granada*, another in the City of *Guadix*, and a third in the City of *Almareia*.

One can have no regard for Truth or Justice, that does not detest the Injustice and gross Partiality of this *Junta*, which, tho' it was constituted and assembled on purpose to have redressed the great Grievances the *Moriscoes* had complained of, and at which the Emperor himself was so much scandalized, was so far from doing any thing that did so much as look that way; that on the contrary, all that it did, was to increase their Vexations, and to make them more grievous than they were before. And of this, as soon as the *Junta*'s Orders were published, the *Moriscoes* complained aloud to the Emperor; particularly, of the erecting of the Court of Inquisition in the City of *Granada*: But all the Relief that they could obtain, was, The Emperor would not allow the Estates of the *Moriscoes*, who were taken up by the Inquisition, to be confiscated by that Court; and did permit the *Moriscoes* to wear Cloaths after their old Fashion; which small Indulgence, if we may believe the *Spaniards*, cost the *Moriscoes* very dear, having been procured by a Present of eighty thousand Ducats, which they made to the Emperor, being in great want of Money;

Money; an Infelicity which ſeems to be entailed on the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

After this, the Fryars went on Preaching, and the Inquiſitors went on Burning the *Moriſcoes*, until the Year 1568. At which time *Philip* II. being aſſured 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 conſidering, that they being a very Fruitful People, and under none of thoſe Reſtraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old *Chriſtians* were under, would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of *Granada* with People of that Sect; with the Advice of his Council, and of ſome of the Wiſeſt among the Eccleſiaſticks, he Publiſhed 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 Obſtinacy 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 a-"ny in that Kingdom, to obſerve the Cu-"ſtoms of the *Moors*; ſeveral of which Cu-"ſtoms were particulariz'd.

3.

3. "That it ſhould not be lawful for a-
"ny 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 deſign'd 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 extreamly uneaſie under the rigorous Execution of theſe Laws, ſent ſome Commiſſioners privately to the *Grand Seignior*, 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

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 ſurrendred 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 *Moſques*, 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 remain *Mahometans* in their Hearts until they were all expelled *Spain*.

James, King of *Arragon*, 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 *Fryars* to study that Language, to be able to Preach in it to the *Moriscoes*: And to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it; the one in the Island of *Majorca*, and the other at *Barcelona*: The Fryars, and particularly the *Dominicans*, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree of a Council assembled at *Toledo*, and another of a General Chapter of the *Dominican* Order, did appoint such of their Orders, as they judg'd 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

But whatever their Succeſs was in the Study of the Language of the *Moriſcoes*, it is certain, that either thorow their own Impatience, or the *Moriſcoes* Obſtinacy, their Succeſs in Preaching to them was very ſmall; for in leſs time, after the Conqueſt of *Valentia*, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in ſuch a meaſure as to preach in it, the Fryars employed in that Work, were every where repreſenting the *Moriſcoes*, 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 *Moriſcoes* 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 Obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes* in the *Mahometan* Sect, *Pope Clement* the IV, writ a long Letter to the ſame King *James* that conquered *Valentia*, to baniſh the *Moriſcoes* out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following Words; *Conſider my Son, conſider, how dangerous a thing it is to ſuffer* Saracens *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 opportunity, diſcover it with a vengeance: So that by ſuffering thoſe obſtinate In-*

fidels

ſidels to remain 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 following Letter to that King, on occaſion of his having made one *Jatruda*, a profeſs'd *Jew*, Lord of his Treaſury; and having had a Conference held before him, concerning the Truth of the *Chriſtian Faith*, betwixt a *Dominican Fryar* and a *Jew*; and of a Book likewiſe which had been publiſhed by that *Jew* againſt the *Chriſtian Faith*, upon the Subject of that Conference.

Moſt Glorious Prince, That the Zeal wherewith you do inceſſantly endeavour to Adorn the Orthodox Faith, may ſhine the more Illuſtriouſly 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, 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 Privileges allow'd them by the* Apoſtolical Sea *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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 terrifie others from ever being ſo Audacious as to attempt the like. We do therefore admoniſh your Serenity,* &c.

Whatever Effect this Letter, written 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, after 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 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 wou'd not turn *Chriſtians*.

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

Worthy Senators, 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 Enterprize, we have given a beginning in this City, by commanding all the Morisco*es that live therein, either to turn* Christians, *or to go and live somewhere 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* Morisco*es have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Yoke of their Subjection the more easie, been suffered to profess their own Religion; 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 World, that they will never be faithful either to God, or us.* After the King had made this Speech, it was proposed, that the *Morisco*es, if they would not turn *Christians*, should be all banished the Kingdom. The Ecclesiasticks and Commons gave their Consent to it: But the Barons, to whom most of the *Morisco*es 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

ing done, declaring it to be both an impolitick, and a wicked thing; and that the Eccleſiaſticks, 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, made by the whole Body of the Barons, (who were called, *The Military Arm*, or *Eſtado*,) to the firſt publick Motion that had been made for the Baniſhing of the *Moriſcoes*, the Deſign of Expelling them was ſo knocked 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 anciently.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 always, when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Privileges 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. And 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. Now these, as we shall see hereafter, having never given their consent 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

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. As,

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 ſaid *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, until the Aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it ſhou'd not be lawful for the King, without the conſent of the *Three Eſtates*, 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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;

Nos que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemus Nuestro Rey y Sennor: com tal, que nos guardeys Nuestros Fueros y Libertades è 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 *Valentia*, had miscarried, we hear 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 lest he might attempt to do the same 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

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 Eccleſiaſticks, 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 hindred to Trade, or to buy and ſell, eitheir 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 King's 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 *Valentia* from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a People, as the *Moriscoes* were.

But the Commons of *Valentia* 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 they 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 so soon as that Proclamation came to their knowledge: Which was done by the Commons, more out of spight 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

der 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 ſaid to have been, having been received to avoid preſent Death.

The Emperor *Charles* the V*th.* 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 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 Infidelity: Which *Determination* was juſtify'd by the 57th *Decree* of the 4th *Council* of *Toledo*, held in the Year 671; in which *Decree* the *Fathers*, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive *Chriſtian Baptiſm*; *Becauſe God has*

mercy

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardneth; did nevertheless declare, That the *Jews*, who in the Year 649, to the number of ninety thousand grown People, had been forced by King *Sisebut* to receive *Christian Baptism*, were, notwithstanding that Cumpulsion, obliged to continue in the Profession of the *Christian Faith.*

It is necessary, saith 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 *Valentia*, 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 been baptized, but had only profes's'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 Crouds) had not been regiſtred, 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 com-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 with that *Oath*, a Diſpenſation nevertheleſs 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. 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

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 Privileges 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 prefix'd by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual 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, does plainly discover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though con-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

confirmed 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 Intents and Purpoſes. An Oath never to deſire a Diſpenſation, or to accept, or make uſe of none 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 unty'd 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

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, which shall also 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 you thereby, and to conform your selves to God's Will and ours.*

Dated at *Segovie*, the 13*th* 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

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.

We muſt not think, that an Affair wherein all the Barons of *Valentia* and *Aragon* were ſo deeply concerned, could be carried ſo far without having met with Oppoſition; for the Council of *Aragon* no ſooner heard of the Determination of the Inquiſitor General, and of his Junta concerning the *Moriſcoes*, than they remonſtrated warmly againſt it to the Emperor, and againſt the making Uſe of any Violence, to force thoſe Infidels to turn Chriſtians; which they were poſitive could not be done, without endangering the Peace of the Kingdom, and involving it in freſh Slaughters; of which Danger, and of the other great Inconveniences which muſt attend the forcing of the *Moriſcoes* to be baptized, they ſaid, His Majeſty's Anceſtors were ſo ſenſible, that tho they had been often vehemently importun'd to it, they

they would never ſuffer it to be done, having left their Converſion to their being ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, which was the only right Method of converting Infidels to it. To all this, and to a great deal more contained in that warm Remonſtrance, the Emperor anſwered, That things great in themſelves always had ſome great Inconveniency attending them; for which reaſon, Princes that undertake great Enterpriſes, always overlook ſuch Inconveniences. He told them, he ſaid this, to let them know, that tho he was not ignorant that the Converſion of the *Moriſcoes* muſt needs give him much Trouble, and muſt be attended with many Scandals, nevertheleſs, ſince he ſhould thereby do God eminent Service, let what will follow upon it, he was reſolved, ſince God had been ſo gracious to him, as to deliver his Enemy, the *French* King into his Hands, to draw the *Moriſcoes*, who were God's Enemies, to his holy Faith: And that ſince the clearing of all his Dominions of Infidels and Hereticks would be the greateſt Expreſſion that he could make of his Thankfulneſs to God for ſo great a Mercy, he was determin'd to make it. *Words* (ſaith a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian) *certainly worthy of a moſt Chriſtian Prince, and that one, who had more*

Tears

Tears over his Head than this Emperor had at that time. By which we ſee plainly, that in ſome Mens Opinion, the deſtroying of all that will not be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, is the moſt glorious and meritorious Action that any Prince can perform.

In Conformity to this Anſwer of the Emperor, the Biſhop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Eſcarnier*, Father *John* of *Salamanca*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera*, were by the Inquiſitor General, and his *Junta*, diſpatch'd to *Valencia* as their Commiſſaries, to require all that had been baptized at the Command of the Commons, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, to come and be confirmed, and upon their repenting of their Apoſtacy to the *Mahometan* Law, to be abſolved from it. Theſe Commiſſaries were well received in *Valencia* by the Commons, but very ill by the Barons, they being apprehenſive the Work they came about, muſt end either in a great Slaughter of the *Moriſcoes*, or in their total Expulſion; of which, now the Emperor was by the Pope releaſed from the Oath he was under not to do it, they lived in a continual Fear.

All or moſt of the *Moriſcoes* that had been compelled by the Commons to receive Baptiſm, (who were reckoned to have

been about fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Families) having, as ſoon as that Fury was over, returned to the open Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Law, when they heard of the Commiſſaries being come, fled with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Bernia*; and ſo far were the Barons from ſtopping them, which they might have done with Eaſe, that they rather encouraged them to it, hoping by ſo great a Commotion, to have made the Emperor change his Inquiſition Methods; as in all Probability it would have done, had not that young Prince's Head, (which was ſo full of the Glory of having the *French* King his Priſoner) been by the Inquiſitors and their Creatures poſſeſſed with a Conceit of that Honour's having been beſtowed on *Spain*, for no other Reaſon, but to oblige her, in Gratitude to Heaven, not to ſuffer any that were not baptized, to live in any of her Territories. So great Artiſts are Inquiſitors, to give ſuch a turn to all extraordinary Bleſſings, as well as Calamities, and to all unuſual Appearances in the Heavens, tho they are common to other Nations, that are not of their Religion, as to poſſeſs their Prince with their being all loud and immediate Calls from God to him, to extirpate all that are Enemies to Popery.

It

It was in the Month of *April*, that this great Body of *Moriſcoes* fled to the Mountains; and tho the Commiſſaries did all that they were able, both by great Promiſes, and by great Threatnings, to have brought them to ſubmit, it was the Middle of *Auguſt* before they were brought to it; when ſeeing Troops coming from all Quarters to attack them, upon a Promiſe from the Commiſſaries of a general Pardon for their Apoſtacies, and all the other Offences which they had committed againſt the King and the Inquiſition, they all came from among the Mountains, and having confeſſed their Apoſtacy, and ſaid, they were ſorry for it, they were all abſolved, and afterwards confirmed; which Confirmation was exactly of a Piece with the Baptiſm it ſuppoſed, having both been procured by an extreme Violence, and without any thing of Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Faith.

The Work they were ſent to do in *Valencia* being thus finiſhed, the Commiſſaries were preparing to return to *Madrid*, when a Proclamation came forth, commanding all the *Moriſcoes* that had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, forthwith to receive that Sacrament; with which Proclamation, Orders were ſent to the Commiſſaries to remain

in *Valencia*, to ſee it executed by a general Converſion of all the *Moriſcoes*.

This *general Converſion*, as the *Spaniards* call it, was begun in the City of *Valencia*, where it was ſoon over, there being but few *Moriſcoes* in that City that had not been baptized at the Command of the Commons: But in *Almonacir*, a great Town, that conſiſted of unbaptiz'd *Moriſcoes*, the Gates were ſhut againſt the Commiſſaries; and all that were in it that were able to bear Arms, having taken them up, they declared they would die fighting, rather than be either Slaves or Chriſtians.

This Town was cloſely beſieged by regular Troops, from the twentieth of *October* to the fourteenth of *February*: On which Day, after much Blood had been ſhed on both ſides in Attacks and Sallies, it was taken by Storm, and moſt of the *Moriſcoes* that were in it put to the Sword; the reſt had their Lives ſpared, upon their yielding to be baptized. The Baron of *Cortea* was ſingular, in being himſelf as violent as if he had been a Commiſſary, to force all his Vaſſals to be chriſten'd; but his Singularity coſt him dear; he, with ſeventeen more that were in his Company, being killed by the *Moriſcoes*, as they were converting them after a very lordly manner. But this general Converſion

ſion no where met with ſo great Contradiction, as in the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Segorbe*; who, notwithſtanding he had the Commiſſary *Guevera* with him, to ſatisfy him of the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of converting Infidels to the Faith in that manner, was nevertheleſs, of all the Nobles of *Valencia*, the moſt eager againſt it.

On the twenty third Day of *November*, the *Moriſcoes* of the Valleys of *Segorbe*, *Uxa*, and of *Almanocir*, and of the River of *Monvedro*, having taken up Arms with a full purpoſe to die, rather than turn Chriſtians, they repaired with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Eſpadon*, reſolving to lay their Bones there, if they ſhould not be able to obtain leave to live quietly in the Poſſeſſion of the *Mahometan* Law. Upon the News of this great Inſurrection, three thouſand Diſciplined Men were, by Queen *Germana*, ſent with the Commiſſaries, to have ſuppreſs'd it in the beginning; but thoſe Apoſtolical Troops being neither numerous enough to Inveſt that long Ridge of ſteep Mountains, nor brave enough to Aſſault them, they gave the *Moriſcoes* but little diſturbance; who ſallying out frequently by Night in great Bodies, return'd laden with Proviſions; of

which they had likewiſe good Store from the *Moriſcoes* that lived near thoſe Mountains, who, tho' they had been Baptiſed, did uſe to ſay, that they did not grudge to give the Bread out of their own, and their Childrens Mouths, to feed *Muſſelmen*, who were fighting for the Honour of their Prophet *Mahomet*. Chriſtians worthy of forc'd Converſions, Baptiſms, and Confirmations! In their Sallies, the *Moriſcoes* are ſaid to have given no Quarter to old Chriſtians, and to have deſtroy'd all the Churches, Images, and Relicks that they met with: This Inſurrection growing daily more formidable, the Standard of *Valencia*, which all the Barons are bound to follow when it takes the Field, was ſent to the Mountains of *Eſpadon*; but it was ſo thinly attended there, that the *Moriſcoes*, after it was ſet up, were as little diſturbed as they were before.

The Emperor, who was at that time at *Toledo*, perceiving that the *Spaniſh* armed Apoſtles, had neither Faith enough to remove the Mountains of *Eſpadon*, nor Courage enough to ſtorm them, diſpatched three thouſand *Germans* he had with him, with expreſs Orders to aſſault thoſe Mountaineers without breaking Ground; which the *Germans*, having joyned the *Spaniards*, did ſo vigorouſly the Morning after they arrived, that before Noon

Noon they had made themſelves Maſters of the Mountains, and did put all the *Moriſcoes*, Men, Women and Children, that they met with, to the Sword; whereas the *Spaniards* killed only the old People, giving the Young their Lives, on condition that they would be Baptized; tho' after they had been Chriſtened by the Commiſſaries, they ſold them for Slaves, which was the Puniſhment of their Rebellion.

Above five thouſand *Moriſcoes* were killed in this Action, but not above ſixty three *Germans* and *Spaniards*; among the Wounded of which Nation, was the Commiſſary, Fryar *Guevera*, as he himſelf tells us, boaſting of it as of an Apoſtolical Honour.

Such was the *General Converſion* of the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*, ſaith a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, which was begun on *September*, in the Year 1524. and was finiſhed on *October*, in the Year 1525. and for my part I cannot but ſay, to the great Diſhonour of Chriſtianity, its Profeſſors having made uſe of Methods worſe than the *Mahometan*, to convert *Mahometans* to its Faith; I ſay, worſe than the *Mahometan*, becauſe, tho it is true, that the Sword was by the Impoſtor *Mahomet* appointed to be the great Inſtrument of propagating his Religion thro' the World; yet he gave the

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Sword a Commiſſion only to conquer Nations to that End; but not to compel the Conquered perſonally to profeſs his Faith; leaving that to the Advantages and Encouragements which do naturally attend a Religion that is regnant.

But tho the Emperor was by the Pope and his Agents perſwaded (to the great Profanation of the Sacrament of Baptiſm) by theſe extream violent Methods to compel all the *Moriſcoes* to be baptized, he was nevertheleſs ſo far from being willing that they ſhould be all driven out of *Spain*, that he did all he was able to prevent their leaving it; witneſs his impoſing it as an Article in his Agreement with *Hazem* King of *Tunis*, when he was reſtored by him to his Kingdom, That he ſhould never ſuffer any of the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*, *Granada*, or of any other Part of *Spain*, to harbour within any of his Dominions, which was the Country they commonly fled to.

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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

took up Arms to defend themſelves againſt it; but being 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 baptiz'd.

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 apoſtatiz'd 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, agreed to it, and (having Power from the Pope ſo to do, 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 Fryars 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 Fryar came down triumphant from the Pulpit, inſulting over the *Moriſcoes* as Infidels that were ſo ſtrongly prejudic'd 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 Fryars, and particularly *Micon*, the Pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preach-

preaching to the *Moriſcoes*, did, according 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 *Cortez* 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

E-

Eſtate of any *Moriſco* that was condemned by them; their real Eſtates being to go to their Lords, and their perſonal to their Heirs at Law: By which Bargain, to which the Inquiſitors were with much ado 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 Apoſtates.*

In a Letter written by *Lewis Bertram*, a *Dominican* Fryar, in the Year 1579. to the Duke of *Neguiera*, Vice-Roy of *Valencia*, we meet with an Account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Fryar, who has been beatify'd by the Pope, did judge to be the moſt proper to make them true Catholicks.

Fryar

Fryar *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 mild and merciful Methods will never do any good with them: My Opinion is, that the Secular and Eccleſiaſtick 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*

keep them from being treated after such a manner: For 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* Morisco*es 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.]

In order to the making this first Remedy effectual, the Morisco*es 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 Mulcts, not to speak that Language; they must also be forced to go to Church on* Sundays *and* Holydays; *and no* Morisca *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* Bap-

-tism

tiſm *to be adminiſtred to the Children of any of the* Moriſcoes, *without taking them from their Parents; ſince it is morally certain, that 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 IId. 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 *Valencia*, 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 Obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes*, it was judg'd to flow chiefly from their having never been ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. The Fryars, 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

Ma-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Valencia*, 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 approving of this Advice, when it was offered him, rather than that of his Confessor Father *Pedro Fernandez*, (whose Heart the King is said to have broke, because he would not be perswaded by him, that he was bound in Conscience to rid *Spain* of all the *Moriscoes*, since they were never to be made true Christians) did, by his Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, obtain a *Breve* from *Gregory* XIII. bearing Date the 16*th* of *June*, 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbishoprick of *Valencia* with a Yearly Pension of

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 the things that promoted their Expulſion.

The Archbiſhop and other Eccleſiaſticks, 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 ſolliciting their Princes to rid *Spain* of them, as of incorrigible Hereticks 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The Archbishop, that his having deny'd to pay this new Pension (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 Covetousness, 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 *Valencia*, none that were not Natives, were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with Cure of Souls, that Law was dispens'd with as to all the *Morisco* 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 Archbishop's, 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 *Valencia*: So that as to their Religion,

ligion, 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 Apoſtacies, 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.

An EDICT of Grace.

To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, the Biſhops of *Tortoſa*, *Segorve*, and *Origuela*, Pope *Clement* VIIIth, Health, and Apoſtolical Benediction.

OUR moſt dear Son in Chriſt, Philip, *the* Catholick *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 the* Moriſcoes *of* Valencia, *and other new Converts to* Chriſtianity, *fully inſtructed in the* Catholick Faith, *and that he has been aſſured by grave and honeſt Men, of the ſaid* Moriſcoes *continuing ſtill* Mahometans;

metans; *He does therefore humbly supplicate us, to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the thorow Conversion of the said* Moriscoes, *or new* Converts; *In answer whereto, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies as we could.*

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 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, Sacrileges, 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* Moses: *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 Reduction of straying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, and earnestly desiring the aforesaid true, sincere, and perfect Conversion of the said* Moriscoes, *or new Converts, and the Removal*

moval 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, whether Seculars or Regulars of whatſoever Order, and as many as you ſhall judge to be neceſſary to hear the Confeſſions of the ſaid Moriſcoes *or new Converts, and of all ſuch as have relieved and encouraged them, and to abſolve all ſuch only in the Court of Conſcience from all Hereſies or Errors, or Apoſtacies 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* Cœna 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, or of this Grace, appear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on condition, that during the said time of Instruction, or times of Grace, they do with a sincere Heart, and true Faith, confess themselves, and humbly desire and receive Penance; and do anathematize 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 Apostacies, Heresies and Errors; there being imposed on every one of them at the pleasure of the said Confessors, healthful Penances, according to the Quality of their Faults and Excesses, being such as shall be judged to be proper for the Medicine 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-

confirm, that they may abſolve, reconcile and admit into the Boſom of Holy Mother Church, for the ſpace of four Years only, all Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Privileges, Indults, and the Letters which are uſed to be read on the Day of Cœna Domini, *and other Apoſtolical Letters whatſoever; As alſo all Conſtitutions 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 they 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 *Valencia*; 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* Valencia.

Reverend Father in Chriſt, and well Beloved Counſellor.

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 Commissaries. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he should communicate with you and the rest of the Prelates, concerning 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, which 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 any where 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 *Valencia*, to whom the Nomination

tion 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, which immediately after its Expiration were given in to the King by the Archbiſhop of *Valencia*; the Subſtance of which Memorials I ſhall here ſet down in that Prelate'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 *Valencia*, 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 *Al-*

'*coran*,

'*coran*, 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 *Edict of Grace* was publi-'shed among them; in that we have not 'been able to perswade one of that Race 'to make use of it. For I did plainly di-'scover by the Conferences I my self had 'with their chief Men, that they are all 'in Correspondence one with another, 'and did all speak, as it were, with the 'same Mouth; the Answer they univer-'sally gave us, being, *That they were true 'Christians, and did intend to continue so: 'That they had learnt the* Christian Do-'ctrine, *or* Catechism, *when they were 'Children, and did send their Children to 'learn it: That they confessed themselves to 'their Curates, and had never concealed a-'ny 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 lied to 'me, they did then either remain silent, 'or did repeat the same Answers again. 'The *Mahometan* Fast, which hapned to 'be at that very time, was kept by them

'with

'with greater Strictneſs than they had 'ever obſerv'd 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 only '6 Women gave any ſign of being reduced; 'and them we had no great reaſon to truſt 'neither, Experience having taught us, 'that when they are at any time diſcon-'tented with their Parents, or Husbands, 'they will then, in a Paſſion, pretend to 'turn Chriſtians, but without having ever 'ſeriouſly intended 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 com-'monly 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 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; who 'having been all born and bred among 'us, are perfectly acquainted with our 'whole Coaſts and Country; and who

'being

'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 Catholick Religion, and 'the Crown of *Spain*; and especially at 'this time, when the Sect of the Politici-'ans prevails so much, who do permit 'Subjects to choose their own Religion. 'Consider therefore now, that the Crown 'of *Spain* is so generally hated on the ac-'count of its Zeal for the Catholick Reli-'gion, and out of Emulation at its Pro-'sperity, whether it is not possible that 'an Enemy should be encouraged to in-'vade us, by having so many among us, 'to join with him, and them such, who be-'ing (as they reckon) provoked and 'wronged by us, will fight furiously a-'gainst us for their Estate and Religion. 'All this, saith he, is so manifest, that 'we can never wonder enough, that such 'wise and valiant Kings, as *Charles* V. 'and *Philip* II. who had such zealous

'and

'and experienced Counſellors, have de-
'ferred the remedying of ſo great an E-
'vil. 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, was to pluck them up by 'the Roots at once. This Doctrine, ſaith 'he, is taught 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) as 'to look after the Good and Peace of their 'Subjects. So the firſt Rulers that were 'appointed of God, were commanded by 'him to maintain their Subjects in Peace, 'and to deſtroy all the Cities of their E-'nemies, 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 forborn 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 *Philiſtines*, which he did. From 'which Examples it is manifeſt, that your 'Majeſty, as King, and ſupreme Lord, is 'bound in Conſcience to defend and pre-

'ſerve

'ſerve your Kingdoms, which you can-
'not do, if you do not baniſh all the *Mo-*
'*riſcoes*, 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 Ma-
'jeſty may lawfully make all thoſe Chil-
'dren Slaves; neither would your Maje-
'ſty 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 *Moriſ-*
'*coes* to depart out of theſe Kingdoms, if
'they would not be baptized; that Em-
'peror hoping, that by having baptized
'them, they would, of Enemies, become
'our Friends; which they were ſo far
'from, that they became more our Ene-
'mies than they had been before; ſo that
'we have all great cauſe to lament its ha-
'ving ever been done. Neither will your
'Majeſty, in expelling all the *Moriſcoes*,
'do any more than our Chronicles tell us
'hath been done anciently in *Spain*. King

'*Si-*

'*Siſebut*, in the Year 614, commanded all 'the *Jews* in *Spain* to be baptized, upon 'Pain of perpetual Baniſhment; and up-'on thoſe *Jews* having afterwards apoſta-'tiz'd, King *Egyra* made complaint there-'of to the Council of *Toledo*; which de-'creed, that the Eſtates of all thoſe Apo-'ſtates 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 iminent danger *Spain* is in. Where-'fore, as your Majeſty's moſt faithful Sub-'ject and Chaplain, I do humbly ſuppli-'cate you, to lay this Affair of the *Moriſ-'coes* before your Council, as the weigh-'tieſt of your whole Government, and 'that the Reſolution which ſhall be taken, 'may be ſpeedily executed: For the *Mo-'riſcoes* do encreaſe 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

'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 ſe-'cond 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 ſollicited the King to expel all the *Moriſcoes*, but he did farther take upon him to direct the King how it might be executed; telling him 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 recom-'mended 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

'be examined whether they do go to Con-
'feſſion, and do communicate, and whe-
'ther 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 *Ma-*
'*hometans*, 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 ta-
'ken, the *Moriſcoes* ſhould be found guil-
'ty, 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, which ought to be but ſhort.

'And tho it is true, (he goes on) that
'thorough the Notoriety of their Guilt,
'the taking of ſuch an Information is not
'in the Rigor of Juſtice neceſſary, never-
'theleſs, ſince the taking of it will tend
'to the Juſtification of your Majeſty's
'proceeding with the *Moriſcoes*, it is con-
'venient that it ſhould be taken: neither
'will any then be able to condemn the
'foreſaid Sentence, which will be agreea-
'ble 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'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 abundant-'ly, though they were to be punished ca-'pitally; 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 espe-'cially when they cannot be safely obser-'ved, as they cannot in this Case; in 'which to prevent publick Disturbances, 'it is necessary, that the Sentence and its 'Execution should go together. And 'though it may not seem to be so proper 'for one of my Profession, as for your Ma-'jesty'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 *Moriscoes*, I shall 'nevertheless humbly offer my Thoughts 'to your Majesty concerning it: Which 'are, That it must not be attempted with-

'out

'out having a good Army and Fleet in 'readineſs, to prevent Inſurrections. And 'I have always reckoned your Majeſty's 'unproſperous Attempt upon *Algiers*, to 'have been a particular Providence of God, 'graciouſly diſpoſing things for your Ma-'jeſty's Advantage. Now that Loſs will 'ſerve for a Blind for your Majeſty's Pre-'paration by Sea and Land, to expel all 'the *Moriſcoes*; the World being of Opi-'nion, that that Attempt upon *Algiers* 'having been your Majeſty's firſt Enter-'prize, 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 Ser-'vice, ſend them to your Gallies, as *He-'raclius* the Emperor did with the *Sara-'cens*: You may alſo ſend ſome Thou-'ſands of them to your Mines in the *Indies*, 'and ſo go on conſuming them, and preſer-'ving your old Chriſtian Subjects.

'And though it is ſufficient to engage 'your Majeſty to rid *Spain* of all the *Mo-'riſcoes*; only to let you know that you 'are bound in Conſcience, and under the 'pain of a mortal Sin, to do it; neverthe-'leſs, ſince the expelling of them will be 'attended with great Advantages, both 'Spiritual and Temporal, I cannot for-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'bear 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, about baptizing those who 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, 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, saith he, *I will repeat what I have often affirmed; which is, That your Majesty may without any Scruple of Conscience,*

ſcience, 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*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Valencia*, 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 *Valencia*, all that was ſaid in it of the ancient *Moriſco* College, having been of great Advantage to 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 turn'd afterwards as much* Mahometans *as they could have been*, *had they never ſeen it*.

While the Archbiſhop was labouring thus to perſwade the King to rid *Spain* of the

the *Moriſcoes*, the Barons of *Valencia* 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 untilled, 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 perſwade 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 meer Chimera or Dream; 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 Whimſies 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 King's Enemies, to convict them of that Treaſon upon a fair legal Tryal, that they might be juſtly puniſhed for it; which they could not be, barely upon a vehement Declamation of their being all guilty of Treaſon.

And as to the Argument, That the *Moriſcoes* were all *Mahometans*; the Barons

answered, 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 *Mahometans*, 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 hindred 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 tried 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,

Head, were ſo prejudic'd againſt *Chriſtians*, on the account of that and other conſequent Violences which they had uſed 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 apoſtatiz'd 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*, 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.

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, enclining 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; which it was certain, could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that cannot be forc'd: So that tho Force both might, and ought to be uſed in ſuch Caſes, for the removing of all outward Impediments to Peoples em-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 forſake 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 Chriſtians in the *Faith*, ought to be cheriſhed and handled tenderly; and all that are employ'd 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 *Valencia*, by any of the *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 expel the *Moriſcoes*, but to go on, endeavouring to

to make them all *True Christians*; and in order thereunto, so soon as the *Cortes* was over, he dispatched *Don Francisco de Quesada* to *Rome*, with an Honourable Salary, 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* College to be Built, and Endowed, and the *Moriscoe* 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, yet were not very zealous to have them executed; because, if they had, they would 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

in a caſe too wherein their Authority in ſuch an Application, was backed by the King's. 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 He therefore, inſtead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the laſt Penſion wherewith his Biſhoprick had been charged, gave 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

ving obtained any Victories over the *Chriſtians*, and particularly the *Spaniards*, and how that Treaſonable Joy of theirs had never appeared ſo barefac'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 reyly'd, That the *Moriſcoes* were not young Plants, but old barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Hereſy and Treaſons; the youngeſt of them having been planted in the Faith above fourſcore Years; And that thoſe about *Abula* and *Valedolid* had been planted in it ever ſince thoſe Countries were taken from the *Moors*; and notwithſtanding that they were as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts, as the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*.

3. To the Barons having affirmed, That the *Moriſcoes* had never been ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion; he reply'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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

be truly affirmed of ſome of the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*, 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 *Valencian Moriſcoes*, it could not of thoſe of *Aragon* and *Caſtile*, 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: 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,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, tho 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*, one of his Suffragans, 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, by our having such 'vast Numbers of those Infidels among 'us; and the Treasons they are continu-'ally plotting against us, and the Rancor 'and

'and Hatred wherewith they do abominate 'both us and our Religion, and the Affe-'ction 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 Com-'monwealth, ought to alarm a Chriſtian 'Prince, ſo as not to delay to ſecure *Spain* 'againſt ſuch Domeſtick Enemies. It being 'much better and ſurer, as Cardinal *Torque-'meda* obſerved, for us to deſtroy the *Mo-'riſcoes*, than to continue doubtful and ſcru-'pulous whether we may lawfully do it or 'not, until we are deſtroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulſi-on, was one *James Bleda*, a *Dominican Fryar*, who for ſeveral Years was continually foot-ing it betwixt the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, to excite the King and the Pope to turn all the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*, or to de-ſtroy them all in it; And as this hot-headed Fryar did call all the Eccleſiaſticks 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 ſpare any of them upon their profeſſing them-ſelves Chriſtians, but follow the holy and

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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*, was given to the *Irish Papists* by *Con à Mahony*, 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 Country-men, to cut the Throats of all the *Protestants* in *Ireland*.

