*406 *CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH INTOLERANCE. — THE INQUISITION. — PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND MOORS. — PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS FOR OPINION. — STATE OF THE PRESS IN SPAIN. — CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE WHOLE PERIOD.

THE condition of things in Spain at the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella seemed, as we have intimated, to announce a long period of national prosperity. But one institution, destined soon to discourage and check that intellectual freedom without which there can be no wise and generous advancement in any people, was already beginning to give token of its great and blighting power.

The Christian Spaniards had, from an early period, been essentially intolerant.[1] To their perpetual wars with the Moors had been added, from the end of the fourteenth century, an exasperated feeling against the Jews, which the government had vainly endeavored to control, and which had shown itself, at different times, in the plunder and murder of multitudes of that devoted race throughout the country. Both races were hated by the mass of the Spanish people with a bitter hatred: the first as their conquerors; the last for the oppressive claims their wealth had given them on great numbers of the Christian inhabitants. In re-

[1] One proof of this intolerance has often struck me. It is the praise, rarely forgotten when St. Ferdinand is spoken of, that he carried the wood on his shoulders to burn a poor Albigensian heretic. See *ante*, Chapter III. note 1, to which add an "Oracion Panegyrico del Santo Rey Fernando por el Rev. Padre Tomas Sanchez," 1672, and a similar panegyric by Ant. Cavallero y Gongora, 1753; — the last having been pronounced to flatter Ferdinand VI., and both showing how the cruellest intolerance was, down to a late period, reverenced as a virtue in Spain.

lation to both it was never forgotten that they were the enemies of that cross under which all true Spaniards had for centuries *gone to battle; *407 and of both it was taught by the priesthood, and willingly believed by the laity, that their opposition to the faith of Christ was an offence against God, which it was a merit in his people to punish.[2] Columbus wearing the cord of Saint Francis in the streets of Seville, and consecrating to wars against misbelief in

[2] The bitterness of this unchristian and barbarous hatred of the Moors, that constituted not a little of the foundation on which rested the intolerance that afterwards did so much to break down the intellectual independence of the Spanish people, can hardly be credited at the present day, when stated in general terms. An instance of its operation must, therefore, be given to illustrate its intensity. When the Spaniards made one of those forays into the territories of the Moors that were so common for centuries, the Christian knights on their return often brought, dangling at their saddle-bows, the heads of the Moors they had slain, and threw them to the boys in the streets of the villages, to exasperate their young hatred against the enemies of their faith; — a practice which, we are told on good authority, was continued as late as the war of the Alpuxarras, under Don John of Austria, in the reign of Philip II. (Clemencin, in Memorias de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 390.) But anybody who will read the Historia de la Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada," by Luis del Marmol Carvajal (Málaga, 1600, fol.), will be shocked to find how complacently an eye-witness, not so much disposed as most of his countrymen to look with hatred on the Moors, regarded cruelties which it is not possible now to read without shuddering. See his account of the murder, by order of the chivalrous Don John of Austria (f. 192), of four hundred women and children, his captives at Galera; — "muchos en su presencia," says the historian, who was there. Similar remarks might be made about the second volume of Hita's "Guerras de Granada," which will be noticed hereafter. Indeed, it is only by reading such books that it is possible to learn how much the Spanish character was impaired and degraded by this hatred, inculcated, during the nine centuries that elapsed between the age of Roderic the Goth and that of Philip III., not only as a part of the loyalty of which all Spaniards were so proud, but as a religious duty of every Christian in the kingdom.

