

of the mercantile marine may be inferred from that of the military, which enabled the sovereigns to fit out an armament of seventy sail in 1482, from the ports of Biscay and Andalusia, for the defence of Naples against the Turks. Some of their regulations, indeed, as those prohibiting the exportation of the precious metals, savour too strongly of the ignorance of the true principles of commercial legislation, which has distinguished the Spaniards to the present day. But others, again, as that for relieving the importation of foreign books from all duties, "because," says the statute, "they bring both honor and profit to the kingdom, by the facilities which they afford for making men learned," are not only in advance of that age, but may sustain an advantageous comparison with provisions of corresponding subjects in Spain at the present time. Public credit was reëstablished by the punctuality with which the government redeemed the debt contracted during the Portuguese war; and, notwithstanding the repeal of various arbitrary imposts, which enriched the exchequer under Henry the Fourth, such was the advance of the country under the wise economy of the present reign, that the revenue was augmented nearly six fold between the years 1477 and 1482.⁵¹

Thus released from the heavy burdens imposed on it, the spring of enterprise recovered its former

Prosperity
of the king-
dom.

⁵¹ Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 64. — Ordenanças Reales, lib. 4, tit. 4, ley 22; lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 2; lib. 6, tit. 9, ley 49; lib. 6, tit. 10, ley 13. — See also other wholesome laws for the encouragement of commerce and general security of property, as that respecting

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elasticity. The productive capital of the country was made to flow through the various channels of domestic industry. The hills and the valleys again rejoiced in the labor of the husbandman; and the cities were embellished with stately edifices, both public and private, which attracted the gaze and commendation of foreigners.⁵² The writers of that day are unbounded in their plaudits of Isabella, to whom they principally ascribe this auspicious revolution in the condition of the country and its inhabitants,⁵³ which seems almost as magical as one of those transformations in romance wrought by the hands of some benevolent fairy.⁵⁴

VI. The preëminence of the royal authority.

contracts, (lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 5,) — fraudulent tradesmen, (lib. 5, tit. 8, ley 5,) — purveyance. (lib. 6, tit. 11, ley 2 et al. — Recopilacion de las Leyes, lib. 5, tit. 20, 21, 22; lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 1. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 2, cap. 99. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 312. — Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 11.) — The revenue, it appears, in 1477, amounted to 27,415,228 maravedies; and in the year 1482, we find it increased to 150,695,288 maravedies. (Ibid., Ilust. 5.) — A survey of the kingdom was made between the years 1477 and 1479, for the purpose of ascertaining the value of the royal rents, which formed the basis of the economical regulations adopted by the cortes of Toledo. Although this survey was conducted on no uniform plan, yet, according to Señor Clemencin, it exhibits such a variety of important details respecting the resources and population of the country, that it must materially contribute towards an exact history of this period. The compilation, which consists

of twelve folio volumes in manuscript, is deposited in the archives of Simancas.

⁵² One of the statutes passed at Toledo expressly provides for the erection of spacious and handsome edifices (*casas grandes y bien fechas*) for the transaction of municipal affairs, in all the principal towns and cities in the kingdom. Ordenanças Reales, lib. 7, tit. 1, ley 1. — See also L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, passim, — et al. auct.

⁵³ "Cosa fue por cierto maravillosa," exclaims Pulgar, in his Glosa on the Mingo Revulgo, "que lo que muchos hombres, y grandes señores no se acordaron á hacer en muchos años, sola una muger, con su trabajo, y gobernacion lo hizo en poco tiempo." Copla 21.

⁵⁴ The beautiful lines of Virgil, so often misapplied,

"Jam redit et Virgo; redeunt Saturnia regna;
Jam nova progenies," &c.

seem to admit here of a pertinent application.