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 Years (that is, betwixt the Year* 1641, *and the Year* 1645.) *wherein I write this, killed an hundred and fifty thousand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge*; *neither*

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 chuſe 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 Roias y Sandoval*, 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 oppo-

ſed 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 *Valencia*, to aſſemble, and conſult together about the effectual means of Converting the *Moriſcoes* to the *Chriſtian Faith*, thoſe *Breves* which bore Date the 11*th* 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 15*th* of *April*, in the Year 1608. when the Cardinal Primate

mate was returned home (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 to give the King a handle for the expelling of them all. And accordingly the *Valencian* 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* Valencia *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 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

But though this Impolitick Determination was owing chiefly to the Counsels of the Duke *de Lerma*, and his Brother, the Cardinal Primate; the thing that enclined 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 *Valencia*, 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, saith that Archbishop, more than threescore 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,

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 in 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 Tempeſts, and Earthquakes that had been in ſeveral Parts of *Spain*, and of its having been legible in all of them, that they were 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 24*th* of *December*, 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, ſaith *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, reſerved to your Majeſty, 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*.

If

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

If the King gave as much Credit to this glorious Aſtrological Prediction, as he is ſaid to have done to the blind Story of the Bell at *Vilila* (a Village in *Arragon*) having rung it ſelf for ſeveral Days together, to ring the Knell of the *Moriſcoes*, and to other prodigious Calls to expel them; we need the leſs wonder at his doing it. For ſince the ſecuring the Peace of their own Country, during their Abſence, has been always the firſt Care of all wiſe and great Conquerors, King *Philip* would have ſhew'd himſelf very defective in point of Wiſdom, if intending to go and conquer thoſe vaſt remote *Mahometan* Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, he had left as many *Mahometans* behind him in *Spain*, as there were *Moriſcoes* there.

The Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, after having uſed all the Arts and Arguments that he could deviſe, to perſwade the King to expel 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 ſolicit it, he writ to the Pope, and ſent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope as follows.

'It is now, moſt Holy Father, ſeven 'and forty Years ſince I, tho unworthy, 'was by the Grace of God, and the Holy

'Apo-

'Apostolical 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 my self in 'Person, and by the Ministery of Learned, 'Religious, and Holy Men, have tried all 'ways possible to reduce 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 apostatiz'd from our Holy Religion, and with 'an astonishing Obstinacy embraced the '*Mahometan* Sect, and 'tis now above 'fourscore Years since their Ancestors were 'baptized.

'All of 'em that are now alive have 'been baptized in the time of their Infancy. And there have been ever since that 'time, Parochial Churches erected in 'most of their Villages by your Holiness's 'Predecessors, which have also been planted with Ministers, and Rectors, to instruct them in the *Christian Doctrine*. 'Yea, and our Lords the Kings have also 'been extremely zealous to procure their

'Con-

'Converſion; and in order thereunto, an 'Edict of Grace was granted unto them 'by Pope *Clement* VII. And your Holi-'neſs, 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 effe-'ctual 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; yet being ſenſible, that the Diſperſion of ſo many thouſands of Families as would follow upon the Expulſion, would fill the World with Horror, unleſs it were fully ſa-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

satisfy'd of the *Moriscoes* Treasons; he did therefore 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 should have answered the End for which it was design'd; For he 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 barefac'd as in the Year* 1601, *when his Majesty's Fleet suffer'd so much before* Algiers.

II. *That there was nothing they commended 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 old* Christian Beggars, *or did keep them in Caves, until they had an*

Op-

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 Maſs, 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,*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

but purely to prevent their being made Christians.

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* Valencia, *having ordered a great Number of* Moriscoes *to be whip'd 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 chearfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testify, that when he was an Inquisitor in* Valencia, *a certain* Morisco *Woman was so far from being asham'd of the* St. Benit, *when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have another of them, to make a Child she had at home a Coat.*

IX. *That when any of the* Moriscoes *escaped 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

X. *That beſides* Alfaques, *who inſtructed them in the* Mahometan *Law, they had* Alcaides *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 ad-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 meer 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,

Chri-

Chriſtian or *Mahometan*, that would grant them Liberty of Conſcience, are things ſo natural, that the 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 accus'd 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* Ambaſſador, 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 debauch-*

ing 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 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 Malefactors for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of *Lerma*, the first Minister, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Toledo*, had set their Hearts extremely 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 procuring 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 thither they all went, who were left to their Liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that was

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 of few or none of them that ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spaniſh* Garriſon 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 *Valencia* 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, 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 take the following Particulars to have been the Cauſes of the 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 ex-*

pelled 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.*

II. *The 2d Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a Consequence of the First. And that 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* Missionaries *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.*

III. *The 3d 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 as 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 Con-*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Conquerors, feed themſelves ſtill with Hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or idle Traditional Stories, of ſeeing the Moors, *at one time or other Maſters of* Spain *again.*

IV. *The 4th 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 Spaniards *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 diſſem-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ble, that they shall never dare to trust 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 unintermitting 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* Fryar, 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 subdued 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*, having had few or no *Christians* in them, which could not otherwise have been; since

ſince few, beſides Soldiers, and thoſe in no very great Numbers neither, and with very few Women, ever came 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 ſaith, 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 *Salucio*'s is much confirmed by a Letter, written 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 Fryar 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*. But to return to the Thread of the Hiſtory.

The King, and the *Angel of his Great Council*, as the Fryars call'd the Duke of *Lerma*, on this Occaſion, having fix'd the

Month of *September*, in the Year 1609. for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, 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 dispatch'd 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*, 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 *Alicant*.

The Barons, who had not the least Suspicion of these Preparations, being made to transport the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom into *Barbary*, were first alarm'd by *Don Peter de Mercia*, Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, a great Soldier, being sent from Court to *Valencia*, and *Don Peter de Toledo*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, being

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ing ſent at the ſame time to *Denia*, the firſt being to command the Land Forces, and the ſecond the whole Fleet, 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 they were much confirmed, by their Archbiſhop's 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; for he, it ſeems, was in the Secret.

Upon this Alarm the Barons aſſembled themſelves in the City of *Valencia*; 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 preſent great Preparations, they diſpatched ſome Deputies to the Marquiſs 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 Arm's* 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 *Valencia*; 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 *Valencia* 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 being

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 deſign'd 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 doing any thing.

The *Viceroy* having been inform'd of the great Heat the *Barons* had been in, 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 Oppoſition, from diſcharging their Duty to their Country and Poſterity.

But

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 *adjourn, and repair before Night to their reſpective Houſes.*

But if the *Barons* were angry before, this unexpected Adjournment made them much more ſo. And therefore when they met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords as ſoon as they entred 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 *Vilila* 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

and that he died of pure Paſſion, thorough a too violent Agitation of his Spirits.

But tho 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* Moriſcoes, *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, 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* Moriſcoes *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:

Honourable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, thorow a long Series of Years, 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 Damage 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, who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, 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 Treason against God and their King. Although we might*

might have proceeded againſt them with the Rigor which their Crimes do deſerve, yet we continuing deſirous, 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 Valencia, 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.

Farthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turks having concluded a Peace with the Perſian, and with ſome of his Rebellious Sub-

jects,

jects, 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 Hereticks about Ships to transport an Army of Moors into Spain; which those Hereticks have promised to supply him with: And 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 Apostacy 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: With which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted, on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the Desire to secure 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

whereof

whereof cannot be delay'd 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, to be aſſiſtant to it, as you ſhall be directed by the Marquiſs 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* 11*th 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 Treaſons mentioned in it, as they had

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

some Years before, when they called them *Specalations* and *Chimeras*, were not at all satisfy'd with it, though the great Fleet and Army that were at that time in their Ports, oblig'd them to submit to what it ordered.

And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom was published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Places of the City of *Valencia*, and in a short time after in all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom.

The BAN *of Expulſion.*

The King, and in His Majeſty's Name,

Don Lewis Cavillo de Toledo, Marqueſs of *Carazena*, Lord of the Towns of *Pinto*, and *Ynes*, Commendador of *Chicklene* and *Montizon*, Viceroy, Lieutenant, and Captain General of the City and Kingdom of *Valencia*, for our Lord the King.

To all the Grandees, Prelates, Titulars, Barons, Knights, Juſtices, and Jurors of the Cities, Towns, and Villages, and to the General Bayliffs and Governors, and to all other his Majeſty's Officers; and to all Citizens, Peaſants, and all other Perſons whatſoever:

His Majeſty in his Royal Letter, bearing Date the 4th of *Auguſt*, in this preſent Year, and ſigned with his own Royal Hand, and counter-ſigned by *Andrew de Prada*, his Secretary of State, wrote to me as followeth:

To the *Marqueſs de Carazena*, our Couſin and Lieutenant, and Capt. General of our Kingdom of *Valencia*,

KNOW Ye, &c.

I do not here inſert the King's *Letter* to the *Viceroy*, becauſe it is, *mutatis mutandis*,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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* Ban *to be published.*

I. THAT all the *Moriscoes* of this Kingdom, Men, Women, and Children shall within three Days after the Publication of this *Ban* 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 *Ban*, who-

whoſoever 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 *Ban*, abſent themſelves from the Places where they lived, they ſhall be apprehended by any Perſon that ſhall meet with them, and ſuch Perſons 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 that Place where it is done, whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant all their Goods, Moveables, and Immoveables, beſides thoſe they can 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 *Ban*, but they ſhall all remain where they

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

were at that time, until the Commiſſaries, who are to conduct them to the Sea-ſide, 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 *Moriſcoes* 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 ſatisfy'd 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 embarque at the firſt Voyage, to return, to inform thoſe that are behind how they were uſed. The ſame ſhall be obſerv'd in every Embarcation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who ſhall not ſuffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuſe the *Moriſcoes*, either by Word or Deed.

IX. Their Children, Male and Female, that are under four Years old, whoſe Parents, or if they are Orphans, whoſe

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Moriſco*: But if the Father be a *Moriſco*, 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* Ban *be executed, and that they ſhall be executed*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ted without Remiſſion; and to the intent it may come to the Knowledge of all, that it be publiſhed in the cuſtomary Form.

Dated at the Palace of *Valencia*, on the 22d 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 *Ban*, and that it would make all the *Moriſcoes* deſperate, did at the ſame time with the *Ban*, 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 Governour* Don James Ferrer, *whoſe Guard-houſe 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 Guard-houſe ſhall be in the* Hoſpital.

From

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

From the Gate of Racafa *to that of the* Innocents, *they shall be guarded by the Regiment of* Don Francis Juan, *whose Guard-house shall be the* Port-house 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 Guard-house 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 Guard-house shall be the New Gate.*

From the Gate of Serrenes *to the Palace, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde Bennel, *whose Guard-house shall be the* Gate de Serrenes.

The Company of Hundred shall repair to the Close of the See Church *and the* Town-house.

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 at*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Sergeant, 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.

The

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 Fryars *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 patrole 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

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 *Ban* 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* Valencia, *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.

IT *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 Tranquillity, we do truſt in God, that his Majeſty's Commands in this Affair will meet with a ready Obedience, ſo as to compaſs the Ends at which it aims. And whereas this is a Matter of the higheſt Moment, both*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Rectors 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 3d, 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.

But

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 enlightned 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*, has nevertheleſs out of his cuſtomary Clemency and Benignity, only baniſhed thoſe that troubled us; which was according to St. *Paul*'s Deſire.

This

'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 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 Af-'fair, 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 what-'soever they shall ordain, so it be not con-'trary to your Profession, and you shall let 'them know that I have ordered you so to 'do; And if you should want my Ad-'vice on any Occasion, you may, and 'I hope you will, write freely to me 'for it.

And

'And whereas our Lord the King has 'out of his great Piety, and for the greater 'Security of his Royal Conſcience, Order-'ed 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 *Moriſco*, being to remain with them, 'but in caſe the Father be a *Moriſco*, and 'the Mother an *Old Chriſtian*, the Father 'being to be expelled, and the Children 'that are under ſix Years old, being to re-'main behind with their Mother) as alſo 'that none of thoſe ſhall 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*, nor any of thoſe who 'have with the Licence of their Prelates, 'received the moſt Holy Sacrament, ha-'ving a Certificate thereof from the Rector 'of their Pariſh. All theſe Particulars 'you ſhall take great Care to ſee executed 'in your Pariſh; and if there ſhall be Oc-'caſion, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'they will have no regard to you, seeing 'the most Illustrious, and Excellent, the 'Marques of *Carazena*, 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 Heaven.* As to those, both 'you and I are under 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 Mi-'nistry that is committed to you, and will 'so demean your selves therein, *that others 'seeing your good Works, may be edify'd there-'by*, and that I may have Cause to thank 'you, both by Word and Deed, for your 'Care and Vigilance 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 Accommodations,

Given at our Archiepis-copal Palace, the 22d of Septem. 1609.

The Patriarch,

Archbishop of

Valencia.

The

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 *Ban* was publiſhed; which was the Day whereon he had ordered the *Sacrament* to be uncover'd 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 expel the *Moriſcoes*, he adviſed 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 *Moriſco* 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 *Chriſtia-*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

nity, that was bred till he was of that Age in the *Mahometan Sect*. But being afterwards further enlightned, 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* Valencia *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* Moriscoes, *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

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 tho 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 *Ban of Expulſion* had thrown them into, ſome of the chief Men among them met privately together at *Valencia*, to conſult whether it was poſſible to divert this terrible Storm that was come upon them ſo unexpectedly. For the *Moriſcoes* had for two Years before, (that is, from the time the Expulſion was determined at Court) been 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 *Ban*, of *all thoſe who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a Licenſe from their Prelates.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

It was agreed at this Meeting, that they ſhould make an Addreſs to the *Viceroy*; 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 *Ban*, 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 *Spaniſh* Captives 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 *Valencia*: This Addreſs was preſented to the *Viceroy* 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* Ban, *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

medy they had left; but that Motion, conſidering the Poſture and Government they were in at that time, being rejected as Madneſs, they could think of no better way to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſuffer them all to ſtay, than by perſwading the *Moriſco* Families, which were allowed by the *Ban* 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 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 perſwaded 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 ſweetned the *Ban* ſo much to them, as the

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 *Ban* 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 perſwaded 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* Ban *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 gratify 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 incommodious 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 believ'd all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the Danger and Incommodity of carrying ſo many young Children aboard the Gallies that would be ſo peſter'd; they were reſolv'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 mercileſs to their Parents.

On St *Francis*'s Day a thing hapned, if it was not deſign'd, that had like to have eaſed the *Spaniards* of the Charge and Trouble of Tranſporting the *Moriſcoes*, who,

who, had it not been for the Viceroy's prudent Conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Viceroy 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 entring 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 *Valencia, and they 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 *Buriaser*, 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

The Viceroy, 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 Viceroy, 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 are not told of this falſe Alarm's having had any Tragical Effects, only it is ſaid, that after the Publication of the

Ban,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ban, the Roads, and Fields were every where 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 *Banditti*, who were at that time very numerous in *Valencia*.

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 Viceroy, they repaired to their several Charges; and the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia*, and of the Sea-coast 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 *Vineros*.

The Fleet whereon the *Moriscoes* were embarqued, having joined at Sea, had a very quick Passage to *Oran*, a Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*, where being all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Viceroy of *Tremezen*, 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 Viceroy having received their Depu-

Deputies with great Kindneſs, did immediately diſpatch *Cid Almanſor* to them with 500 Ginets, and 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: Which Order was executed by *Almanſor* with great Care and Tenderneſs. For he 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 Privileges 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 *Moriſcoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time, theſe of the firſt Embarcation fared the beſt in *Barbary*: Of which kind Uſage, and of their having been civily treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an Account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to *Spain* by ten *Moriſcoes* that were of that Embarcation.

The King being 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 *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, 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 *Valencia* 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*, 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 *Viceroy*'s 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 Fryars 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 Embarcations were diſpatched, *Don Auſtin 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* being taken Priſoner, was ſent to *Valencia*, 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 Slaughrer of the *Moriſcoes*, whoſe Leader *Vincent* being 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 aſhore on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; but their Children, who were a great many thouſands, were ſold by the Soldiers to the *Spaniards*, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats a Piece.

Upon

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Years after they were Twelve Years 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 *Valencia* was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the *Moriſcoes* which had been ſold by the Soldiers, that were under Fifteen 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 writing 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*

teen Years old) after two or three Generations, Valencia *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 every body, *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 22d of *January*, 1610. the *Ban* 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:

The King.

'AS Princes are oblig'd in Conscience
'to exterminate all things out of
'their Kingdoms, that are scandalous and
'prejudicial to good Subjects, dangerous
'to the Government, or offensive to God;
'so it is manifest from Experience, that
'many Mischiefs have happen'd to the
'Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*,
'by means of the *Moriscoes* that live in
'them. For they (besides their being de-
'scended from those who rebelled in the
'Kingdom of *Granada*, and who begun
'their Rebellion with murthering and mar-
'tyring all the *Priests* and *Old Christians*
'they could lay their hands upon, and invi-
'ted the *Turk* to come and assist them; and
'who, that they might repent of their
'Wickedness, and live peaceably and ho-
'nourably after the manner of Christians,
'were removed out of that Kingdom, ha-
'ving 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 detesting 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-

'committed divers Robberies and Murders 'on the Perſons of Old Chriſtians, have 'ſent Deputies to the *Turks*, to deſire his Aſ-'ſiſtance; having alſo ſolicited other Princes 'to ſend them Succours, offering 'em their 'Perſons and Eſtates if they would aſſiſt 'them; which Treaſonable Councils having 'never been diſcovered by any of them, but 'on the contrary, conceal'd and deny'd by 'them all, is a manifeſt Proof of their being 'all alike minded and affected as to the O-'bedience they owe to God and us, and to 'the Security 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, who are very zealous for 'God's Service and ours, determined to ba-'niſh out of the Kingdoms of *Granada*, '*Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and out of the Town 'of *Hornacres*, all the New Chriſtian *Moriſ-'coes*, Men, Women, and Children, that 'live in them: It being expedient, when a-'ny heinous or deteſtable Crimes are com-'mitted by ſome particular Perſons of a 'Community, to diſſolve the ſaid Society, 'and to exterminate all thoſe, Great and 'Small, who do ſubvert the Orders of good

'Government, to prevent the spreading 'of their Contagion.

'We do therefore by these Presents, or- 'dain and command all New Christians, 'without Exception, living or residing 'within the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Mur-* 'cia and *Sevil*, and in the Town of *Horna-* 'res, of whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Na- 'tives as Strangers, whensoever, or for what- 'soever cause they came into them, Slaves 'only excepted, within 30 Days after the 'Publication 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 hereafter presume to return to live in 'them, or pass thorow them, or any part 'of them; and we do prohibit them to go 'thorough the Kingdom of *Valencia*, or *Ar-* 'ragon, or to presume to stay in them: And 'in case any of them shall, after the Expira- 'tion of the said Term, be found in any of 'our Kingdoms and Dominions, they shall 'be punished with Death, and have their 'Estates confiscated, to be disposed of at 'our Pleasure; which Punishments they 'shall incur *ipso facto*, without farther Sen- 'tence, Process, or Declaration.

'And

'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 Expira- 'tion of the ſaid Term, publickly or pri- 'vately, to protect any of the *Moriſcoes*, 'Men or Women, within any of their 'Houſes or Precincts, upon pain of forfeit- 'ing all their Goods, Vaſſals, Caſtles, and 'other Inheritances; as alſo, all the Gra- 'ces we have beſtowed on them, to our 'Treaſury.

'And notwithſtanding we might juſtly 'have commanded all the Goods, mova- 'ble and immovable, of the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, 'being the Goods of Traytors, guilty of 'Treaſon, both againſt God and Man, to 'have been confiſcate to our Treaſury: 'Nevertheleſs, being willing to treat them 'with Clemency, our Will is, That with- 'in the Term of thirty Days, they may 'ſell their movable Goods, and ſuch as 'do move themſelves, and may carry the 'Price thereof with them, but not in Mo- 'ney, 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 King- 'doms, and not of others, and ſhall be like- 'wiſe of the Growth of theſe Kingdoms. 'And the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, and *Moriſcaes*,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'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, pay-
'ing the customary Duties, 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 judg-
'ed 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 movable Goods, or,
'which do move themselves, and may lay
'out the Price thereof, whether in Gold,
'Silver or Jewels, in buying the Commo-
'dities of these Kingdoms of the Natives;
'and that they may not, during the said
'Term, be any ways injured in their Per-
'sons 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, pay-
'ing the customary Duties for them, pro-
'vided, as is abovesaid, that they export
'no

'no Gold, Silver, or ſtampt 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 prohibi-'ted, only they may carry ſo much Mo-'ney with them as is neceſſary to the de-'fraying of the Charges of their Journey 'by Land or Sea: And we do command 'all the Miniſters of Juſtice of theſe King-'doms, and all the Commanders of our 'Gallies and Galleons, to cauſe all the 'foreſaid Orders to be obſerved and ful-'fill'd, and to yield all convenient Favour 'and Aſſiſtance to the due and ſpeedy Ex-'ecution of the ſame.

'And we do command theſe our Let-'ters, 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, and none may pretend Ignorance.

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

I, The KING.

Andrew de Prada.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* were commanded by this *Ban*, to *take all their Children with them*, the Marquess of St. *Germane* 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 fraighted 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 fraighted 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 pass'd over to *Barbary* by the first Opportunity that offer'd.

The King 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, yet it 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.

As

As the Barons of *Valencia* had done all that they were able, to have hindred the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, as the greateſt Evil that could have befallen them: So the Deputies of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, fearing that the ſame Blow was preparing for them, did, to prevent its being given, if it were poſſible, diſpatch *Don Franciſco de Aragon Conde de Luna*, and Doctor *Martin Carillo*, two of the ableſt Men in the Kingdom to Court, with Warmth and Freedom to lay before the King the great and innumerable Damages, publick and private, which *Arragon* muſt ſuſtain, if the *Moriſcoes* were all driven out of it. But tho' no Commiſſion could be executed with more Zeal, or with greater Diligence and Ability than this was at *Madrid*; the King's Brains were ſtunn'd ſo, with the Din the Bell of *Villila* had made when it rang it ſelf: And with the Stories he was continually plyed with from all Quarters, of freſh and loud miraculous Calls from Heaven, to expel all thoſe Infidels; that he was ſtone deaf to the loudeſt Remonſtrances made againſt it by the wiſeſt of his Subjects.

On the 29*th* of *May*, 1610. the *Ban* for the Expulſion of all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Arragon* was publiſhed by *Gaſton de Moncada*, Marqueſs of *Aytona*, *Vice-*

roy

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

roy of that Kingdom; by which *Ban* sixteen thousand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* in the Principality of *Catalonia*, was published by *Don Hector Pignatello*, Duke of *Monteleon*, the Governor: Which two *Bans* of Expulsion being almost Word for Word the same with that of *Valencia*, I shall not here insert them.

By a Letter bearing 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 License, so had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been stopt, this License 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 justify 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 *Ban*, which was published on the 11th of *July*, 1610.

The

The King.

'WHen we commanded the Expul-
'ſion of all the new Chriſtians,
'and *Moriſcoes*, Men and Women, who
'lived in the Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Anda-*
'*luſia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, and *Ar-*
'*ragon*, for the Reaſons and Cauſes men-
'tioned in the ſeveral Bans which we did
'order to be publiſhed, we alſo gave Per-
'miſſion 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 King-
'doms and Dominions. But having been
'by divers ways certainly informed, that
'ſuch of them as have not made uſe of that
'Licenſe, are in a Commotion, and do go
'on ſelling their Eſtates with an Intention
'of leaving theſe Kingdoms; from whence
'it is manifeſt, that the *Moriſcoes* all over
'*Spain* are all alike diſaffected as to God's
'Service and ours, and the Good of theſe
'Kingdoms; and that all the Endeavours
'that have been uſed thorough a long Se-
'ries of Years to convert them, and the
'Examples of the Old Chriſtians, the Na-
'tives of theſe Kingdoms, (who do live ſo
'chriſtianly, and ſo loyally) have had no
'good Effect upon them: But on the con-
'trary, they have with a ſtrange Obſtina-
'cy

'cy and Obdurateness, entred into Con-
'spiracies against us, our royal Crown,
'and these our Kingdoms of *Spain*, and
'have sollicited the *Turk* and other Prin-
'ces for Succours, with Promises to serve
'them with their Lives and Fortunes.
'Now although this undutiful Behaviour
'which is so offensive to God, has been
'laid before us, by Men of great Piety and
'Learning, who have further assured us,
'that we were bound in Conscience to
'remedy it, and might without any Scru-
'ple proceed against them, with the Ri-
'gour that their Crimes do deserve, and
'so punish them all with Death, and the
'Confiscation of their Estates, as Here-
'ticks, Apostates, and Traytors both to
'God and us: Nevertheless, we not being
'willing to use Rigour, but rather Cle-
'mency with them, after having recom-
'mended this Affair to God, whose Ho-
'nour 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, zea-
'lous for God's Service and ours, to expel
'out of the said Kingdoms of Old and New
'*Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, all the
'new Christians of *Valencia*, *Granada*, and
'*Arragon*, that live therein, Men, Women

'and

'and Children; it being reaſonable when 'any henious and deteſtable Crime is com-'mitted 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 Countreys, Cities, or Villages, 'that they be baniſh'd out of them, to 'prevent the ſpreading of their Contagi-'on.

'We do therefore by Virtue of theſe 'Preſents, or of a Copy of them ſigned by a 'publick Notary, command and ordain 'all the ſaid New Chriſtians and *Moriſcoes* 'of *Granada*, *Valencia*, 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 wri-'ting, to go out of *Spain* and all the Do-'minions thereof, with their Sons and 'Daughters, and all their Servants that 'are of the *Moriſco* Race; neither ſhall any 'of them hereafter ever preſume to re-'turn into them, or into any part of them, 'either to live or paſs thro' them; which 'Command is not to be ſo underſtood, as 'to expel any Chriſtians that are married 'to *Moriſcoes*, or their Husbands, Wives,

'or

'or Children, nor any of the *Moors* who 'have come of their own Accord from '*Barbary*, that they might profess Christi-'anity, nor any of the *Moriscoes* that are 'Clerks, Fryars or Nuns, nor such of them 'as are Slaves of the Rebellion of *Grana-'da*.

'And we do prohibit the *Moriscoes* that 'are to be expelled, to pass thro' the 'Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Arragon*, or *Ca-'stile*, but require them to repair to the 'Ports of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Gra-'nada*, and *Andaluzia*; and not 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 Punish-'ments 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 'receive, 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

'other

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'other Inheritances, together with all their 'Penſions, to our Treaſury. And not-'withſtanding we might juſtly have ſeized 'on all the Goods of the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, Mo-'vables and Immovables, as on the Goods 'of People guilty of Treaſon, both againſt 'God and Man; nevertheleſs, being willing 'to uſe Clemency with them, it is our Plea-'ſure 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 Commodi-'ties as are not prohibited, and are bought 'of the Natives of theſe Kingdoms, and of 'none elſe. And the *Moriſcoes* and *Moriſcaes* '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 Com-'modities and Fruits of the Country, and 'carry away with them thoſe they ſo buy, '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 Pro-'tection, royal Security, and Defence, and 'do ſo ſecure them and their Goods, that 'they may go about ſafely, and ſell, change,

'or

'or alienate all their said movable Goods,
'or that do move themselves, and 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 regiſtred, and the one
'half be paid to our Treasury at the
'Port where they embark, where an Offi-
'cer 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 Galleons, to see that all that
'is here ordered be observed and fulfil-
'led, and to yield all convenient Favour
'and Assistance to the due and speedy Ex-
'ecution of the same.

'We

'And we do command theſe our Letters, 'and all that is contained therein, to be 'publiſhed by the Voice of a Crier, that ſo 'none may pretend Ignorance.

Given at Aranda *the* 10*th 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 over-ſtock'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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

not a quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, so long as she has such prodigious Numbers of Priests, Monks, Fryars, Nuns, *&c.* and has the great and constant Drains of the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: So it is no less visible, that her scantling of People are by their Pride and Superstition, more than by their Climate, made so lazy, that nothing, no not her being the sole Mistress of all the Treasures of the *Indies*, can ever make her rich. For those vast Treasures, tho 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 had upon her, as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to *Philip* the 3d. by a *Junta* that had been assembled by the King, to consider how the ruinous Estate of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd; the Memorial begins with the following Complaint.

'THE Depopulation and want of Peo-
'ple in *Spain*, is at present much
'greater than was ever seen or heard of be-
'fore, in the Reigns of any of your Maje-
'sty's

'ſty's Progenitors; it being in Truth ſo 'great at this time, that if God do not pro-'vide 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 be-'ing in Ruins every where, and without a-'ny body to rebuild them, and its Towns 'and Villages lying like ſo many Deſarts.

In the ſame Year wherein this melancholy Memorial was deliver'd 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 begun 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Diſcontent. There was alſo one *Baltaſar de Sandovall*, Dean of *Toledo*, who was either Brother, or a near Kinſman of the Duke's, who after the Expulſions, was made a Cardinal by *Paul* the Vth, 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 of 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, overwhelm'd with Horrours. And though we are not told by any, what it was that cauſed them, yet conſidering, that beſides theſe inhumane Expulſions, we read of nothing in his whole Life that was black or tragical: It may reaſonably be preſumed, that it was the Memory of the Expulſions that diſquieted his Conſcience ſo much. Neither is it any wonder that they ſhould do it. To have, 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

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.

Death is, by a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, ſaid to have approached this Prince encompaſſed with Scruples ſo grievous, concerning his Government, that they made all his Joints tremble, and changed his Viſage ſo, that he looked ghaſtly: And after having lamented the Difficulty of Reparation, amidſt great Agonies of Spirit, he made Anſwer to ſome that exhorted him to *truſt in God's Mercy*; *I do truſt, but afterwards I fear, for tho God is merciful, he is alſo juſt.*

Immediately upon this King's Death, his Confeſſor, Father *Luiz de Alliga*, tho he was Inquiſitor General, was forbid the Court; and the Lands and Penſions which had been granted to the Duke of *Lerma*, and to his Kindred and Creatures, were all reſumed at once; and that Duke's great Confident, *Don Rodrigo Calderon*, was put to Death publickly at *Madrid*. We are not told why theſe three hard things were the firſt Actions of the young King's Reign; but it is not very improbable, that their having been the great Inſtruments in the gene-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ral Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, to the depopulating and impoverishing of *Spain*, beyond Recovery, might be the thing that brought so heavy a Vengeance upon them from the Court.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

A

SERMON

Preached in the

Cathedral of *Valencia*,

By the Archbiſhop of that City,

On the *Sunday* after the *Ban* 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*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 it self 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,*

way, without Order or Conſideration. This Doctrine the Apoſtle himſelf learnt from what Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples. That he deſerved to be called the faithful Steward, who paid his Lord's Servants what was owing to them; and he the prudent, who gave them their Meat in due time and ſeaſon: *And St.* Chryſoſtom, *ſpeaking of this Place, ſaith,* Two things our Lord aſſigned here as neceſſary, and which do ſo depend the one on the other, 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 Obſervation of St.* Hierome, *that when the Prophet* Malachy *ſaith,* The Prieſts Lips ſhall preſerve Knowledge; *his Meaning was, That the Lips of the Prieſt are 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 Dropſy, and rather treat of the preſent Novelty we ſee in this Kingdom; out of which his Majeſty has commanded all the New Chriſtians to depart, which is a thing of greater Conſideration and Importance, than ever happen'd to our Anceſtors, or than may ever be ſeen by our Poſterity. Let us therefore beſeech the Lord to aſſiſt us with his Grace, taking the moſt Bleſſed Virgin for our Interceſſor,* &c.