The work of Marmol, referred to above, should perhaps be further noticed. Its author, who was in the service of Charles V., was in Africa twenty-two years, beginning with the affair of Tunis, 1535; and during this period travelled from Guinea to Egypt, and was several months a prisoner to the infidel. His work on the Rebellion of the Moriscos is an ample chronicle of the same war (1568–1570) of which Mendoza has given a bold sketch, to be hereafter examined; but the style of Marmol is diffuse and wearisome, while that of Mendoza is more spirited and compact, perhaps, than that of any other Castilian prose-writer. Marmol wrote, also, a "Descripcion General de Africa, sus Guerras y Vicisitudes desde la Fundacion del Mahometismo hasta el año 1571." Folio, 3 tom. 1573–1599. In both he shows a spirit somewhat more tolerant towards misbelief than was common in his time; probably because he was a native of Granada, and had passed much of his life among the Moors there and in Africa, speaking their language fluently, and familiar with their literature, character, and manners; so that he knew them better than many of those whose inherited bitterness seems to have known neither stint nor scruple.

Asia the wealth he was seeking in the New World, whose soil he earnestly desired should never be trodden by any foot save that of a Roman Catholic Christian, was but a type of the Spanish character in the age when he adopted it.[3]

*408 * When, therefore, it was proposed to establish in Spain the Inquisition, which had been so efficiently used to exterminate the heresy of the Albigenses, and which had even followed its victims in their flight from Provence to Aragon, little serious opposition was made to the undertaking. Ferdinand, perhaps, was not unwilling to see a power grow up near his throne with which the political government of the country could hardly fail to be in alliance, while the piety of the wiser Isabella, which, as we can see from her correspondence with her confessor, was little enlightened, led her conscience so completely astray, that she finally asked for the introduction of the Holy Office into her own dominions, as a Christian benefit to her people.[4] After a negotiation with the

[3] Bernaldez, Chrónica, c. 131, MS. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Tom. I. p. 72; Tom. II. p. 282. In Bernaldez, an unimpeachable authority (cap. 110–114), is a frank contemporary account of the odious atrocities that accompanied the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and of the unprincipled way in which they were plundered of their wealth, — all described as if it had been done wholly for the kingdom of righteousness' sake.

[4] Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Part I. c. 7. And when, in 1497, Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was to be married to Manuel, King of Portugal, one of the conditions of the contract was that Manuel should expel from his kingdom all Spanish refugees who had been convicted by the Inquisition. (Zurita, Anales de Aragon, ed. 1610, Tom. V. ff. 124, sqq.)

In a letter dated Rome, 21 April, 1498, Garcilasso de la Vega, the Ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the father of the poet, writes to his sovereigns as if the Pope, Alexander VI., who was a Valencian, had been desirous to interfere with the power of the Inquisition, and that, by order of his sovereigns, he — Garcilasso — had prevented this interference, and reconciled the Pope to the power of the Inquisition. His words are, "Por las cosas que Vuestras Altezas me han escrito tocantes á la Santa Inquisicion, he procurado, no solo de empachar que no se otorgasen aqui cosas contra ella, mas que el Papa la favoresciese y ayudase y para esto ha Dios rodeado dispusicion en que se pudiese fazer. Carta a los Reyes," &c. (San Sebastian, 1842, 8vo.) The original of this remarkable letter is in the possession of Benjamin B. Wiffen, an English Quaker, full of knowledge of Spanish literature. See *ante*, p. 314, note 1.

court of Rome, and some changes in the original project, it was therefore established in the city of Seville, in 1481; the first Grand Inquisitors being Dominicans, and their first meeting being held in a convent of their order, on the 2d of January. Its earliest victims were Jews. Six were burned within four days from the time when the tribunal first sat, and Mariana states the whole number of those who suffered during the eighteen terrible years of Torquemada's Inquisitorship at two thousand, besides seventeen thousand who underwent some form of punishment less severe than that of the stake;[5] all, it should be remembered, * being done with the rejoicing assent of *409 the mass of the people, whose shouts followed the exile of the whole body of the Jewish race from Spain in 1492, and whose persecution of the Hebrew blood, wherever found, and however hidden under the