This, which, as we have seen, appears to have been the natural result of the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, was derived quite as much from the influence of their private characters, as from their public measures. Their acknowledged talents were supported by a dignified demeanor, which formed a striking contrast with the meanness in mind and manners, that had distinguished their predecessor. They both exhibited a practical wisdom in their own personal relations, which always commands respect, and which, however it may have savoured of worldly policy in Ferdinand, was, in his consort, founded on the purest and most exalted principle. Under such a sovereign, the court, which had been little better than a brothel under the preceding reign, became the nursery of virtue and generous ambition. Isabella watched assiduously over the nurture of the high-born damsels of her court, whom she received into the royal palace, causing them to be educated under her own eye, and endowing them with liberal portions on their marriage.⁵⁵ By these and similar acts of affectionate solicitude, she endeared herself to the higher classes of her subjects, while the patriotic tendency of her public conduct established her in the hearts of the people. She possessed, in combination with

⁵⁵ Carro de las Doñas, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 21. — As one example of the moral discipline introduced by Isabella in her court, we may cite the enactments against gaming, which had been carried to great excess under the preceding reigns. (See Orde-

nanças Reales, lib. 2, tit. 14, ley 31; lib. 8, tit. 10, ley 7.) L. Marino, according to whom, "hell is full of gamblers," highly commends the sovereigns for their efforts to discountenance this vice. Cosas Memorables, fol. 165.

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the feminine qualities which beget love, a masculine energy of character, which struck terror into the guilty. She enforced the execution of her own plans, oftentimes at the risk of great personal danger, with a resolution surpassing that of her husband. Both were singularly temperate, indeed, frugal, in their dress, equipage, and general style of living; seeking to affect others less by external pomp, than by the silent though more potent influence of personal qualities. On all such occasions as demanded it, however, they displayed a princely magnificence, which dazzled the multitude, and is blazoned with great solemnity in the garrulous chronicles of the day.⁵⁶

The tendencies of the present administration were undoubtedly to strengthen the power of the crown. This was the point, to which most of the feudal governments of Europe at this epoch were tending. But Isabella was far from being actuated by the selfish aim or unscrupulous policy of many contemporary princes, who, like Louis the Eleventh sought to govern by the arts of dissimula-

⁵⁶ See, for example, the splendid ceremony of Prince John's baptism, to which the gossiping Curate of Los Palacios devotes the 32d and 33d chapters of his History.

Clemencia.

The sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Spanish Academy of History, published in 1821, is devoted altogether to the reign of Isabella. It is distributed into Illustrations, as they are termed, of the various branches of the administrative policy of the queen, of her personal character, and of the condition of science under her government. These essays exhibit much curious research, being derived from unquestionable contemporary documents, printed and manuscript, and from the public archives. They are compiled with

tion, and to establish their own authority by fomenting the divisions of their powerful vassals. On the contrary, she endeavoured to bind together the disjointed fragments of the state, to assign to each of its great divisions its constitutional limits, and, by depressing the aristocracy to its proper level and elevating the commons, to consolidate the whole under the lawful supremacy of the crown. At least, such was the tendency of her administration up to the present period of our history. These laudable objects were gradually achieved without fraud or violence, by a course of measures equally laudable; and the various orders of the monarchy, brought into harmonious action with each other, were enabled to turn the forces, which had before been wasted in civil conflict, to the glorious career of discovery and conquest, which it was destined to run during the remainder of the century.

much discernment; and, as they throw light on some of the most recondite transactions of this reign, are of inestimable service to the historian. The author of the volume is the late lamented secretary of the Academy, Don Diego Clemencin; one of the few who sur-

vived the wreck of scholarship in Spain, and who with the erudition, which has frequently distinguished his countrymen, combined the liberal and enlarged opinions, which would do honor to any country.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MODERN INQUISITION.

Origin of the Ancient Inquisition. — Retrospective View of the Jews in Spain. — Their Wealth and Civilization. — Bigotry of the Age. — Its Influence on Isabella. — Her Confessor, Torquemada. — Bull authorizing the Inquisition. — Tribunal at Seville. — Forms of Trial. — Torture. — Autos da Fe. — Number of Convictions. — Perfidious Policy of Rome.

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IT is painful, after having dwelt so long on the important benefits resulting to Castile from the comprehensive policy of Isabella, to be compelled to turn to the darker side of the picture, and to exhibit her as accommodating herself to the illiberal spirit of the age in which she lived, so far as to sanction one of the grossest abuses that ever disgraced humanity. The present chapter will be devoted to the establishment and early progress of the Modern Inquisition; an institution, which has probably contributed more than any other cause to depress the lofty character of the ancient Spaniard, and which has thrown the gloom of fanaticism over those lovely regions which seem to be the natural abode of festivity and pleasure.

In the present liberal state of knowledge, we look with disgust at the pretensions of any human

being, however exalted, to invade the sacred rights of conscience, inalienably possessed by every man. We feel that the spiritual concerns of an individual may be safely left to himself, as most interested in them, except so far as they can be affected by argument or friendly monition; that the idea of compelling belief in particular doctrines is a solecism, as absurd as wicked; and, so far from condemning to the stake, or the gibbet, men who pertinaciously adhere to their conscientious opinions in contempt of personal interests and in the face of danger, we should rather feel disposed to imitate the spirit of antiquity in raising altars and statues to their memory, as having displayed the highest efforts of human virtue. But, although these truths are now so obvious as rather to deserve the name of truisms, the world has been slow, very slow in arriving at them, after many centuries of unspeakable oppression and misery.

Acts of intolerance are to be discerned from the earliest period in which Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire. But they do not seem to have flowed from any systematized plan of persecution, until the papal authority had swollen to a considerable height. The popes, who claimed the spiritual allegiance of all Christendom, regarded heresy as treason against themselves, and, as such, deserving all the penalties, which sovereigns have uniformly visited on this, in their eyes, unpardonable offence. The crusades, which, in the early part of the thirteenth century, swept so fiercely over the southern provinces of

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France, exterminating their inhabitants, and blasting the fair buds of civilization which had put forth after the long feudal winter, opened the way to the inquisition; and it was on the ruins of this once happy land, that were first erected the bloody altars of that tribunal.¹

After various modifications, the province of detecting and punishing heresy was exclusively committed to the hands of the Dominican friars; and in 1233, in the reign of St. Louis, and under the pontificate of Gregory the Ninth, a code for the regulation of their proceedings was finally digested. The tribunal, after having been successively adopted in Italy and Germany, was introduced into Aragon, where, in 1242, additional provisions were

Its introduction into Aragon.

¹ Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, translated by Maclaine, (Charlestown, 1810,) cent. 13, P. 2, chap. 5. — Sismondi, Histoire des Français, (Paris, 1821,) tom. vi. chap. 24 — 28; tom. vii. chap. 2, 3. — Idem, De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe, (Paris, 1813,) tom. i. chap. 6. — In the former of these works M. Sismondi has described the physical ravages of the crusades in southern France; with the same spirit and eloquence, with which he has exhibited their desolating moral influence in the latter.

Some Catholic writers would fain excuse St. Dominic from the imputation of having founded the Inquisition. It is true he died some years before the perfect organization of that tribunal; but, as he established the principles on which, and the monkish militia, by whom, it was administered, it is doing him no injustice to regard him as its real author. — The Sicilian Paramo, indeed, in his heavy

quarto, (De Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis, Matricti, 1598,) traces it up to a much more remote antiquity, which, to a Protestant ear at least, savours not a little of blasphemy. According to him, God was the first inquisitor, and his condemnation of Adam and Eve furnished the model of the judicial forms observed in the trials of the Holy Office. The sentence of Adam was the type of the inquisitorial *reconciliation*; his subsequent raiment of the skins of animals was the model of the *san-benito*, and his expulsion from Paradise the precedent for the confiscation of the goods of heretics. This learned personage deduces a succession of inquisitors through the patriarchs, Moses, Nebuchadnezzar, and King David, down to John the Baptist, and even our Saviour, in whose precepts and conduct he finds abundant authority for the tribunal! Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, lib. 1, tit. 1, 2, 3.

framed by the council of Tarragona, on the basis of those of 1233, which may properly be considered as the primitive instructions of the Holy Office in Spain.²

This Ancient Inquisition, as it is termed, bore the same odious peculiarities in its leading features as the Modern; the same impenetrable secrecy in its proceedings, the same insidious modes of accusation, a similar use of torture, and similar penalties for the offender. A sort of manual, drawn up by Eymereich, an Aragonese inquisitor of the fourteenth century, for the instruction of the judges of the Holy Office, prescribes all those ambiguous forms of interrogation, by which the unwary, and perhaps innocent victim might be circumvented.³ The

² Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. vii. chap. 3. — Limborch, *History of the Inquisition*, translated by Chandler, (London, 1731,) book 1, chap. 24. — Llorente, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, (Paris, 1818,) tom. i. p. 110. — Before this time we find a constitution of Peter I. of Aragon against heretics, prescribing in certain cases the burning of heretics, and the confiscation of their estates, in 1197. *Marca, Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus*, (Parisii, 1688,) p. 1384.

³ Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 186. — Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. pp. 110 - 124. — Puigblanch cites some of the instructions from Eymereich's work, whose authority in the courts of the Inquisition he compares to that of Gratian's *Decretals* in other ecclesiastical judicatures. One of these may suffice to show the spirit of the whole. "When the inquisitor has an opportunity, he

shall manage so as to introduce to the conversation of the prisoner some one of his accomplices, or any other converted heretic, who shall feign that he still persists in his heresy, telling him that he had abjured for the sole purpose of escaping punishment, by deceiving the inquisitors. Having thus gained his confidence, he shall go into his cell some day after dinner, and, keeping up the conversation till night, shall remain with him under pretext of its being too late for him to return home. He shall then urge the prisoner to tell him all the particulars of his past life, having first told him the whole of his own; and in the mean time spies shall be kept in hearing at the door, as well as a notary, in order to certify what may be said within." Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked*, translated by Walton, (London, 1816,) vol. i. pp. 238, 239.

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principles, on which the ancient Inquisition was established, are no less repugnant to justice, than those which regulated the modern; although the former, it is true, was much less extensive in its operation. The arm of persecution, however, fell with sufficient heaviness, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the unfortunate Albigenses, who from the proximity and political relations of Aragon and Provence, had become numerous in the former kingdom. The persecution appears, however, to have been chiefly confined to this unfortunate sect, and there is no evidence that the Holy Office, notwithstanding papal briefs to that effect, was fully organized in Castile, before the reign of Isabella. This is perhaps imputable to the paucity of heretics in that kingdom. It cannot, at any rate, be charged to any lukewarmness in its sovereigns; since they, from the time of St. Ferdinand, who heaped the fagots on the blazing pile with his own hands, down to that of John the Second, Isabella's father, who hunted the unhappy heretics of Biscay, like so many wild beasts, among the mountains, had ever evinced a lively zeal for the orthodox faith.⁴

⁴ Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 12, cap. 11; lib. 21, cap. 17.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 3.—The nature of the penance imposed on reconciled heretics by the ancient Inquisition was much more severe than that of later times. Llorente cites an act of St. Dominic respecting a person of this description, named Ponce Roger. The penitent was commanded to be "*stripped of his*

clothes and beaten with rods by a priest, three Sundays in succession, from the gate of the city to the door of the church; not to eat any kind of animal food during his whole life; to keep three Lents a year, without even eating fish; to abstain from fish, oil, and wine three days in the week during life, except in case of sickness or excessive labor; to wear a religious dress with a small cross embroidered on each