To

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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

GAL. 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 thorough the bad Conversation of the *Gentiles*, among whom they lived, they had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City. The *Apostle* therefore, 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, they should 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, driven 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 one's Duty; being part of the *Command* of *Loving God*, which is the *Firſt Commandment* of the *Holy Law*. Zeal is the effect of that Love; ſo that 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 as 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; ſo that 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, by whom it

is

is left written in the *Book* of his *Revelations*, for the Information of all future Ages. That holy and beloved *Apostle* saith, *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 do'st, 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 said, 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 of 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, to comply 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 happen'd twice to our Lord Chriſt. St. *John* ſaith, it happen'd once at the Beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his firſt Miracle in *Cana* of *Galilee*. And St. *Matthew* ſaith, it happen'd a ſecond time, four Days before our Lord was crucify'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. *Hierom* saith 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 usual Practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb, and that when they should take his

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, whoſe 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, it being a ſatisfactory Account of this his Behaviour: That Diſciple ſaith, he remembred that it was written, *the Zeal of thy Honour*, that is, *of thy Houſe*, the Temple being the place where God was honoured, *has 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 Maſter's, 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 propheſied 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 alledged 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 killed *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 reproved 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 Emies, who ſpoke Blaſphemies, and committed

mitted Sacrilege in his Houſe; the Zeal whereof, ſaith he, has confounded me; and the beholding the Offences that are committed, has deſtroy'd me; the Abhorrence I have for thoſe that will not love God, being ſo vehement, that it has caſt me into an Hectick 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 as 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, hath been extremely afflicted with the Offences 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 Mischiefs 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 Obstinacy and Obdurateness, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

wards and Privileges to thoſe that would turn: All which proclaims the Greatneſs of his Majeſty's 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. You muſt know then, that the King has been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidſt all theſe Endeavours uſed for the Converſion of thoſe People, 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: And that by theſe Promiſes made to encourage the Enterprize, the ſaid Infidels were ſo far engaged, that they were preparing all Neceſſaries to invade us the next Spring; ſo that within ſix Months we ſhould have had the *Turkiſh* Fleet, and that of our other Enemies upon our Coaſt, and muſt have ſeen *Spain* in a moſt forlorn and wretched

Condition. For though thorough the Mercy of God, and the Valour and Power of the King, we truſt thoſe Traytors would not have been able to have compaſs'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 Sacrileges 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 Murder 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* blaſphemed. All which Evils we ſhould infallibly have incurr'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 counſel 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

You have now heard of, and do admire at the 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 hardned 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 our Lord the King uſing the ſame Words with the Royal *Prophet*, in the 117th *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 in this Work! For my own part, I find my ſelf unable to expreſs and diſſect it, and ſo I ſhall give it over, and content my ſelf 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 Catholick 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 *Valencia*, was, as the Hiſtory informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, *That there was News, that*

one

one of the chief Men among the Moors *of* Valencia *had taken the Caſtles of* Gallineva, Pego, *and others*; at which, though the King diſcover'd 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 invocated, the ſweet Name of* Jeſus *our Maſter, Redeemer, and true God, may be praiſed and adored.* 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* Valencia. This had no effect, by reaſon of the Wars that broke out with the King of *Caſtile*. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid Chriſtian and valiant King continued ſtill determined to baniſh 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 honour'd by the Church of *Rome* with the Title of *Catholick*, which has been ever ſince retained by the Kings of *Spain*, did likewiſe, as Hiſtorians tell us, command them all to be baniſhed; which is confirmed by what is related in the *Letters* writ by our Lord the Em-

peror *Charles* the Vth, to the Lords of the 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 VIIth*; who by a *Breve*, Dated at *St. Peter*'s at *Rome*, the 12*th* of *May*, 1524. *exhorted him to procure the Instruction 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 was, The taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, the baptizing of them; as imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosom 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 same Desire, and accordingly, in the Year

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 ſatisfy'd, that all the Diligence he had uſed did ſignify nothing, and that they ſtill perſevered in their Hereſy, he reſolved either to have ſent them all out of *Spain*, or at leaſt, to have tranſplanted them into the Inland Countries, which would have been attended with the ſame, if not greater Inconveniencies.

Finally, the laſt Year, we, the Prelates, were aſſembl'd 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, acknowledging the evident

Dan-

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 Consequences thereof. But this mighty Enterprize I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the Paternal Succor wherewith 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 admir'd, tho they desired it, durst not undertake, 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 *Valencia* 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 have seen in our own, or have read of

in

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 has ſhewn us, and the great Good his Majeſty has done for us, in beginning this noble Enterprize here! Ought we not to return Thanks to God, for his having choſen this, among many other Kingdoms, firſt to receive Safety? and to 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 *Valencia*, that it was the firſt Kingdom which for its holy Zeal deſerved to be freed from Hereticks, and which by a ſignal Demonſtration has given a Teſtimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great Chearfulneſs 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 entertain'd by all in general; and particularly, by all thoſe that

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 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*, priſed ſo much, *Ye have taken*, ſaith he, *chearfully the ſpoiling of your Goods*, he commends them for two things, 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 Chearfulneſs, 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 Chearfulneſs for the Service of God and the King, is a mighty Work, and ſuch as 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 abundantly.

ly. St. *Peter*, with the freedom of a *Privado*, 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 anſwered 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 ſaith 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 ſuch as deſerves a great Reward. This the Nobility of *Valencia* have done, ſome loſing Vaſſals, and the Advantages they had by them, others loſing their Rents, and all this with Chearfulneſs, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 it self*, 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; as will the Honour also, the greatest Honour that is being to live in the Company of Believers; and the greatest Dishonour and Disgrace, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who let them be of what Quality soever, even tho Kings, cannot be so much as looked upon, without some Disgrace and Disparagement. So the Prophet *Elijah* told *Joram* a wicked King of *Israel*, *As the Lord liveth, in whose Presence I am, 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 in us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the Number of those that do not

not confeſs our Lord Chriſt to be true God, which *Mahomet* did not. And of ſuch the holy Apoſtle St. *John* ſaith, *Receive them not into your Houſe, and ſay not God ſpeed to them, for they that ſalute them do in ſome manner partake of their fact.* 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 Hereticks or Traytors? And of this Honour the Temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be ſtiled the Lords of faithful 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 this yield? This is that which makes Villages, tho never ſo ſmall, to be moſt illuſtrious Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth, but of the King of Heaven, this is the only thing that can be eſteemed Grandeur. And ſo the Royal Prophet *David*, deſiring to extol the Eminency and Majeſty of *Jeruſalem* for its having in it the Houſe of God, which was but the Shadow and Type of our Temples, ſaith, *Many admirable and glorious things we are a-*

ble

ble to ſay of thee the City of God. The ſame 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 Incommodity 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

Care will be very proper for the Ladies and other pious Women, remembring the *Regale* which the two Siſters *Martha* and *Mary* made to our Lord Chriſt, when he came to 'em 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. *Regale* him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Senſe of the great Mercy he ſhews 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 will now have him. With this Conſideration you may kindle in your Hearts, a Devotion for the moſt Holy Sacrament, and thereby acquire innumerable Benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that ſome 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 this 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 Feſtivities, Proceſſions, Illuminations, and Ceremonies which they perform on its admirable Feaſt; honouring it as

much as humane Poverty and Weakneſs is able to honour the eternal Son of God, who continues among us, for the remedying of all our Evils ſpiritual and corporal. 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 a Point, on which I have formerly ſaid and writ a great deal, and could ſay and write much more of. 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 *Matthias*, of whom the holy Scripture ſaith, *That when he beheld one of the People of* Iſrael *offering Sacrifice to Idols 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 upon him that ſacrificed, and him that commanded him to do it, he killed them both.* This is the Zeal of a Servant of God, which is

ſo

ſo acceptable to the divine Majeſty, that *Phineas* for the doing the ſame was commended of God. And *Moſes* ſaith, 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 ought 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, 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, is likewiſe neceſſary, who, tho when I treated with 'em about their Obſtinacy, and their obſerving their Sect openly, uſed to tell me, that it did not belong to them, but to the Inquiſition or the Ordinary, to puniſh 'em for it; nevertheleſs it is certain, that if they had had Zeal for the Honour of God, they would never have permitted it. A general Confeſſion is 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 had esteemed it more than your Profit, you 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 conterns 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 Mannor, 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 Pension 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

a greater Rent with a riſque of loſing it. And whoſoever will but truly conſider the imminent 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 own Vine and Fig-tree, having none to be afraid of.* Thus we ſhall be in this Kingdom for the future, where thorow the Mercy of God, and the paternal Care of his Majeſty, every thing will thrive with us, and the Earth it ſelf 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 baptiz'd, whereas now they will all be fertile, the Land having been impoveriſhed, made barren, and poiſoned by their Blaſphemies and Hereſies, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

of Temporal Blessings. Let us but live in the Service of our Lord, and observe his holy Law without wronging our Neighbour, and we shall abound with all good things. Hear what the Lord himself has said, *Obey my Commandments, and keep my Law, and I 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 Gardens, 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 this Mercy.

And I a weak and miserable Creature, do humbly supplicate him to give me light, that

I may know how to do it: And tho a great Sinner, I will venture to uſe the Words ſpoken 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 pleas'd 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.

The ſingular Inhumanity of this Archbiſhop's Spirit, when he was juſt dropping into his Grave (for he was ſome Years above Fourſcore when he preach'd this Sermon) brings to my Mind the Conceit that a certain *Jew* had, as he himſelf told me, of the Perſons of all Inquiſitors. It was, That tho they appeared to be Men, yet in Reality they were not ſo, but were Bands of Fiends ſent from Hell to aſſume the Shape of Men, and all that belonged to them, except their Bowels: And accordingly he was poſitive, that no Inquiſitor could poſſibly be ſaved; becauſe, ſaid he, they are not capable of repenting of their Inhumanities and Injuſtices. Tho

I could not but smile, when he told me in sad earnest, that he did not in the least doubt of the Inquisitors being all literally Fiends incarnate; that extravagant Conceit being visibly the Effect of an extream Aversion created in his Spirit against the Persons of the Inquisitors, by the inhuman Treatment he had met with from them in the Inquisition of *Lisbon*, where he had been divers Years a Prisoner. Yet so far I cannot but agree with him, as to be positive, that a Mind capable of such a settled Wrath and Cruelty, as is to be found in Inquisitors, can have nothing of Heaven, in it; and that nothing but Hell and Popery has ever yet any where been able to inspire Flesh and Blood with a Spirit so inhumane, mercileſs, and unrelenting, as was the Spirit wherewith this Archbishop had for many Years persecuted the *Moriscoes*, and wherewith he triumphs over them in this Sermon, when they and their Families were under unspeakable Miseries.

But whatever extraordinary Gifts, for his having been the great Instrument of this Expulsion, the *Spaniards* might believe this old Persecutor to have had, they were all soon made sensible, or might have been at least, of his not having had the Gift of Prophesy; when he did, as it were, assure them from Heaven, that a continual Fertility,

tility, and an extraordinary Encreaſe of People, Wealth, Honour, and Strength, and an uninterrupted Felicity in all her Affairs, was to be certainly the Reward *Spain* was to receive from Heaven, for an Action ſo meritorious and well-pleaſing to God, as was this General Expulſion: For on the contrary, is it not viſible, that ever ſince the time of that Expulſion *Spain* has grown dayly weaker and weaker, poorer and poorer, and more and more deſolate; and in all her Wars and publick Negociations, has been much more unproſperous, than ſhe ever was in any Age before. In a Word, is not the preſent Condition of *Spain* the perfect Reverſe of what ſhe was here promiſed by this old falſe Prophet, on purpoſe to encourage her to do ſo unwiſe and impolitick, as well as ſo unjuſt and inhumane a thing; which may be a Warning to all Nations, never to be canted into Methods, which muſt naturally end in their Ruin, upon any Aſſurances that may be given them by Knaves, or by hot-headed People, of miraculous Deliverances and Advantages on their account.

But now that I am here ſpeaking of the ſingular Inhumanity that is ſo viſible in the Spirit of Popery in all its own Concerns, I cannot but take notice of one plain Evidence of that Singularity; which is, its pur-

purſuing all its Enemies beyond the Grave, at which the Rage and Malice of other Mortals is wont to ſtop; and that not only by its common vile Practice of groundleſs and monſtrous Defamations, but by not ſuffering their dead Bodies to be buried, no not in common Earth; or if they have been privately interred any where by their Friends, if they know of it, they are dragged by them out of their Graves, and thrown upon Dunghils, or on other common Places, to be eaten by Dogs, or by Birds and Beaſts of Prey. This is what Popery, where-ever it is uncontrouled, *France* not excepted, does to the dead Bodies of all Proteſtants, that die where it has Power. So that whether the Pope be *The Antichriſt*, or not, the Spirit of Popery is undeniably an Anti-chriſtian Spirit, in being the moſt mercileſs, the falſeſt, and moſt impudent Spirit, Fleſh and Blood was ever poſſeſſed withal; witneſs the Numberleſs Inhumanities of the Inquiſition, the numberleſs groſs Frauds and Forgeries it has made uſe of, and ſtill practiſes, to propagate and ſupport it ſelf, and the aſtoniſhing Effrontry wherewith, in Defiance to the cleareſt Evidences of their being Impoſtures, it bears down the World that they are indubitable Truths.

Con-

Conſidering how ſtupid and dead a Worſhip Idolatry is in it ſelf; how it ſhould be able among Chriſtians, as well as Heathens, always to inſpire all that are devoted to it with a Rage and Fury againſt all its Enemies, greater than is any where elſe to be met with, is a thing not eaſy to be accounted for: The only Cauſe of it that I can think of, is, the things worſhipped by Idolaters, being as ſubject to be defaced, or any otherwiſe abuſed, as are the other things of the ſame nature: For which reaſon, they that adore nothing that is ſubject to ſuch Accidents, cannot in the Way of their Worſhip, meet with any thing that is ſo provoking, or that can raiſe a Fury in them to that Degree, as the abuſing of an Image or a Relick enrageth all that adore them. Of this the Inquiſitors and Fryars have long been ſenſible, who whenever they had a Mind to have *Jews* or *Mahometans*, or *Albigenſes*, or any of the other Enemies of Image-worſhip, maſſacred, (which they have always deſired, as often as it could be done with Safety) have always raiſed, and confidently ſet about a Story, of their having, to expreſs their inward Contempt for Images or Relicks, or for a conſecrated Hoſt, put one or more of them to one vile Uſe or another: Which Report being believed, no

Death

Death was, by the enraged Adorers of those Creatures, thought to be bad enough for the Authors of such Profanations, or for all that were of the same Principles in Worship; for could the idolatrous *Ephesians*, if they had been told by *Demetrius* and his Fellow-Craftsmen, that the Apostle had a Design to set the City on Fire, have been thrown into a fiercer Rage than that they were in, upon their having been told by them, of his having spoken some Words to the Disgrace of the Image of *Diana*, which they worshipped with a most profound Veneration: So that until such time as Idols, or Images, or Relicks, or any other bodily Creature that is worshipped, are able to defend themselves from all Insults, or to punish all that have offered them any, their Worshippers will think themselves bound to do it for them, and that with a Rage proportion'd to the profound Veneration they worshipped them withal.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

In the Beginning of the

Reign of *Charles* the Vth.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by Eminent Persons that were ingaged in those Wars.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *LL. D.*
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

THE HISTORY OF THE PEERS OF THE COMMONS

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Year; 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

When I have ſaid that this Hiſtory is chiefly taken out of Letters written to Miniſters of State by Perſons of great Note, and ſuch 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 Bigottry for the whole of their ſeveral Cauſes. And this Moderation never diſcovers it ſelf any where ſo plainly, as in Letters written to Publick Miniſters by their Confidents: For tho 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 One who, though he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the*

Evil

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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.

Being, ſoon after this Preface was publiſhed, informed by my worthy Friend Mr. James Fraſer, *who knows Books the beſt of any Man that I am acquainted with, that a Hiſtory of theſe Wars had been written by* Sandovall, *who was Hiſtoriographer to* Philip *the Third, and of that Hiſtory's having been tranſlated out of* Spaniſh *into* Engliſh, *and publiſhed by Mr.* James Wadſworth: *I deſired him, and ſome other of my Friends in* London, *if they happened to meet with that Hiſtory either in* Spaniſh *or in* Engliſh, *to be ſo kind as to help me to the ſight of it; which, about two Years after, was ſent down to me in* Engliſh, *printed by* Dugard *in* London, *in the Year* 1652. *In their Prefaces to this Hiſtory, we are told both by Mr.* Wadſworth, *and by Mr.* James Howell, *that it had not been long publiſhed in* Spain, *before it was called in and ſuppreſſed, and as that might be the reaſon why I had never heard of that Hiſtory; ſo the Reaſon that is given by both thoſe two Gentlemen, for its Suppreſſion, is the very ſame that I gueſſed to have been the Reaſon, why no ſuch Hiſtory had ever been written by any* Spaniard.

In all the Subſtantials of theſe Wars, there is a perfect Agreement betwixt my Hiſtory of them, and Sandovall's; *but as in mine, there are divers things which are not mentioned by* Sandovall, *who by all that I can perceive had never ſeen* Peter Martyr's *Letters, out of which the main of my Hiſtory was extracted; ſo there being ſeveral Succeſſes ſpoken of at large in* Sandovall, *of which we have only Hints in thoſe Letters; to make my Hiſtory the more perfect, I ſhall here and there make ſome Additions to it out of* Sandovall, *whoſe Judgment of thoſe Wars, being much the ſame with that of* Peter Martyr, *I ſhall here ſet it down in his own words.*

In the firſt Section of his Fourth Book, ſpeaking of the Articles and Ordinances ſent by the Commons to the Emperor, to have them paſſed into Laws, Sandovall *ſaith,* Let every one judge what reaſon they, that is, the *Junta* of the Commons, had; for my own part I will neither excuſe them nor condemn them, but only relate faithfully the Truth, which is as much as can be required of me, doing my Office. *And in the Firſt Section of the Fifth Book, ſpeaking of the Commons again, he ſaith,* Tho it hath been the ordinary Defect of other Commonalties to have but ſlender Forces, this was ſo powerful, that had there been the leaſt good Conduct amongſt them, and

and ſome experienced Captains, Don *Carlos* hardly ever would have recovered the Crown of *Spain*. The Common People were to blame, and the Gentry not to be excuſed, for oppoſing and riſing againſt the Sovereign's Miniſters; yet we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that they were valiant. 'Tis true, there were divers Exorbitances, Out-rages and Inſolencies committed; But what wonder is that amongſt a People that had taken up Arms, and laid aſide all Reverence for their Superiours? If we ſee an Army well diſciplined, the Souldiers ſubject and obedient to their Captains, Shall we ſay abſolutely all thoſe in that Army are Traytors? For my own part I would not, neither is it any ſuch great marvel that Children riſe up againſt their own Fathers; for if we look back to ſome Paſſages of our Country of *Spain*, what ſhall we ſee but the like unnatural Actions; the Factions of Princes, the Sidings of Grandees and private Gentlemen, who were ſo audacious, as to riſe in Arms againſt their lawful Kings? and yet they are not ſo ſpotted and foul, as ſome would make thoſe of the latter times appear to be.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

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*, departing this Life on the 26*th* of *November*, in the Year 1504, by her Death the Crown

Crown of *Caſtile*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, deſcended to *Donna Joanna*, her eldeſt Daughter then living, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, eldeſt Son of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and at that time was in *Flanders* with her Husband, and her eldeſt Son *Charles*.

The Deceaſed Queen being 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, conſtituted her own Husband, King *Ferdinand*, Governour 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. And one thing that made him the more angry with his Father-in-law was, That after he was above ſixty Years of Age, he 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 *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, ſtirred 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 20 Years, after which it was taken from her and interr'd in the Cathedral of *Granada*. And when ſhe was awake, ſhe 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 Jealouſy 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

to come within the doors of the Room where it lay: 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 perſwading of her to lie in, 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 Governour; alledging, 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 Governour, 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, 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 her Father Governour 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 perswaded 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.* Car-

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 perſwaded to give any countenance to his coming, by Writing a Line to invite him; yet being 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 ex-

extremely incommodious, both for her ſelf, and the Court, he had much ado to perſwade 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*, 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 perſwade 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, tho 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*

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 Governour 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*: By means of 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 *Madrugall*, on the 23*d* of *January*, 1516. And by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen *Germana*, the Crown of *Arragon* 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 thence, that it had been happy for *Spain*, never to have had any thing to do with it. Never

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, through 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 Governour, and who, tho otherwise a very great Man, was insatiably covetous. He was Duke of *Sora* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards Duke of *Arschot* in *Brabant*, and was descended of the Kings of *Hungary*.

The first thing *Charles* did after he Landed, was the Discharging of his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Governour, 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

their Nation. This Order was executed by Cardinal *Ximenes* a few days before he died; by whoſe Death the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, which, next to the Papacy, is the richeſt Dignity in the *Roman* Church, (being commonly reckoned to be worth fourſcore thouſand *Engliſh* Pounds *per Annum*) becoming vacant, it was begg'd by *Chevers*; who obtain'd a Promiſe of it from the Prince for his Nephew *William de Croy*, who, tho he was then Biſhop of *Cambray*, was but a very young Man: By which ſtrange Promotion, 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 received 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, who was Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Saragoca*, and who, had the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo* became vacant, during the time of his Father *Ferdinand*'s Government, 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*, commanded him, without having ſeen him, to leave *Tordeſillas*, and to go to *Valedolid*, and to wait there for him; fearing, it is like, that if he had remain'd any time at *Tordeſillas*, he might have found ſome Opportunity to have ſpoken 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 leaving *Tordeſillas* 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* meeting at *Valedolid*, on the 5*th* of *February*, 1518. the firſt thing propos'd to it, was, whether, conſidering the Queen's Indiſpoſition, the Adminiſtration of the Government ſhould not be committed to her eldeſt Son, Prince *Charles*. But tho this was preſently and unanimouſly agreed to, the ſecond thing propos'd, which was, whether during his Mother's Life he ſhould have the Title of King, or only that of

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

of Prince Regent, bore a long Debate. However, it was concluded at laſt, that he ſhould preſently have the Title of King, but ſo, that all Publick Acts 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: The one was, *That none but Natives of* Caſtile *ſhould be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or 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* Præceptor in *Flanders*, and of *Garcia Padilla*, Commendator 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Italian* Bankers of *Valedolid*; and, as was univerſally 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 fore-mentioned Laws, did, aſſoon as the *Cortes* was diſſolved, ſend Commiſſioners to Court to remonſtrate againſt Strangers being preferred, and ſuffered to ſend Money out of the Kingdom; offering to prove, that in leſs than a Year, eleven hundred thouſand Ducats had been ſent by the Northern Miniſters out of *Caſtile* into *Flanders*. But the young King being poſſeſs'd by thoſe Miniſters, that the *Spaniards* were a People not to be governed but with a Rod of Iron, 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 Ambaſſador, deſired *Donna Leonora*, the King's Siſter, for his Wife; this

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 *Chevers*'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 *Chevers*'s Lady, who had been her Governeſs, and who was ſaid to have received a great Reward there, for having perſwaded that Princeſs to ſo unequal a Match.

Chevers obſerving the Diſcontents of the *Caſtilians* againſt the Government to run very high, perſwaded the King to ſend his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Flanders*, and to appoint Mr. *Buere*, a *Flemiſh* Nobleman to attend him, in quality of his Governour. The thing that helped *Buere* to this remote Employment, was, his having called *Chevers a Traytor 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, had his Poſthu-

mous Sister, *Donna Catherina*, stol'n 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 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, nor 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, being brought to *Valedolid*; 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 Eccle-

Eccleſiaſtical Dignities on Foreigners. For being aſſembled preſently after by the Cardinal *Adrian*, to ſettle the Payment of the Tenths of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Promotions in *Caſtile*, which had been given to the King by the Pope, by their Prolocutor they 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 reſolved 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, they having been granted to the King by the Pope, (who was Lord of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices) and being neceſſary 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*

administred, now their Queen was so much indispos'd. The discontented Archbishop of *Saragoca* made answer, *That as the* Arragoneses *had always been faithful to their Princes, so they would now take time to consider of what 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 *Arragoneses* 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 redress'd, 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*, 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 great haste to go to *Germany*, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

had been ſo long; and that the more, becauſe the *French* King pretended to it, who, if he ſhould gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to *Spain* than before. Upon which Meſſage, tho the Donative which had been demanded was granted, yet ſo much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown Debts, and other publick Uſes, that but little remain'd 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; being detain'd there nine Months before the *Cortes* of that Principality had ſettled him in the Government, and given the Donative which he had demanded. And when they did give it, they appropriated it ſo to the Payment of publick Debts, that when they were all diſcharged, there remain'd 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,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 judg'd it 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*, complain'd 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 detain'd at *Barcelona*, he received the News of his being choſen Emperor, and was deſired by the Envoys 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 *Valencia*, whither he was to have gone

gone next, ſending the Cardinal *Adrian* thither, to acquaint them with the Reaſon why he did not come to them as he had deſign'd; and to deſire them, after the Example of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, to ſettle him in the Throne.

But when the Cardinal came with this Commiſſion to *Valencia*, 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 addreſſing himſelf, and acquainting 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 inſupportable to Men that were free born.* And

accordingly they dispatch'd a substantial Shoemaker and Carpenter to the King; who waiting 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 *Arragon*, and one *Garcias*, an eminent Lawyer, to go to *Valencia*, 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*, where as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he design'd to embark for *Flanders*. But upon the *Castilians* remonstrating 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, he threatned that if they did

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

did not behave themſelves more dutifully, and ſend ſuch Procurators to the *Cortes* he had called, as ſhould grant him as much Money as he had Occaſion for, he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of *Caſtile*, into that loyal Province. 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* Flemiſh *King and his Countrymen 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, wherein 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 threatning them if they did not, to remove all the Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom; they ſaid was a Language no* Caſtilian *Kings had ever ſpoken to their Subjects in before, and was indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his Northern Miniſters had been heard to ſay was the only way to govern* Spaniards.

The Citizens of *Valedolid* (who ſo long as they had the Queen in their Neighbourhood, expected to have both the Court and the

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 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 thin guarded, got out of Town; and having made his Mother a ſhort Viſit at *Tordeſillas*, rode Poſt to *Compoſtella*, where he thundred out a Proclamation againſt the City of *Valedolid*, *Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offered 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 call'd 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

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 Governour; and *Sylva*, *To go to* Naples, *and look after his Regiment that was there:* And the *Conde de Palma*, Governour 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 curb'd the Inſolency of that proud Place; which, the King ſaid, *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 Kinſman, who by Force kept from him a great part of his Eſtate: To which Petition the King returning a rough Anſwer, *Giron* clap'd his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and ſwore, That if the King would not, *that ſhould do him Juſtice*; and the King bidding him go and do his worſt, he reply'd, he knew what *he had to do*, and ſo withdrew. An Order was likewiſe ſent from Court to *Toledo*, requiring *Hernando de Avalos*, and *John de Padilla*, forthwith to make their Appearance at the *Groin*. But as thoſe two Gentlemen were

Methods it had been procur'd 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 attempting to recal the expelled Nobles. And, the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governour had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themselves had been threatned for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it was generally believ'd the great Combustion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Castile*, to do something that might quiet the Minds of the Commons. But the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, perswaded the King to proceed in his intended Voyage, and that without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a Promise of ever making any Change of those Measures, whereby he had render'd himself and his Government so odious among them. Accordingly on the 22*d* of *May*, 1520. he embark'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governour of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man

Methods it had been procur'd 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 attempting to recal the expelled Nobles. And, the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governour had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themselves had been threatned for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it was generally believ'd the great Combustion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Castile*, to do something that might quiet the Minds of the Commons. But the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, perswaded the King to proceed in his intended Voyage, and that without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a Promise of ever making any Change of those Measures, whereby he had render'd himself and his Government so odious among them. Accordingly on the 22*d* of *May*, 1520. he embark'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governour of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man

Man was ſaid to have no Power, but only to diſpoſe of ſmall Eccleſiaſtical Preferments as they fell: But when any thing that was conſiderable was deſir'd of him, he us'd 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, *who, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, deſerv'd 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, who was perſwaded by his Lady, *Donna Maria Pacheica*, Daughter to the Marquis *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

ving 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*, after the Example, and at the Inſtance of *Toledo*, taking up Arms, 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 betray'd their Country, ſhould be brought to condign Puniſhment, to terrify others from ever making any more ſuch Attempts.

But as none had rendred 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, murthered 'em where-ever they met with 'em, and in all places, did either burn or pull

pull down their Houſes. So the People of *Segovia*, underſtanding that *Tordeſillas*, who had been one of their Procurators in that *Cortes*, and had voted for a Donative, was returned home, went to his Houſe, and meeting with him, asked him, What news he had brought from the *Groin*? *Tordeſillas*, who was a haughty Man, anſwering, *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 Fryar, 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 betray'd their Country.* A grave Man likewiſe 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 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. But *Jefferys*, who came

to *Burgos* not long after, in Company with the *French* Ambaſſador, having threatned, 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*; 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 all that the Prieſts could ſay to them againſt violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they dragg'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 her Ambaſſador in *France*, and

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 King's, making a Foreigner, and one 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 Fryars for the Commons, that they canoniz'd their Cauſe, Chriſtening their Supreme Council, *The Santa Junta*; neither was there for their Number, a Body of Men in the Commons whole Army, to be compared for Zeal and Courage, to the Troop conſiſting of four hundred Preiſts, that was raiſed and Officered by the Biſhop of *Zamora*. 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 Commons threatning the Nobles, if they did not join with

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

them, with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands.

The Associated Cities and Towns having all 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 chosen 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 Governour, dreading the ill Effects of such a great Assembly, did all that was in his Power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, offering 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 the *Junta*, which from its birth is said to have design'd to carry things much farther

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 Governour, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to ſtile himſelf, or act any longer as Governour 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 offered, 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 oppreſs'd 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 Privileges, 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 the Reaſons of their having

ving 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 :

I. *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 Governours.*

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

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

IV. *That no Foreigners ſhall be naturalized.*

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

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

VII.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

VII. *That a* Cortes *ſhall be aſſembled once in three Years at leaſt, and 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 of 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 revoked.*

X. *That the Exciſes ſhall be reduced to the ſtate they were in at the Death of Queen* Iſabella.

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 Houſhold, ſince that Queen's Death, ſhall be diſſolved.*

XIII. *That none ſhall hold two Offices in the King's Houſhold.*

XIV. *That all Privileges 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 Salary from any Nobleman.*

XVII. *That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all publick Taxes, equally with those of the* Commons.

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

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

XX. *That no Corrigidor 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.*

XXI. *That the Corrigidors shall be paid their Salaries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.*

XXII. *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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 render'd 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 employed 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* Governour, by having never, ſince they took up Arms, made

made any manner of Application to him, nam'd Commissioners to go and wait upon him in *Germany*, who having laid all their Grievances before him, were order'd to let him know, *That if he would remove and punish those evil Counsellors, 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 fore-mentioned Provisions, (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) 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 satisfy 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 encreased.

With these Injunctions the *Junta*'s Commissioners, of whom Father *Paul de Leon*, a zealous *Dominican* Fryar, was the first, pass'd thorough *France*, in order to have waited upon the King in *Germany*. But having, before they were got out of the *French* Territories, receiv'd Intelligence from some

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 return'd home, full of furious Exclamations againſt the *Northern* Miniſters, whom they called *the King's Governours*, inflaming their Country-men, 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 Harpys that were about him.*

This Treatment of their Commiſſioners was highly reſented 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 her in her Senſes, (which ſhe was univerſally reported to be in) to perſwade 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

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, (beſides the having ſtrangled an *Auſtin* Fryar, for preaching up the *Junta*, and the Juſtice of its Cauſe, with great Vehemence in the City of *Palencia)* 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, reſolved to hinder its Execution, by entring upon Action. And having been inform'd, that *Segovia* was but weakly fortify'd, and had no ſtrong Garriſon in it, he order'd one *Ronquelos*, who was both a Corrigidor and an experienc'd Commander, to march with a Body of Veterane 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 up the Magazines, and themſelves with them,*

ſooner

ſooner than furniſh Canon and Ammunition to deſtroy their Country men 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* march'd in great haſte; and tho he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much ſuperiour 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 Battle, for which he was no ways prepar'd.

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 Garriſon 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 Anthony 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,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, began to thunder upon them with his Canon and with Granadoes, 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 blowing it 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 ſmother'd and buried. *Fonſeca*, upon this dreadful Blow, ſummon'd 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 the Inhabitants refuſing to do, he aſſaulted them on all ſides; but the Defendants being put into a perfect Fury by the lamentable Deſtruction of their Town, maintain'd their Walls and Gates ſo well, that *Fonſeca*, after having made ſeveral Attacks, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The News of the Deſolation 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 *Franciſcan Convent* againſt the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued at three hundred thouſand Ducats. The *Junta* ſo reſented this great Loſs, that they proclaim'd *Fonſeca* an *Incendiary*, and *a publick Enemy* to his *Country*; commanding all People, where-ever he came, to treat him as ſuch: And the Cardinal, to throw the Odium of an Action which had put the whole Kingdom into ſo great a Flame, off from 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 throw any Granadoes 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 the 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 Privileges, and promiſing not to require the

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 Country 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 pull'd 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 in to 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 eſcap'd 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 belong'd 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.* One *Vera* alſo a Bookſeller was torn in Pieces by the People, only for ſaying, *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 joined with, and ſent Procurators to the *Junta*, apprehending that that Aſſembly would execute their Deſign of ſetting up the Queen, offered to them, *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 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 along ſollicited

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 let them ſee the Anſwers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Repreſentations he had made, becauſe by that they ſhould be better able to judge what would be the Succeſs of his waiting upon the King in Perſon; and upon 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 for fear of making things more deſperate. So 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 Remonſtrances had had, and that it 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 ſtile himſelf, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom, diſpatch'd

patch'd *Don John de Padilla*, the Darling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horſe, to wait upon the Queen, and to perſwade her, if it was poſſible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her ſelf. When *Padilla* arriv'd at *Tordeſillas*, he was received with a wonderful Joy by all the People; and having obtain'd Leave from the Marqueſs of *Denia* to wait upon her Majeſty, after he had kiſs'd her Hand, he acquainted her at large with all the Male-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 petition'd 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 enjoy'd by their Anceſtors, under her Majeſty's Royal Progenitors: And at laſt he conjur'd her, as ſhe had any Love for her Country, and the good People of *Caſtile*, who were ſo dear to her bleſſed Mother, to come abroad,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

and take upon her ſelf 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 her ſelf the Government of her Kingdoms, which he ſaid was the only way whereby ſhe could preſerve 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.

There being in *Sandovall*, a much fuller account of what paſs'd betwixt the Queen and the *Junta*, than there is in *Peter Martyr*'s Letters; I ſhall inſert that Account here, becauſe *Sandovall* ſaith he had it from one that was an Eye-witneſs of all thoſe Paſſages, and who neither was a Commoner, nor a Friend to the Commons: In the twenty third Section of his third Book, he ſaith; 'After '*John Padilla* had reſted himſelf a while, 'he went to the Palace where the Queen 'received

'received him very graciouſly; and having 'given him an Audience, ſhe asked him, 'Who he was? He anſwered, That his 'Name was *John de Padilla*, and was Son 'to *Pedro Lopez de Padilla*, who had been 'Captain General in *Caſtile*, and ſerved the 'renowned Queen *Donna Iſabella* her Mother, 'and that he came to tender his Service to 'her Majeſty, with that of the People of '*Toledo*. That he muſt give her to under-'ſtand, that ſince the Deceaſe of the Ca-'tholick King her Father, there had been, 'and were in that Kingdom great Diſor-'ders, Miſchiefs and Diſſentions for want 'of a Governour, and that although the 'mighty *Don Carlos* her Son had go-'verned *Spain*, yet by reaſon of his ſudden 'Departure the Kingdom was in ſuch Com-'motions and Diſorders, that all *Spain* was 'ready to be deſtroyed; he was come for 'that reaſon with an Army of *Toledians* 'to ſerve her Highneſs, whom he deſired 'to ſee, and to know what Commands ſhe 'had to lay upon him; for he was ready 'to ſpend his Life in her Service. The Queen was much aſtoniſhed to hear ſuch things, and ſaid, ſhe never knew any thing of it before, for ſhe had been ſixteen Years ſhut up in a Chamber, under the Guard of the Marqueſs of *Denia*, and wondred to hear ſuch Stories; but if ſhe had known of her

Father's Death she would have gone abroad, and found some Remedies to those Mischiefs. Then she saith to *John de Padilla*, Go now, I command you, take the Charge and execute the Office of Captain General in the Kingdom, and give you order for all things as need shall require, until I provide otherwise. This said, she retired to her Chamber, and *John de Padilla* returned to his Quarters, well attended and very jocund for the Favour the Queen had done him, in giving him that Commission. Many times after this *John de Padilla* had Conference with the Queen, and she seemed to give Audience to him and others of the *Junta* very willingly. They told her once that the King her Son had done great damage to the Kingdom; whereunto she answered, That her Son was not greatly in fault, for he was but a Youth, but the Kingdom rather ought to be condemned for suffering it; then she commanded that the Assembly of the Kingdom should be kept there, and said that she would authorize it.

The *Junta* being altogether in the Queen's Presence, gave her to understand by the Mouth of Dr. *Zuniga* of *Salamanca* the Grievances of the Kingdom, it having been pilled and polled by Strangers, since her Father's Death; and out of the Sense of their Oppression they desired that her Highness

neſs would be pleaſed to take upon her the Command and Government of the Kingdom, making high Proteſtations that they would obey and ſerve her till Death, as their Queen and natural Sovereign, and that ſhe ſhould command as abſolutely as the moſt powerful Queen in the World; whereunto ſhe anſwered to this Effect: 'That ſhe loved that Country and her Subjects with ſo much tenderneſs, that it grieved her exceedingly to hear of any of their Sufferings; but ſhe had been long mewed up there, and had always bad People about her, who had fed her with Falſities and Lies, inſomuch that ſhe knew not of her Father's Death, nor of their Oppreſſion; and that when ſhe was informed of thoſe Strangers coming into *Caſtile* it troubled her very much, yet ſhe thought it might be for her Childrens Good, tho it ſeems it proved otherwiſe; but ſhe wondered much at them, that they did not revenge themſelves, if any thing was done contrary to Juſtice; and foraſmuch, ſaid ſhe, that you intend to remedy the ill Government of the Affairs of the Kingdom, it doth rejoyce me; and if you do it not, let it lie upon your own Conſciences: Beſides, I command you ſo to do, and as far as lieth in my Power I ſhall be ready to do any thing here or whereſoever I am.

'You need not come all to me hereafter, it 'will be more convenient that you appoint 'four of the discreetest and most knowing 'amongst you, who shall at any time have ac- 'cess to me, and inform me what course is 'meetest to be taken; I will hear them, and 'do all that possibly I can. Then *Don Pedro Lasso* desired that her Highness would be pleased to nominate the four Members whom she would have to confer with her concerning the Government of the Kingdom; she answered, 'That her Will was, 'That the *Junta* should send whom they 'thought good, and she would hear them 'whensoever they came.

This Writing signed by 3 Notaries in the Presence of the Infanta *Donna Catalina*, all the Commissioners of the Kingdom, divers eminent Priests and Fryars, and many other Persons of Quality, satisfied exceedingly the Common People, who cry'd it up for a kind of Miracle, that the Queen, after so many Years of Retirement, in so strict a manner, that scarce any Body could have the sight of her, and so long discontinuance from any Knowledge of State-Affairs, should now come forth, and shew her self in a time of so great Necessity, with so much Knowledge and clear Judgment in things concerning the Government of the Kingdom. They praised God for shewing his Mercy

in

in ſo high a Meaſure unto *Spain*. Yet ſome there were who did not ſtick to ſay, that all thoſe Circumſtances were falſe and forged by thoſe of the *Junta*; that the Queen had no Judgment to meddle with any ſuch Affairs, neither was ſhe in a condition to be treated with. This was commonly noiſed, not only in *Valedolid*, but divers other Places alſo. *Pedro Mexia* treating of this Buſineſs, ſeemeth in his Book to favour this opinion. I write what I had from one that was an Eye-witneſs of all thoſe Paſſages, and who neither was a Commoner nor Friend of that Faction. Thus far *Sandovall*.

But however this might be 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 *Abula* to *Villabaxim*, 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 of her Kingdoms, which would otherwiſe be ruined: The Queen made

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 importun'd to ſignify ſo much preſently by a Proclamation, and to take her own time to go abroad, ſhe entreated the *Junta, to have a little Patience*, without ſaying a Word more to them.

But tho 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 heard, but *Long may our* Caſtilian *Queen live, and may foreign Counſellors periſh.* And as the next Night after *the Queen's having aſſum'd the Government* was celebrated at *Tordeſillas*, *Valedolid*, and all the neighbouring Places with Illuminations and Fire-works; ſo it was celebrated in like manner, in all parts of the Kingdom, as ſoon as they

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 ſtanding in a Balcony to ſee it, and ſeeming to be well pleaſed both with the Exerciſe, and the loud Acclamations of the People, who had flock'd 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 Alonſo Quintinilla* and his Lady, in the Room of the Marqueſs 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, by whom he had been made Governour of *Valedolid*, and made himſelf a Priſoner again, this great Deſign came to nothing. The *Junta* being, it is like, afraid that they might

might have disoblig'd their Queen, had they gone about to have perswaded her to marry one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons if they had never taken any Notice of this distemper'd Princess. For she relaps'd soon after into her former Melancholy, (to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably contribute) But the *Junta*'s contriving to set her on the Throne, was the Cause of the first Disunion that had appeared in that Body: For tho the desiring the Queen to take the Government upon her self had been carried in the *Junta* by a great Majority, yet its being 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 influenc'd by the Constable of *Castile*, who lived in it, it was very much disoblig'd by the *Junta*'s having given the first Place in a *Cortes* to the Procurators of *Toledo*, to which *Burgos* had always pretended: And that Controversy betwixt those two great Cities, tho it was of a very long standing, no *Cortes* had ever taken upon it to decide.

The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the *Junta*'s having got the Queen in

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 *Oveido*, who were both reckon'd 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 Governour of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience as Meſſengers ſent to them by the Cardinal; and having conſider'd 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 had 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* diſpatch'd to *Valedolid*, to command the Cardinal, in the Name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of *Caſtile*, not to preſume to call himſelf, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom; and to command the Council of State to come with all its Books and Officers, to *Tordeſillas*, where their Sovereign Queen kept

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 Alonso Aguila*, General of the Forces of *Abula*, and *Don John Zapata*, General of the Forces of *Madrid*; and they had for their Speaker, Father *Alonso Medina*, an eloquent *Dominican* Fryar.

These Commissioners were received by the People of *Valedolid*, with all the Expressions of a great Joy; and being admited into the Council of State, which was 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 being granted, that Fryar, in a long tragical Harangue, laid before the Council the great Miseries the Kingdom groaned under, and the Causes of all those Miseries; and having extolled the Holy *Junta*, as he call'd it, to the Skies, 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 join themselves to the *Junta*, which had no other Aims, but the Security of the publick Liberty, and the Preservation of the Rights of the Subject: All which, he said,

ſaid, ſhould the Commons, now they had taken up Arms to aſſert them, be conquer'd by the King and his Court, would be eternally loſt; and *Caſtile*, of the moſt renowned, would become the moſt contemptible and miſerable Kingdom in the World. After the Fryar had done ſpeaking, the Commiſſioners deliver'd their Meſſage, and commanded the Cardinal and Council of State to yield Obedience to it, upon Pain of the Queen's and Commons high Diſpleaſure.

The Cardinal, after having complain'd of the *Junta*'s ſlighting all the kind and ſincere Offers he had made them of his Service, and reprimanded Father *Medina* ſeverely, for having left his Cell, to turn a *Trumpeter of Sedition*; deſired the Commiſſioners to let the *Junta* know, *That being the 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 Governour of the Kingdom, during the time of his Abſence, it was not lawful for them to aſſemble any where without*

without his Order. The Commiſſioners anſwer'd, *The Junta will be obeyed*; and ſo left the Council, and went ſtrait to the Town-houſe, where the Magiſtrates of the City had been order'd to attend them: Who, having been harrangu'd by Fryar *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 of the whole Kingdom upon their Heads*, 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 not only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governour of the Kingdom, but confin'd 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, who had always been ſuſpected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own Accord to *Tordeſillas*, ſent to ſpeak with 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

that Aſſembly know, that if they would promiſe to let things continue as they were until he returned, he would go to *Germany*, as the Sollicitor of the Commons of *Caſtile*, with their King; 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 ſaid they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to perſwade them to accept of it; which, when they were at *Tordeſillas*, 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 to them at *Tordeſillas*, to confer with them; to 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 Governour of the Kingdom.

The *Second* was, That he ſhould not come with any Guards.

The *Third* was, That he ſhould go ſtrait to the Logdings which ſhould be provided for him, and not go abroad without the *Junta*'s Leave.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Cardinal's, was ſent by the *Junta* to wait upon him to *Tordeſillas*, 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, he alledging, *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*, the Admiral of *Caſtile*, being march'd into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn out of the Garriſons of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*. After which, ſtealing out of the City by Night, attended only by one Servant, he fled to *Rioſeco*, a Caſtle belonging to the Admiral; where he had not been long, before the

Biſ-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Biſcainers, whoſe barren Country 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 *Syrtes*, having at this time been taken from the *Spaniards* by the *Turks*, the Garriſon that was in that Iſland, when it was landed in *Spain*, was courted by both ſides to join with them. And *Giron* being employed therein by the *Junta*, acquitted himſelf of well, by gaining with his own Money moſt of thoſe Souldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generaliſſimo of all their Forces, to the great diſcontent of the Souldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much leſs *Giron*, of whoſe Fidelity 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 by the Vicar of *Mediana*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Abula*, who exhorted his Auditors to ſay three *Ave Marys* with a moſt profound Devotion; one for the *Holy 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 bodly, *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* being 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 Conduct, is not known certainly.

Don Inigo de Velasco, Constable of *Castile*, having still appeared extremely discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live

live quietly in his Houſe in *Burgos*, until now, that it was diſcovered, that in the beginning of the Troubles, he had perſwaded 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 conceal'd in his Houſe ever ſince: The Rumour of which Diſcovery, having raiſed the Populace, they ſurrounded the Conſtable's Houſe, threatning to ſet fire to it, if their treacherous Meſſenger were not immediately brought forth to them. At firſt the Conſtable deny'd that there was 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 immedialely bring him forth. The poor Wretch was put into their hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Conſtable's Gates, on which they threatned 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 Country Houſe

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

in the Neighbourhood of that City; where having lived privately till the heat of the Populace was assuaged, he entered 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 Quarter.*
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 only designed 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 it, he put two of his Sons as Hostages into their hands. And after that,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

that; he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the *Junta*, to labour to perſwade 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, ſo as not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great heat and diſunion was cauſed by it. But theſe 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* of *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 from making ſuch bold, but neceſſary ſteps, the *Junta* was

hindred, partly by the hopes they were ſtill in of gaining the Nobles to joyn 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, Governours 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 both declare that they would not accept of it, becauſe it did not give them Power

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 Governours.*

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, and made publick by the *Junta*, which, as it encreaſed 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 Di-

Disturbances, until *Castile* found it self governed 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 assur'd 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, he was resolved to join 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 join 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, they would

would certainly lay both him and his Miniſters 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 perſwade her to part with any thing, whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpies he was govern'd 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 ſo encreas'd, that the King ſhould never have any Occaſion to call a *Cortes* for Money.

The Admiral advancing with his Army near to *Rioſeco*, left it there, and without having ſeen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his Menial Servants, to *Tordeſillas*; where finding the Gates ſhut againſt him, he ſent a Servant to deſire Leave to come in, 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 deſir'd, *That his Kinſman* Giron *might be*

be ſent out to hear what he had to offer. But he being 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 encreas'd the Jealouſies the Commons had of him already.

But tho the Admiral was much diſpleas'd with the *Junta*, for denying to hear what he had to offer to them, yet being met, when he was come near to *Rioſeca*, 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 Commotions ended in that manner, that he went within a few Days a ſecond time to *Tordeſillas*, 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 *Articles* to the Deputies, offering, if the *Commons* would be ſatisfy'd with them, to join with them until the

the King ſhould give his Aſſent to their being paſs'd 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* Alcaides *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.*

The *Articles* having been peruſed by the Deputies, the Admiral ask'd 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*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of Burgos, *from the Conſtable.* However, they promiſed to make 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 tho 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; entreating him, as he loved his Country, to join with them upon thoſe Terms. This Anſwer ſo incenſed the Admiral, that being return'd to *Rioſeco,* he took upon him the Title of one of the Governours 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 Abetters, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, 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

the Miniſters and the Nobles, in ſome Sermons which he had lately preached at *Rioſeco*.

Fryar *Antony*, who was a vain ſelf-conceited Man, imagining that nothing was able to withſtand the Force of his Oratory, gladly accepted of this Employment; but having gone five times betwixt *Rioſeco* and *Villabraxim*, without being 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 Deputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governours and the Nobles that were at *Rioſeco*; 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 Ring-leaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

When

When the *Fryar* had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of a *Terræfilius*, than of a Mediator, the Commiſſioners demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propoſitions he was ready to make; both which he delivered to them in Writing, and aſſured them in the King's and the Governour's, 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, 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 diſmiſs the ſawcy Fryar*, commanding him, *not to preſume to come any more to* Villabraxim, *or to any other Place which had declared it ſelf for the Commons.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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

Fryar *Anthony de Guevara*,

THE Declamation you made here the other Day, was long, silly, and sawcy. 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 Fryar upon you when you 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 perswaded 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 tho 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 sawcy and impudent Declamation your last: for which, tho we should have been very sorry, we

we ſhould not have known how to have helped it. However, ſince a Fryar 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, tho 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 perſwade 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 Governours, you may tell them, that tho they may have Power to promiſe, it does not appear that they have Power to perform.

But tho Fryar *Antony* did not ſucceed in his publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his private Negotiation with *Giron*, who, he ſaith, was engag'd 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 perſwaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinſwoman; and who, after Fryar *Antony*'s Nego-

tiation was at an end, went ſeveral times to *Tordeſillas*, 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 perſwaded *Giron* to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain, that the *Junta*, in Order to remove the Governours farther from the Queen and their Head-Quarters, did, by *Giron*'s Advice, command their Army, which had been quartered about *Tordeſillas*, to march, and make themſelves Maſters of *Villa Panda*; by which Means they hoped to be able ſo to hinder Proviſions from going to *Rioſeco*, that the Governours 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 *Tordeſillas*, 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 denying 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 a great part of his Men. For the People, but above all the Prieſts and Fryars, defended the Place until their Ammunition was all ſpent; and one Prieſt was particularly obſerved

ſerved to have given eleven Men their *Viaticum* with his Musket from behind the Battlements of the Wall: Neither would they after that capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very laſt with Sword in Hand. The Admiral, though he carry'd the Place by Aſſault, gave Quarter, and moſt of the Procurators of the *Junta* falling 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-Treaſon, not to attack a Place where ſhe was in Perſon; which ſhe not only refuſed to do, but commanded them to go and open the Gates to him, ſaying, *The Nobles had never been Traytors to the Crown of* Caſtile.

Since I ſhall hereafter have no Occaſion to ſpeak of this diſtemper'd Queen, I ſhall here acquaint the Reader, that ſhe lived near 50 Years in this melancholy Retirement; and towards the latter End of her Life, (which ended in the Year 1555.) ſhe grew outragious. By ſeveral of her Son *Charles* the V*th*'s Actions, when he was in the Monaſtery of St. *Juſte*, I am inclin'd to think, that in the reſigning of all his Crowns, and retiring to a Convent, there was a

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Spice of his Mother's Melancholy, which he found coming upon him. I shall here relate some of those Actions, as they are recorded in his Life, written by *Sandoval*, his great Admirer, and leave it to the Reader to judge of their Merits.

The Emperor had one Day a Mind to ride in the Walks of the Garden of the Monastery; but having mounted an Hackney, tho he was but low, he had not gone four Steps before he cry'd out to be taken down, for that his Head swimmed so that he was not able to sit his Horse any longer.

His Bed-Chamber in the Monastery being placed so, that he cou.d lie a Bed (as he did commonly) and hear Mass, and all the other Church-Offices in the Quire; and he being a great Lover of Musick, and well skilled in it, the best Voices of the Order were brought from all Parts into the Quire of the Monastery. Among the rest, one that was a famous Counter-Tenor was brought from *Placentia*; but the Emperor disliked his Voice or Skill so much, that the first time he sang in the Quire, he dispatch'd one of his Bed-Chamber in great Haste to the Prior, to let him know, *That he must not suffer that Man to sing any more in his Chappel.* And he was often over-heard saying to himself when any

did

did not ſing true, *That red-hair'd Son of a Whore is out.*

One *Guerrero*, who was Maſter of Muſick in the Church of *Sevil*, having preſented the Emperor with a new Set of Church-Muſick, the Emperor commanded one of his Maſſes to be forthwith ſung in the Chappel, which being ended, he called his Confeſſor, and ſaid to him, *What a Son of a Whore and cunning Thief is this* Guerrero; *ſuch a Paſs he has ſtole from one, and ſuch a Paſs from another*, naming them.

About eight Days before he died, he called a *Fleming* to him (of which Nation all his Servants were that attended him in the Monaſtery) and ſaid to him, *Nicholas, Doſt thou know what I am thinking of? No, Sir*, ſaid *Nicholas, how can I tell that? I'll tell thee then*, ſaid the Emperor, *I am thinking of the* 2000 *Crowns which I have hoarded up, and that they ſhall be all forthwith laid out in Funeral Honours for me. Your Majeſty*, reply'd *Nicholas, need take no Care of that, for whenever you die we will ſee to have thoſe Solemnities performed for you. What a Fool are you*, Nicholas, ſaid the Emperor; *for is it not the ſame thing to have a lighted Candle carried before or behind?*

(Not to relate the Dialogues he had with his *Flemiſh* Cook, Baker and Gardener, and with a Boy he ſaw out of his Window

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

bearing Walnuts off a Tree that was near.)

As he left *Valedolid* to go to his Monastery amidst a terrible Tempest, notwithstanding all that his Daughter (who at that time, and during his whole Life was Governess of *Spain*) or his two Sisters could say to dissuade him from it; so during all the time he was in the Monastery, not one of them did ever go to visit him, nor sent any Message to him, that we read of, which they might have done, if they had thought it fit, without having interrupted his Devotion so much as it was interrupted by his Dialogues with his *Flemish* Servants; besides the Benefits they might have received from his Example and good Instructions. It is true, in the Monastery a large Codicil was added to his Will, which he had made in *Flanders*; but as that was a thing in which all that were about him were concern'd in Interest to have done, so had his Son, King *Philip*, believ'd him not to have been *Compos Mentis* all the time he was in the Convent, he could not have disregarded all that was contain'd in that long Codicil more than he did. But this by the way.

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

that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordeſillas* on purpoſe to give the Admiral an opportunity to ſurprize it; and *Giron* fearing, that if he ſtaid any longer with the Army, he might be torn in pieces by the Soldiers, ſtole out of *Villa Panda* by Night, and tho when he was miſt 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 baniſhed, for the whole Term of it, into *Africk*: So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraordinary Privileges, which Fryar *Anthony*, in a conſolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the Happineſs of a Perſon of Quality, being baniſhed 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 diſpatcht 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 Governours had left

left *Rioſeco*, and were removed to *Tordeſillas*, was of little uſe to the Commons. And *Padilla* fearing leſt the Admiral might have followed his Blow, and have attacked *Valledolid*, threw himſelf into that City, with the Recruits he had raiſed at *Toledo*, in order to have formed a Flying Camp.

Now 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, they would make him the 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 a begging, and

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 by them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: Inſomuch, 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; 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 a Deſign of terrifying the Nobles into a Conjuction 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 all the Alienated Crown-Lands and Revenues, or to the Perſons whereof this new Council conſiſted, being better

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 robb'd the Crown of all its Lands, was made the chief and ſtanding Grievance of the Kingdom; and the Publick Evil, which 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 Commendador 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 himſelf not to be qualify'd for ſo difficult a Poſt, thorow his want of Years and Experience, had abſolutely refuſed both to be ſole Generaliſſimo, and to be one of the Three, to the intent that he might command the Forces of* Toledo, which

which he had undertaken; *it being a Burden heavy enough for his young Shoulders.* And upon the Soldiers, not being ſatisfy'd with that Command's 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, 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 being ordered to be made in all the Provinces, the People liſted themſelves every where in much greater Numbers than they had ever done before; ſo that within a Month after the loſs of *Tordeſillas*, 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 imitated 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; whence though for above eighteen Months, they had the whole Kingdom almoſt at their Devotion; yet neither of them did any thing in a Martial way, that was conſiderable, towards the diſabling of

the

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 *Junta* ſuffer it ſelf 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, endeavoured to have created a Jealouſy in them of all the Nobles that were among them, by ſome Letters which he pretended to write to the King, but which he took care to have intercepted by the Council: In which Letters he told the King that the Nobles, which were among the Commons, were grown ſo weary of ſerving them, that they were entred into a ſecret Treaty with him, and did all offer, if they might be aſſured of a Pardon, to leave the Commons to 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 ample a Form as they could deſire; aſſuring him, That the Commons, ſo ſoon

as

as they were deſerted by thoſe Nobles, would quickly moulder away, and come to nothing. But this Stratagem of the Admiral's was defeated, by his over-acting in it. His naming *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 make 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 thence, that they were in no Correſpondence with him.

This Trick of the Admiral's ſucceeding ſo ill, his next was, to get the Pope's Nuncio to offer his Maſter's Mediation, which that Miniſter, who was entirely in the Intereſt of the Court and the Nobles, was ſo 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 being firſt offer'd to the Governours, and to the Nobles, they readily accepted of it; and the Council of the Commons, tho they were ſenſible, that the Nuncio in this Ne-

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, Word being 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, being told by the Deputies that was the Place the Council had appointed to treat with him in, anſwered them in a great Paſſion, that if he were not ſuffered to treat with the Council it ſelf, and in the City, he would immediately give over his Mediation; the diſtruſting 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 called Catholicks; Which Anſwer being ſent to the Council, tho it encreaſed

ſed their Suſpition of him, yet, dreading leſt they ſhould 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*, deſired them to let him have their loweſt Terms they were content to come to an Agreement with the Nobles upon; which being put into the Nuncio's Hands the next Day, he ſent them by his Secretary to the Governours, who having peruſed them, deſired that the Place of the Treaty might be an Houſe which ſtood in the Mid-way, betwixt *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 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 approv'd 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 Treaty, the Guards observing 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 being narrowly search'd, there was a great Sum of Money found in it; which, after a short Examination, was discover'd to have been paid by a Banker in *Valedolid*, to a Servant of the Nuncio's, by the Admiral's Order; which Money, as was suppos'd, 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 returning 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 the Common Father of *Christendom*, accusing them of having violated the Laws of all Nations, in what had been done to him by their

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, they would have made him know, that one that had taken upon him the Perſon of a Mediator, ought not be employ'd 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 receiv'd this Anſwer, left *Valedolid*; and when he came to *Tordeſillas*, he told the Admiral in a Fury, that the 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 in *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 it 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 Catholick Majeſties. 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 Catholick Majeſties, 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 Catholick Majeſties 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*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

And who were they that depriv'd 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 by 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, *the Crown has only three Towns, the reſt being all in the Poſſeſſion of the Nobles; by which Means the Crown is forced to burden the Commons with new Taxes and Tributes, to ſupport its Authority and Dignity. And for that Reaſon the Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are reſolved to have all the alienated Lands and publick Revenues reſtored to the Crown; the great Riches of the Nobility, and the Poverty of the Crown being viſibly the great and ſtanding Grievance of the Kingdom. And whereas the Commons, if their Catholick Majeſties will but be pleaſed to grant them all their*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

just Demands, will desire nothing farther of them; when the Nobles 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 threatning 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 Majesties Intentions, and pernicious to our common Country, so we are resolved to fight it out with you. And as we aim at nothing but the Support of their Majesties 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, 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 Country, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more entreat 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 con-

continue to refuſe to do, we will come againſt you with the Armies of their Catholick Majeſties, as againſt Traytors and Enemies to your Country.

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, if they would but have joined with them to have procur'd 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, order'd Part of their Army to go and ſack *Turrelabaton*, a Caſtle that belong'd to him; with which Deſign the Admiral being acquainted, by the Spies he had among the Commons, 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 look'd on, and ſaw his Caſtle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground; and as he was retreating to *Tordeſillas*, the Commons ſent him Word by one of his

Servants, *That it should not be long before they would make that Place too hot for him.* Presently after they plundered and sacked *Ligalos*, a Castle of the *Conde* of *Beneventum*, and bid his Servants go and tell their Lord, *That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Country, ought not be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, to support their Tyrannies.*

Had the Commons handled the Grandees thus a Year sooner, they had certainly 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 Loiasa*, a famous *Dominican*, who were both very popular, were dispatch'd by the Admiral to *Valedolid*, to try if they could obtain a Cessation of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehemently sollicited by those two popular Ecclesiasticks for a Cessation and a new Treaty, told them plainly, *That they had been so often abused by such Shams, that they were resolved never 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

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 ſuperiour to the Prior's, to clear the Country of him. But the Prior, when the Biſhop drew near him, finding that he was

was not ſtrong enough to keep the Field, pretended to be ſo great a Friend to the Commons and their Cauſe, that he offered to join his Troops to thoſe of the Biſhop, 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 narrowly eſcaping 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 ſelf againſt him to the laſt, aſſoon 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 annoy'd the Prior very much with a Piece of Canon they had planted upon it; but a Barrel of Powder happening to take Fire in the Tower, ſhook the Church ſo, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it: By which terrible Blow, the Beſieged were

ſo

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, 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 attacked, 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, immediately diſpatch'd 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 order'd by the Council to go and help the *Conde*

de

de Salva Terra to recover *Ampudia*, which had been taken from him by ſome Troops of *Biſcainers*, upon that *Conde*'s having declar'd himſelf on the Side of the 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 fatiegu'd by a long March thorough a Mountainous Country) 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, tho 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 tho the Council could not but be ſenſible, that ſuch a Herd, tho 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 ap-

apply'd themſelves to the *French*, tho 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 ſollicited 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 giving that Army leiſure to ſubdue the Commons, (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, *viz.* upon that Army's returning home victorious, and much ſtronger too by reaſon of it's being reinforced in *Caſtile* by the Admiral's Troops, which could not otherwiſe have been ſpared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this *Navar*-War that *Ignatius Loyola* was, to the great unhappineſs of the whole World, hurt at *Pampelona* with a Bullet: For that hurt prov'd the occaſion of

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his turning Enthuſiaſt, and becoming afterwards the Contriver of a Society, which has done more Miſchief in the World than Bullets and Gunpowder; which truly might have deſerved Pardon for a great deal that they have done, had they at this time done their Work thorowly, and kill'd out-right inſtead of only wounding ſuch an Incendiary.

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 Governours 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 Garriſon into the Caſtle of *Burgos*, he marched towards *Tordeſillas*, ſending 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 Battle,

tle, 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.

It would certainly have been the Wiſdom of the Council to have done all that was in their Power to avoid coming to a Battle. And that they might have done, by drawing their Army out of the Field to garriſon their Cities and great Towns; few or none of which the *French* wou'd have allow'd the Governours leiſure to have beſieged; neither were they provided of a Train of Artillery and other Materials neceſſary for ſuch a Work. But the Council (inſtead of taking this Courſe which in their Circumſtances, was certainly the ſafeſt) truſting, 'tis like, to their great Numbers, 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 joyning.

But the Conſtable, who before had marched directly towards *Turrelabaton*, having received Intelligence of the Commons whole Army being encamped about that Place, altered his Courſe, and marching Day and Night, chopped betwixt *Valedolid* and *Turrelabaton*, ſo as to cut off all Com-

Communication betwixt the Council and their Army. And being there joyned by the Admiral, they immediately ſent a Trumpet to *Valedolid*, commanding that City, upon pain of Treaſon, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garriſon they were ready to ſend to them; with which Summons the Magiſtrates, and others, that had any thing to loſe, were ſo terrify'd, that they were for ſending the Keys of their Gates preſently to the Governours, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindred them from doing it, had not a *Dominican*, and a *Trinitarian* Fryar 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 being raiſed, they with their two Fryars at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-Houſe, where having threatned to cut the Throat, and burn down the Houſe of the firſt Man that talk'd of delivering up the City to the Nobles; they brought out the City-Standard, and ſetting it up in the Field without the Gates, commanded all that were able to bear Arms, upon pain of Death, to repair to it immediately, to defend the

the City, and the Common Liberties of their Country, which were all at the point of being loſt.

But the Governours being ſenſible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, *Valedolid* and all their other Places would fall into their hands of courſe, never intended to loſe time (which the *French* being victorious in *Navar*, made to be very precious 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 leſt when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, 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.*

It was ſo as the Governours had apprehended; the Commons Generals, ſo ſoon as they heard of the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, reſolved to decamp, and intrench themſelves among the Mountains, where, if the Governours ſhould attempt to force them to a Battle, their Cavalry, in which their main ſtrength conſiſted, would be but of little uſe to them.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

But as a great, but undiſciplined, and ill Officer'd Army, is an unweildy Body for any regular Motion; ſo before the Commons had diſlodged, news was brought by their Scouts, of the Governour's whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they marched ſo faſt, that they would quickly be up with them. The Commons raw Generals, who were at their 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 Soldiers 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,

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 Commons Officers did all 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) they might with great eaſe cut them all to pieces; yet ſo great was the Conſternation they were in, that there was no perſwading 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 bye ways, to get into *Navar*, of which Kingdom they had heard the *French* had made themſelves Maſters.

The Foot laying down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the *Subalterns*, by the Governours, who having left their Foot

behind them, were at *Turrelabaton* very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediately, and run home to their Houses before the Governour's Infantry came up, which wou'd not easily have been kept from stripping them.

But tho the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so mercifully by the Governours, the General Officers that were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, scaped not so well. For *Don John de Padilla*, and *Don John Bravo*, and *Don Francis Maldonada* being taken Prisoners, were all three beheaded the next day after the Rout. *Don Peter Maldonada*, was likewise sentenced to die; but being 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 *Simanchas*.

John Bravo, as he was going to the Scaffold, hearing the Cryer that went before him, say, *This is the Justice which his Majesty and the Lord High Constable, with other Governours, do command in his Name, to be executed upon the Persons of these Gentlemen. Their Command is, That they should be beheaded as Traytors, Disturbers of the Kingdom, and Usurpers of the Royal*

Royal Crown. He reply'd, *Hangman thou lieſt, and thoſe that bid thee ſay ſo; We are no Traytors, but zealous for the Publick Good, and Defenders of the Kingdoms Liberties.* In order to render *John de Padilla*'s Lady, who was every where called *La Muger Valeroſa*, odious to the People, it was given out, that at his Death her Husband had blamed her as the Author of his untimely end, and of all his other Misfortunes. But by the Letter which that Gentleman writ to his Lady on the Day of his Execution, the Falſity of that Report was made manifeſt.

Don John de Padilla's Letter to his LADY.

SENNORA.

IF your Pain did not more trouble me, than the loſing of my Life, I ſhould eſteem my ſelf entirely happy. For Death being a thing ſo certain to all Mortals, the Almighty ſheweth him a ſingular Favour whom he honoureth with ſuch a one as mine; which, tho lamented by many, is doubtleſs acceptable in his Sight. It would require more time than I have, to write ſeveral things which might be for your Conſolation. But as that cannot be allowed, ſo neither do I

desire to defer the Reception of that Crown which I hope to enjoy. You may, like a discreet Woman, bewail your own Misfortune, but not my Death; For being in so good a Cause, it ought not to be lamented by any; My Soul, since nothing else is left me, I bequeath to you, desiring you to entertain it as a thing which most affected you. I do not write to Pedro Lopez, *my Father, because I dare not. For tho I was his Son in daring to lose my Life, I was not Heir to his good Fortune. I will not enlarge any farther, because I will not trouble the Executioner to wait, nor give way for any one to suspect, that to prolong my Life I enlarge my Letter: My Servant* Sosia, *being an Eye-witness of my end, and one to whom I have communicated the Secrets of my Heart, shall tell you what cannot be expressed herein. So I rest, expecting the Instrument of your Sorrow, and my Comfort.*

He writ a Letter at the same time to the City of *Toledo*, in which he tells her, *That she must consider that these are but the Turns of Fortune's Wheel, which never standeth still; That it was his Contentment and Consolation that he suffered Death for her, and that she nourished at her Breast such as may take Satisfaction for his Wrongs.*

And when he was upon the Scaffold, having taken off certain Relicks which he wore

wore about his Neck, he gave them to *Don Enriche de Sandovall y Roias*, eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Denia*, praying him to wear them whilſt the War laſted, which being ended, he deſired him to ſend them to his Wife.

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 Governours; 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 dying Liberties; they were not to be moved any where 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*, making 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 them to defend, and until they had taken Vengeance too on those Butchers, meaning the Governours, who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots. And having sent a Courier 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 dishonourably 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, 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 Governours employ'd the Marquis of *Vilena*, who had a great Interest in the *Sylva's*, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he could

could perſwade it to ſubmit; but that Negotiation taking Air, the *Sylva*'s were all turned out of the City; as was *Don John de Cardenas* alſo, upon Suſpicion of his being in a Correſpondence with the Governours. *Padilla*'s Widow was vehemently ſollicited too by her Brother, the Marqueſs *de Mondeiar*, either to perſwade *Toledo* to ſubmit, or to leave it, promiſing her a great Reward from the Governours, if ſhe would do either; but all the Anſwer he could have from her, was, *That as ſhe did not care to out-live 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 butcher'd 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* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* being dead in *Flanders*, and of *Don Antony de Fonſeca*, Archbiſhop 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 conſpir'd

ſpir'd 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 Negro Maid ſhe kept, was no Womon, but an Imp of Hell, that furniſhed her with Charms to faſcinate People into a Veneration for her.* And to ſatisfy all her Adorers, that they were bewitch'd by her, they affirm'd, *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 tho ſhe found her Credit ruin'd 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 perſwade that City to ſubmit it ſelf to the Governours. And when her Houſe was aſſaulted by the Biſhop of *Leon*, at the Head of a Multitude whom he had diſinchanted with Exorciſms, ſhe, with her own Servants, and ſome of the Ring-leaders of the firſt Tumults, defended it againſt him for ſome Hours. And when at laſt

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 out by Night out of the Back-Gate of her Houſe, in a Diſguize, with her Siſter, the Counteſs of *Montecute*; and eſcaping out of the City, ſhe fled to *Portugal*, where ſhe was kindly entertain'd 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 10*th* of *February*, in the Year 1522. that City ſent Deputies to the Governours, 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*, in the Year 1520. Neither did the War of the Commons of *Valencia* laſt much longer; which having been all along carried on with much greater Fury and Devaſtations than that of *Caſtile*, ended in a great Slaughter of the Commons in a Field Battle.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

I have no where met with the Particulars of that War; and tho 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, who, in order to make his Eſcape, is ſaid to have beat out the Brains of the Governour of the Caſtle, as he was in Diſcourſe with him by the Fire-ſide, with a Brickbat, which he put into the Bag wherein he uſed to carry his Breviary; *as alſo of* Don Peter Maldonada, *at* Simanchas; *and*

and of Don Pedro Pimental de Talavera, *at* Placentia; *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 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, aſſembled a *Cortes* at *Valedolid*. And tho 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 ſteddy People than the *Caſtilians* are, would have been in Danger of doing. 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.

THE

THE Prolocutor's SPEECH.

Most Sacred Emperor, and our Catholick King,

WE the Procurators of these Kingdoms do humbly supplicate your Majesty, to do the Kingdom 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 Houshold, 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 tho 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*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

that the demanding of a Tribute so imperiously as that at the Groin *was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the Instigation of some who preferr'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; 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 called to consult about the publick Good, and not only 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. Your 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, as 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 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* Cortes, *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

We do therefore throw our ſelves at your Majeſty's Feet, humbly ſupplicating that the Grievances of the Subjects may be firſt conſider'd 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 *Prolocutor's*, told the *Cortes* upon it, *That tho no Prince could be better diſpos'd than he was, to make all his Subjects eaſy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Cuſtom introduc'd 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 look'd on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckon'd to have been purchaſed with Money, 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 ſhould*

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 being 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.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, nor 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 hinder'd 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 Governour, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

to make a good Pope, they diſpatch'd 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.

A

VIEW

OF

Two Caſtilian CORTESES.

INTRODUCTION.

HAving in the foregoing Hiſtory, ſo often had occaſion to mention the Caſtilian Cortes, *I ſhould have been glad here to have gratify'd the Curious with a Hiſtory of the Origen, 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 upon 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, neither of which is 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 Goncalez D. Avila, *Hiſtoriographer to King* Phil. IV. *I met with the following Accounts; 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. *For the Northern Nations, which pull'd down the* Roman *Empire, had originally all the ſame Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy; and that 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 was 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.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Which happy Conſtitution of Government, is now no where 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

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 Governours, during his Son King *Henry* the IId's Minority; the young King, by the Advice of his Council, did, on the 22*d* of *October*, in the Year 1390. call a *Cortes* to meet at *Madrid*, on the 15*th* of *November*, to settle the Regency, as they should judge to be most convenient for his and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The Perſons named by the deceaſed King to be Governours, were *Don Alonſo*, Marqueſs *de Vilena*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, *Don Peter*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; *Don John*, Archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*; *Don Peter Nunnes*, Maſter of *Calatrava*; *Don John Alphonſo*, *Conde* of *Niebla*; and *Don Peter Goncales*, Steward of the Houſhold.

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 is to let you know, that by the Advice of the Perſons who were Counſellors to my Father, (whom may God admit into his holy Paradiſe) I have determined to call together all the Prelates, Maſters, Condes, and Ricoſhomes, and all the other Nobles, and all the Procurators of the Cities and Towns of theſe my Kingdoms and

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* 15*th 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

NOTES *on this* WRIT.

[*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 leſs ſenſible of their being Sufferers by this Change, the firſt Dukes and Marquiſes were all *Infante*'s, or *Princes of the Blood*, and ſo before they had thoſe new Titles, were ſuperior to the *Condes*.

[*RICOSHOMES.*] This was the common Title of the Barons of *Spain*. It is the Compound of a *Gothick* and *Latin* Word; whereas *Manrique*, the Name

* Viz. *The Father and Grand-Father of this King* Henry *the* IId. *who ſummon'd this* Cortes.

of

of a noble *Spanish* Family, signifies the same, but is wholly *Gothick*. This Title is agreeable to the Description of *Nobility*'s being nothing else *but Riches long possessed in a Family*.

The *Ricoshomes* were of two sorts: The first and most honourable were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckon'd 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 call'd, *The Judges of* Castile. The second were those that were made *Ricoshomes* by a Patent from the King.

The Manner of creating a *Ricoshome*, was by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was this: 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 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 Procurators of the Cities and Towns in a *Cortes* were

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 depriv'd of that Privilege by this preſent King, who ſet a Magiſtrate over them, with the Title of *Corrigidor*. 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 Procurators that were preſent at this CORTES.

For the City of *Burgos*.

PEter Fernandez de Villegas.
John de San Joan.
Garci Radz.
John Alonſo de Caſtro Duarco.
Martin Goncalez de Cencerra.
Sancho Garcia de Media.
Garci Perez de Camargo.
John Lopez de San Soles, 8.

For the City of *Toledo*.

Peter Lopez de Ayala.
Perafon de Ribera.
John Gaitan.
John Alphonſo de Zurita.
Martin Goncalez Traperos, 5.

For the City of *Leon*.

Pero Nunnes de Villafanna.

Fernand

Fernand Alvarez de Leon.
Goncalo Fernandez.
John Ruiz.
Alonso Fernandez, 5.

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

For *Corduba.*
Lope Guitierrez.
Peter Vanegas.
Alfonso Yannez, 3.

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

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

For *Abula.*
Alfonso Goncalez.
Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For *Salamanca.*
Rui Goncalez.
John Sanchez.
Rui Fernandez.
Rodrigo Yannez.
El Dr. Antony Sanchez.
Alfonso Godinez.
Andrew Dominguez.
Julian Gomez, 8.

For *Zamora.*
Fernan Rodriguez Esparegas.
Ordonno Ruiz.
Perivan de la Rua.
Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For *Segovia.*
Garci Alfonso de Uvacana.
Fernan Sanchez de Virres, 2.

For *Soria.*
Garci Alvarez de vera.
Fernan Sanchez.
John de Morales.
Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, 4.

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

For *Placentia.*
Garci Goncales Maristal.
Diego Gomez de Almarez, 2.

For *Baeza.*
Fernan Ruiz Narvar.
Lewis Goncalez.
John Garcia, 3.

For

For *Ubeda.*
Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez, 2.

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

For *Calahorra.*
Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Goncalez Falcon, 2.

For *Oveido.*
John Eſtrevanes, 1.

For *Xerez.*
Lucas Fernandes de Locano.
Peter Garcia de Miſeria, 2.

For *Aſtorga.*
Diego Alvarez, 1.

For *Rodrigo.*
Sancho Comez de Ferrera, 1.

For *Badajox.*
Goncalo Sanchez, 1.

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

For *Guadalaxara.*
John Ortega.
Gorci Lopez, 2.

For *Coruna.*
Goncalo Annes Ferreiro, 1.

For *Medina del Campo.*
Goncalo Ruiz.
John de San Pedro, 2.

For *Cuenca.*
Numno Goncalez de Torre.
John Rodriguez de Navaltan.
John Sanchez, 3.

For *Carmona.*
John Martinez de Lea.
Goncalez Martinez, 2.

For *Ezija.*
Alfonſo Terriandez.
Peter Diaz, 2.

For *Vitoria.*
Peter Goncolez.
Peter Garcia, the Son of *Michael Garcia*, 2.

For *Logronno.*
Goncalo Garcia, 1.

For *Fruxillo.*
Fernan Alfonſo.
Rui Gutierres, 2.

For

For *Carceres.*
Lorenco Yannes.
Garcia Martinez, 2.

For *Cadix.*
Sancho Garcia.
Fernan Goncalez, 2.

For *Xeriz.*
Goncala Ruiz.
Alonso Sanchez.
John Fernandez de Sandoval.
John Garcia, 4.

For *Bejar.*
Gill Fernandez.
Diego Sanchez, 3.

For *Villa Real.*
Bartholomew Martinez.
Goncalo Gomez.
Alfonso Sanchez, 3.

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

For *Tariff.*
John Ramires de Allenmar, 1.

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

For *Anduiar.*
Alfonso Goncales de Pirego.
John Sanchez 2.

For *Atienca.*
Peter Alvares.
Goncalo Sanchez.
Alvar Nunnez, 3.

For *Madrid.*
John Sondeval.
John Garcia, 2.

For *Alcaraz.*
Alonso Lope.
Rui Goncalez, 2.

For St. *Sebastian.*
Pelegrin Gomez.
John de Heneras, 2.

For *Sahagun.*
Garcia Alfonso.
Fernan Goncalez, 2.

For *Fuente Rubia.*
Stephen de Aluda, 1.

These

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* being 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 when ſo rais'd) was brought down to its ancient Standard and Valſue, which having been done by a Law, on *January* the 21ſt; 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 nam'd; 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.

I. *Not to encrease the standing Forces of the Kingdoms above four thousand Soldiers in Garrisons, 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*, Conde *de Trastamara*, *Don Peter*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don John*, Archbishop of *Santiago*, *Don Goncalo Nunnes*, Master of *Calatrava*, *Peter Lopez d' Ayala*, Alchald of the City of *Toledo*, *Alvar Perez Osforio*, *Rui Ponce de Leon*, *Peter Suarez*, Aldelantadi of *Leon* and *Asturias*, *Garci Goncales*, Mariscal.

For the Kingdom of *Castile*, *Garci Ruiz*, *Sancho Garcia de Medina*, and *Ruy Sanchez*.

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

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

For the Kingdom of *Andaluſia*, *Fernan Gonçales*, and *Lope Rodriquez*.

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

For *Eſtramadura*, *Fernan Sanchez de Vervis*, and *Alfonſo Gontalez*.

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, until 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 ſettled, the King came to the *Cortes*; and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the following Oath.

I do

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 enjoy'd in the Reigns of the King my Grand-father, 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 *Henry* II. intending to have a War with the *Mooriſh* 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 call'd one to meet at *Toledo*, on the 29*th* of *November*, in the Year 1406; it was open'd 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 indiſpos'd, that he was not able to be preſent at it in Perſon.

TOU,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

YOU, the Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindred 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 denying 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 return'd, in the Name of the whole *Cortes*, by the Bishop of *Siguenca.*

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, here assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

with very great Satisfaction, do all supplicate 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 Conveniency, 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*, which also promised to assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But tho 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 Vigour, they were so divided, that the King, lest more time should be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. *John Rodriquez*, one of the Procurators

curators 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 *Streights*, 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 being paſs'd 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 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 ſtiffly to their Bill, 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, 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 carry'd 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 ſeveral

veral other Oppreſſions, had render'd 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 him in the Name of moſt of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by *Rui Lopez de Avila*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, (who was alſo one of the young King's Governours) 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, who was alſo his Nephew, of his Crown.* But the Conſtable, who would not be put off with this Anſwer, endeavour'd to perſwade the Infante, by the following Speech, to change his Mind.

THE

THE Constable'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 dishonourable 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 Origin 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 scatter'd 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 superiour to the rest; but the Dangers People found themselves exposed to, of being oppress

by

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

by others that were stronger, and the frequent 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 procur'd 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 dy'd, 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 Vertue 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.

Upon

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 your Highness's own Grand-Father, King* Henry, *who depriv'd his Brother and his Daughters of the Crown; to which, had not this Action of your 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 enquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head, against all the Power of* Castile. *And in* Arragon, *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, being one, 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 Country 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, tho 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. But he diſmiſs'd the Conſtable, and the reſt of the Nobles, with telling them, *That tho 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Arragon*, 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.

AN

AN ACCOUNT OF THE *Manuſcripts* and *Relicks*

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 appear'd to them, lodg'd it all in its Box again; and having carried it to their Maſter, the Archbiſhop, he not skilling ſuch things himſelf, or at leaſt pretending that he did not, ſummon'd 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 *Latin*; 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

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 tho 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* upon that Prophecy.

And the laſt was a Relation of one Father *Patrick*, by whom this Treaſure was hid in the Apoſtles Days.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The PROPHECY of St. *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 complidos de ſu advenimento por peccados graves el en mundo, q' cometidos ſerantinieblas, ſe levantaran muy eſcuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales ſe oſtenderan por miniſtros furioſſos, q' en ellas ſeran criados; com q' la lux de nueſtro ſol ſe eclipſera; y el templo del Maeſtro, y ſu fe', graves perſecutiones padeceran: y los quinze ſiglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coracones endurecedos, ſegundas tinieblas ſe levantaran en las partes de aquilon y d ellas un dragon ſoldra, que por ſu boca, arroiara ſimiente; que ſembrada la fee dividira en ſetas y con la otra iuntada el mundo occuparan, de las occidentales partes

tes ſaldran los tres enemigos, ſu malicia aumentandoy por ſu Maeſtro la ſenſuali dad traeran y con lepra nunca viſta el mundo, ſe nilicionara la lux en parte diminuta de la tierra ſe retirara adonde con naufragios ſuſtentada ſeran en el abrigo de la columa de piedra, con eſtas ſenales prodigioſſos y otras que el Cielo woſtrara el genere humano ſera amenazado y en eſpecial el ſacerdocio y annunciado el Antichriſto, que ſera brebe ſu venida con que eſta prophecia ſe cumplira, y el iuyzo final ſe acercara, quando ſe manifeſtara al mundo, eſta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplida, del medio dia ſaldra el iuez de la verdad, quando le plazera.

This Prophecy *render'd 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, which will extend it ſelf to the *Weſt* by the furious Miniſters that are bred therein;

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

with which the Light of the Sun will be eclipſed, and the Temple of the Maſter and his Faith will ſuffer grievous Perſecution.

And fifteen Ages being accompliſhed thorough obſtinate and obdurate Hearts, a ſecond Darkneſs will ariſe in the *Northern* Parts; out of which will come forth a Dragon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth, which being ſown, will divide the Faith into Sects, which being joined with the other, will ſpread it ſelf over the World. From the Weſtern Parts three Enemies will come forth, who having Senſuality for their Maſter, and encreaſing in their Malice, will infect the World with ſuch a Leproſy as was never ſeen before; and the Light being much diminiſhed, will retire, but will in its Ship-wrecks 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 threatned, and particularly the Prieſthood; and Antichriſt, whoſe Coming is at Hand, being manifeſted, this Prophecy will be accompliſhed, 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

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; *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, ſhewed him a Prophecy written in* Hebrew *by St.* John the Evangeliſt, *which had been render'd 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, tranſlated it into* Spaniſh, *and writ a Commentary upon it in* Arabick, *which was his Mother Tongue: He obtained likewiſe one half of the* Handkerchief

which had cured him of his Blindneſs; and the Bone of the firſt Martyr St. Stephen; *all which Relicks he laid together to be preſerved until God for the Inſtruction of Princes ſhould be pleaſed 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 after ſix hundred Years; nor the Diabolical Dragon to appear in the *North* till fifteen hundred Years after Chriſt's Birth. But they ſay 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. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Conſtantino*, and Dr. *Cazala*, who were all burnt in *Spain* for being Proteſtants, in the beginning of the Reign of *Philip* the IId. are the Perſons meant by three Enemies in the *Weſt*: And as for the *Pillar of Stone*, though St. *Cecilius* ſaith nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. *Madera*, the Publiſher and Champion of theſe

An-

Antiquities, ſaith, That *Spain* is meant by it, and that upon no leſs Authority, than that of the Prophet *Eſaias*; who ſpeaking of the *Spaniards* in the 24*th* Chapter of his Prophecy, calls them, *Habitatores Petræ.*

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 written in *Nero*'s Days, by one Father *Patrick* a Prieſt.

Father *Patrick*'s RELATION.

RElatio Patritii Sacerdotis, ſervus Dei. Cecilius Epiſcopus Granatenſis, cum in Iberia eſſet, & cum videret dierum ſuorum finem, occulte mihi dixit, ſe habere pro certo ſuum martyrium & apropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in deo amavit, theſaurum ſuarum reliquiarum mihi commendavit, & me admonuit, ut occulte haberem, & in loco locarem, & ut in

potentiam Maurorum nunquam veniret, affirmans esse thesaurum salutis atq; scientiæ certæ & plurimum laborasse, & iter fecisse terra mariq; & debere esse in occulto loco, donec Deus velit illum manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in eo loco clausi ubi jacet, deum rogans ut eum observet. Reliquiæ quæ hic jacent sunt profeciæ divi Joannis Evangelistæ, medius pannus quo Virgo Maria *absterſit ab oculis lacrimas in passione sui filii sacrati.*

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deo gratias.

This Relation turned into Engliſh.

" THE Relation of *Patrick* a Prieſt, " the Servant of God.

" *Cecilius* Biſhop of *Granada*, being in " *Iberia*, and ſeeing the end of his Days " approaching, told me in private, That he " knew for certain, that he ſhould ſpeedi- " ly ſuffer Martyrdom; and whereas he " loved me in God, he recommended " to me the Treaſure of his Relicks, " and charged me to keep it ſecret, and " to lodge it in a ſecret Place, that it " might never fall into the hands of the " *Moors*; affirming it to be a Treaſure of

" Health

"Health and certain Knowledge, and that "he had been at great Pains, and travelled "both by Sea and Land, and that it ought "to be kept in a ſecret Place, until God "ſhould 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 Re-"licks which lie here are, *The Prophecies* "*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 Story, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce, which has not ſo many Sentences as it has Blunders in it, with clear Evidences 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 Relicks; the Treaſures which above all others, the *Spaniſh* Cities and Towns do va-

lue

lue themſelves upon: A famous Miracle-working Relick being of more advantage to any place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

The *Galicians*, whoſe *true Legend* of St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, ſtood in great need of ſome ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely as 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* Valparaſo, 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 uſtum Divi Meſitonis Martiris, paſus eſt, ſub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of St. *Meſiton*, who ſuffered in the Reign of the Emperor *Nero*.

This

This Relick being carried to the Archbiſhop, he was ſo tranſported with Joy, that he reſolved to ſpare for no Coſt, nor Pains, to find the Aſhes of this burnt Martyr; and having ſet all hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28*th* 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* Hiſcius *Apoſtoli* Jacobi *decipus cum ſuis Diſcipulis* Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centulio, *per medium ignem in quo vivi ambuſti fuerunt eternam vitam petentibus tranſiere, ut lapides in calcem converſi fuerint; quorum pulvers in hujus ſacri 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. *Hiſcius* a "Diſciple of the Apoſtle St. *James*, elected "of God for this purpoſe, ſuffered Mar- "tyrdom in this place of *Illupulis*, with "his Diſciples *Turillus*, *Panuncius*, *Mara-* "*nus*, and *Centulius*, paſſing thorough the "midſt of the Fire wherein they were "burnt alive, to Life eternal, and being "burnt as Stones are to Lime. Their Duſt "is lodged in the Caverns of this holy "Moun-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

" Mountain ; which, as Reaſon requires, " ought to be had in Veneration in Memo- " ry of them.

On the 10*th* 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 *paſus eſt Martirium in hoc loco illupi-lito,* Theſiphon *dictus priuſquam converteretur* Abenathar, *divi* Jacobi *Apoſtoli diſcipulus, vir literis & ſanctitate præditus, plumbi tabulis exſcripſit librum illum,* Fundamentum Eccleſiæ *appellatum, & ſimul paſi ſunt ſui diſcipuli, dius* Maximinus, Luparius, *quorum pulvis & liber ſunt cum pulveribus divorum Martyrum 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,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

" Book, with the Duſt of divers Martyrs, are " in the Caverns of this holy Mountain, " and let them be reverenced in Memory " of them.

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, which were judg'd 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 Relicks, 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 21*ſt* of *April* they met with a leaden Box, wherein was a Book with this Title—— *Liber Fundamenti Eccleſiæ Salomonis characteribus ſcriptus*; A Book of the Foundation of the Church, written in the Characters of *Salomon*.

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 quoted frequently; and that to decide a Controverſy which the Pope himſelf dare not mount his infallible Chair to determine, tho ſollicited 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*: It's Title is, ——

De Domo Gloriæ & 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 originarioq; peccato præſervata fuit, atq; hæc veritas Apoſtolorum Concilium eſt; quam qui negaverit, maledictus & excommunicatus erit, & ſalutem non conſequetur, ſed in æternum damnabitur.*

" The

" The Virgin *Mary*, the Holy, the Elect,
" was preſerved from the firſt and origi-
" nal Sin, and was free from all Guilt.
" This Truth is decreed by the Apoſtles met
" in a Council. And whoſoever ſhall deny
" it, is accurſed, excommunicated, and ſhall
" not acquire Salvation, but ſhall be damned
" for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for theſe Manuſcripts and Relicks that this Apoſtolical Definition was found in their Company; for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been queſtion'd 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 Eſſentia Dei, quem Divus Thiſiphon *Apoſtoli* Jacobi *diſcipulus in ſua naturali lingua Arabica*, Salomoni *characteribus ſcripſit; & alium, Fundamentum Eccleſiæ appellatum, qui in hujus ſacri Montis Cavernis jacet.*

Deus

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Deus a Nerone *Imperatore hos duos liberet libros. Impoſuit finem hic ſuis operibus ſcribens miracula & vitæ inte—itatem ſui magiſtri—vi in hujus ſacri montis ea eſt.*

" A Book of the Eſſence of God, which " St. *Thiſiphon*, a Diſciple of *James* the A- " poſtle, writ in his own natural Tongue, " which was *Arabick*, in *Salomon*'s Chara- " cters; 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 Relicks from *Compoſtella*, and all the other Quarters of *Spain*, was the thing that made all the Chaſms 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 *Thiſiphon*'s Maſter, who was St. *James* the Apoſtle, was buried in the Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that had not the Finders of theſe Manuſcripts and Relicks had more Judgment than the

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 compoſed 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, that is, the Bones and Aſhes of that Apoſtle's Diſciples; which had they pretended to more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot underſtand how the Church would have ſuffered much had this Book, with the Title *of its Foundation*, and its Companion, fallen into *Nero*'s Hands, and been deſtroy'd by him; againſt which he that hid them prays, as if it would have been the greateſt Loſs the Church could have ſuſtained.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

On the 30*th* 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 Martyriam in hoc* —— *tano divus* Cecilius *ſancti* Jacobi *diſcipulus, vir literis linguis & ſanctitate præditus, Prophetias divi* Joannis *commentavit, quæ ſunt poſitæ cum aliis reliquiis in ſublimi parte inhabitabilis turris* Turpiane, *ſicut dixerunt mihi ſui diſcipuli divus* Setentrius *&* Patricius, *qui cum illo paci ſunt quorum pulveres jacent in unius ſacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam veneretur.*

" 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 " learned Linguiſt and an holy Man: He " commented upon all the Prophecy of St. " *John* the Apoſtle; which Commentaries, " with other Relicks, are lodged in the " high part of the uninhabitable *Turpian* " Tower, as I was told by his Diſciples " St. *Setentrius* and *Patrick*, who ſuffered " with him, and whoſe Duſts do lie in the " Caverns of a certain Mountain, which " in Memory of them ought to be vene- " rated.

This

This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower, wherein the firſt Relicks 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 being unanimouſly judged to be genuine by all the Antiquaries and Criticks in Lead and Parchment, as well as in Words, Phraſes and Hiſtory, the Archbiſhop cauſed a *Te Deum* to be ſung with great Solemnity in his Cathedral, for the finding of ſo ineſtimable a Treaſure; which, after it had been magnify'd by the Preachers, as the greateſt Largeſs any City had ever receiv'd 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 reſtrain'd by the Archbiſhop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

And to that end, the Archbiſhop ſent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope *Clement* the VIII*th.* from whom he receiv'd 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, muſter'd all their Forces, and made ſuch Objections againſt them, as one would think ſhould ſo far have ruined their Credit, as to make it impoſſible for one of common Senſe, and much more for an Aſſembly of wiſe and learned Men, to judge 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 Biſhoprick, 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 then 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 the Titles of *Divus* and *Sanctus* were not given to Chriſtians in the Apoſtles Days, nor in a great many Years after, eſpecially not 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Relicks 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 Relicks of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book, call'd *Fundamentum Eccleſiæ*, was condemned a thouſand Years before by Pope *Gelaſius*, 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. *Thesiphon* 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 *Latin* 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 blundring Imposture stands upon the Story of St. *James* the Apostle's 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.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Judgment 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 implicite Belief of them.

Now it is by this very Courſe that all ſenſible *Roman Catholicks* are kept from diſcovering the groſs Falſhood of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and of divers other Errors and pretended Facts, even that vile Bondage of Thought which the *Roman Church* keeps her Sheep under, and which is 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 Relicks

licks to the Objection which had been 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 Relicks have as ſtrong Evidences of their being true, as thoſe had which were found 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 thoſe of *Compoſtella*, and of the itinerant Chappel of *Loretto*, and as an hundred more, which are all equally kept in credit, by pure dint of Forehead, or by Bondage of Thought.

Their 2*d Argument* is, That if theſe Writings were ſuppoſititious, they muſt have been forged either by a *Mahometan*, an *Heretick*, or a *Catholick*: The two firſt, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this Nature, would not forge Writings which ſhould condemn their own Sects; and as for a Catholick, 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 Catholick* is

not

not capable of doing ſuch things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be granted ſo eaſily; ſuch pious Frauds as 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 been 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 by others in the ſame manner? However, there is one thing, would the Patrons of theſe Relicks be perſwaded to it, 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

one of 'em to work but one ſingle Miracle on the *Exchange* of *London* or of *Amſterdam*; for, whatever they may think, it is no ſmall Prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles, which are confidently ſaid to be wrought daily by the Relicks in the *Roman* Church, in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of ſeveral of that Church's 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 *Eccleſiaſticks* 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 Apo'ſtolick See, Archbiſhop of *Granada*, and 'Counſellor to his Majeſty, with the Aſ'ſent of the moſt Reverend Prelates, *Don* '*John de Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Guadis*, and one 'of his Majeſty's Council, our Com-Pro'vincial and Suffragan, and *Don Sebaſtian*

'*Quin-*

'*Quintero*, Biſhop of *Galipoli*, and *Don* '*Alfonſo de Mendoca*, Abbot of *Alcala la* '*real*.

'Having examined all the Relicks 'which were found at the taking down of a 'moſt ancient Tower in this our Church, 'in the Year 1588. as alſo all thoſe which 'were found in the Mountain near this Ci-'ty, called *Valparayſo*, in the Year 1595. 'and the Cogniſance 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. And ha-'ving ſeen a Proceſs concerning this Matter, 'and examin'd all the Informations, Con-'firmations, and Reſearches, which have 'been 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 conve-'nient:

'We being all unanimous, do with one 'Mind and Senſe declare what we ought; 'and we do declare, define and pronounce 'the ſaid Relicks contain'd in this Proceſs, 'to wit, the half of the Cloath wherewith 'our Lady, the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, 'wiped off her Tears, ſhed at the Paſſion of

'her

'her Son, our Redeemer; and the Bone of 'St. *Stephen* the firſt Martyr, to be, and 'they truly are, half the Handkerchief of 'our Lady, and the Bone of the firſt Mar-'tyr, St. *Stephen*; and to have been hid, 'ſhut up, and kept within the Wall of a 'moſt ancient Tower, which ſtood in the 'Place whereon the chief Church of this 'City was built, having been put into a 'Leaden Box, ſoder'd within and without: 'In which Box there was likewiſe a Rela-'tion of one *Patrick*, a Prieſt, written in 'very ancient Parchment; which declares, 'that the ſaid Relicks 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 19*th* of *March*, being *Sa-'turday*, 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 Relicks of the Holy Martyrs, 'who are now enjoying God, and are 'reigning with him in Heaven; to wit, 'of the Holy Martyrs, St. *Cecilius*, St. *Hiſ-'cius*, and St. *Theſiphon*, the Diſciples of the

'Bleſſed

'Bleſſed Apoſtle, St. *James*, Son 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 '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 Je- 'ſus Chriſt our Redeemer, and for his 'Holy Catholick Faith, and for preach- 'ing and publiſhing of the Holy Go- 'ſpel, 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. *The-* 'ſiphon and his Diſciples on the firſt of *April*, 'as is declared and ſhewed by four Plates 'of moſt ancient Lead, written in the *La-* 'tin Tongue, in moſt ancient Characters, 'and ſome other Inſtruments of moſt an- 'cient 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 al-

'ſo

'ſo demonſtrated and proved the ſame by 'many Miracles.

'In conſequence whereof we do declare, 'That the ſaid Relicks ought to be receiv'd, 'honoured, venerated, and adored, with 'due Honour and Worſhip, as the true 'Relicks of our Lady, and of the ſaid Mar-'tyrs, who do reign with our Lord God, 'according as the *Roman Catholick* Church 'uſeth to venerate the Relicks of Saints; 'and that they ought to be publickly 'ſhewed to Chriſtian People, and to all the 'Faithful for that Purpoſe, that all may in-'vocate them.

'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, ſuch as ſhall be judged 'by us or our Succeſſors to be moſt de-'cent.

'And we do farther declare the ſaid Place, 'and Mountain of *Valparayſo*, in whoſe Ca-'verns all the ſaid Saints ſuffered Martyr-'dom, to be a holy and ſacred Place, which 'ought to be honoured and venerated, as 'the ſaid Plates do command, in Memory 'of the ſaid Saints, who ſuffer'd Martyr-'dom 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-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'obſerved; and by this our Sentence 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.*
Archiep. Granat. *Guadix.*
S. Epiſcopus Galipol. *Alphonſus Abbas*
Subſcripſi. *Subſcripſi.*

'We the Lords of the Royal Audience, 'and Chancery of his Majeſty reſiding in 'this City, having been named by his 'Lordſhip the Lord Archbiſhop, and be-'ing here preſent, do ſubſcribe and ſign it. 'Licentiate *Peter Mallem de Rueda*, Dr. *Anto-ny Burrab*, Dr. *Antony Corriero*, *Li. Don* 'Ochao de Lugando, *Li. Don John de Cu-'niga*, *Li. Don Baltaſar de Lovencana*, *Don* 'John de St. Vincente, *Li. Don Francis de* 'Teiada y Mendoca, *Li. Greyory Lopez Ma-'dera.*

'For the moſt illuſtrious Archbiſhop of 'Santiago, *Li. Don John de St. Clemente* 'Archdeacon of *Neodes*; *Li. Alonſo Lo-'pez*, Canon: For the Dean and Chap-'ter of the ſaid Metropolitan Church of 'St. *Jago*; Dr. *Luke Alonſo de Caſtro*, Arch-'deacon 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 Sancta Cruz*. '*Saareda*, Chantor; *Li. Chriſtopher San-* 'chez 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 Apoſtolical Inquiſitor; *Li.* 'Don *George de Texerina*, Dean; Dr. *Don* 'Lewis de *Caſtella*, Archdeacon; Dr. *Don* 'Lewis de *Raya*, School-Maſter; Dr. *Don* 'John de la *Canal*, Prior; Dr. *Don Fran-* 'cis *Pacleco*, Canon and Profeſſor of the 'Scripture; Dr. *Don Gonçalo Sanchez Lu-* 'zeno *Magiſtral*, Canon and Profeſſor of 'Divinity; *Li. Juſtin Antolinez de Burgos*, 'Proviſor and Vicar General of *Granada*. 'For the moſt Reverend the Biſhop of 'Alemeria, Dr. *Peter Martinez de Eſpinoza*, 'Chaplain of the Royal Chappel; Fryar 'John *Ramirez*, Provincial and Difinidor 'General, and Conſultor of the Holy Of- 'fice of the Order of St. *Francis*: Fryar 'James *Oeon*, Dr. Provincial, and Vicar 'General of the Order of the moſt Holy

'Tri-

'Trinity; *Francis de Queſada*, Provincial 'of the Society of *Jeſus*; Fryar *John de* 'Polanco, Prior of the *Carthuſians*; Fryar '*Vincent Cano Valenceula*, Maſter of Divi-'nity, and Prior *de Sancta Cruz lareal*; 'Fryar *Fuſtero*, M. Guardian of St. *Fran-'cis*; *Peter de Vargas*, Rector of the So-'ciety of *Jeſus*; Maſter Fryar *Hernando* 'de Peralta, of the Order of St. *Auſtin*; 'Maſter Fryar *Francis de Segoria*, of the 'Order of St. *Hierom*; Fryar *John Rome-'ra*, Maſter and Rector of the Study of '*Santa Cruz de Real* of *Granada*; Maſter 'Fryar *Francis Nunes*, the Chief Preacher 'of the Convent of St. *Auſtin* in *Granada*; 'Maſter Fryar *Peter de Medina*, Profeſſor 'of Divinity, and Definitor of *Andaluſia*, of 'the Order of the Mercy; *Thomas Sanchez*, 'a Theologue, and a profeſſed of the Socie-'ty of *Jeſus*; *Mart de Caſtillo*, M: of Di-'vinity, and Rector of the *Jeſuits* Col-'lege in *Sevil*; *Auſtin Quireſius*, a Theo-'logue of the Society of *Jeſus*.

Note, *That tho there are Fryars 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;*

tion, 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's 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 Consciences, as solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably spurious, and but of Yesterday, 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 one that is able to read them, to doubt. And

if

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Relicks 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 reckon'd to work 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 Relicks. And let Relicks be whoſe they will, when they are viſited by great Multitudes of People with Devotion, for the Recove-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ry of their 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.

A

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 Fiſcal, a Treaſurer, Familiars, and Goalers.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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, Archduke 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 King's approbation. This Council ſits conſtantly twice 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 *Conimbra*, *Ebora*, or *Goa* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which Courts have all the ſame inferiour 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 difficult Caſes.

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly *Dominican Fryars*.

It to be hoped, the *Hereſy* of *Doctrines* is better underſtood by theſe Qualificators, than

than the Etymology of the Word *Heretick* was by the Writer of their *Repertorium*, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1588, who to ſhew his Critical Learning, ſaith, the Word *Hæreticus*, according to ſome, is compounded of *Erro*, and *Recto*; becauſe an *Heretick* errs from what is right. According to others it is derived from *Erciſcor*, which ſignifies to divide; and according to ſome it comes from *Adhæreo*, 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 in it, and ſuch are commonly em-

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 Goalers 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 Pope's 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 Encroachment go down the eaſier, allowed two Privileges to the Biſhops; the one was, that the Inquiſitors ſhould not have Authority to Impriſon a Biſhop; And the other was, that before

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 tho they may not be impriſoned upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy 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 as they term it, with the Papal, muſt ſtill give way to it.

The Court of Inquiſition proceeds ſummarily, and moſt commonly upon a Denuntiation, as they term it, which does not, like an Accuſation, diſable the Perſon that makes it to be a Witneſs. The Inquiſition forceth all to inform that can do it, by Edicts in the Form following.

TO all and ſingular Chriſtians, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatſoever Degree, Order, Condition, Preeminence, Dignity, or Authority, the higheſt not

not excepted. Know ye, That we by the Series 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 preremptory and third Canonical Admonition) all that do know or suspect any of Heresy, do come and inform against them, upon Pain of the greater Excommunication latæ Sententiæ, *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 Certify, 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 Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw, or heard within that Court.

All People, tho never so infamous, and tho 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 Priſons of this Holy Office, and not be releaſed out of them 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 ſo 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 any thing 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

The Priſons of the Inquiſition are little dark Rooms, and have no other Furniture but a hard Quilt, and an uſeful Pot. The Priſoners are not ſuffered to ſee any Body 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, entertain any Diſcourſe with them.

After the Priſoner has ſpent two or three Days and Nights, perhaps Weeks or Months, in his melancholy Apartment, he is carried by his Keeper before the Inquiſitors; who, before they ask him a Queſtion, do make him take an Oath to return true Anſwers to all their Interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any *Hereſy* 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 Hereſy*; he is admoniſhed, upon the Oath he has taken, to confeſs all his *Hereſies*, and to diſcover all his Teachers and Complices. If the Priſoner denies that he ever held any *Hereſies*, or had ever any Communication with any *Hereticks*, he is gravely told,

That

That the Holy Office does not uſe to impriſon People raſhly, 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 a true and full Confeſſion of all his *Hereſies*, *Teachers*, and *Complices*. The Priſoner having been allowed two or three Days, perhaps Weeks or Months, more to do this in, 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 falſly, 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 School-maſters, 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

ing told, *That they have ſufficient Proof of his being an Heretick*; they command him, ſince he cannot repent of his Hereſies, unleſs 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 a conſiderable time 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 divers *Heretical Doctrines*, but without acquainting him with the Particulars he is charged withal, for fear of leading him thereby to the Knowledge of the Informers or Witneſſes: 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

tors have not ſufficient Evidence, notwithſtanding that, 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, when that diſmal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by ſuch a Confeſſion as is expected from him, he 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 Clothes 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 falſly, the Inquiſitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture ; which in the Inqui-

ſition is given by twiſting a ſmall Cord hard about the Priſoners naked Arms, brought behind his Back, and hoiſting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is faſtned: And as if the miſerable Priſoner's hanging in the Air by his Arms, were not torment enough, he has ſeveral Quaſſations or Shakes given him; which is done by ſcrewing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which disjoints 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 Hour-glaſs is turned up, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

to do; ſo ſoon as the Hour-glaſs is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Priſon, where there is a Surgeon 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 'em and makes void all the Evidence that was againſt them, 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's 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 ſigned 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Hereſy, to eſcape the Rack, ſince neither the profeſſing and maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is charged, nor the denying of them, can ſecure him from it, the firſt being commonly Racked, to make them diſcover their Teachers and Accomplices; and the ſecond, to oblige them to confeſs their own Guilt. And if a Priſoner 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 ſo 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 charged, 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 alledgeth, that unleſs they will be pleaſed to let him know the particular

cular Heretical Words, or Facts, he ſtands charged withal, and who the Perſons are that have informed and witneſſed againſt him, 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 inhuman 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, who if they were known, would be in ſo great danger; that none would dare to venture to inform or bear Witneſs againſt Hereticks in their Court. Which Pretence, tho it might have ſome Ground when Courts of Inquiſition were firſt erected, no City, no not *Rome* it ſelf, 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 Inquiſi-

tion 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 ſaith he would, he is not to name them, but muſt take thoſe the Inquiſitors ſhall appoint, who before they have ſeen their Client, muſt take the following Oath.

J. N.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

J. N. *Doctor of both Laws, do in the Preſence of the Lord's 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 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, I will thereupon immediately diſmiſs his Cauſe. And if by having ſearched narrowly into his Caſe, I ſhall diſcover that he hes had Complices in his Hereſies, I will give Information 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 Inquiſitors 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, 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 informed and witneſſed againſt him, or would have them examined upon any Points: And in caſe the Priſoner furniſheth 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 Hereſy. And by the Laws of the Inquiſition, no Relation of the Priſoners within the fourth Degree can be a Witneſs for him. When the Priſoners 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 will never ſpeak of it to any Perſon whatever, neither is the Priſoner ever ſuffered to ſee the

De-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Depoſitions of his own fearful Witneſſes, no more than the Depoſitions of thoſe that are againſt him.

Beſide the fore-mentioned, 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; A Priſoner's 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 that, 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 have murdered themſelves. But

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 fix'd by the chief Inquiſitor for a Jayl-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 9 of the Clock in the Morning.

The firſt in the Proceſſion are the *Dominican* Fryars, who carry the Standard of the Inquiſition, which on the one ſide hath their Founder, *Dominic*'s Picture, and on the other ſide the Croſs, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Juſtitia & Miſericordia*: Next after the *Dominicans*

cans 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 hands. Next come the Penitents who have narrowly eſcap'd being 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 turned 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 diſconſolate, 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 immediately gagg'd, 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 2 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; 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

higheſt Benches behind the reſt, 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 Invectives againſt Hereticks, a Secular Prieſt aſcends a Desk, which ſtands near the middle of the Scaffold, 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 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 Pra-
'vity, having, with the Concur-
'rence of the moſt Illuſtrious *N.* Lord Arch-
'biſhop of *Lisbon*, or of his Deputy, *N.* cal-
'led 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 be-
'fore us, that ſo our Judgment may be, in
'the ſight of God, and our Eyes may behold
'what is juſt in all Matters betwixt the
'Magnifick 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 re-
'ceive your definitive Sentence;

'We do therefore by this our Sentence put

'in

'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 deliver'd, and left by 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 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

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 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, 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 any thing 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

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 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 Profeſt 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 ſpend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the *Profeſt* to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; which if they refuſe to be, the Jeſuits come down, and the Executioner aſcends, and having turn'd the *Profeſt* 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.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Dog's 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 profeſs'd *Heretick* thus inhumanely.

The *Profeſt's Beards having been thus made*, or trim'd, as they call it in jollity, Fire is ſet to the Furz which are at the bottom of the Stake, and above which the *Profeſt* 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 (to which that Place is much expoſed) it ſeldom reacheth ſo high as their Knees : So that though if there be a Calm, the *Profeſt* 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 2 Hours, and ſo are really roaſted, and not burnt to Death. But tho out of

* Fazer *is their Word for Trimming.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 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 inhumane Joy may be the Effect of an atural 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 no where more tenderly lamented, than among the ſame People, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhumane 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 humane Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.

A

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.

Men that died in the Priſons, and were abſolved.

Ages. Puniſhments.

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.

Simaon Roiz Chaves, a new Chriſtian, a Man of Buſineſs, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages. Punishments.

Antonio Nunes de Royga, a new Christian, a Batchelor, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of *Sebastiaon 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 Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and Inhabitant of this City.

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

Manoel da Costa, a New Christian, a Merchant and Native of the City of *Leyria*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.

Persons

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Perſons who did not abjure.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
54.	*Antonio Pereire*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Chaſim*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having ſwore falſly before the Tribunal of the *Holy Office*, in Matters of the *Faith*.	3 *Years at* Caſtro Marim.
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.	5 *Years in* Braſil.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Punishments.
26.	*Manoel Dos Santos Annes*, who has no Calling, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Santarem*, for having feigned himself a Familiar of the *Holy Office*, and in the Name of the said Tribunal, testify'd the clearness of the Blood of certain Persons, having accepted of Money from some for the said Effect.	

For Sodomy.

30.	*Salvador Veira*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Amoro*, in the County of the Town of *Almada*, *Negative.*	5 *Years in* Brasil.
18.	*Antonio de Olivero*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Olivero*, who was a Wine-Merchant in the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth and was the Patient.	*To be Whipped, and to be Three Years in the Gallies.*

20.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
20.	*Manoel Baijaon*, a Carpenter, a Batchelor, the Son of *Mainoel Roiz*, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and was the Patient.	*Ibid.*
23.	*Domingo Lopez*, a Batchelor, and Footman, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, a Labourer, Native of the Pariſh of St. *Pedro di Adais*, in the County and Village of *Guiemoraon*, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and the Patient.	*The ſame, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*
19.	*Joſeph Gomez*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Miguel Gomez*, Native of the Pariſh of *Sileiro*, in the County of *Guimarains*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and was the Patient.	*The ſame, and 10 Years in the Gallies.*

Ages.		Puniſhments.
37.	*Manoel Machado Negueira*, a Batchelor, a Schoolmaſter of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Porlodemos*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and was the Agent.	*The ſame, and 10 Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration de Leve.

45.	*Antonio Laurenco de Almaida*, a Soldier of the Regiment of *Algarves*; Native of the City of *Faro*, and Inhabitant of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Braſil*, for having married twice, his firſt Wife being alive.	*Priſon, during Pleaſure, Whipping, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*
	Franciſco Antunes, a Labourer of the Village of *Fernaon Foam*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of *Rapoila*, of the ſaid Biſhoprick, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
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 Janeico*, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame.*
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.	*The ſame.*
46.	*Manoel Jorge*, a Seaman, Native of the Iſland of *Pico*, and Inhabitant of this City, for the ſame Fault.	*The ſame.*
37.	*Manoel de Almeyda*, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Cadafaon* in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

Ages.		Punishments.
43.	*Alvaro Colaco*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Lourinhan*, who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the *Moors*.	*Prison during Pleasure, and 3 Years in the Gallies.*
	Abjuration de vehemente.	
30.	*Manoel dos Anios*, an *Old Christian*, a Batchelor, and has no Calling, the Son of *Mattheas 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.	*The same, and to be Whipped, and be 3 Years in the Gallies.*
36.	*Manoel Joan*, a Batchelor, and Barber, the Son of *Francisco Joan*, a Labourer, Native of the City of St. *Luis*, in the State of *Marignaon*, for the faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil.	*The same.*

32.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
32.	*Agoſtino Roiz de Oliviero*, 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.	*The ſame, and Three Years in the Gallies.*
55.	*Joan Vas*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, the Son of *Simaon Vas*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Abrantes*, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

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.*	*Priſon during pleaſure.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Punishments.
57.	*Pedro Roiz da Maya*, a new Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
48.	*Jasper Francisco*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
62.	*Estavaon da par Moreno*, a new Christian who lived on his own Estate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alcacere*.	*The same.*
45.	*Pedro Cardozo*, a New Christian, a Skinner, a Batchelor, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town.	*The same.*
42.	*Vasco Francisco Azietado*, a New Christian, who was a Soldier, the Son of *Benjamin Gomes Azeitado*, who was a Judge, Native of the Town of *Vidiguoira*, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
33.	*Vincente de Seixas*, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Seixas* an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alchacere*.	*The same.*

67.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
67.	*Manoel Paiz de Souza*, a New Chriſtian, the Son of *Manoel Lopez Paiz*, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſco de Almeida Negraon*, 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.	*The ſame, and Three Years in* Braſil.
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.	*The ſame, and Two Years in* Algarve.

A Perſon who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
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.	*Priſon and Habit perpetual, without remiſſion, and 5 Years in* Braſil.

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 Ferraon*, a New Chriſtian, a Scrivener, 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.

48.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
48.	*Martos Mendes*, a New Chriſtian, a Smith, Native of the Town of *Deſdanha a Nova*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*The ſame.*
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.	*The ſame.*
28.	*Mathias Roiz*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of *Villa Real*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga*.	*The ſame.*
44.	*Antonio Lopes Arroyijo*, a New Chriſtian, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of *Chaſim*, and Inhabitant of *Carrazedo Montenegro*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Chaves*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga*, who Abjured *de Leve* for the Fault of *Judaiſm*, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the City of *Sancti-*	*The ſame, and Habit during Pleaſure.*

ago,

Ages.		Punishments.
	ago, 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 Batchelor, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, an Inn-keeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Arogolos* in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*.	*The same.*
62.	*Joan de Santa Maria*, a *Moor* by Nation, the Son of *Musa*, a Native of *Salle*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having returned to the *Sect of Mahomet* after he was baptiz'd a Christian.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*
	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*.	*The same.*
30.	*Joan de Crus*, a New Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

68.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
68.	*Pedro Alvares de Moras*, half a New Chriſtian, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Elvas*.	*The ſame, and 2 Years in* Craſtemain.
35.	*Domingo Cardozo*, part of a New Chriſtian, an Officer of the *Chancery*, a Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Lamego*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*
54.	*Gabriel Gomes*, a New Chriſtian, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*.	*The ſame.*
49.	*Luis de Bulaon*, half a New Chriſtian, an Officer in the *Court of the Crown*; a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*

The Third Abjuration.

41.	*Ayres Roiz*, a New Chriſtian, a Practitioner and Native of the City of *Guarda*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.	*The ſame.*
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.	*The ſame.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
33.	*Luis Serraon*, more than half a New Chriſtian, a Batchelor, a Student in Divinity, the Son of *Antonio Serraon de Craſto*, a New Chriſtian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
35.	*Laurence de Coſta*, half a New Chriſtian, a Dealer in Horſes, the natural Son of *Martin de Coſta*, a Farmer of the Revenues, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
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 *Guarda*, an Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
39.	*Franciſco Roiz Mogadouro*, a New Chriſtian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*

The

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The Fourth Abjuration.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
72.	*Antonio Serraon de Craſto*, a New Chriſtian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
29.	*Pantaleon Roiz Mogadouro*, a New Chriſtian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who did profeſs the Law of *Moſes*.	*The ſame, and to be confined to a Convent.*
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.	*Priſon and Habit without remiſſion.*
	Joſeph Franciſco, nick-named, *Barraon*, Batchelor, and Shepherd, the Son of *Domingo Franciſco Vagado*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Azambuija*, for the Crime of Witchcraft, and for having made a Covenant with the Devil.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and 5 Years in the Gallies, and to be whipped.*

Ages.		Punishments.
53.	*Miguel da Cunha*, half a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, a Native of the Village of *Alcaides*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, Inhabitant of the said Village.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*

A Person that did not Abjure, and wears the Habit.

Ages.		Punishments.
68.	*Henrique Nunes Salvador*, a New Christian, 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 *Conimbra*, 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.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, without remission, 3 Years in* Crasto Marim, *with the Ensigns of Fire.*

Women

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Women that died in the Priſons, and were Abſolved.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
	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.	
	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.	

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* Craſto Marim.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
46.	*Magdalena da Cruz*, the Wife of *Auguſtino Nunes*, who was *Alcaide* of the ſecret Priſons of this Inquiſition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having co-operated to corrupt certain Officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to Perſons in the Priſons, and to receive Anſwers from them to Perſons that were abroad.	5 *Years in* Braſil.
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 diſordered the juſt regiment of the Holy Office, in having by Bribes corrupted a certain Officer of the ſaid *Tribunal*, to reveal the Secrets thereof, to know the State of ſome of the Priſoners Affairs.	5 *Years in* Angola.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
79.	*Catherina 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.	*Priſon during pleaſure, and 2 Years in the* Algarves.
48.	*Catherina Baretta*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio de Craſto*, a Native of *VillaFranca*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the faults of Witchcraft.	*The ſame, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Years in* Brafil.

Ages.		Punishments.
30.	*Ursula Maria*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Francisco de Salhas*, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Alhas Vedros*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the same Fault.	*The same, and five Years in* Brasil.
41.	*Maria Pinheira*, married with *Goncalo da Gama Volante*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault.	*The same.*

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.

An

An Abjuration in forma *for* Judaiſm.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
22.	*Maria Gonſalvez*, nick-named *Amarintha*, part of a New Chriſtian, the Daughter of *Joan Franciſco*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Majorca*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Montemoro velho*, in the Biſhoprick of *Conimbra*.	*Priſon during pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhe is to take off in the Act.*
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*.	*The ſame. Priſon and Habit during pleaſure.*
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.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Catarina da Coſta*, a New Chriſtian, married with *Franciſco da Rocha*, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 *Gallicia*, 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 *Gallicia*, 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.*

25.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
25.	*Izabel Borges*, the fourth part of a New Chriſtian, the Daughter of *Manoel Roiz*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoronoro*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*.	*The ſame.*
42.	*Anna Maria de Souza*, a *new Chriſtian*, Married with *George Coelho*, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*
64.	*Catherina de Craſto*, a new Chriſtian, the Widow of *Domingos da Silva*, Native of *Sevil* in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and an Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
49.	*Guiomar Henriques*, a New Chriſtian, Married with *Miguel da Cunha*, who is in the Liſt a Farmer of *Talucco*, Native of the Village of *Alcaide*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*

Ages.		Puniſhments.
45.	*Gracia de Lima*, Married with *Manoel Nunes*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*.	*The ſame.*

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 Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*The ſame.*
53.	*Brittes Rebella*, part of a New Chriſtian, Married with *Manoel das Nevas* a Surgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoro novo*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*.	*The ſame.*

59.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
59.	*Iſabel Roiz*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Luis Nunez*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Maijorca*, in the Biſhoprick of *Conimbra*.	*The ſame.*
27.	*Maria Semeda*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Matheus Sameda*, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Portalegre*.	*The ſame.*
42.	*Maria Nunes da Coſta*, a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Ayres Roiz*, who is in the Liſt, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſca Serraon*, half a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Luis de Bulhaon*, a Phyſician, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
	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 *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*The ſame.*

42.

Ages.		Punishments.
42.	*Anna Pessoa*, a *New Christian*, married with *Manoel Lopez de Leon*, a Merchant, who is in the List, 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*.	*The same, and 2 Years in* Algarves.

This poor Woman's Crime was, That she bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to conveigh a Letter to her Husband, after he had been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years.

70.	*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.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission.*
27.	*Ignes Pastana*, the fourth part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Laureneo Postana*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Puniſhments.
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.	*The ſame.*
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*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and recluſion in a Religious Houſe.*

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 cripled.

72.	*Paula da Craſto*, half a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Antonio Duarte*, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and 3 Years in* Braſil.

27.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Ages.		Punishments.
27.	*Thereza Maria de Jesus*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Years in* Brasil.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were received.

Ages.		Punishments.
	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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The Perſons delivered to the Secular Arm.

Ages.	Puniſhments.
43. *Gaſpar Lopez Pereire*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Batchelor, 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.	

A

Ages.	Punishments.
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 Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

A

LIST

Of the Priſoners, and of their Condemnations and Sentences, who were in the Publick Act of the Faith, celebrated by the Inquiſition, in this City of *Lisbon*, on Sunday the 6th of *November*, 1707. Conſiſting of above Threeſcore Men and Women.

With ſome NOTES upon it.

The Moſt Illuſtrious Lord Biſhop, Nuno D'acunha, De Ataide, *Counſellour of State, and Dean of his Majeſty's Chappel, being Inquiſitor-General.*

A Perſon who died in Priſon, and was abſolv'd.

N°.	Ages.	*MEN.*	Puniſhments.
1.	30.	*Miguel Lopes Montezinos*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant,	

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		a Batchelor, the Son of *Rodrigo Lopez Montezinos*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*.	

The *Portuguese* Inquisitors, to be reveng'd on the *Castilians*, for calling their Countrymen, *Jews*, among other opprobrious Names; where-ever they can have the least Colour for it, do never fail in their printed Lists of Acts of the Faith, to put down their *Jewish* Prisoners, *Castilians*; as this Prisoner is here said to have been originally, who was born, and had lived all his Days in the City of *Lisbon*.

An Abjuration de Leve.

2.	40.	*Antonio Goncales Cazeiro*, the Son of *Bartholomew Goncales Cazeiro*, a Labourer, Native of *Ribeyra Douca*, of the Village of *Senharis*, in the Parish of our Lady of *Rosario*, in the District of the Town of *Chares*,	*To be whipt and to be 5 Years in the Gallies.*

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		Chares, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga*, Inhabitant in the Town of *Ares*, in the Biſhoprick of *Portalegre*, Reſident in *Abrantes*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*; for marrying a ſecond time, his Firſt and Lawful Wife being alive.	

This Man was made to abjure, becauſe he might poſſibly believe that it was lawful to have more Wives than one; which is a *Judaical* and *Mahometan* Doctrine.

3.	25.	*Franciſco Lopes de Sylva*, a Shoemaker, the Natural Son of *Franciſco Lopes de Sylva*, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *Santaven*, in this Archbiſhoprick, for having uſed a Purſe to render himſelf invulnerable, and on Preſumption of his having made a Compact with the Devil, and for the	☞ *To be whipp'd, & to be Ten Years in the Gallies.*

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

N°	Ages.	Punishments.
		Crime of Sodomy, in which he was the Agent; and for having tamper'd with Witnesses in the Affairs of the Inquisition, making 'em to tell him what they had deposed in it.

How invulnerable soever this Prisoner might be as to all other wounding Engines and Instruments, I doubt whether he was Rack-proof when the Experiment was try'd upon him in the Inquisition, as it infallibly was, upon his denying he was in a Compact with the Devil, when the Inquisitors, as they tell us, had Presumptions of it; of which Presumptions, his having endeavoured to fish out the Secrets of the Inquisition, might be the chief, if it was not the only one. For it is the common Policy of the Inquisitors to make the World believe, that none that have not given themselves Soul and Body entirely up to the Devil, can be guilty of doing any thing to the Prejudice of the establish'd Rules of the Inquisition, particularly of the fundamental Rule, Of not suffering their Prisoners to know any thing of their Accusers, or of the Witnesses against them, or of the par-

particular Faults they ſtand charged with, always blackening their Priſoners on purpoſe, that none may pity them, let their Puniſhments be never ſo ſevere. For tho a publick Whipping, and 10 Years in the Gallies, might have been thought too great a Puniſhment, for one's deſiring to know what his Accuſer had ſworn againſt him, it could not be thought ſo for Sodomy and a Compact with the Devil.

A Perſon that neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
4.	69.	*Gaſper Lopes Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Phyſician, Native of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, Inhabitant in this City; who was reconciled by this Inquiſition for the Faults of *Judaiſm*, on the 14th of *December*, 1667. Impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Relapſe into the ſame Faults.	*Perpetual Priſon.*

This Relapſe was not proved; for if it had, the Priſoner had been burnt without Mercy; for the Inquiſition never pardons

a ſecond time, let the Relapſed be never ſo Penitent; and its firſt Pardon extends only to Life, and ſometimes to Liberty, but never to Eſtate.

An Abjuration de Vehemente *for* Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
5.	27.	*Gaſper Mendes Caſtanha*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Meceiana*, in the Diſtrict of *Campo de Ourique*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Erora*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Priſon during Pleaſure.*

This Priſoner is ſaid to be half a *New Chriſtian*, becauſe either his Father, or his Mother, was not of the *Jewiſh* Race.

6.	36.	*Diogo Mendes Sola*, Part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Captain of Horſe, Native of the Town of *Trancozo*, in the Biſhoprick of *Viſeu*, Inhabitant in the City of *Lamego*; upon Duty in this City.	*The ſame.*

No

No Quality nor Poſt can privilege any Perſon from being taken up by the Inquiſition, and detained in it.

A Perſon who did not Abjure, but muſt bear the Habit.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
7.	42.	*Joan Rodriguez Ferreira*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Shop keeper, Native of the Town of *Eſtremos*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant in the City of *Leyria*, who was Reconciled by this Inquiſition, for the Faults of *Judaiſm*, in the publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, *October* 20, 1704. Impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Diminution of the ſame Faults.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*

Note, That a Diminution, as they call it, of the ſame Fault, is, when a Perſon that has been let out of the Priſons of the Inquiſition, is afterwards accus'd of ſome Heretical Words or Actions, which he or ſhe had not mention'd in the Confeſſion they made of their Hereſies.

This

This Habit is the *St. Benito*; which is a black Caſſock, with two large Yellow St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes upon it, one upon the Breaſt, and the other upon the Shoulders.

The firſt Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
8.	42.	*Manoel Mendes Henriques*, nicknamed *Montebarro*; a *New Chriſtian*, a Spice Merchant; Native and Inhabitant in the City of *Guarda*.	*Priſon during Pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhall be Taken off in the Act of the Faith.*

All that do Abjure *in Forma* having confeſſed that they were Hereticks, do go in the Proceſſion of the Act of the Faith, clothed with a St. *Benito*, and with a Wax Candle in their Hand: And though for the firſt Fault they are pardoned, as to their Lives, and ſometimes as to their Liberty; neither their Eſtate, nor any part of it, is ever reſtored to them by the Fiſcal, to whom it was all committed, as faſt as it could be found, after the Priſoners were apprehended by a Familiar.

9.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
9.	27.	*Manoel de Santiago*, a Joiner, a Batchelor, the Son of *Alexandro Pereira*, a Silver-Smith, Native of the City of *Barganza*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Vimiozo*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, Reſident in this City.	*The ſame.*
10.	30.	*Manoel Mendes Brandaon*, a *New Chriſtian*, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Monſanto*, and Inhabitant in *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*Priſon and Habit during Pleaſure.*
11.	19.	*Joſeph Chriſtovaon da Coſta*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Spice-Merchant, a Batchelor; the Son of *Franciſco Manoel Delgado*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native of this City, and Inhabitant in *Leyria*.	*The ſame.*

12.

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
12.	38.	*Dionisio Pimentel*, a *New Christian*, a Broker, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*

The Second Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaism.

13.	38.	*Manoel Pereira Gomes*, a *New Christian*, a Banker, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Gomes Pereira*, a Confectioner, Native of the City of *Elvas*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Abrantes*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda.*	*The same.*
14.	50.	*Francisco de Sylveira*, Part of a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, and Agency; Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
15.	46.	*Diogo Feijo Flores*, a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, Native and Inhabitant	*The same.*

in

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		in the Town of *Celorico*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	
16.	27.	*Antonio Lopes de Sylva*, a *New Chriſtian*, of no Trade, a Batchelor, the Son of *Sebaſtian Dias*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
17.	29.	*Simaon Carvalho Chares*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Farmer, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhaon*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*The ſame.*
18.	25.	*Henrique Hebre da Cruz*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Shop-keeper, a Batchelor, the Son of *Ignatio Franco*, a Shop-keeper, Native, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*

The

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

The Third Abjuration in Form for Judaism.

Nº	Ages.	Punishments.
19.	51.	*Antonio Rodrigues Leal*, part of a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Almeyda*, in the Bishoprick of *Lamego*; and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*. — *The same.*
20.	31.	*Lewis Ferreira de Matos*, half a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Estremos*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of that of *Porto de Mos*, in the Bishoprick of *Leyria*. — *The same.*
21.	38.	*Christovaon de Paz*, a Scrivener in the Wine-Office; a *New Christian*, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, — *The same.*

and

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Nº	Age.		Puniſhments.
		and Inhabitant in the Town of *Setuval*, in this Archbiſhoprick.	
22.	52.	*Antonio Pimentel*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Twiſter of Silk, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The ſame.*
23.	47.	*Joan Lopes Caſtanha*, a New Chriſtian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Moura*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant in this City, who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 19th of *October*, 1704. impriſoned a ſecond time upon new Evidence of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

24.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
24.	29.	Fryar *Luis dos Reys*, a New Chriſtian, a profeſſed Fryar of a certain Religious Order, the Son of *Belchior dos Reys*, a Broker, Native of the City of *Badajos*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*

If this Fryar was a Prieſt, as it is probable he was, at the Age of Nine and Twenty, and withal was no Chriſtian, (as the Inquiſitors ſay he was not) could he, when he adminiſtred the Sacraments, ever intend to do that as a Chriſtian Ordinance? This therefore ſhews plainly how uncertain all Papiſts are of their being Chriſtians, according to the Doctrine of their own Church; that the Intention of the Prieſt that conſecrates is neceſſary to the being of a Sacrament. But whether that was this Fryar's Caſe or not, it is not yet 40 Years ſince a Pariſh-Prieſt was burnt at *Lisbon*, who confeſſed, that whenever he adminiſtred a Sacrament, he had a formed Intention not to adminiſter it as a Divine Ordinance; upon which all the Children that had been Chriſtened by him

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

him, and were alive, were all baptized anew. I was told this by Conſul *Maynard*, who ſaw the Prieſt burnt in *Lisbon*.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
25.	35.	*Alvaro Nicholao Nogueira*, part of a New Chriſtian, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Rodrigues Nogueyra*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit without Remiſſion, with the Enſigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*

This Priſoner ſcaped being burnt narrowly, for not having, till the Veſpers of the Act of the Faith, renounced ſome Hereſies he had made a Profeſſion of; or for having deny'd he was ever infected with any Hereſy, or for not having hit before, on the particular heretical Words or Actions he was charged with; with which the Inquiſitors would not acquaint him, to ſave him from being burnt, by his confeſſing of them.

All the forementioned that abjured their Hereſies *in Forma*, and were thereupon reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, had their Lives ſpared, becauſe it was their

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

firſt Fault: But for their Liberty, they ſtill lay for that at the Mercy of the Inquiſitors; whoſe Mercies are cruel, for tho theſe penitent Priſoners, whilſt they are in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, have their poor Allowance of Diet out of their Eſtates, which were all ſeiz'd on by the Fiſcal in the Minute they were apprehended by a Familiar; yet if they are ever got out of theſe Priſons, let their own and their Families Neceſſities be never ſo great and deplorable; they never have one Farthing of their Eſtates reſtored to them.

WOMEN.

A Perſon who neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
1.	68.	*Anna Nunes Medalha*, the Widow of *Franciſco Carvalho Charas*, who was a Farmer, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, who was reconciled by this Inquiſition for	*Perpetual Priſon.*

the

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		the Faults of Judaiſm, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, 1683. impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Relapſe into the ſame Faults.	

Abjuration de Vehemente *for* Judaiſm.

2.	30.	*Brites do Mercado*, a New Chriſtian, the Wife of *Manoel Henriques do Mercado*, a Merchant, Native of the Village of *Coriſcado*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Marialva*, in the Biſhoprick of *Lamego*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Priſon during Pleaſure.*
3.	21.	*Violante Pereyra*, a New Chriſtian; a Virgin, the Daughter of *Diogo Gomes Pereyra*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
4.	33.	*Joana de Lemos*, a New Chriſtian, the Wife of *Manoel Rodrigues Lobo*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*

Let theſe young Married Women be kept never ſo long in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, their Husbands, tho never ſo fond of them, dare not for their Lives expreſs the leaſt Uneaſineſs at it; nor dare a Parent for a Child, nor a Child for a Parent: Nay, if they do not ſeem to rejoice at it, as a thing that is for the Benefit of the Priſoners Souls, they will fall under the Suſpicion of being Hereticks themſelves. This fills all Places where there are Inquiſitions, with Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation, to the debaſing of People's Natures, and cowing of their Spirits. And ſhould the Degeneracy from the Martial Courage of their Anceſtors, which is at this time ſo viſible in divers Nations, be imputed to the Inquiſition's terrible and mercileſs Perſecutions, which are among them, on the account of Religion; I do not believe that the Thought could be juſtly look'd on as very extravagant.

Perſons that do not Abjure, but do wear the Habit.

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
5.	24.	*Dona Michaela Archangela*, half a New Chriſtian, the Wife of *Manoel Ferreira*, a Shopkeeper,	*Perpetual Priſon and*

keeper, Native of the Village of *Setuval*, in this Archbiſhoprick, and Inhabitant of that of *Sardoal*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, originally of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, who was reconciled for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 12th of *September*, in the Year 1705. impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Diminution of the ſame Faults. } *Habit without Remiſſion.*

This young Lady being a married Woman, might well be with Child when ſhe was arreſted by a Familiar, which is a thing that often happens among Inquiſition Priſoners; who being once accuſed of Hereſy, are immediately taken up, and thrown into the Dungeons of the Inquiſition, let their Quality be what it will, and let them be never ſo ſick, or weak, or never ſo near their Time. But this, among all the other Inhumanities of the Inquiſitors, is juſtify'd, by their common Maxim,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

That to ſhew Mercy to the *Bodies* of Perſons accuſed of Hereſy, is to be cruel to their *Souls*. If the Children born in the Priſons of the Inquiſition do happen to live, as they do ſometimes (tho one would wonder that any of them ſhould be born alive, conſidering the Horrours the Mothers are encompaſs'd with in that Hell upon Earth) they are forthwith ſent out to their Father, or to their neareſt Relations if their Father is dead, or a Priſoner in the Inquiſition.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
6.	31.	*Iſabel de Sa*, a New *Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Luis de Mattos Lopes*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*; who was reconciled for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith; which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on *September* the 12th, 1706. impriſoned a ſecond time for a Diminution of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

7.

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
7.	22.	*Dona Hieronima Mauricia de Manganes*, half a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Antonio Tavaresda Coſta*, a Merchant, who is in this Liſt, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, in this Archbiſhoprick, and Inhabitant in this City, originally of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*; who was reconciled for the Faults of *Judaiſm*, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on *September* the 12th, 1706. Impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Diminution of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

This Lady was not one and twenty Years old when ſhe was firſt caſt into the Priſons of the Inquiſition; by which People are taken up a ſecond time, for a *Diminution*, when after having been let out the firſt time, they are accuſed of ſome Heretical Words or Actions which they had not

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

mentioned in the Confeſſion of their Hereſies, whereupon they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*.

The firſt Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
8.	51.	*Franca Nunes*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Manoel Mendes Tavares*, an Officer for collecting the Tax upon Snuff, Native of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Almodavar*, in the Biſhoprick of *Algarve*, and Reſident in this City.	*Priſon during Pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhall be Taken off in the Act of the Faith.*
9.	17.	*Joanna Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Antaon vas Ribeyro*, a Shooemaker, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *St. Vincente da Beira*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*The ſame.*

This was a young Creature, to have been ſome Months, if not Years, alone in the diſmal Priſons of the Inquiſition.

10.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
10.	31.	*Gaiomar Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, and not marry'd; the Daughter of *Gabriel Nunes*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*Priſon and Habit during Pleaſure.*
11.	51.	*Maria Rodrigues*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Antonio Rodrigues*; a Broker of Native and Inhabitant in *Monſanto*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*The ſame.*
12.	18.	*Maria Soares Pereyra*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Caſtanho*, an Advocate, who is in this Liſt, Native and Inhabitant in this City, who abjured *de Leve*, for the Faults of Judaiſm, in the Act of the Faith, that was celebrated in the Hall of the Inquiſition of this City,	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
		City, on the 30th of *October*, 1704. imprisoned a second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.	

This Gentlewoman was not 15 Years old when she was first a Prisoner in the Inquisition.

13.	21.	*Leoner Nunes*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Luis Nunes*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Chacim*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaism, in the publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the City of *Conimbra* on the 2d of *March*, 1704. Imprisoned the second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.	*The same.*

This

This Gentlewoman was not 18 Years old, when ſhe was firſt a Priſoner in the Inquiſition of *Conimbra.*

The Second Abjuration in Form for Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
14.	20.	*Dona Catherina Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebaſtian Dias de Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
15.	42.	*Iſabel Mendes Furtada*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Manoel Pinheiro Ferro*, Native of the City of *Toledo*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Francoſo*, in the Biſhoprick of *Viſeu*, and Reſident in this City.	*The ſame.*
16.	21.	*Dona Thereza Barreira*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Andre Barreira*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Olinda*, in	*The ſame.*

the

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		the Biſhoprick of *Parnamburo*, in the State of *Braſil*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*, originally of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*.	
17.	14.	*Leonor Maria*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Duarte Mendes*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in this Ctiy.	*The ſame.*

What a diſmal thing muſt it be, for a Creature ſo young as this was, being under Fourteen when ſhe was firſt thrown into the Priſons of the Inquiſition, to ſpend Months, if not Years, all alone in a dark Hole, without ſeeing or hearing any living Creature, beſides a dogged Keeper, and now and then the angry Inquiſitors threatning her with the Tortures of the Rack, if ſhe did not confeſs all her Hereſies, and diſcover all her Teachers and Complices in them. And who can expreſs the Agonies the Spirits of tender Parents are in, knowing their Children, whom they had bred up delicately, to be in ſuch dreadful Circumſtances; and theſe Agonies are the more torturing, for their not daring

daring to make the leaſt Diſcovery of them, on pain of being ſuſpected as Favourers of Hereticks. And how airy and beautiful ſoever theſe young Ladies are, when they are firſt arreſted by a Familiar, they do, one and all, in the Proceſſion of the Act of the Faith, either ſtalk like ſo many Walking Ghoſts; or if they are carry'd, as they are pretty often, they look like ſo many Alabaſter Statues, carried upon Hand-barrows; nothing of Colour, nor of Life, being to be ſeen in their Lips, nor about their Eyes, which are commonly ſhut cloſe, by reaſon of their not being able to endure the Light after their having been ſo long in Darkneſs; the young Womens Countenances being commonly ſo much changed from what they were, that as they walk, or are carried in the Proceſſion, they are not certainly known by their neareſt Relations, and moſt Intimate Acquaintance.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
18.	42.	*Iſabel de Moraes*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Franciſco de Santiago*, a Farmer, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in	*The ſame.*

the

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
		the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in this City.	
19.	23.	*Dona Anna Maria Henriques*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebastian Dias de Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*

The Third Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaism.

20.	37.	*Philippa Garria*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Domingos da Costa de Miranda*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*; and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
21.	37.	*Brites Carvalho*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Francisco Lopes Preto*, a Physician, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*

22.

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
22.	21.	*Felippa de Deos*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Elizeu Pimentel*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The ſame.*
23.	33.	*Anna Feijo Flores*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Diogo de Avila de Seiras*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *Celorico*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*The ſame.*
24.	35.	*Maria Mendes*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Alexandro de Moraes*, a Farmer, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The ſame.*
25.	38.	*Anna Mendes da Veyga*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Franciſco Lopes Preto*, a Farmer, Native of the City of	*The ſame.*

Guar-

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		Guarda, and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of the ſaid City.	
26.	31.	*Dona Hieronima Henriques de Chares*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Gaſpar Lopes Henriques*, a Phyſician, who is in this Liſt, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 20th of *October*, 1704. impriſoned a ſecond time, upon new Diſcoveries of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

The

The Fourth Abjuration in Forma *for Judaiſm.*

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
27.	19.	*Catherina Maria Roza*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Caſtanho*, an Advocate, who is in this Liſt, Native and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 20th of *October*, 1704. impriſoned a ſecond time, upon new Diſcoveries of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

This Gentlewoman's having been a Priſoner in the Inquiſition before ſhe was 16 Years old, was enough to ſpoil her Marriage in *Portugal* for ever.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
28.	37.	*Anna Maria Rodrigues*, a *New Chriſtian*, Widow of *Andre Barreyra*, a Merchant, Native of the Court of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
29.	30.	*Dona Guimar Maria Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebaſtian Dias de Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
30.	17.	*Dona Catherina Michaela de Chares*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Gaſper Lopes Henriques*, a Phyſician, who is in this Liſt, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
31.	22.	*Cuſtodia Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Simaon Lopes Samuda*, a Phyſician; Native, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit without Remiſſion, and 3 years in* Brazil.

Here

Here are three young Creatures ruined, whether they were ever ſet at Liberty, or not.

Perſons deliver'd by the Court of the Inquiſition to the Secular Magiſtrate.

N°	Ages.	Puniſhments.
1.	67.	*Don Gabriel Luis de Medina*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native of the Court of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*; *Feigned*, *Falſe*, *Diſſembling*, *Confeſſing*, *Diminute*, and *Impenitent*.
2.	33.	*Antonio Tavares da Coſta*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City; *Feigned*, *Falſe*, *Diſſembling*, *Confeſſing*, *Revoking*, *Varying*, and *Impenitent*.

Nº	Ages.	Puniſhments.
3.	26.	*Maria Lopes de Sequeyra*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Joſeph de Sequeyra*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant in this City: *Feigned*, *Falſe*, *Diſſembling*, *Confeſſing*, *Diminute*, and *Impenitent*.
4.	54.	*Dona Margarida Correa*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Thomas Pinto*, a Shopkeeper, Native of the City of *Malaga*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Setuval*, in this Arch-Biſhoprick: *Convicted*, *Negative*, *Pertinacious*, and *Relapſed*.

Theſe Four, who were deliver'd to the Secular Court, were all burnt within two Hours after; notwithſtanding the Inquiſitors, in Words moſt paſſionate, petition the Secular Magiſtrates not to touch their Lives:

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Lives: Which Petition, as I have ſhewed elſewhere, is the moſt profane and ſcandalous Mockery of God, and of Mercy, that is any where to be met with in Hiſtory.

By this Liſt we ſee what a terrible Havock is made by the Inquiſition in *Portugal*, and eſpecially among the trading People, to the great Diminution both of its Stock in Trade, and of the Number of its current and expert Merchants. For tho there were but four Perſons burnt this Year in *Lisbon* by the Inquiſition, there were above threeſcore undone by it; which is a great Number, conſidering, that but the Year before there was ſuch another Inquiſition Goal-delivery, in that City; and that but two Years before that there were two in it, and one in *Conimbra*, as appears from the foregoing Liſt; and beſides the frequent Acts of the Faith, or Inquiſition Goal-deliveries, in *Lisbon* and *Conimbra*, there are the ſame, and as frequent and numerous, in the City of *Evora*, and in *Goa* in the *Eaſt-Indies*: By all which great Numbers of Families are undone every Year in *Portugal*, and in its Plantations. Any one of a Family's being taken up by the Inquiſition goes a great way towards ruining it, filling them with ſuch Horrours, as drive them into Countries that are out of the Reach

of the Inquiſitors and their Familiars; which was the Caſe of the following Perſon, who thereby ſav'd his Life.

A Perſon executed in Eſtatua, *or Effigie.*

N°	Age.	Puniſhments.
1.	63.	*Franciſco da Coſta Peſſoa*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City: *Convicted*, *Negative*, *Relapſed*, and *Abſent*.

This Man's Picture, made of Paſtboard, as big as the Life, was carried in the Proceſſion, after the four Priſoners that were to be burnt in Perſon; and it was burnt at the ſame time, and in the ſame Place where they were burnt, notwithſtanding the Inquiſitors, when it was delivered by them to the Secular Arm, do, I think, petition that Power, not to touch the Life of its Original, ſo far as to do his Picture any hurt.

Great Numbers, upon their having any of their Relations taken up by the Inquiſition, do flee from *Portugal*, notwithſtanding it is ſo difficult for them to make their Eſcape, by reaſon of their not daring

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ring to go into *Spain*; which is the only way they have to eſcape by Land. The way by which they commonly make their Eſcape, is, by getting a-board an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Man-of-War: And tho when they are a-board theſe Ships they are as ſafe from the Inquiſition as they are in *England* and *Holland*, no Officers, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, being ever ſuffered to come a-board thoſe Ships to make any Search, yet thoſe poor Wretches, tho they do know this, and upon the Knowledge of it did put themſelves on board, yet, if they happen to hear *Portugueſe* ſpoke upon the Deck, or in any of the Cabins, they tremble Hand and Foot, as if the Familiars of the Inquiſition were come to carry them away; neither do they ever think they are ſafe, until they are landed in a Country where they know the Inquiſition cannot reach them; being, after they are got out of the River, ſtill in Fear, that the Ship may by Streſs of Weather be caſt away on the Coaſt of *Portugal* or *Spain*. And by the Terrors which theſe poor Fugitives are under, we may judge of the Terrors they are under in the Priſons of the Inquiſition.

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Inquiſition in *Lisbon*;

With a Perſon living now in *London*, and well known in it; Taken from his own Mouth, and publiſhed for the Uſe of the hardy Champions of the Inquiſition, who are pleaſed to call the View I gave of that Court, a malicious Miſrepreſentation of it.

I Was born, baptized and bred in the City of *Lisbon*, and was by my Parents, tho they were both *New Chriſtians*, edu-

educated ſo entirely in the Religion of the *Roman* Church, that as I grew up, I never had the leaſt Scruple in my Mind concerning the Truth of any of that Church's Doctrines, nor concerning the Lawfulneſs of any of her Precepts; and accordingly I did ſincerely, and with no ſmall Devotion, believe and practiſe all that the *Roman* Church taught and commanded.

As I was going on in this implicite Faith and Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, being one Day about my Buſineſs, which was Merchandizing, I was, at the Age of five and twenty, accoſted in the Streets of *Liſbon* by two Familiars, who having asked me my Name, and the Place of my Habitation, and ſhewed me the Croſs of the Inquiſition, which they wore at their Breaſts; they arreſted me in the Name of the Holy Office, and having hurry'd me away to it, without ſuffering me to ſpeak a Word to any body, they delivered me to a Warder, by whom I was thrown immediately into one of its Priſons; and as my Warder at our firſt Meeting called me Dog, ſo he ever after treated me as if I had been one. My Priſon was five of my common Paces in Length, and three in Breadth; it had a little Light let into it by a Slit in the Wall, which was ſo narrow, that if I could have reached it with

my

my Eye (which I could not) I ſhould not have ſeen any thing thro' it. I had ſcarce turned my ſelf round in the melancholy Hole, before a Bed was brought in, which was ſent from my Houſe by the Officers who had ſeiz'd on it, and ſequeſtred all my Goods in the Minute that I was arreſted. My Warder ask'd me doggedly about my Diet, and when I had told him what it uſed to be, he anſwered, you muſt not exceed three Vintems a Day, for that is all the Holy Houſe allows you. A Vintem is about an Engliſh Peny Farthing.

The Knife that came with my firſt Meal, was of Bone, as are all the Knives in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, to prevent the Priſoners cutting their Throats, or ſtabbing themſelves with them; to which, by a diſmal Solitude, Fears and ill Uſage, they are too often tempted: For my own Part, being naturally active and ſtirring, my Life under that Confinement was ſo heavy a Burden to me, that I wiſhed my ſelf in my Grave a thouſand times; and it was near two Years before I could perceive, that being uſed to it had made my Confinement any thing the eaſier; for as I had no Room to walk, ſo I had nothing to ſit upon but the Ground, or my thin Quilt, which lay upon it; and being allowed neither

ther Book, Pen, Ink, nor Paper, nor any thing I could employ my ſelf about, every Day appeared a Year to me.

I had not been a Fortnight in this wretched Solitude, when I was viſited by one of the Inquiſitors; he gave me the Time of the Day very courteouſly, and asked me whether I lacked for any thing? and whether my Warder was civil to me? Not daring to ſay otherwiſe, for fear of being worſe treated, I ſaid, My Warder, who was preſent, was very kind, and that I wanted ſuch and ſuch Things. But tho every thing that I had named was writ down, none of them were ever ſent to me, as I, being a Novice in their Ways at that time, did expect they would have been. For the Truth is, this civil Viſit of an Inquiſitor, which is made conſtantly once a Month to every Priſoner in the Inquiſition, is of no Benefit, and was inſtituted, and is continued for no other end, but to help the Inquiſitors to the falſe Reputation of being civil to their Priſoners, and that they may not be thought to have any hand in the cruel Uſage which they meet with from their Warders; to which ill Uſage nevertheleſs the Inquiſitors, tho they are not told of it by the Priſoners, when they ask them concerning it, cannot poſſibly be Strangers, ſince they know very well, that

that let it be never ſo bad, the Priſoners dare not complain of it to them, for fear of making it worſe, if it be poſſible.

It was ſix long Months (for very long ones they ſeem'd to me, before a Word was ſaid to me by any body concerning my Impriſonment; only my Warder called on me daily, (and ſeem'd always in a Rage) to be prepared to make a full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices in them; but at the End of ſix Months, an Alcalde came to me, and having commanded me to go along with him, he carried me into a Room where the Inquiſitors were; who with great Courteſy deſired me to ſit down on a Stool by them; and tho I deſired ſeveral times to be excus'd, they made me ſit down. Being ſeated, I was asked by an Inquiſitor, *Whether I knew for what Reaſon I had been taken up by the holy Office?* I anſwered; *If it were to ſave my Life I could not gueſs what it ſhould be.* I was then asked by the ſame Inquiſitor, *Who my Father and my Mother were? Where I was born? Where, and with whom I went to School? Whether I had any Brothers and Siſters? Whether I was marry'd? Who were my moſt familiar Acquaintances?* With twenty more ſuch Queſtions: To all which having return'd true Anſwers, my Anſwers were all writ down from

from my Mouth by the Secretary. When that was over, the ſame Inquiſitor, with a ſeeming great Tenderneſs for me, and for all my Concerns, but chiefly for the Health and Salvation of my poor Soul, which, he ſaid, was all that the holy Office aim'd at, told me, *That I was accus'd of Hereſy, and of having committed divers Acts of* Judaiſm; *but as he hoped I had repented of thoſe wicked Acts, ſo if I had, I could not but make an humble and full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices:* to the doing whereof he paſſionately exhorted me. My Anſwer was, *I had never in Thought, Word, nor Deed, been guilty of any Hereſy; nor did I ever commit any Act that I knew to be an Act of* Judaiſm; *neither did I know what* Judaiſm *was.* The Inquiſitor raiſing his Voice upon that, ſaid, *He was ſorry to hear me ſay ſo; for there were clear Proofs before them of my Guilt; and that if there had not, I had never been diſturbed by the holy Office.* And having thereupon run into high Encomiums of the extraordinary Mercy of the Inquiſition to its Priſoners, who by making a full Confeſſion of all their Hereſies, and of all their Complices, did appear to be penitent. He entreated me, as I deſired to partake of that Mercy, forthwith to make ſuch a Confeſſion. I reply'd, *I could not do it, with-*

without wounding my Conſcience, by accuſing my ſelf and others falſely, which I was ſure their Lordſhips did not deſire I ſhould do. They ſaid, *They did not; but being ſatisfy'd of my Guilt, they conjured me to confeſs it.* And having told them as before, *That being innocent, I could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience*; they ſaid, *It was a great Trouble to them to ſee me ſo impenitent*; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and ſtrictly to examine my Conſcience there, in order to the unburdening of it to them, to the ſaving of my Soul: And having rung a little Bell, the Alcalde came in, and carry'd me back to my Priſon; where, to do them Juſtice, they allowed me Time enough for the examining of my Conſcience; for it was full ſix Months more before I had any Interruption from the Inquiſitors; when I was by the ſame Alcalde carry'd before them a ſecond time, and having made me ſit down as before, they ſaid, They hoped I came prepared to make a full and humble Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices. I anſwer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Hereſy, nor had I ever committed any Acts of *Judaiſm*, and ſo could have no Complices in them: And for their farther Satisfaction, I did ſolemnly proteſt, that I was as innocent as the Child un-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

unborn. At this they all lifted up their Eyes, and ſhook their Heads, and told me with ſtern Countenances, that they were ſure that was falſe. I was then asked by them, whether I did not remember that I had committed ſome Acts of *Judaiſm*; but without naming any to me. I anſwer'd, In my whole Life I had never committed any, and whoever they were that had accuſed me of them, had wronged me very much; and did therefore humbly beſeech their Lordſhips, as they deſired not to condemn an innocent Perſon, not to give any Credit to thoſe Accuſers; offering, if they would but let me know who they were, to prove them to be falſe. But inſtead of telling me who were my Accuſers, (which they will never do to any Priſoner) they told me, They were ſatisfy'd I was a harden'd Heretick; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and pray to God, to touch my Conſcience with ſuch a Senſe of my Guilt, as would oblige me to unburthen it to them: And being carry'd back to my Priſon as before, I had ſix Months more given me to pray as they had directed; when being carry'd before the Inquiſitors a third time, tho I had ſtill the Civility of the Seat, their Countenances were much grimmer than I had ſeen them before. After many long Ex-

Expoſtulations and Denunciations of Woes againſt Hereticks, as the worſt of People; they ſaid, They hoped I came prepared to make a full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies and Complices: I anſwer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Hereſy in Thought, Word, nor Deed, and ſo can have no Complices in any. They told me, They knew that was falſe, and that if I continu'd obſtinate, they ſhould be forc'd to uſe rigorous Methods with me, meaning the Rack. I reply'd, They might do with me what they pleaſed, but I hop'd I ſhould have the Grace never to accuſe my ſelf nor any body elſe falſely, as I muſt, if I confeſſed the Acts they had charged me with. They ſaid, I was a moſt harden'd Heretick, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and pray for Grace to confeſs, and not deny the Hereſies I had been guilty of. Being return'd to my Priſon, the Rack, to which I expected to have been carry'd every Hour, was Day and Night in my Thoughts: But I was miſtaken, for in nine Months I heard no more from the Inquiſitors, and was during all that time baited ſo by my Warder, that I trembled at the very Sight of him. After that, to my great Surprize, one who was a Priſoner in the Inquiſition was turn'd into me, and finding that I was like to have him for

a

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

a Companion, tho he was an utter Stranger to me, I was much comforted with his Preſence: But we had not been long together, before I plainly perceiv'd by his Diſcourſe, that his Errand to me was, to perſwade me to confeſs; and after he had once broke that Matter to me, he teaz'd me Day and Night ſo to do it, that I heartily wiſhed my ſelf alone again. I ask'd him at laſt, whether he himſelf had confeſs'd? he ſaid, He had not, and being innocent, could not do it. I told him, he could not be more innocent than I was; and did therefore beg of him to let us talk of ſomething elſe. But in vain, for he was ſtill harping on the ſame ſtring.

The Inquiſitors being informed, I ſuppoſe, by our Warder (who was wonderful civil to my Companion, and did uſe to whiſper with him) that there was no likelihood of his being able to prevail with me to confeſs, he was after ſome Weeks, to my great Eaſe, removed; and being ſoon after carried before the Inquiſitors a fourth time, I was asked by them, whether I came now prepared to confeſs all my Hereſies and Complices; and having told them as before, that I could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience, the Fiſcal was called in, and commanded to read my Proceſs to me; which he did very diſtinctly. The

greateſt part of it was nothing but Forms, aggravating the great Sinfulneſs of Hereſy, and the Damnable Eſtate all Hereticks were in; and extolling the Mercy and Juſtice of the holy Office. Its Subſtance was, the charging me home with the Acts of Judaiſm in general, without naming any, together with a Declaration of my Guilt's being ſufficiently proved by two unexceptionable Witneſſes; but they were not named.

When the Fiſcal had done reading, I was asked what I had to ſay for my ſelf? My Anſwer was, I had never committed any ſuch Acts, and that did I but know who they were that witneſſed againſt me, I did not doubt of being able to prove 'em to be my mortal Enemies, and to have accus'd me out of Malice. The Inquiſitors ſaid nothing to that, but told me, ſince I was reſolv'd to make my Defence, they would appoint a Lawyer to aſſiſt me in it. I thank'd their Lordſhips for that Favour, but withal declared to them, that the moſt holy Father himſelf was not a truer Chriſtian than I was. They ſeem'd to be very angry at this, and bid me go back to my Apartment, like an harden'd Heretick as I was. A few Days after, I was viſited by a Lawyer, who told me, he was appointed by the Lords Inquiſitors to be my

my Advocate; but that being of Opinion I was guilty, he thought the beſt Office he could do me, was to adviſe me to confeſs, that I might find Mercy both from God, and from the holy Office. I told him over and over, I was as innocent as the Child unborn; but that did not hinder him from ſeeking by twenty Arts and Windings to have drawn me inſenſibly into a Confeſſion; neither did he give over, until I had ſtopped his Mouth, by telling him, I thought he had come to me to be my Advocate, and not my Confeſſor. He then ask'd me, what I had to offer in my Defence beſides my own Word, which, he ſaid, was little regarded by the Lords Inquiſitors. I told him, I was ſorry for that; but whoever they were that had accus'd me, were certainly mine Enemies, and had done it out of Malice; and that could I but know who they were, I ſhould prove it upon them. He reply'd, there was no need of that, for would I but confeſs all my Complices, he doubted not but I would light on my Accuſers. I ſaid, I could have no Complices in Acts I had never committed; but by running over all mine Enemies, I did hope I might in a Day or two find out who they were that had accuſed me. He ſaid, that would do well, but that I muſt likewiſe

have Proofs of their being my Enemies; and having desired me to provide them, he left me for that time. Never was any Man's Mind more perplexed for two Days and two Nights than mine was, to find out who they should be that had accused me; and as I doubted not of their having done it either upon the Rack, or to save their Lives, so I did resolve to pitch on two of my Acquaintance, whom I knew to be in the Prisons of the Inquisition before I was taken up by it; and having at last fixed on two, who above all others were, I thought, the most likely to have accused me, I did resolve to name them to my Advocate, as my Enemies, and to name Witnesses that should prove it; and accordingly, when my Advocate returned, I delivered their Names to him, and the Places of their Habitation; which he writ down, and did promise to see the whole Matter strictly examined, and to serve me in it as far as his Conscience would allow him. What was done in it by my Advocate and the Inquisitors, is unknown to me; only my Advocate returning after some Weeks, did with much Choler tell me, I had given the Lords Inquisitors and him a great deal of Trouble, to no manner of purpose, and that if I did not confess, I would in a short time be certainly condemn'd

demn'd to the Rack With that my Advocate (who, I ſuppoſe, was paid his Fees out of my forfeited Goods) and I parted, and did never ſee one another any more.

My Advocate's having at parting told me, that if I did not confeſs I ſhould certainly be put on the Rack, diſturbed me extreamly. However I reſolv'd not to do it, in Contradiction to my Conſcience; and in that Reſolution I continu'd, until another Priſoner of the Inquiſition, who to avoid the Torture, had confeſs'd, was turn'd in to me; and tho this, as well as the former, was quite a Stranger to me, yet he told his Story ſo well, and us'd ſo many Arguments to convince me, that nothing but a Confeſſion could ſave me from the Rack, which would certainly extort one from me; that I was determin'd to confeſs, tho being innocent I did not know how to go about it. All the Acts of Judaiſm that I could think of I did reſolve to confeſs; but when I came to conſider, whom I ſhould accuſe of having been my Complices in Acts which I had never committed, I was in a terrible Plunge, knowing, that if I ſhould accuſe a Thouſand, if I did not light on the two that were the Witneſſes againſt me, it would do me no Good; and how to find

out who they were, puzzl'd me extreamly: However I reſolv'd to accuſe the two I had before named to my Advocate as my Enemies; and, to make ſure work, I added eight more of my Acquaintance to them; and having ſettled that whole Affair in my Head, I deſired my Warder to ſupplicate the Lords Inquiſitors to let me have a *Board*, for ſo an Audience in the Inquiſition is called. And ſo officious was my Warder to ſerve me in this Caſe, that I had a *Board* granted me the ſame Day. When I came before the Inquiſitors, I threw my ſelf down at their Feet, and did beg God's and their Pardon for my Obſtinacy. They ſpoke to me to riſe up, and ſaid, they were glad to ſee me ſo well diſpos'd. I told them, God forgive me for it; that the Night before the holy Spirit had touch'd my Conſcience ſo, that I was not able to ſtand out any longer, and ſo had reſolv'd to make an humble and full Confeſſion to their Lordſhips. They ſaid, I would do very well, and bid me begin. I then confeſs'd to them, that I had been guilty of all the Acts of Judaiſm wherewith I ſtood charged in my Proceſs, and did add ſeveral more to them of the ſame ſort. I was much commended by the Inquiſitors for this my Ingenuity, and they bid me be as ingenuous in the Confeſſion of my Com-

plices.

plices. I named ten Perſons to them, who, I ſaid, had all join'd with me in Acts of Judaiſm, whoſe Names, and the Places of their Habitations, were all writ down from my Mouth by the Secretary. I was much praiſed by the Inquiſitors; but withal they told me, that my Confeſſion was diminute, for I had Complices which I had not nam'd. I anſwer'd, that if I had any more, I had forgot them. They ſaid, they did not believe I had, and ſo commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and rub up my Memory. My Mind was now in a greater Anxiety than ever, for I had already nam'd all that I could think of, that were likely to have accuſed me; however after many an uneaſy Thought, I did pitch on two more, and having done it, I did, by my Warder, ſupplicate to have another *Board*; which having been granted, I named thoſe two to the Inquiſitors. They ſaid, I had done well, but that they knew that I had not as yet named all my Complices; and tho I did aſſure them that I could not remember any more, and that if they would but let me know who they were that I had omitted, I would tell them truly whether they had been my Complices or not. They bid me go back to my Apartment, and conſider further of it. I did ſo, but with

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ſo heavy a Heart, that I wiſhed my ſelf dead a thouſand times, and did wiſh alſo that I had never made any Confeſſion, to the wronging of others, and of my own Conſcience: And tho I had not the Courage to go before the Inquiſitors, and revoke the falſe Confeſſion which I had made, yet I did reſolve not to accuſe any more, let them do what they would to me; and namely, not my Brother, who was very dear to me, and who, tho he was not in the Inquiſition when I was taken up, might, I feared, have been taken up ſoon after, and to prevent his being racked, might have accuſed me as one of his Complices; and having for that Reaſon ſupplicated for no more *Boards*, tho my Warder roar'd at me continually for not doing it, for ſome Weeks I heard nothing from the Inquiſitors: But being at laſt carry'd before them by an Alcalde, they ask'd me, Whether I did not remember any more of my Complices, beſides thoſe I had named to them? I proteſted to them that I could not, and that if they would but be pleas'd to let me know who they were that I had not named, I would be ſure to tell them the Truth. They ſaid, there was no need of that, for they knew I could not have forgot them, and that if I did not confeſs them quickly, I ſhould be put to the Queſtion.

ſtion. I told them, I was the unhappieſt Man alive, and begg'd of them to ſhew me ſome Mercy. They ſaid, they were ready to do it, if I would confeſs all my Complices, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and conſider of it again: I did ſo, and with Agonies of Mind which no Tongue is able to expreſs. After ſome Days an Alcalde came to me, and told me, he was order'd by the Lords Inquiſitors to carry me to the Torture. I bitterly lamented the Sadneſs of my Condition to him, and told him that I was ſo weak, for I had not ſlept for ſeveral Days, that I ſhould certainly die if I were tortured: But I was, notwithſtanding all I could ſay, carry'd by him to the Place where the Torture is given; where beſides the Executioner, and ſome who ſeemed to be Porters, there was an Inquiſitor, a Scrivener, a Phyſician, and Chirurgion. The Inquiſitor, as ſoon as I came in, apply'd himſelf to me, and with a ſeeming great Compaſſion beſeeched me to make a full Confeſſion of all my Complices, that I might not be put to the Queſtion. I told him, I had done that already, and that to ſave my Life I could not remember that I had any more Complices than I had named. The Executioner was all this while preparing the Rack, and when he had done

that,

that, having ſtripped me naked to my Drawers, the Inquiſitor left me to him. The firſt thing the Executioner did, he brought both my Arms behind my Back, and ty'd them together ſo with a ſmall Cord, that the Blood was ready to have guſhed out at the Ends of my Fingers. When that was done, which put me to great Pain, with a Pulley the Executioner by the Cord drew me up two or three Foot off the Ground: None that have not felt it, can poſſibly imagine how great the Torture was that I endured then; the Bones of my Shoulder-blades being both preſently drawn out of their Places, by the whole Weight of my Body's ſwinging in the Air upon my Arms in that Poſture; and in Truth the Pain was ſo inſupportable, that I really thought I was juſt expiring; and having cry'd out that I was, the Phyſician came and felt my Pulſe, and ſaid it was true, and that if I was not let down preſently, I was a dead Man. Upon his Word I was let down, and tho the Pain I was in after I was upon the Ground, was very great, it was nothing to the Pain I was in whilſt I hung ſhaking in the Air. After I had recovered my Spirits a little again, my Inquiſitor came to me, and asked me why I was ſo cruel to my ſelf, as to endure the Torture rather than confeſs

all

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

all my Complices. Upon a little Recollection, I named two more to him. He ſaid, I had done well, but that my Confeſſion was ſtill diminute, and did with a ſeeming wonderful great Tenderneſs beg of me to name them, that the Torture might not be repeated. I could not yet prevail with my ſelf to accuſe my poor Brother, tho I had now great Reaſon to believe he was one of the Perſons that had accuſed me; but not being certain of it, I did reſolve to endure the Torture again, rather than accuſe him; and having told the Inquiſitor poſitively, that if they would tear me to Pieces I could not remember any more, he left me to the Executioner, who drew me off the Ground as before. I hung in an Extremity of Torture, until the Phyſician cry'd out, I would expire preſently, if I had not ſome Eaſe given me. So I was let down, but was not in ſome time after I was upon the Ground able to ſpeak a Word. As ſoon as I came to my Speech the Inquiſitor return'd to me, and asked me the ſame Queſtion as before: But inſtead of giving him any Anſwer, I wiſh'd paſſionately, that they had been ſo kind to me, as to have ſuffered me to have died when I was ſo near it. The Inquiſitor ſtorm'd at this, and having called me a deſperate and impenitent

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

penitent Heretick, he ask'd me, whether I did not believe the Torments of Hell-Fire, into which I muſt have gone infallibly, if I had died then, denying my Complices, to be infinitely more painful than the Tortures I endur'd on the Rack. I told him, I ſhould certainly die if I was tortur'd any more, Nature being ſcarce able to bear the Pain I was in at preſent. The Inquiſitor ſaid, it was in my own Power to prevent it, and did, according to the Forms of the Inquiſition, beg me to do it; and ſo he left me to the Executioner, by whom I was drawn up a third time, and did hang in the Air till my Senſes were quite gone, by reaſon of the Extremity of the Torture. How long I hung after that, or how long I had been on the Ground before I came to my ſelf, I cannot tell; but after my Senſes were return'd the Inquiſitor return'd to me again, and did, according to the Stiles of the Inquiſition, earneſtly beg'd of me not to be thus cruel to my ſelf; and having hinted to me, that if I did not confeſs ſome more Complices, the Torture would be repeated; my Heart failed me, and I told him, that I did not know but that my Brother, whom I had not yet named, might have joined with me in ſome of the Acts of *Judaiſm*, which I had confeſſed; but not being

ing certain of it, I had been unwilling to accuſe him. The Inquiſitor anſwer'd, if my Brother had been one of my Complices, I could not but be certain of it, and that if I did not confeſs that he was, the Torture would be repeated, to make me tell the Truth. Upon that I own'd to him, that I was certain of my Brother's having been one of my Complices, but that the great natural Affection which I had for my Brother, hindred me ſo long from accuſing him. I was upon that Confeſſion carry'd back to my Priſon, to which I was attended by the Phyſician and Chirurgeon. The Chirurgeon put all my diſjointed Bones into their Places again, and the Phyſician having felt my Pulſe, let me Blood twice that Day, to prevent a ſtrong Fever which he apprehended was coming upon me; and he had reaſon, for before next Morning I was light-headed, and in my Diſtraction, as I was told afterwards by an Inquiſitor, I had called all the Inquiſitors, and all the Warders, Dogs and Devils, and had ſaid all the ill things of them that a diſtemper'd Fancy could ſuggeſt. After my Fever, which laſted near a Fortnight, was pretty well over, I was viſited by an Inquiſitor, and a Scrivener. The Inquiſitor ask'd me, whether I remembered all that I had ſaid during my Sickneſs,

neſs, and ſeem'd to believe I did. I aſſured him I did not, having been out of my Senſes for ſeveral Days. He then told me of my having called them all Dogs and Devils in a moſt outragious manner. I ſaid I was very ſorry for it, but did not remember that I had ever ſpoke any ſuch Words; tho to ſpeak the Truth, after the Inquiſitor had repeated them to me, I had ſomething of a confus'd Memory of them. The Confeſſion I had made on the Rack, was then read to me by the Notary, and the Inquiſitor ask'd me whether it was true, and whether I would ſet my Hand to it? But tho to do it went ſo againſt my Conſcience, that I had rather have loſt my right Hand, than have ſign'd it; yet knowing that if I did not, I ſhould certainly be ſent back to the Rack, I did ſign it, as well as the Pain of my Arm, which when I moved it was ſtill very ſore, would allow me. I was for near a Month after this very quiet, neither was my Warder quite ſo dogged to me as before; but being after that carry'd before the Inquiſitors again, I was ſeverely reprov'd by them for my great Obſtinacy. But that was not their chief Buſineſs at this time, for they enquired of me very ſtrictly, whether I had any Money owing to me, and in whoſe Hands it was; I told them, I

was

was but a young Man, and juſt ſet up, when I was arreſted, and that I did owe Money, which I had borrowed, but had none owing to me; upon that, the Fiſcal being preſent, they commanded me, under pain of Excommunication, to tell them the Truth in that matter: I ſaid I had done it, and did name my Creditors to them; but I did not obſerve that they writ down their Names, nor did they ſeem to regard what I had ſaid concerning them. In a few days after this Board, I was carried by an Alcalde to a Room where a Jeſuit came to inſtruct all the Penitents that were to go out in the next Act of the Faith, in the Elements of the Chriſtian Religion: This Lecture continued till the Veſpers of that Act, and being carried early the next Morning into a great Hall, which was full of Priſoners, I had there the Habit of *Feugo Revolto* put upon me, which I wore in the Proceſſion, and was at night brought back again to the Inquiſition, where I was kept ſome Weeks, and was catechized every Day, to inſtruct and confirm me in the Roman Faith and Obſervances, ſeveral of which I had almoſt forgot during the long time of my Impriſonment: During all which time, I never ſaw a Confeſſor, nor did I ever hear Maſs; nor was I ever ſpoke to, to exerciſe any of the Rites of Worſhip.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

ſhip. When I was thought to be ſufficiently inſtructed and confirmed, I was carried before the Inquiſitors, who gave me a long Admonition, and did at laſt prohibit me, under pain of the greater Excommunication, ever to divulge to any Perſon, any thing that I had heard, ſeen, or ſuffered in the Holy Office; and with that, they turned me out into the wide World, after I had been four Years and eight Months a Priſoner in the Inquiſition.

I went ſtrait to my Houſe, where I found a Family had been ſettled for ſome Years; I asked them where all my Goods were: they ſaid, they were told they were all removed by the Order of the Fiſcal the day after I was arreſted: I went to the Fiſcal to have them, or at leaſt ſome of them, to help me to Bread, but I never had the Value of one Vintem from him: I remained ſome Months in *Lisbon* in a poor Condition, but having at laſt got a little Money to pay for my Paſſage, I ſtole on board an Engliſh Ship one Night that was to ſail next Morning, on which I got to *England*, where I have been ever ſince.

'After I had taken the Subſtance of this 'Narrative from the Relater's Mouth in '*Portugueze*, I asked him ſeveral Queſtions, 'which I ſhall here ſet down, with his 'An-

‘ Anſwers to them. I asked him firſt, ‘ Why, if he were a ſincere Romaniſt, ‘ as he ſaid he was, he did leave *Portu-* ‘ *gal.* His Anſwer was, That having ‘ ſeen the ways by which People were ‘ brought into the Inquiſition, he thought ‘ he, being a new Chriſtian, ſhould be ſtill ‘ in danger of being carried back to that ‘ Hell, as he called it. I then asked him ‘ how, if he had not been inclined to *Ju-* ‘ *daiſm* before, he came to turn *Jew* in ‘ *England*; he ſaid, being by Birth a new ‘ Chriſtian, he had ſome Relations among ‘ the *Portugueze Jews* in *London*, by whom ‘ he was kindly entertained, and who did ‘ all ſpeak *Portugueze*, or *Spaniſh*, which ‘ were all the Languages he underſtood. ‘ I asked him, whether the Cruelties ‘ which had been exerciſed upon him in ‘ the Inquiſition, had not prejudiced him ‘ very much againſt the Chriſtian Faith? ‘ he confeſſed they had; but he ſaid, he ‘ had other Reaſons for his having chang- ‘ ed his Religion. I told him, that tho ‘ that was enough to prejudice him againſt ‘ Popery, by whoſe Spirit and Miniſters ‘ thoſe Cruelties in Matters of Religion ‘ were exerciſed, yet having come among ‘ Proteſtants, whoſe Religion condemns ‘ all ſuch Cruelties, he ought not to have ‘ renounced the Chriſtian Faith, but to

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

'have embraced that Faith as it was 'taught in the Church of *England*; he 'owned, the Proteſtant Religion was for 'that, and for divers other Reaſons better 'than the *Roman*; but being himſelf of 'the Seed of *Abraham*, and of the Tribe 'of *Judah*, he ſaid he was convinced he 'could be ſaved in no other Law, but in 'that of *Moſes*; which *Chriſtians* and *Ma-* 'hometans, as well as the *Jews*, did own to 'have been promulgated by the great God 'himſelf. I told him, that was very true, 'but that it was manifeſt from the Scrip- 'tures of the Old Teſtament, that the Ce- 'remonial part of that Law was to be 'aboliſhed by the coming of the Meſſias, 'to make way for a more ſpiritual Diſpen- 'ſation. His Reply to this was, that 'God was unchangeable, but withal 'he told me poſitively, that he would 'not, with me, nor with no Body elſe, 'enter into any Diſpute about that Mat- 'ter. I asked him whether he did not think 'he might have been ſaved if he had turned 'Proteſtant when he came into *England*, 'and had lived and died in that Faith? He 'anſwered, being of the Seed of *Abra-* 'ham, he could be ſaved in no other 'Law, but in that of *Moſes*; but for the 'Nations of the World, which were not 'deſcended from *Abraham*, he believed, if

'they

'they led holy Lives, they might all be 'ſaved in their ſeveral Sects. He ſeemed 'to have much Charity for Men of all 'Religions, except *Jews* not profeſſing the 'Law of *Moſes*, and the Inquiſitors, and 'their Officers; who, he ſaid, were not 'Men, but Devils come from Hell, who 'having taken the Shape of Men upon 'them, muſt, when they left the Bodies 'which they had aſſumed, return to the 'Place from whence they came; and of 'this he ſeemed to be fully perſwaded, 'ſo powerfully was his Judgment of the 'Inquiſitors and their Officers, influenced 'by the Averſion he had for them, which 'I do own was the ſtrongeſt I had ever 'ſeen in any Caſe; neither is it to be won-'dred at, if his Narrative of their Pro-'ceedings with him be true, as he more 'than once did ſolemnly proteſt to me 'it was, to the beſt of his Remem-'brance: And in Truth I am the more apt 'to believe it to be ſo, becauſe it contains 'nothing that contradicts what the Inqui-'ſitors themſelves have publiſhed in their 'Books, concerning their Proceedings 'with their Priſoners; from which, as 'well as from this Narrative, 'tis mani-'feſt that the Inquitiſion has Appearances 'of Mercy, only in eſtabliſhed Forms and 'Stiles; but is for Unrighteouſneſs and

‘ Inhumanity ſuch a Court as was never
‘ before heard of on Earth. And tho for
‘ this Reaſon, there was no Nation that
‘ did not at firſt ſtrive violently againſt the
‘ ſetting up of the Inquiſition in it, *Rome*
‘ it ſelf not excepted, where the People,
‘ as ſoon as that Pope was dead, who in
‘ his laſt Minutes had called the Inquiſiti-
‘ on, the *Bulwark of the* Roman *Church*,
‘ did all riſe, and burn all its Papers and
‘ Buildings down to the Ground: Yet, by
‘ ſome Sorcery or other, as one would
‘ think, that juſtly odious Court is ſince
‘ become the Palladium and Idol of all the
‘ old *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Chriſtians.
‘ For which great Change, I could never
‘ ſee any thing that looked like a Reaſon,
‘ beſides that ill-natur'd one, of Peoples
‘ loving to ſee others in Fears and Dan-
‘ gers, provided they themſelves be ſafe,
‘ or do imagine that they are ſo, which all
‘ the old *Portugueſe* Chriſtians think they
‘ are; and that becauſe the Inquiſition in
‘ all Caſes, wherein the *Roman* Church is
‘ not immediately concern'd, as in the
‘ Caſes of *Sodomy* and *Bigamy*, are much
‘ more merciful than the Civil Courts are
‘ in the ſame Kingdoms: And thoſe two
‘ Crimes were, I reckon, brought under
‘ the Inquiſition's Cognizance, for no o-
‘ ther end, but to drown the Noiſe, which

‘ they

'they knew its barbarous Cruelties, ex-
'ercis'd in all Caſes relating immediately
'to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, muſt
'neceſſarily raiſe in the World, by its ex-
'traordinary Mercifulneſs in theſe two
'vile Caſes. But by theſe and many other
'like ſubtle Devices the Inquiſition is e-
'ſtabliſh'd and kept up; ſo that it may
'be juſtly doubted, whether is greater,
'the wicked Policy of thoſe that ſet it up,
'or the Folly and Stupidity of the Nations,
'that do not only ſubmit to it, but are
'fond of it. And truly of the *Portugueſes*
'being fond of the Inquiſition, I was fully
'convinc'd, by their Behaviour in the
'great and long Conteſt which was be-
'twixt the ſtiff old Pope *Odiſchalchi* and
'the Inquiſition in that Kingdom, during
'the time I was in *Lisbon*.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Pontifical, *a zealous Papiſt, and by* Paramus, *an Inquiſitor, in his Hiſtory of the* Inquiſition.

In former times, *ſaith the Author*, of the *Hiſtoria Pontifical*, 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, *ſaith 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 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

ving either been deceiv'd, or poſſeſs'd 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 broach'd Hereſy in them.

And in another Place, the ſame Author ſpeaking of the ſame Perſons, and of the Converts which they had made, ſaith, All the Priſoners in the Inquiſitions of *Valedolid, Sevil,* and *Toledo,* were Perſons abundantly well qualify'd. I ſhall here paſs their 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 were Perſons thus qualify'd, ſo their Number was ſo great, that had the ſtop which was put to that Evil been delay'd 2 or 3 Months longer, I am perſwaded 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 embrac'd 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 won-

wonderfully disposʼd 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 thoroughly 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 justifyʼd in the Sight of God by Faith, and through Christʼs, and not throʼ his own Merits.

There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertisʼd of; the one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquisitors and their Creature's 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 'em always as such Monsters of Wickedness, that whatever their

Re-

Religion had been, they had deſerved for their Immoralities to have ſuffered Death.

So when vaſt Numbers of the Albigenſes *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; *and that* 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.

And as the Inquiſitors do in this vile and unmanly 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 becauſe the great Body of Mankind have 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 Perſwaſions in Religion.

The ſecond thing the Reader of this Martyrology *is to be advertis'd of, is, Not to wonder*

der 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 of 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 gagg'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 troubl'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 perſwade 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.*

THE

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

THE *SPANISH* PROTESTANT Martyrology.

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 Calcada*, who were burnt alive at thoſe places, for refuſing 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, that they were the ſame with thoſe of the *Vaudois* 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 Fryars* or Inquiſitors

to

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 Mr. *Frampton* for ſome Months with frivolous pretences, did put a full ſtop to his Negotiation, by impriſoning him on ſuſpicion of Hereſy.

Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla.*

In the Year 1558, Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla*, Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, 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

his three Brothers, and two Sisters, and their Servants; who had been all converted by him to the Catholick Faith. For such I do reckon the Protestant to be, for that it is the same with that Faith, that was profes's'd by the whole Christian Church when the Creeds were made. This most pious and learned Martyr is acknowleged by *Paramus* an Inquisitor, to have *been a most Eloquent Preacher:* And one 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 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 Batchelor* Herezulo, *when he was burnt alive*, ſaith the Writer, *that I obſerved all his Geſtures and Motions; for he could not ſpeak, having his Mouth gagg'd for the Blaſphemy he had uttered againſt the* Roman Church; *he appear'd to me to be a moſt reſolute and hardned 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 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; who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father (as was commonly ſaid) for his having diſcovered a ſtrong Affection to the Proteſtant Faith.

Don

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Don Carlos de Seſo.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the ſame Court of Inquiſition, *Don Carlos de Seſo*, 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* ſaith, *That they endured being burnt alive, with a Courage that aſtoniſhed all that beheld it.*

Donna Leonora de Ciſneros.

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 inferiour to that of her Husband: Of which bleſſed Couple, and *Don Carlos de Seſo*, the Writer of the *Hiſtoria Pontifical* ſaith, *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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Church of God within her Diſtricts, that of *Sevil* broke in with no leſs Cruelty and Fury upon the Church of God gathered in that 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 *Ciquenca*, where he had not been long before he was choſe Canon and Preacher 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

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 written, 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 *Dr.* Egidio, *is Condemned by the Inquiſition to Perpetual Impriſonment*; I ſhall therefore, ſaith that *Hungry Titular, be infinitely obliged to your Lordſhip, if you will be pleaſed to remember me, in caſe the Biſhop 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 Bleſſed Martyrs were all converted to the Catholick Faith by that Learned Saint, Dr. *Egidio*, and did, both in their Lives, and at their Deaths, diſcover themſelves to be Sons not unworthy of ſuch a Ghoſtly Father. The Doctrines they ſuffered Martyrdom for Profeſſing, were,

1. *That the Worſhip of the* Church *of* Rome *was Idolatrous.*
2. *That the* Pope *was* Anti-Chriſt.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 Cathedral of *Sevil*, was, after that Prince's Reſignation of his Crowns, and Retreat to *Spain*, taken up by the Inquiſition of that City, as a Proteſtant Heretick; but he dying 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 Hiſto-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 condemn'd 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.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

It is reported, that the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, 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, who was likewiſe converted to the *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 apply'd; *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 119*th 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, look'd 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, pre-

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 pretty well forgot, they either ſtrangled the Profeſt before they burnt them, pretending 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* Bibles, which had been printed in *Germany*. And tho it is a hard Matter to know any thing that paſſeth 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

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

the Doors of their Priſons, cry out, *Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van*, that is, *The Fryars 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 thereupon been gagg'd all Day, a certain Prieſt, whoſe Name was *Ferrando Rodriguez*, and who formerly had himſelf been well enclined to the Proteſtant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, deſir'd he might be ungagg'd, boaſting, that he ſhould be able to perſwade 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, anſwer'd him with a holy Zeal, *Thou Apoſtate, how dareſt thou, contrary to the Convictions of thy own Conſcience, go about to perſwade 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*

rigible Heretick; which was done immediately; one of the Officers that ſtood by, having, either out of Compaſſion or Fury, given him a deadly 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, did, with ſeveral more Monks of the ſame Monaſtery, who were likewiſe Proteſtants, make his Eſcape to *Franckfort* 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 diſcover'd at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, which was then under the *Spaniſh* Dominion, as they were ready to have embark'd there for *England*.

And having been told by the Officer that ſeized him, *That he was the Man he look'd for*, he turn'd about to his Companion, and ſaid,

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

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 carry'd him to *Sevil*, having been kept in Chains, and gagg'd all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which was nothing but dry Bread and Water: He was likewiſe brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and ſo continued until he was burnt, without diſcovering any thing that look'd 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

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, 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 conquer'd Enemy.

Garſias Arias.

Garſias Arias, a Monk of St. *Iſidore*, 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

been eight Years a Profeſſor of Humanity in St. *Iſidore*'s College in *Sevil*; he was a Perſon of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and continu'd 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 her ſelf to them, that ſhe had the whole Bible almoſt by heart; neither did ſhe, after ſhe had once taſted of that, ever care to read in any other Book. When ſhe was brought out of the Inquiſition to be burnt, with a heavenly Joy ſpread all over her Countenance, ſhe began to ſing Praiſes to God, with a moſt melo-

dious

dious Voice; and having, when forbid, refus'd to give over ſinging, ſhe was gagg'd, and continu'd ſo till ſhe was brought to the Stake. But the Fryars 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 faſten'd 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; 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 declaim vehemently againſt Women's being 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 ſtudy'd the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Miniſterial Office upon them; and as if the Proteſtant Reli-

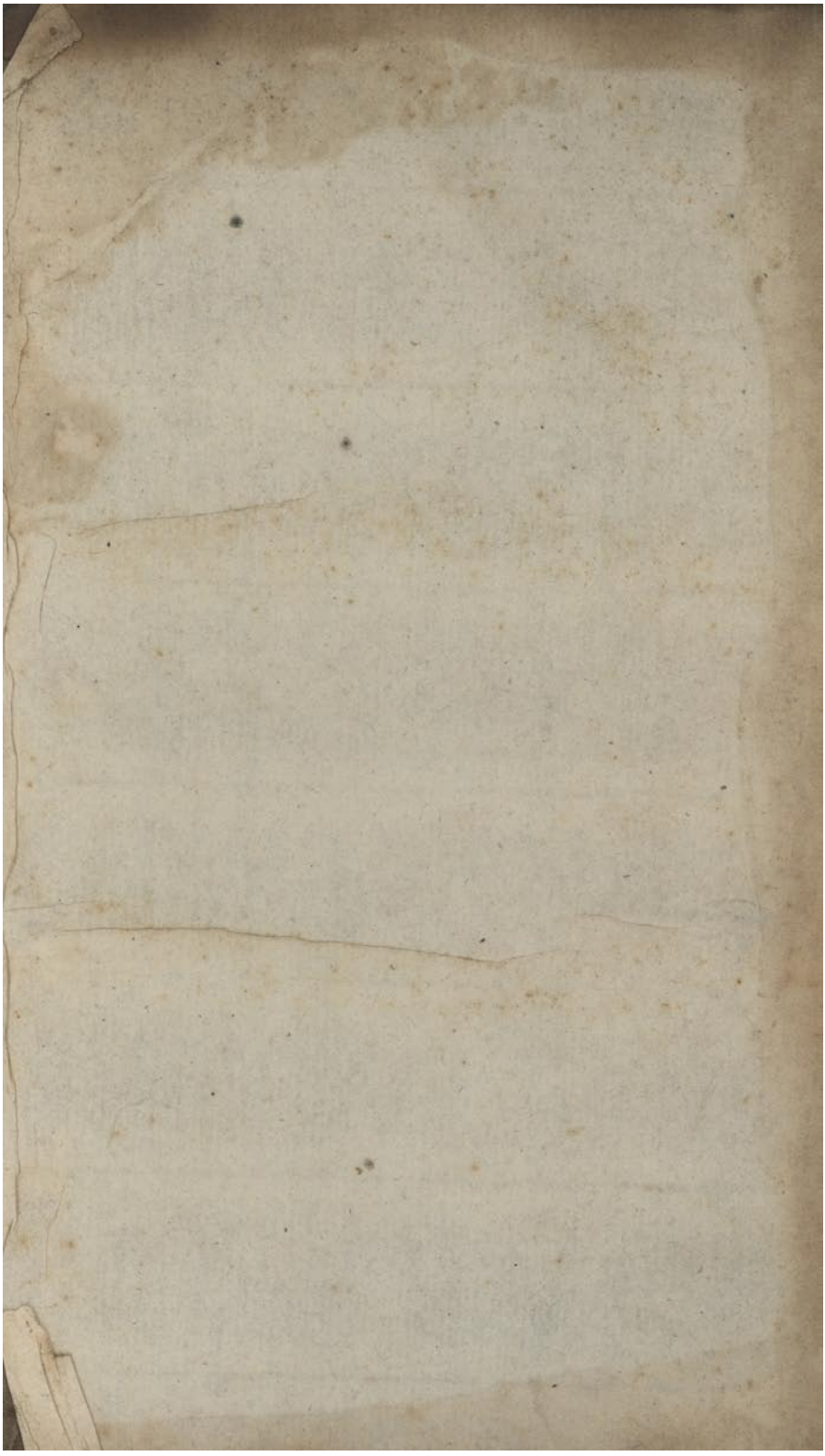
HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com

Religion, when they are ſo qualify'd, 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 expreſly condemn that Preſumption; neither did any of the *Spaniſh* Proteſtant 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, who for the exemplary Piety of their Lives, and the admirable Patience and Courage wherewith they triumphed over Death, in the moſt terrible of all its Shapes, were nothing inferiour to the Martyrs of any other Nation in any Age.

FINIS.

HAIL & FIRE www.hailandfire.com



~

See the many companion volumes under
Protestant Books & Martyrologies online at
www.hailandfire.com:

"The History of the Waldenses, Commonly called in England Lollards" (1624 Edition)
by Jean Paul Perrin

"The Martyrdom of a People: or The Vaudois of Piedmont and their History" (1914 Edition)
by Henry Fliedner

"Acts and Monuments" (1841 Edition in 8 volumes)
by John Foxe (1517-1587)

"The Israel of the Alps; A Complete History of the Vaudois of Piedmont" (1857 Edition in 2 Volumes)
by Alexis Muston, D.D. (Pastor of the Protestant Church at Bourdeaux, Drôme, France)

"History of the Waldenses of Italy, from their Origin to the Reformation" (1889 Edition)
by Emilio Comba

"The Vaudois Of Piedmont" (1873 Edition)
by J. N. Worsfold

"Miscellaneous Tracts including A View of the Inquisition of Portugal" (1709 Edition)
by Michael Geddes (Doctor of Laws)

"The Benefit of Christ's Death" (Originally published 1543 in Italian; English & Italian Editions)
by Aonio Paleario (Antonio della Paglia, 1500 - 70, Martyr)

"A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day" (1848 Edition)
by Antoine Monastier (Pastor in the Cantone De Vaud)

"The Council of Constance to the Death of John Hus" (Lectures delivered University of Oxford 1900, 1900 Edition)
by James H. Wylie, M.A.

"An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue" (Originally published 1531; 1850 Edition)
by William Tyndale

~