[5] Mariana, Hist., Lib. XXIV. c. 17, ed. 1780, Tom. II. p. 527. We are shocked and astonished as we read this chapter, so devout a gratitude does it express for the Inquisition as a national blessing. See also Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, Tom. I. p. 160. But C. J. Hefele, in his life of Cardinal Ximenes (2te. Auflage, 1851, pp. 267, 328), corrects Llorente. As to Torquemada, however, I have a volume in folio, published by authority in 1576, and entitled, "Copilacion de las Instrucciones del Officio de la Sancta Inquisicion hechas por el muy Reverendo Señor Fray Thomas de Torquemada," etc., which in its atrocious severities exceeds belief. By one order, dated 1484, even persons who have come to the Inquisitors of their own accord, and who have *voluntarily* confessed their heresy and so been reconciled to the church, shall still be held infamous [infames de derecho], and never permitted to exercise any public employment; to become lawyers, surgeons, apothecaries, or couriers, nor to wear gold, silver, or jewels, or to ride on horseback for their whole lives, under pain of being treated as relapsed heretics; — that is, condemned to the stake (f. 4). Other orders are worse in spirit, but not so distinct and exact in their phraseology. Indeed, Torquemada, although he was not the first General Inquisitor, not having come into that terrible power till about two years after the Holy Office was opened at Seville, was yet really its father and founder, inasmuch as it was he who, as the Confessor of Queen Isabella, by great urgency overcame her repugnance to it, and so caused its original establishment. Havemann, Darstellungen aus der innern Geschichte Spanien's. Göttingen, 1850, 8vo, p. 106. Bernaldez, a thorough believer in the Christian wisdom of the Inquisition, and who lived at Palacios with the Archbishop, near Seville, when that institution was founded, says that between 1481 and 1489 more than seven hundred persons were burnt and more than five thousand imprisoned or otherwise punished *in that city alone*. Nothing can well exceed the disgusting atrocities he describes. (Cronica, ed. 1856, cap. 43, 44.)

disguises of conversion and baptism, has hardly ceased down to our own days.[6]

The fall of Granada, which preceded by a few months this cruel expulsion of the Jews, placed the remains of the Moorish nation no less at the mercy of their conquerors. It is true that, by the treaty which surrendered the city to the Catholic sovereigns, the property of the vanquished, their religious privileges, their mosques, and their worship, were solemnly secured to them; but, in Spain, whatever portion of the soil the Christians had wrested from their
*410 ancient enemies had *always been regarded only as so much territory restored to its rightful owners, and any stipulations that might accompany its recovery were rarely respected. The spirit and even the terms of the capitulation of Granada were, therefore, soon violated. The Christian laws of Spain were introduced there; the Inquisition followed; and a persecution of the descendants of the old Arab invaders was begun by their new masters, which, after being carried on above a century with constantly increasing crimes, was ended in 1609, as the persecution of the Jews had been, by the forcible expulsion of the whole race.[7]

[6] The eloquent Father Lacordaire, in the sixth chapter of his "Mémoire pour le Rétablissement de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs" (Paris, 1839, 8vo), endeavors to prove that the Dominicans were not in any way responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain. In this attempt I think he fails; but I think he is successful when he elsewhere maintains that the Inquisition, from an early period, was intimately connected with the political government in Spain, and always dependent on the state for a large part of its power.

After all, however, it should never be forgotten, in this connection, that St. Dominic was a true Castilian of the twelfth century, canonized for his peculiar merits as a persecutor of heretics, immediately after his death, which happened in 1221. A century later, Dante characterized his spirit and that of his order with a single touch, such as is granted only to genius like his:—

Poi con dottrina, e con volere insieme,
Con l' uffizio apostolico si mosse,
Quasi torrente ch' alta vene preme;
E negli sterpi eretici percosse
L' impeto suo piu vivamente quivi
Dove le resistenze eran piu grosse.
Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,
Onde l' orto cattoliço si riga
Si che i suoi arbuscelli stan pi'i vivi.
Paradiso c. xii.

[7] See the learned and acute "Histoire des Maures Mudejares et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la Domination des Chrétiens," par le Comte Albert de Circourt (3 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1846), Tom. II. *passim*.

The argument in favor of the Spanish right to drive out the Moors and seize their estates is as well set forth as it can be by Gregorio Lopez Madera, in his "Excelencias de España" (Folio, Valladolid, 1597, ff. 70, sqq.), and, no doubt, was entirely satisfactory to Philip II., to whom that book was addressed.

This, of course, was about ten years before their expulsion. After that crime of state had been completed, the literature of Spain became jubilant with its supposed glories. What part Lope de Vega and Cervantes took in it will hereafter be noticed, as will also the poems of Aguilar and Zapata in its honor. But especial regard should here be paid to a regular history and justification of it, by Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, a leading ecclesiastic of his time, called by Antonio, "infatigabilis et pius vir." His work on this cruel subject, ushered into the world with great pomp and authority, is entitled "Memorable Expulsion y justissimo Destierro de los Moriscos de España," and was published at Pamplona in 1613, in 4to. The details given in Chapters I., XII., XIV., XXVIII., etc., of Part II., cannot be read without a sort of incredulous horror. The reverend author wrote several devout books and works of ecclesiastical history, and died in 1630.

The account of the "Expulsion of the Moriscos," by Michael Geddes, in the first volume of his very curious "Miscellaneous Tracts," London, 1730, is worth reading.

This destruction of the Moriscos was, as everybody understands, partly for the plunder their large wealth brought to the coffers of the state. But it is not known, I think, that the Inquisitors were *directly interested* in the individual confiscations they ordered. The Cortes of Valladolid, 1555, in their twelfth "Peticion" to Charles V., while rendering humble homage to the Inquisition, beg the Emperor to forbid the Inquisitors from being paid out of their own confiscations. The remarkable words are: "Para que todo fuesse perfecto deve V. Magestad mandar que los Inquisidores y Ministros del dicho Officio no sean pagados de las condenaciones que hazen, ni de las penas y penitencias que echan," ec., proposing salaries instead. But all the answer they received was, "Se proveera y dara la orden que mas convenga"; which is about equal to the obsolete form in England, "Le Roy s'avisera." Capitulos y Leyes, Valladolid, 1558. Folio, f. xxxiv.

Such severity brought with it, of course, a great amount of fraud and falsehood. Multitudes of the followers of Mohammed — beginning with four thousand whom Cardinal Ximenes baptized on the day when, contrary to the provisions of the capitulation of Granada, he consecrated the great mosque of the Albaycin as a Christian temple — were forced to enter the fold of the Church, without either understanding its doctrines or desiring to receive its instructions.[8] With these, as with the converted

[8] With what cruel mockery this awful injustice was begun is ingenuously told by Bernaldez in Chapters CLVIII., CLXV., CXCIV., etc., of his Chronicle. But a few years later, it was carried to its utmost limit, and confirmed by the highest forms of law; for, in 1525, when a large number of Moors at Valencia had been baptized only by *absolute physical violence*, it was solemnly adjudged, in a decree of Charles V., that they and their children, from the day when this solemn mockery was

*411 *Jews, the Inquisition was permitted to deal unchecked by the power of the state. They were therefore, from the first, watched; soon they were imprisoned; and then they were tortured, to obtain proof that their conversion had not been sincere. But it was all done in secrecy and in darkness. From the moment when the Inquisition laid its grasp on the object of its suspicions to that of his execution, no voice was heard to issue from its cells. The very witnesses it summoned were punished with death or perpetual imprisonment, if they revealed what they had seen or heard before its dread tribunals; and often of the victim nothing was known but that he had disappeared from his accustomed haunts in society, never again to be seen.

The effect was appalling. The imaginations of men were filled with horror at the idea of a power so vast and so noiseless; one which was constantly, but invisibly, around them; whose blow was death, but whose steps could neither be heard nor followed amidst the gloom into which it retreated further and further, as efforts were made to pursue it. From its first establishment, therefore, while the great body of the Spanish Christians rejoiced in the purity and orthodoxy of their faith, and not unwillingly saw its enemies called to expiate their unbelief by the most terrible of mortal punishments, the intellectual and

practised on them, were to be accounted Christians, and to be subjected to the punishments of the Inquisition if they were found to fail in Christian faith or Catholic observances. Antonio de Guevara had a hand in this shameless iniquity. Sayas, Anales de Aragon, 1667. Folio, c. 123, pp. 777, sqq.

As to Cardinal Ximenes, one circumstance renders his conduct in this matter of the earlier Moors particularly reprehensible. Fernando de Talavera, a Hieronymite monk, and hence called by Valera "Frayle Geronimo," first Archbishop of Granada, desired to have the Bible translated into Arabic, as the most obvious means of converting the Moors in his new ecclesiastical jurisdiction, where, of course, the population was Mohammedan. And Cardinal Ximenes prevented it from being done. Cipriano de Valera, "Exhortacion" prefixed to his Spanish Bible, 1602. Index Expurg., 1667, p. 528.

cultivated portions of society felt the sense of their personal security gradually shaken, until, at last, it became an anxious object of their lives to avoid the suspicions of a tribunal which infused into their minds a terror deeper and more effectual in proportion as it was accompanied by a misgiving how far they might conscientiously oppose its authority. Many of the nobler and more enlightened, especially on the comparatively free soil of Aragon, struggled against an invasion of their rights whose consequences they partly foresaw. But *the powers of the *412 government and the Church, united in measures which were sustained by the passions and religion of the lower classes of society, became irresistible. The fires of the Inquisition were gradually lighted over the whole country, and the people everywhere thronged to witness its sacrifices, as acts of faith and devotion.

From this moment, Spanish intolerance, which through the Moorish wars had accompanied the contest and shared its chivalrous spirit, took that air of sombre fanaticism which it never afterwards lost. Soon, its warfare was turned against the opinions and thoughts of men, even more than against their external conduct or their crimes. The Inquisition, which was its true exponent and appropriate instrument, gradually enlarged its own jurisdiction by means of crafty abuses, as well as by the regular forms of law, until none found himself too humble to escape its notice, or too high to be reached by its power. The whole land bent under its influence, and the few who comprehended the mischief that must follow bowed, like the rest, to its authority, or were subjected to its punishments.

From an inquiry into the private opinions of individuals to an interference with the press and with printed books, there was but a step. It was a step, however, that was not taken at once; partly because books were still few and of little comparative importance anywhere, and partly because in Spain they had already been subjected to the censorship of the civil authority, which in this particular seemed unwilling to surrender its jurisdiction. But such scruples were quickly removed by the appearance and progress of the Reformation of Luther; a revolution which comes within the next period of the history of Spanish literature, when we shall find displayed in their broad practical results the influence of the spirit of intolerance and the power of the Church and the Inquisition on the character of the Spanish people.

If, however, before we enter upon this new and more varied period, we cast our eyes back towards the one over which we have just passed, we shall
*413 find much that is original *and striking, and much that gives promise of further progress and success. It extends through nearly four complete centuries, from the first breathings of the poetical enthusiasm of the mass of the people, down to the decay of the courtly literature in the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella; and it is filled with materials destined, at last, to produce such a school of poetry and elegant prose as, in the sober judgment of the nation itself, still constitutes the proper body of the national literature. The old ballads, the old historical poems, the old chronicles, the old theatre, — all these, if only elements, are yet elements of a vigor and promise not to be mistaken. They constitute a

mine of more various wealth than had been offered, under similar circumstances and at so early a period, to any other people. They breathe a more lofty and a more heroic temper. We feel, as we listen to their tones, that we are amidst the stir of extraordinary passions, which give the character an elevation not elsewhere to be found in the same unsettled state of society. We feel, though the grosser elements of life are strong around us, that imagination is yet stronger; imparting to them its manifold hues, and giving them a power and a grace that form a striking contrast with what is wild or rude in their original nature. In short, we feel that we are called to witness the first efforts of a generous people to emancipate themselves from the cold restraints of a merely material existence, and watch with confidence and sympathy the movement of their secret feelings and prevalent energies, as they are struggling upwards into the poetry of a native and earnest enthusiasm; persuaded that they must, at last, work out for themselves a literature bold, fervent, and original, marked with the features and impulses of the national character, and able to vindicate for itself a place among the permanent monuments of modern civilization.[9]

[9] It is impossible to speak of the Inquisition as I have spoken in this chapter, without feeling desirous to know something concerning Antonio Llorente, who has done more than all other persons to expose its true history and character. The important facts in his life are few. He was born at Calahorra, in Aragon, in 1756, and entered the Church early, but devoted himself to the study of canon law and of elegant literature. In 1789, he was made principal secretary to the Inquisition, and became much interested in its affairs; but was dismissed from his place and exiled to his parish in 1791, because he was suspected of an inclination towards the French philosophy of the period. In 1793, a more enlightened General Inquisitor than the one who had persecuted him drew Llorente again into the councils of the Holy Office, and, with the assistance of Jovellanos and other leading statesmen, he endeavored to introduce such changes into the tribunal itself as should obtain publicity for its proceedings. But this, too, failed, and Llorente was disgraced anew. In 1805, however, he was recalled to Madrid; and in 1809, when the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte made him the nominal King of Spain, he gave Llorente charge of everything relating to

the archives and the affairs of the
*414 Inquisition. Llorente used well the means thus put into his hands; and having been compelled to follow the government of Joseph to Paris, after its overthrow in Spain, he published there, from the vast and rich materials he had collected during the period when he had entire control of the secret records of the Inquisition, an ample history of its conduct and crimes; a work which, though neither well arranged nor philosophically written, nor always fair in its spirit or its statements, is yet the great storehouse from which are to be drawn more well-authenticated facts relating to the subject it discusses than can be found in all other sources put together. But neither in Paris, where he lived in poverty, and where in 1817 I was much indebted to his kindness, was Llorente suffered to live in peace. In December, 1822, he was required by the French government to leave France, and, being obliged to make his journey during a rigorous season, when he was already much broken by age and its infirmities, he died from fatigue and exhaustion, on the 5th of February, 1823, a few days after his arrival at Madrid. His "Histoire de l'Inquisition" (4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1817–1818) is his great work; but we should add to it his "Noticia Biográfica" (Paris, 1818, 12mo), which is curious and interesting, not only as an autobiography, but for further notices respecting the spirit of the Inquisition. To this, however, should still be added a life of Llorente prefixed to the "Compendio de la Historia Critica de la Inquisicion por Rodriguez Buron." Paris, 1823, 2 tom. 18mo.

I ought, perhaps, here to recall his "Memoria Historica sobre qual ha sido la opinion nacional de España sobre la Inquisicion," published at Madrid in 1812 (8vo, pp. 324), which is an unsuccessful and forgotten attempt to show that the Spanish people had *always* been opposed to the Inquisition. But, in truth, he does not attempt to prove any real opposition to it after the first thirty or forty years of its existence (pp. 244–247); the short period of the resistance in Aragon to which I have alluded (*ante*, p. 411). The fact, indeed, is that this work of Llorente was a very hasty and ill-considered production, thrown together to meet the wants of the revolutionary period, when, by a decree of the French Government, December 4, 1808, — to which a portion of the Spanish people was by no means reconciled, and to which it was hoped this book might reconcile them, — the Inquisition was abolished. His greater work on the whole history of the Inquisition has caused it to be much overlooked ever since.

HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE LITERATURE THAT EXISTED IN SPAIN FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE AUSTRIAN FAMILY TO ITS EXTINCTION; OR FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH.