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**THE SPHERES OF ACTION OF THE INQUISITION
IN THE COUNTER-REFORMATION**

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of
Concordia Seminary**

**by
Paul E. Frohn**

**in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Bachelor of Divinity**

St. Louis, Missouri

May, 1949

Approved by

Thos. Hoyer
Arthur C. Kepp

TO BETTY LOU

WHOSE LOVE AND ENCOURAGEMENT

ALONE MADE THIS PAPER POSSIBLE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Inquisition in Spain Against the Jews	6
III.	The Persecution of the Moriscos in Granada	8
IV.	The Persecution of the Moriscos in Castile	14
V.	The Persecution of the Moriscos in Valencia	16
VI.	A Moor's Life in Spain	23
VII.	The Revolt of the Moors	25
VIII.	The Expulsion of the Moors	28
IX.	The Action of the Spanish Inquisition Against the Erasmists	35
X.	The Action of the Spanish Inquisition Against the Lutherans	38
XI.	The Spanish Inquisition in Portugal	51
XII.	The Introduction of the Inquisition into Holland	62
XIII.	The Inquisition under Titelmann in Flanders	65
XIV.	The Inquisition under Granvelle	69
XV.	The Expulsion of Granvelle	80
XVI.	Turmoil and Inquisitorial Activity	86
XVII.	The Visit of Egmont to Spain and its Results	89
XVIII.	The Opening of Hostilities	96
XIX.	The Inquisition in Italy	102
XX.	Conclusion	106
XXI.	Bibliography	108

THE SPHERES OF ACTION OF THE INQUISITION
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I. Introduction

"The idea conveyed in the term Inquisition is the punishment of spiritual or ecclesiastical offences by physical pains and penalties."¹ That is the original meaning and object of this institution. The Inquisition had existed within the pale of the Christian Church ever since the time of Constantine.² Previous to this time and also during the reign of Constantine when Christianity became a state religion, most of the persecutions were political. It was in 348 that the real fore-runner of the Inquisition was born. Priscillian, a man of high morals and learning was accused of erroneous doctrine by the Spanish bishops. He tried to escape by throwing himself upon the Emperor's mercy. However, he was condemned and was killed together with some of his associates.³ This was the beginning of an institution which was to be so cruel and heartless.

The historians distinguish between three different types of the

1. Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, p. 597.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. G.G. Coulton, An Outline of Christianity-The Story of Our Civilization, pp. 285-284.

Inquisition. There is the Episcopal, the Papal, and the Spanish. Before 1253, the Episcopal Inquisition was the one which was really in charge of inquisitorial practices, but in the year stated above, Pope Innocent III established a more severe type of institution called the Papal because of the rapid spread of heresies throughout southern France and northern Italy.⁴

Formerly the Inquisition had been governed by the bishops in their respective dioceses, but now the activity of the suppression of heresy was taken over by the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.⁵ This was because as Vincent says, "They were convenient instruments whenever a crusade against heretics was set on foot, since their order was specially devoted to preaching and converting; and as converting gradually gave place to persecuting, they and the Franciscans were equally available and useful."⁶ It was now a separate institution from the bishops who had governed previously. This new Inquisition although existing side by side with the Episcopal, was the more severe and therefore, more effective.⁷ Not that the Inquisition stamped out all heresy, but that it carried on the fight more strenuously and at least caused more heretics to remain with the Church if not in thought, then in name. The Inquisition was quite ineffective in accomplishing the task it had before it of turning all heretics to the Church. But as Puigblanch correctly affirms, "As the conversion of a heretic consists

4. Thomas M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 597.

5. Ibid., p. 598.

6. Marvin R. Vincent, "The Age Of Hildebrand," Ten Epochs of Church History, V, p. 391.

7. Thomas M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 598.

in the change effected in his ideas and sentiments with regard to religion, and the fresh ones being inspired unto him, whenever violence is used it will only serve to make him adhere more pertinaciously to his first opinion."⁸ And such was the case.

During the Middle Ages when the Roman Catholic Church virtually and literally ruled the people of the world, this Inquisition was one of the mainstays by which the Church maintained an iron hand over the subjects of Church and State. Moreover, they used the doctrines of sacramentalism and sacerdotalism through the interdict to compel men to obey. Often the people were not as obedient as the Church desired them to be and it is then that the Inquisition was to provide the necessary results.

However, when the Middle Ages, especially the Dark Ages, had passed, men became more educated and enlightened in both secular and religious matters. This fact caused no little stir among the people as they slowly began to realize what their position under the Church had been. It is during the Reformation and in the Counter-Reformation, that the people, especially the common people, begin to awaken and try to put off from themselves the yoke that had been on their necks for so many centuries. In this paper it will be one of the purposes to show this general awakening in pointing out what the people decided to do about this rule of the Church.

Secondly, it will also be shown how the Church's influence over the people began to wane. During the centuries previous to the Reformation, the Church kept a stern hand over the rulers as well as the people of all Europe. They governed the secular as well as the religious field. This

8. D. Antonio Puigblanch, The Inquisition Unmasked, I, p. 88.

they could well do with no trouble because of the ignorance of the inhabitants of the countries of Europe. However, with the revival of vernacular languages and the invention of the printing press in 1440, the people became more educated and rallied about their secular ruler rather than around the Church officers as they had done previously.

In this paper, we will endeavor to set down the special spheres of action of this institution in regard to the quenching of various heresies which arose within the Church. As we refer to the torn heretics at various times, let it be understood that we are viewing people as heretics as those who deviated from the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. This will be done only for the sake of clarity, not to prove that they were either wrong or right in their beliefs.

The field which we will discuss is that of the Counter-Reformation period. The Reformation period is generally accepted to be the time between 1517, when Luther nailed the ninety-five theses to the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg, to 1540, when the Reformation was practically over and the various Churches had been established. The Counter-Reformation period in which the Catholic Church tried to re-establish herself as formerly, will be the time referred to most generally in the paper. This period in the history of the world runs approximately from 1540-1650 differing, of course, in the various countries which will be treated in the paper.

Furthermore, the paper has been limited to Europe itself although the Inquisition had found its way into many of the newly discovered colonies of Spain and other nations.

In conclusion, may we state that the purposes of this paper which were referred to above will more often be pointed out in historical fact

rather than with the immediate words. It cannot help but be noticed that there is a decided difference between the man of the dark ages and the man of the Counter Reformation both in regard to his education and his attitude in respect to Church and State.

II. The Inquisition in Spain Against the Jews

"The apostasy of the enforced converts from Judaism was the approximate cause of the establishment of the Spanish Holy Office."¹ Ever since 1391, it was a simple task to persuade the Jews to be baptized and to accept the name of Christian. When Ferdinand and Isabella came to the throne, it was an issue before them to bring all the Conversos, the converted Jews, to a greater unity of faith with the Christians not only in name but also in heart. This could only be done effectively by force. In 1499, the ordinance was made that all the converted Jews should be scattered among the Christians in order that the influence of Christians should be felt and they would change their ways.²

In 1500, however, greater stress was put on the regular observance of mass, sermons, feasts, and prayers. This was all done without the instruction of the converted people in the doctrines of the Christian Church. The proof which was often used to accuse one or the other of separation from the Christian religion was often very flimsy. For example, the customs of the Jews, whether of religious nature or not, gave to the inquisitors the excuse they needed to prosecute many of the people. One noteworthy example of such procedure was a woman by the name of Elvira de Campo. Her trial was at Toledo. It was established that she was a Christian as far as outward practices were concerned. She went to mass, she was

1. Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, p. 231.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

kind, but would not eat pork and when she cooked it for others, she handled it with a cloth so as not to touch it. When asked at the trial why she used such methods in cooking, she answered that she had throat trouble therefore she could not eat it. And as far as the handling of it was concerned, she replied that it made her hands smell to touch it. The witnesses in her trial were two employees of her husband, Pedro de Liano and Alonso Collados, who lived with them in their house and spied on them for the benefit of the Inquisition. Elvira was put on trial and tortured twice. Later she was sentenced to little more than six months in prison, but this was changed to spiritual penances. Finally, she was freed, but her life was ruined and was spent in wantonness, having an ineffaceable stain cast on her, her family, and her descendants.³

We can see and understand that because of the energy of the Inquisition, the spying of neighbors and so-called friends, that the zeal of Judaism finally drifted away and the cases diminished noticeably. From the start of the sixteenth century to the final end of persecution, there were only one-hundred cases on record. Since the lack of cases was becoming greater and greater, the methods of the Inquisition were becoming milder. In 1567, Pius V, at the request of Philip II, ordered the Judaizing Christians absolved by salutary and benignant penance.⁴

3. Ibid., pp. 232-234.

4. Ibid., pp. 234-235.

III. The Persecution of the Moriscos in Granada

Ever since the Moors were overcome in Spain, they were allowed to stay in the country as subjects of the king. This was done with a guarantee of their freedom of religion and custom. It may be that because of their industry and skill in the arts and crafts that they were allowed and even encouraged to stay. Although the Jews were persecuted under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moriscos were left alone. The term Morisco was the name given to the converted Moor who had been forcibly obliged to accept the religion of the Catholic Church. They remained Mohammedan and whenever they could, they sank back into the religion of their fathers. Of those Lea reports that when the final capitulation of Granada was signed on November 25, 1491:

they (Ferdinand and Isabella), for themselves, for their son the Infante Juan and for all their successors, received the Moors of all places that should come into the agreement as such to be honored and respected. Religion, property, freedom to trade, laws and customs were all guaranteed, and even renegades from Christianity among them were not to be maltreated, while Christian women marrying Moors were free to choose their religion.¹

This peace reigned between the Christians and the Moriscos until November, 1499. The archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, who was also the confessor of Isabella, constantly did mission work among the Moors and had won many converts. Then Ximenes was called in and his new ideas of conversion by force really began the persecution of the Moors.²

Granada presented a difficult and dangerous problem. The population was almost all made up of the Moriscos and the land was mountainous and

1. Ibid., pp. 317-318.

2. Ibid., p. 320.

rugged giving the people many places to find refuge. The wholesale punishments began in 1526 when the commission sent out by the Inquisition reported that there were no more than seven true Christians in the province. Almost immediately the Inquisition was moved from Jaen to Granada and amnesty for past offences were granted and a period of time was given so that those who wished might confess.³

The first general auto da fe was held in 1529 and accused by it we find only three Moriscos. But the tension was growing in Granada because the Inquisition was more active than ever. The priests and judicial officers continued to oppress the people unchecked and finally a new source of attack was used. This was the progressive spoliation of their lands by "Judges of Boundaries." These men in the name of the King confiscated the property of the Moriscos whether it was purchased or inherited. In 1563, they were forbidden to carry arms and in 1565, the Inquisition even reached into the lands and homes of the nobles where many of the Moriscos had taken refuge. At this time, Guerrero, the archbishop of Granada, also appealed to the Pope and to Philip to instate measures which would cause the Moriscos to come out into the open. This he did by forbidding the secret celebrations which had previously kept their own special rites and customs from the public view. Moreover, since most of the Moriscos became Christians by Baptism, they were required to leave their old ways such as wearing special clothing, having their own language, and customs.⁴

To carry out the provisions of the law, Pedro de Deza, a member of the Suprema, was appointed president of the chancellery of Granada. His appointment took effect on May 4, 1566. He was a well selected man because

3. Ibid., p. 331.

4. Ibid., pp. 333-334.

he had lived there in Granada since his youth and was well cognizant of the situation. When he was sent, he objected because he was given only three-hundred men to guard the coast from the attacks from Barbary and knew that there were no munitions or troops in Granada. His objections were in vain as the Council of War gave him their promise of their faithful backing.⁵

Deza reached Granada on May 26, 1566 and printed and published the new orders on January 1, 1567. The provisions of the order were as Lea reports:

After three years the use of Arabic was absolutely prohibited, in speech and writing; so were Moorish garments after one year for silken and two years for woolen; house doors were to be kept open on Friday afternoons, feast-days and marriage celebrations; Zambres and leilas, though not contrary to religion, were forbidden on Fridays and feast-days; the use of henna for staining was to be abandoned; Moorish names were not to be used; all artificial baths, public and private, were to be destroyed, and no one in future was to use them. Provisions for instructing the Moriscos in the faith were conspicuous by their absence.⁶

With the publishing of such an article, great excitement was aroused. The Moriscos consulted together and decided that if an appeal to the King would not help, then rebellion was the only alternative, because life was not possible under such strict laws. The appeal was sent, but Philip referred it to the Inquisitor-general in Granada, Espinosa. The immediate answer of the latter to the King was that no suspension of the orders could be considered and also that he, the King, was responsible for all the souls of the apostates.⁷

On January 1, 1568, the orders were given that no silken garments could be worn, and an addition was that priests take all Morisco children

5. Ibid., p. 336.

6. Ibid., loc. cit.

7. Ibid., p. 336.

between the ages of three and fifteen and place them in schools to learn the Castilian language and Christian doctrine. This order was given with the promise to the people that their children would not be taken from them but merely that their souls would be saved through such indoctrination. This was the end of the Morisco patience and now it was either submission or rebellion.⁸

Down-trodden as they were, the Moriscos decided that they could gather about 100,000 men, but they had a very limited source of supplies and arms. In addition to that they counted on their brethren in Valencia who were under the same persecution as they. One other resource would be men and supplies from the coast of Barbary in Africa. If such an expedition could be launched as that planned by the Moriscos the fate of Spain would be sealed, because the country had been bled to exhaustion by Charles V and now by Philip, both in regard to man and money.⁹

But as fate would have it, the people of Valencia decided on remaining in quiet and the princes of Barbary only permitted those to go to Spain who were seeking adventure. Some five or six-hundred stragglers finally made their way to Spain. But all in all it took every bit of the resources that Spain could muster to overcome this uprising.

The rebellion was all set for Holy Thursday, April 16, 1568, but since the secret had been betrayed, it was postponed. Even this knowledge of a threatened revolution failed to help in fortifying Granada and when the revolution did come on December 23, it found the Christians totally unprepared. Mondejar, the Captain-General at the King's court, took full and

8. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

immediate responsibility and went out with a few thousand men and virtually crushed the uprising by the middle of February having started out on January 2, 1569. But the fact that there were various top generals prolonged the war until the opening months of 1571. One thing to remember during this war is that the expeditions carried out were very often not for military purposes but only for the sake of bringing back slaves, mostly women and children who were sold on the auction block to the highest bidder. The men were massacred.¹⁰

The years following the war were as bad as those of the war. Under the leadership of Deza, the wholesale transportation of the subdued took place to the northern part of Spain. This was begun already in June 1569. The words of Lea give us a wonderful description of this act on the part of the Spaniards showing their cruelty:

No distinction was made between loyalists and rebels. The men were shut up in the churches and then transferred to the great hospital Real, a gunshot from the city, where they were divided into gangs, with their hands tied to ropes like galley-slaves, and were marched off to their destinations under guard. The women were left for a time in their houses, to sell their effects and follow. Some seven or eight thousand were thus disposed of, and even the chroniclers are moved to compassion in describing the misery and despair of those thus torn from their homes without warning and hurried off to the unknown. Many died on the road of weariness, of despair, or of starvation, or were slain or robbed and sold as slaves by those set to protect them. It relieved the Christians of fear, we are told, but it was deplorable to see the destruction of prosperity and the vacancy left where had been so much life and industry.¹¹

Thus the whole population was transported from the regions where they had been. To add to the irony of it all, the author remarks, "Such was the outcome of the pledges given eighty years before, by Ferdinand and

10. Ibid., p. 338.

11. Ibid., p. 339.

Isabella, but the object of clearing Granada of its Morisco population was measurably accomplished.¹² And all this was conducted in the most severe cruelty. To show the completeness with which the Spaniards worked the transportation, a record of an auto da fe celebrated in 1593 at Granada shows eighty-one convicted of Judaism while there was only one charged with Mahometanism.¹²

If we follow the Moriscos into their new land we find them laboring under the most cruel conditions. The orders of 1567 and 1568 were carried out to the letter and strange to say, the Christian people with whom the Moriscos were forced to live complained to the authorities of these strenuous rules which the Moriscos had to follow. But it was all to no effect. The Christians meant well for the Moriscos, but the cruelty continued.¹³

In spite of all the hardships which they had to endure, the Moriscos finally came out on top. Following their respective trades, the country soon found them becoming rich and influential. Already in 1573, the people of Cortesent sent a petition to Philip asking him to refuse the Moriscos to act as architects, builders, or to hold public office. Furthermore, only ten years after the exile, an official complains that although the Moriscos had nothing to call their own when coming to the community, yet now they own much and are rapidly increasing. He goes on to say that if this rate of prosperity would continue, the natives of the country will be the servants of the Moors in twenty years. Other warning notes to the King were given in the years 1587, 1592, 1595, and 1602. This all had its final result in the expulsion of the Moors later on.¹⁴

12. Ibid., p. 340.

13. Ibid., pp. 340-342.

14. Ibid., loc. cit.

IV. The Persecution of the Moriscos in Castile

The conversion of the Moors began September 27, 1501, when by an edict the Mudejares were ordered to adopt Christianity. This edict did not meet with approval and on February 12, 1502, another was issued stating that the Moors were to leave Spain. The specific ports were mentioned and also the countries to which they could go. Rather than suffer under the rules of the Inquisition which demanded them to be Christianized, the Moors decided to leave the country. True to the distinct nature of the Inquisition, the Moslems were forbidden to leave when the authorities saw that they chose emigration. They were then forced to accept Christianity. A short period of pretense followed in which the Moors were to be instructed and on April 24th the whole district of Castile was baptized and became Christian if not in heart than by name. The people were won over by the kindness of the bishop, Alfonso de Henrique, who later became Inquisitor-general.¹

During the years following, from 1507 to 1520, the Moriscos were persecuted without mercy by the Inquisition under the leadership of Ximenes. There were many edicts giving them rules to follow and parish priests were instructed to enforce these rules. However, the authorities saw that regardless of the strenuous pursuits of the Inquisition, the Moriscos increased at the same rate as the Judaizers. Finally, it was noted that perhaps if the Christian religion would be made a pleasant one instead of an odious one in the eyes of the Moriscos, more success would be attained.

1. Ibid., p. 324.

In this light, two edicts were issued on August 5, 1521, and April 28, 1524.

As conscientious as these may have seemed, the persecution continued. An elaborate set of the Moslem customs and religion were sent to all the districts. The people watched. If any of these rules were followed either by custom or because of natural and explanatory causes, the victim was thought to be an apostate and was treated as such by the Inquisition.

Doubtless many of the Moriscos were won over, but communities were always found in which the conversion was not complete. One of these little communities was Dainiel. Juan Yanes, the Inquisitor of Toledo, made an investigation and we read of the people being imprisoned in a secret prison so crowded that nine women had to sleep in one cell.

This torture and punishment still did not convert the Moriscos to the last man and we still read that in 1597, the Toledo tribunal was still busy with these heretics. From 1575 to 1610, we have 190 of Morisco trials in comparison with 174 Judaizers and 47 Protestants. They were the most numerous of the heretics tried by the tribunal.²

2. Ibid., pp. 324-344.

V. The Persecution of the Moriscos in Valencia

The section known as Valencia, had the largest and densest Moorish population and there also we find the Inquisition carrying on great activity. To build up the situation then we must revert back to April 8, 1519. On this day the Inquisition made a proclamation that those Moors who had been living in the little town of Manices had come into the Church. They numbered 230. But even though the report is that the town was converted as a whole, yet we find that there were no less than thirty-two women who were either the wives or daughters of men who had been burned by the Inquisition.¹

Then in 1520, the missionary program of the Church received an impulse from a revolution which broke out, known as the Germania or Brotherhood. This was a war of the people against the nobles. The place that the Moors take in the picture is one of vassalage. Because of this, they were obliged to fight with the nobles against the people. In order to cripple the ranks of the nobles, the leaders of the Germania decided to baptize the Moors and by baptism they offered them freedom from vassalage because they would now be Christians. The program went so far as even to force when bands went through the land forcing the Moors to be baptized. Rather than lose their life, the Moors flocked to the baptismal font.²

When the Germania had been overcome in 1522, the question of the val-

1. Ibid., p. 345.

2. Ibid., p. 346.

idity of the baptism arose. Inquisitor Churrucos of Valencia immediately began action against those baptized since he recognized the validity of the sacrament. He obtained lists of the baptized from the priests and even went so far as to obtain eye-witnesses. Soon however, by the action of Cardinal Adrian, the Moriscos were saved as he gave them tolerance.³

This freedom of religion gave the Moriscos the chance they wanted and they again returned to their own religion. However, the Inquisition was determined that the Christians who were baptized by force under the Germana were to be held to their Christianity. The investigation lasted only from November 4th to the 24th, 1524. It was at this time that the fiscal of the tribunal, Fernando Loasos, the future archbishop of Valencia, gave an explanation of why the Moriscos should be held to their baptism although it was received under coercion. He stated that the violence was a crime, but the final result was good and shows how God brings good out of evil. These baptized Moriscos had been saved and now should be forced to adhere to the Christian faith.⁴

This decision was carried out and on Sunday, May 14, 1525, the edict was given that within thirty days all apostated should return to the Church under security of life and property. After this date, the Moriscos would find themselves void of both.⁵

The excitement raged on and finally when Charles V received absolution from an oath that he took in 1518 to refrain from forcing Moriscos to be Christianized, the actual persecution was on. On November 25, he issued a general decree in which he stated expulsion for all Moriscos. All

3. Ibid., p. 347.

4. Ibid., pp. 348-350.

5. Ibid., p. 351.

Moriscos had to be out of the countries of Valencia, Catalonia and Aragon by January 31, 1526.⁶

However, this edict was softened by another statement made on December 8, in which it was stated that conversion could relieve them from exile and as Lea reports, "The Inquisition gave notice that it was prepared to act, and it published tremendous censures, with a penalty of a thousand florins, against all failing to aid it against those who obstinately resisted the sweetness of the gospel and the benignant plans of the emperor." The decrees brought results. At least Fray Antonio de Guevara reports that he baptized 20,000 families. The Moriscos, however, reported that they were herded into pens and water was then scattered over them. Some hid themselves, and others shouted, "No water has touched me!"⁷

The Inquisition continued its labor unrelentingly and many were the persecutions and the burnings that followed. One thing to note here is that although the Moriscos were threatened with expulsion, yet on December 22, the Moriscos were forbidden to leave the country because without their slave labor under the nobles, a famine would follow. In 1528, the Concordia obtained by representatives of the Moriscos sent to the court, promised that the Moriscos would have leniency in reverting to the Christian religion. Further it was granted that for forty years the Inquisition would not be active in order to give the Moriscos sufficient time to come to Christianity. Other stipulations were made, but they are not important to review because the Inquisition by its own law broke the Concordia and in 1531, the Valencia tribunal had fifty-eight trials for heresy and

6. Ibid., p. 354.

7. Ibid., p. 355.

thirty-seven burnings.⁸

As the persecution continued, the old question of confiscation arose. In 1537, when Charles was asked to prohibit confiscation, the Suprema retorted that unless confiscation were carried out, heresy would not be stamped out. However that may be, the confiscation was continued until in 1546, the Pope decreed that for ten years, there should neither be fines nor confiscations in the case of the Moriscos. Still the confiscation continued and negotiations were started to have the Inquisitor-general sign the decree also. King Philip promised to do this in 1547, 1552, and also in 1564.⁹

Finally a compromise was reached. On October 12, 1571, the Inquisitor Espinosa had condescended to grant that in consideration of an annual fee of 2500 ducats, the property of those contributing to this fee would not be confiscated.

This agreement was suitable to many involved. It gave the Inquisition an annual source of income; it saved the Moriscos from being robbed of their property and to the nobles it meant the protection of keeping their lands and also their vassals. It was a different story to the rigid churchmen, however, and we see evidence of this by Archbishop Ribera of Valencia and also Bishop Perez of Segorbe as they protested in 1595.

The tribunal took part in every situation which gave it an outlet to increase its income. We read that the fines which were to be imposed upon the Moriscos could not be more than ten ducats. However, in the auto da fe of January 7, 1607, some of the Moriscos were fined ten ducats, one

8. Ibid., pp. 356-359.

9. Ibid., pp. 359-360.

twenty, one of thirty, and one of fifty, giving us the impression that the Inquisition was more powerful than the King and the Pope combined.¹⁰

Toward the end of the century, the activity of the Inquisition increased greatly. The report shows that there were 291 cases in 1591 and 117 in 1592. The Moorish population as a whole was at the mercy of the Inquisition. While the Inquisition would show no mercy on some as in the case of the little villages of Hislata and Carlot where the entire town was gathered in and tried, yet there were cases in which through bribery, immunity was purchased. Such a case at hand is the one of Don Cosme, Don Juan and Don Hernando Abenamar of Bonaguacil.

These were three brothers who because of their riches were very influential. They had gone unscathed under the Inquisitor Miranda, but in May, 1567, Geronimo Henrique received an accusation against them.¹¹

The trial of Don Cosme is the only one of the three that has been preserved, but we assume that the others took the same course. On January 12, 1568, Don Cosme appeared at the trial. He reported that he had been born a Moor, but he had been baptized. Further, he wished to be a Christian and would do whatever the inquisitors required. On July 15th, he was given the city as his prison upon furnishing 2000 ducats for his security. In spite of this order, we find him later in Madrid where he purchased a full pardon for himself and his brothers from the King, the Inquisitor-general, and the Suprema for 7000 ducats.

Then on June 6, 1571, we find him being ordered back to Valencia to face trial. But showing the papers guaranteeing him of pardon, he was

10. Ibid., p. 361.

11. Ibid., p. 362.

excused from the Inquisition by an order from the Suprema. Again on September 3, 1577, his trial began. At first he decided to resist, but later found himself before the inquisitors. By this time we find him greatly impoverished farming at Genoves. In the report which he gave on his activities as a Moor, he stated that he knew much of the doctrines. Strange to say, many of these doctrines were on an intermediate stage between the religion of the Moors and Christianity. Lea also states that in view of the similarity, perhaps the Moors would have gradually changed to Christianity if left alone. That, of course, is pure speculation. Don Cosmo related further that he had been a Christian at all times since his first arrest and desired to live and die in the faith of Christ. He recited the Christian prayers both in Latin and Spanish accurately and wished that he could have been born a Christian. On February 21, 1578, he was again released in the city under bail.

Again on July 17, 1579, the case was renewed and the Suprema prescribed torture at discretion for Don Cosmo and Don Juan. Preliminary audiences were held in which the two brothers were given a chance to unload their consciences, and reveal their accomplices. This was necessary, the tribunal stated, in order for them to enjoy their pardon of 1571. Trial was resumed but the report ends before the torture begins. The archivist Don Julio Melgares Marin who was the copyist assumes that the case remained suspended. This may have taken place, as Lea says, if the two brothers could have raised the sufficient funds or if the Inquisition thought them too poor to be of further use as a source of income.¹²

It is interesting to note how the lack of instruction stands out in

12. Ibid., pp. 363-365.

all this persecution of the Moors, and how the love and craving for money plays in at all times. Several occasions saw the Church trying to establish churches and schools for the Moors, but either the nobles had swallowed the revenues coming from the churches or the priests were not paid enough so that they could not exist. On top of this, the nobles protected their vassal Moors from the Inquisition so that they would not be Christianized. If they would have been, their slave labor would also be lost as we stated above.¹³

In this connection it is also interesting to follow the Edicts of Grace which were to lure the Moors into giving up their resistance and become Christians. Two reasons why these were not favored by the Moors are that they were dependent on confession and also that the confessing ones would be compelled to name accomplices. The latter condition the Moors, as any other civilized people, could rarely perform. In other words, these Edicts were always limited in scope and assured the people of very little of what could be called "grace."¹⁴

13. Ibid., pp. 365-370.

14. Ibid., pp. 370-375.

VI. A Moor's Life in Spain

In taking an overview of the conditions under which the Moors were forced to live in Spain, we find that their life was anything but easy. We noted before that the Moriscos were mainly used as vassals tending the lands of the lords. For this privilege if we may call it that, they were to pay tithes to the lord which consisted of one-third or one-half of the crops. In addition to that as Lea says, "there were innumerable imposts of all kinds and forced loans or benevolence." They were never permitted to move from one estate or district to another under pain of death and confiscation. The right to bear arms was taken from them in 1541. They were not permitted to hold holy offices. Their religion was forbidden and that of Christianity seemed a hateful and pernicious, a deceiving and tricky religion.

One of the greatest problems encountered by the Moors under this suppression was the one of marriage. The Church had forbidden marriage within the fourth degree of kinship. As the Moriscos were very often placed in a small district by themselves, marriage relations became so close as to invoke the interference of the Church. At the first the marriages were looked upon as being invalid and the children illegitimate; the unions were legally pure concubinage. However, the marriages were later given the "blessing" of being validated.

In order to show the ridiculousness of the strenuous laws of the Church, may we cite one more of the rules under which the Moriscos found

themselves. This was the rule concerning the slaughter of animals. No animal could be used that was killed by the Moriscos but had to be slaughtered by an Old Christian. One stipulation of the rule even included killing a fowl for a sick man. This rule was repeated as late as 1595.

Under such conditions, we can begin to understand how the Moriscos felt and why they went on to do what they did. We can see why the uprisings which were to follow could not be averted when the Moors were in such a position.¹

1. Ibid., pp. 375-382.

VII. The Revolt of the Moors

The constant breaking of promises by the Inquisition and the severe demands made upon the Moriscos, finally brought about a feeling of restlessness among the Moriscos which could not be pacified. This is brought out in the words of Lea when he says:

Subjected to the perpetual exasperation of interference with their habits and customs, to the oppression of their lords and the persecution of the Inquisition, denied all opportunity to rise in the social scale, forbidden to enjoy the faith of their ancestors, while sedulously trained to hate the religion imposed on them, and despairing of relief in the future, it is no wonder that the Moriscos were discontented subjects, eager to throw off the insupportable yoke and to rise against their oppressors.¹

While there were little more than half a million Moriscos, yet the Spanish monarchy had drained itself of resources both in men and money so that it would never have been able to defend itself in the case of outside invasion. The first of the uprisings were the ravages of Moorish corsairs along the southern coast. There were blamed on the Moriscos. In the larger raids on the coast, the Moriscos even escaped sometimes in considerable numbers. in 1559, 2500 left; in 1570, all those of Palmera; in 1584, 2300; in 1585, the whole population of Callosa.²

While the ravages of the southern coasts were trivial in comparison to conspiracies, yet they were in some way connected with the Moriscos. For after the expulsion of the Moriscos which was sure to come, there was rest from these ravages. In 1559, when Philip II returned to Spain he learned

1. Ibid., p. 382.

2. Ibid., p. 383.

that the Moriscos were plotting with the Turks for an invasion of Spain. In 1565, a number of arrests were made for treasonable acts and it was rumored that thirty thousand Moriscos were ready to aid the Turks if they took over Malta.³

Spain was now in a great predicament. She had trouble from within and without. Moreover, because of the troubles that she had to contend with, her resources of men and money became smaller and smaller. The Turks were her most formidable foe in connection with the restless Moriscos in Spain itself. This Lea brings out in his words:

It was universally recognized that, through the drain to the colonies, the external wars, and the growth of the celibate clergy, the Old Christians were constantly diminishing in numbers, while the Moriscos were rapidly increasing; the material and especially the military resources of Spain were becoming gradually exhausted, and Spanish statesmen looked forward anxiously to the time when, as Frey Bloda tells us, the Moriscos hoped eventually, to reconquer the land with the aid of the Moors and Turks.

Not only the uprisings and the conspiracies with the Turks bothered the Spanish, but also France under Henry IV entered the picture. Henry was in alliance with the Turks to overthrow his old enemy and a scare was stirred when in 1583, the Suprema began action against the Moriscos for plots of rebellion.⁴

Henry was ready to accept aid from the Moriscos and in 1602, he began negotiations with them. He sent Marshal Duke de la Force, his governor in Fearn and Navarre, to the Moriscos and they promised eighty thousand men, and to deliver three cities to him. On top of that, they paid to la Force in 1604 or 1605, 120,000 ducats to prove their earnestness.⁵

3. Ibid., p. 385.

4. Ibid., p. 386.

5. Ibid., p. 387.

These restless movements among the Moriscos brought about action by the Spanish government. Already in 1581, Philip II and his counselors planned to send to sea all the Moriscos which would not be catechised. The ships on which they were to be taken would be old ones which were ready to be scuttled along with the passengers. It was to be done by the fleet but when it arrived, it was necessary to go to Flanders instead, and thereby saved the Moriscos from wholesale murder. The words of Lea are interesting as he states, "As Fray Diego de Chaves, confessor of Philip II, was a member of the Junta, there could have been no conscientious scruples concerning this wholesale murder."⁶

What the Spanish government had in plans for the Moriscos makes us wonder whether they were truly human or not. Lea reports that, "The alternatives of massacre or slavery, or the galleys, or allowing the discontented to emigrate were barely alluded to, and expulsion was in the minds of all." There were various propositions the most horrible of which are these following. Archbishop Ribera stated that a body of inquisitors should be set up and should execute speedy justice. This would leave only a few which could be easily expelled and of the others he spoke calmly of burning them, men and women, by the hundred thousand. Another was that of Martin de Salvatierra, Bishop of Segorbe, in 1587. He suggested that a long and brutal attack should be made and then at the finish, the Moriscos remaining should be shipped to Newfoundland, where they would quickly disappear if the males, old and young, were castrated.⁷

6. Ibid., p. 386.

7. Ibid., pp. 389-392.

VIII. The Expulsion of the Moors

While these various suggestions were made by one or the other, no immediate action concerning the problem was taken until April, 1609. The Council of State unanimously agreed that expulsion was the only solution to the problem and that expulsion of the Moriscos should begin in the autumn. The time between the meeting and the first expulsion was to be spent in organizing the militia, importing troops from Italy, and assembling groups to command the coast. The galleys from Sicily, Naples, and Milan were to convene at Majorca on August 15th.¹

We get a picture of the common sense of some of the bishops from the story of Ribora at Valencia. Early in August, Don Agustin de Mexia, was sent to Valencia to inspect the fortifications there, but all the while he held a letter giving him authority to begin the expulsion. Ribora hearing of it, argued that while the Moriscos were an unjury to Castile and Andalusia, the expulsion of those in Valencia and Aragon would bring poverty to the immediate surroundings. Whether he had the interests of the people in mind or of himself, we cannot tell, but he stated that the expulsion would witness the destruction of the churches, hospitals, monasteries, brotherhoods, pious bequests, nobles, gentry, and citizens, since they all depended upon the Moriscos and their art and skills. Finally, though, he expressed the thought that the order came from heaven and he would further it with all his power. A noteworthy quotation from his letter to Fray

1. Ibid., p. 392.

Bleda and the Dominican Prior Alcocer reads, "Padres, we may well in the future have to eat bread and herbs and to mend our own shoes."²

Meanwhile the plan went on schedule and we find that by September 17, the fleet of sixty-two galleys, and fourteen galleons, carrying about 8,000 disciplined troops reached their destination at Alicante, Denia and the Alfaques de Tortosa. When everything was set, the strategic positions established, the edict was published on September 22th.³

The terms of the edict were fairly liberal and as Lea reports, the short notice given to leave shows the weakening power of Spain. Some of the more notable portions of the edict were as follows. The Moriscos were given three days to be at the port specified by the commissioner. They could take along what they could carry. They were confined to their immediate homes. Passage and food would be furnished them to Barbary. Any property burned or destroyed would result in the whole town being killed. Six per cent of the Moriscos were allowed to remain to keep the houses, sugar mills, rice crop, irrigating canals. Children under four years could stay if their parents permitted them. If the children under six had an Old Christian father and a Morisco mother, they would stay with the mother. If the father were a Morisco and the mother an Old Christian, he would go and the children would stay with the mother. Sheltering the Moriscos was punishable by six years in the galleys. All Old Christians and soldiers were forbidden to injure the Moriscos by word or deed. As a guarantee of safety and treatment, ten were permitted to return from Barbary to tell their fellowmen in Spain what treatment they had received.⁴

2. Ibid., p. 393.

3. Ibid., p. 394.

4. Ibid., pp. 394-395.

The reaction of the people to the edict is interesting. The people were glad because they had always hated the Moriscos and the nobles who had the Moriscos working for their gain. The lords hated the thought that their laborers would be taken from them. The Moriscos at first wanted to resist and even began to beat their plows into weapons. But when they saw the number of troops assembled, they thought it over. Finally, they all decided to go, even the six per cent which were to handle the industries mentioned above.⁵

The lords after seeing they could accomplish nothing by keeping the vassals, consented and aided in the expulsion. The Moriscos anxious not to leave anything of value behind them, began selling their property. An edict was announced forbidding sales, but since this would have led to rebellion, it was abandoned. The sales were carried on throughout the Moriscos and especially at the ports, the Old Christians could buy Moorish garments, rare embroideries, rich gold and silver laces for a song.⁶

In contrast to the thinking of the Spanish, the Moriscos eager to depart to a land of their fathers where they could worship as they pleased, flocked to the ports. Troops escorted them, but still thefts and murders by the Old Christians were frequent. Even though gallows were erected along the way, and executions were numerous, still the crimes continued. At Alicante they came with music and song, thanking Allah for his blessings. Some even distrusting the royal promises chartered their own ships and crossed over. At other ports, the Spanish, when they saw the enthusiasm of leaving, broke their promise of free transportation, and charged the same rate after the first embarkation as a private vessel. There were three

5. Ibid., p. 395.

6. Ibid., p. 396.

embarkations and according to the lists at the ports, there were over 150,000 souls expelled.⁷

This enthusiasm of leaving was not universal, for we read of those who taking two strategic positions in the kingdom, one on a peak in the Val del Aguar and another in the Muela de Cortes, decided to revolt. The number of the former were from 15,000 to 25,000 and the latter had 9,000. Mexia, the general in charge of expulsion, gave them no attention until after the embarkation of the rest had taken place.

The results of the routing of these two positions are terrifying. In the Val del Aguar, it was a massacre instead of a battle. Three thousand were slain and only one Spaniard was killed and that by his own fire-lock. On November 28th, they surrendered and were marched starved, frozen and dying to the ports. Many of the women and children were taken by the soldiers and sold into slavery. In the Muela de Cortes the Moriscos surrendered on the promise of life and property. But the soldiers, expecting more booty, fell upon them and murdered several thousand. Only three thousand were brought to the port and two thousand scattered among the mountains. The king they had elected, Vicente Turixi, was discovered hidden in a cave and was given a most cruel death. He died a good Christian and was most devoted to the Virgin. This brings to a close the open resistance of the Moriscos in Spain.

In such a way the Kingdom of Valencia was rid of the Moriscos and the easy way in which it was done paved the way for the other kingdoms. Towards the end of October, the Marquis of San German, was sent to Seville

7. Ibid., p. 397.

to prepare for the expulsion from Murcia, Granada, and Andalusia. An edict was published on January 12, 1610, that all should be ready to leave Spain within thirty days and later was changed to twenty days. The rules were about the same as those of Valencia and the enthusiasm was there also.⁸

By April, Andalusia was free of Moriscos and only a few remained on the coast of Granada. The number is estimated at 80,000 to 100,000, and about 20,000 who left voluntarily previously. One incident is significant to show the stupidity of the Spaniards in practical matters. Cordova asked for six per cent of the Moriscos to stay as in Valencia, but when refused, they asked that two old saddlers might stay to encourage horsemanship. Since these two were old and had no children there would be no cause for alarm. Lea remarks, "Apparently there were no Spaniards capable of making harness."⁹

The expulsion in Old and New Castile, La Mancha and Extremadura was carried out by the Count of Salazar. The Moriscos sold much of their property and on December 28, they were allowed thirty days to leave Spain. They were under the same rules as those at Andalusia and many went to Christian countries especially France. The amount registered was 16,713 as going to France and 10,642 as going to other lands.¹⁰

The expulsions of Aragon and Catalonia were next. The same rules applied as at Valencia with two exceptions. The children under seven years were to stay if their parents went to infidel lands, and the emigrants were to pay their own transportation, the wages of the superintendent, and also an export duty on what they carried with them. The edicts were pub-

8. Ibid., p. 398.

9. Ibid., p. 399.

10. Ibid., p. 400.

lished on May 29, 1610. These brought a cry of despair from the people who said they were Christians they would die as such, but to no avail. They were herded together in bands numbering from one to four thousand souls, without guards, leaving them to the sacking of the Old Christians.¹¹

This apathetic condition of the Moriscos was the best that could happen to the Spaniards, because resistance would never have been met by the soldiers since the soldiers disbanded after they had gotten their pay and the officers were left alone. From Aragon the number of exiled was 75,000 and from Catalonia, 50,000.¹²

In looking back over the expulsion, we find some pertinent facts which are very interesting. Many of the Moriscos went to France and the country was overcome by them. However, many of these in turn made their ways to the ports and journeyed to Barbary. After the Moriscos in name had been cleared from Spain, the internal race hatred still remained. At last an edict was issued on May 3, 1611, stating that all who had been previously exempted and those who had returned should leave within two months except those who were priests, nuns, or wives of Old Christians with their children. This task of clearing the country of any sign of Moorish evidence was long and laborious. Under the edict issued, six thousand were expelled. The Count of Salazar was given the task of putting the final touches to the expulsion.

But as hard as they tried, the final touches of the Moriscos could not be erased. In Valencia, La Mancha, and Granada, we are told, there are still communities which show the Moorish influence. To the Inquisition,

11. Ibid., p. 401.

12. Ibid., p. 402.

though, the expulsion was a success. Occasionally, there were examples of Moriscos coming back begging to be slaves in order to stay. The year 1769 gives us the last information of the Inquisition acting against the Moriscos when it was maintained that a mosque was supported by New Christians. Moreover, information gives us that from 1780 to 1820, there were no cases of Moriscos and the only Mahometans are renegades.¹³

The arguments that had been raised in favor of the expulsion carried with it the one that if the remaining properties of the Moriscos would be sold, it would erase the burden now on the treasury and would give a source of money to pay the ever increasing debts of the state. The amount shown by reports is large for already in October, 1610, the Council of Finance reported that in Coana and Madrid 200,000 ducats had been paid in. But, although the amounts were large, through the squandering of Philip this money was soon accounted for. Most of the money went as presents to his friends of the court instead of the state where it was supposed to go. Thus Lea reports, "We need not be surprised, therefore, to find Philip, in 1611, when appealing to the Cortes for relief, enumerating, among the reasons for his poverty, the expulsion of the Moriscos, in which he had postponed the interest of the treasury to the service of God and of the state." And in conclusion he writes:

Thus, nine hundred years after the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, Spain purified her land of the invader by a stroke which Cardinal Richelieu qualified as the boldest and most barbarous in human annals. The yearning for unity of faith was gratified, and the anxiety as to attack from without was allayed. That the price paid was heavy is seen in the premature decrepitude which over-took the monarchy during the rest of the century. The causes of decadence were many, but not least among them must be reckoned the fierce intolerance which led to the expatriation of the most economically valuable classes of the population.¹⁴

13. Ibid., pp. 402-406.

14. Ibid., pp. 409-410.

IX. The Action of the Spanish Inquisition Against the Erasmists

The first signs of Protestantism flowing into Spain are noted in 1521. The Nuncio Aleander writing from Worms informed the curia of Spain that certain books of Luther were being printed in the Spanish language in Flanders. Charles V, the emperor of the German Empire, had given orders that they should be suppressed. Be that as it may, the Catholics in Spain were very anxious to take action lest the nation experience an influx of this reformed teaching. Just one month later than the letter of Aleander, Leo X wrote to the Constable and Admiral of Castile charging them to stop the distribution of these books. Furthermore, just a few weeks later, the tribunals were given orders to seize any such books that might find their way into Spain. This order was repeated again in 1523.

The first case of persecution against Lutheranism happened as early as 1523. The victim in question was Gonsalvo, a painter of Monte Alegre in Murcia, a resident in Majorca. It can hardly be accepted that Lutheranism had already penetrated as far as Majorca at this time, but still we find Gonsalvo being accused of Lutheran errors. Gonsalvo is described in the report as negative undoubtedly because he considered himself to be a good Catholic and would not tell the Inquisition otherwise. Naturally, he perished at the hands of the Inquisition.¹

It is at this time that Erasmus appears on the scene and plays an important part in the activity of the Inquisition. Erasmus was accepted

1. Ibid., p. 413.

and praised by the Emperor Charles V who considered him a proponent of culture esteeming him highly as the man of learning. Even the Inquisitor-general Manrique and the archbishop of Toledo openly defended him. But the opposition arose from the religious orders whom Erasmus attacked and criticized severely. The publication of the Enchiridion by the Archdeacon of Alcor, Alonso Fernandez de Madrid, brought on the incentive for the attack by the religious orders. Erasmus was openly denounced from the pulpits and finally Manrique stepped in and stated that if there were any errors in the writings of Erasmus, they should be brought to the Inquisition. Immediately the challenge was accepted and a list of twenty-one articles was drawn up and presented. The first two were discussed for a month and finally Manrique suspended the discussion and issued a writing forbidding any one to write against Erasmus. But when Manrique fell into disgrace in 1529, and Charles left Spain in the same year, the protectors of Erasmus disappeared from the country, and the counter-activity was begun.²

The Inquisition immediately concentrated on those especially who prided themselves in culture stemming from Erasmus. Among those prominent we find Diego De Uceda of Cordova of unblemished Old Christian stock, Doctor Juan de Vergara, Secretary to Ximenes as Archbishop of Toledo, Viruss, Benedictine Abbot of San Zoilo and the favorite court preacher of Charles V, Pedro de Lerma, canon of the Cathedral, Abbot of Alcala and dean of the faculty at the University of Paris.³

In regard to the action of the Inquisition against the culture of Erasmus, Lea reports:

The above cases will probably suffice to indicate the way in

2. Ibid., p. 414.

3. Ibid., pp. 415-419.

which Catholics, who had no thought of wandering from the faith, fell under suspicion to persecution more or less distressing. All these were cases of good Catholics, whose prosecution is attributable to a hyperaesthesia of orthodoxy. It would scarce be worth while to follow in detail the long succession of those who had similar experience.⁴

4. Ibid., pp. 420-421.

X. The Action of the Spanish Inquisition against the Lutherans

The definite position of the Inquisition over against the Lutheran heretics was established on July 15, 1531 by Clement VII. He wrote a statement empowering Henriquez and his aides to proceed against the followers of Martin Luther and his defenders. Heretics were treated with some amount of leniency. Archbishops and bishops were not to be arrested and imprisoned, impenitents were to be relaxed and those who wanted admission to the Church should be permitted with the due punishment.

For some time the Inquisition busied itself with the foreign Lutheran heretics that gained admittance into Spain. Among the most notable we find mention of Hugo de Gelse, a learned Burgundian, who was burnt in 1551 and even Queen Mary of Hungary fell under suspicion. The earliest recorded victim of Spanish blood was Francisco de San Roman of Burgos. This man had been in business in the Netherlands and taking a trip to Bremen, he became converted to Lutheranism. He became so ardent in his following Lutheranism that at one time he attempted to convert the emperor Charles V at Ratisbon. Persisting in his ways he was sent bound in chains to Spain where the Inquisition took care of having him burnt. While at the stake, he was urged to submit to the Church, but the crowd took the hand of fate and pierced him with their swords and as Lea reports, this was not an infrequent manner of the witnesses of the tortures.¹ok

1. Ibid., p. 423.

There were other cases such as those of Rodrigo de Valero who was finally imprisoned in a convent at San Lucar de Barrameda until his death and also Doctor Egidio, the founder of the little Protestant community of Seville. In viewing the case of the latter, we see the ferociousness of the Inquisition; for when death came to Egidio in 1556, his bones were exhumed in 1560 and burnt. The missionary efforts of the Protestants were meager up until this time in Spain. There is one indication of such work on the part of Gabriel de Narbonne. Lea reports that the history is doubtful, but his case shows stupidity and injustice on the part of the Inquisition. Gabriel was a Frenchman, who had learned of Protestantism during the four years that he spent in Germany and Switzerland. He wandered in Spain speaking to all he met of his beliefs and when finally arrested, he stated all his Lutheran beliefs under threat of torture and that he had been sent by the heretics in Switzerland as a missionary to Spain. The tribunal, however, did not believe his story and he was reconciled with irremissible prison. His nephew, another Gabriel de Narbonne, who had been under the influence of his uncle, was reconciled with spiritual penance and forbidden to leave the kingdom.²

For some time the activity of the Inquisition ever against the spreading Lutheranism was slow. In 1551, the first step seems to have been taken when Julius III sent a letter to the Inquisitor-general Valdes empowering him to punish Lutheranism no matter what position the offender might hold. The great turning point in the activity of the Spanish Inquisition against the Lutherans came in 1558. Up until that time records show us that there

2. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

were only 106 cases and in this number we find thirty-nine natives and sixty-six foreigners. Even though the number is over a hundred we still have to consider that every one was considered by the Inquisition who deviated from the Catholic doctrine although it was in a minor degree even to the extent of careless speech. These figures point out that there was little of the excitement which was taking place across the borders of France and throughout the northern parts of Europe. Most of the cases were those people who had strayed past the borders of Spain and had contacts with the new teachings. As yet there were no groups who gathered as such and taught Lutheranism, but it wouldn't be long until that time came.³

X The first example of this joint worship of individuals came in the Kingdom of Seville. We have already noted that Dr. Egidio spread the Lutheran doctrine and had established this little community in Seville. After Egidio's death in 1556, Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, succeeded him as the magistral canon of the cathedral. Before this time he was famous for being the confessor and chaplain of Charles V. Other notables in the community were Maestro Garcia Arias, known as Doctor Blanco, prior of the Geronimite house of San Isidro. Incidentally, the members of this house as well as some of the nuns of Santa Paula became converts to Lutheranism. Others notable are Francisco de Zafra, two rag-pickers, Francisco and Antonio de Cardenas, one nobleman of the highest rank, Don Juan Ponce de Leon of the house of the Dukes of Arcos and also Doctor Juan Perez de Pinoda and Julian Hernandez. It is noteworthy that the majority of this group were clerics, secular and regular, but many were laymen.

3. Ibid., p. 426.

Every class of society was represented in the little band which numbered over 120.

The story of this community is very interesting. For while they continued their work without any suspicion of the part of the Inquisition. In 1557, suspicion was aroused for some cause and a secret investigation was started. Some of the followers of Lutheranism, especially eleven of the Geronimites of San Isidro, sought safety in flight. This naturally would stir the fire of suspicion and the investigation began to be pushed with enthusiasm.⁴

The writings of Doctor Constantino were first examined. It wasn't long afterwards that the tribunal found the evidence it was looking for. Juan Perez comes into the picture as a resident in Geneva who prepared propagandist works to be transported into Spain.⁵

The transportation problem was taken up by Julian Hernandez. He carried with him a good supply of Perez's Testament, Psalms, and Catechism. They were brought to the walls of Seville in July, 1557, and smuggled in at night or carried in by Don Juan Ponce de Leon in his saddlebags. The activity was proceeding nicely until the time when Julian made the fateful mistake of handing a letter addressed to a Catholic priest and a copy of the Imajen del Antichristo to another Catholic priest who happened to be a faithful adherent of the Catholic Church.

The Inquisition was promptly informed as to the frontispiece showing the Pope kneeling to Satan and also the writing which said good works were useless. Don Juan and Julian fled immediately, but were traced and brought

4. Ibid., p. 427.

5. Ibid., p. 428.

back on October 7th. The tribunal then began its relentless attack and arrest followed arrest as the victims were forced to expose their friends. Doctor Constantino and Doctor Blanco were not taken until August, 1558, and the first auto da fe was not celebrated until September 24, 1559.

Another group much like the group in Seville, was the Valladolid group. This group was begun by an Italian gentleman, Don Carlos de Seso. With the zeal of a convert, he proceeded to convert all with whom he had contact. The most notable among his converts was Doctor Agustin de Casalla, the favorite preacher of Charles V.⁶

The majority of the converts were of the higher classes both secular and ecclesiastical, but the number of them was only about fifty-five or sixty. About the same time the tribunal took action against the Seville group so also did the flame of persecution flare up with those in Valladolid, and the heretics were disbanded.⁷

The results of these two groups impressed the nobles of Spain that something must be done and done immediately if the people of Spain were not to be disunited by the different doctrines seeking admission. Philip II had been fighting in Flanders against France and was forced to return home, lest he find his own country torn by the ravages of wars between the Catholics and the Lutherans.⁸

Furthermore, the Inquisitor-general Valdes was saved from disgrace by the heresy which was uncovered at Valladolid which was not the residence of the court. Valdes had taken the affair at Seville very lightly, but when it came so close to the crown, he became immensely interested.

6. Ibid., p. 429.

7. Ibid., p. 430.

8. Ibid., p. 432.

Valdes had previously been relegated to his See of Seville, but was later recalled by Philip II to Valladolid to take up action against the heretics.⁹

This brought on an alarm on the part of Charles V. He had longed for peace within his empire, but now that havoc was about to take place in the country which had for so long been grounded in the Catholic faith, he was greatly disturbed. He sent letters to Princess Juana, his daughter and regent of Spain at the time, to proceed with haste and set Valdes at the head of the Inquisition. The cruelty with which the institution was to function was brought out in his letters in which he stated that in the place of excusing the first offence, the victims should be tried for rebellion and sedition in the republic and penalized without mercy, undoubtedly meaning death.¹⁰

Valdes took the advice which the emperor had graciously given and set himself to the task of exterminating the heretics. We can see his true character from a letter written to Paul IV, in which he gives an account of the development of Lutheranism in Spain. One sentence of Lea stands out as he says, "Adopting the argument of Charles V, he pointed out that this Lutheranism was a kind of sedition or tumult, occurring as it did among persons of importance by birth, religion and wealth, so that there was a peril of greater evils if they were treated with the same benignity as the converts from Islam and Judaism, who were mostly of low estate and not to be feared." Then he went on to beg for sufficient funds to carry on the campaign and to have the permission to carry out the suggestion of Charles V in dealing with the heretics. The answer given by Paul IV was

9. Ibid., p. 433.

10. Ibid., pp. 434-435.

favorable, but he added that those of the episcopal order should have a limited jurisdiction and also that those who confessed as penitents should be relaxed only if they were thought to be insincere. Naturally, the Inquisition took advantage of both points and took a free hand in the exercise of its power.¹¹

The auto da fe of Trinity Sunday, May 21, 1559, at which the first Valladolid victims were executed does not make for pleasant reading, but there are some factors which should be pointed out in connection with it in order to display the feelings of the victims, the inquisitors, and those of the spectators.

Naturally, the town was overcrowded with people from as far as "thirty and forty leagues." Every house had its stagings from which to view the sight. The houses of the Inquisition were guarded by one hundred men, because there were threats that the people would blow up the prisons and stagings.

The procession was led by the effigy of Leonor de Vivero who had died at the trial. Her remains were carried in a coffin which would later be burnt. The number who would be relaxed in person was fourteen and those who admitted to reconciliation numbered sixteen. The man who received the highest seat was Agustin Cazalla, the chief of the heresy, and next to him was his brother, Francisco de Vivero.¹²

The only true martyr of the group, that is the one who remained true to his beliefs in Lutheranism, was Herrezuelo. In spite of the tortures and pleas for him to recant, he remained steadfast. Even on the way, to

11. Ibid., p. 436.

12. Ibid., p. 437.

his death, Cazalla begged him but to no avail. He was gagged, but his expression showed that he would never yield. He was chained to the stake and was hit by a rock from one of the spectators which caused the blood to flow down his face. He was then pierced through the abdomen, but he made no move nor gave an expression of agony. The fire was then set, but he never flinched because of the pain, and "to the general surprise, he thus ended diabolically." Lea reports on the final outcome thus:

Illescas, who stood so near that he could watch every expression, reports that he seemed as impassive as flint but, though he uttered no complaint and manifested no regret, yet he died with the strangest sadness in his face, so that it was dreadful to look upon him as on one who in a brief moment would be in hell with his comrade and master, Luther.¹³

One more case which might be interesting, Lea states as the most pitiful case. This was the young wife of Herrezuelo. She was just twenty-three with life opening before her. She yielded to the Inquisition so readily that she escaped with life imprisonment. But while she was serving her sentence, she was so plagued by her conscience and the example of her husband that she confessed to her heresy and was subjected to a new trial. Because she relapsed into heresy, there would be no mercy and no acquittal from burning unless she recanted. But she remained steadfast and confessed that enlightened by the Holy Spirit she would die for Christ and follow the example of her husband. Lea reports her final hours with: "Nothing could overcome her resolution and, on September 28, 1568, she atoned for her weakness of ten years before and was burnt alive as an obstinate impenitent."¹⁴

The second auto da fe of the Valladblid group took place on October

13. Ibid., p. 440.

14. Ibid., p. 441.

8th of the same year. Philip II also was there to help celebrate the occasion. The number of spectators was estimated at 200,000. The number of victims was one Morisco, one Judaizer, two penitents for other offences, and twenty-six Protestants. However, if this number there were thirteen who had repented in time to gain reconciliation. One prisoner, Juana Sanchez, brought with her a pair of scissors and had cut her throat thereby escaping the fatal tortures, but she was afterwards burnt in effigy. Only two remained in their beliefs in the face of fire. These two were Carlos de Seso and Juan Sanchez. Of the latter the story is that the fire burned the cords binding him and he leaped and ran to the confessor who refused to listen to him. As to his death one report gives it that he was thrust back into the fire by the guards, but another has it that when Juan saw Carlos calmly burning, he himself jumped back into the fire and met his death.¹⁵

In the meantime the Seville tribunal had its hands full in the arresting of all the heretics in that kingdom. Soon after the capture of Julian Hernandez and Don Juan Ponce de Leon, the prisons were full and other places had to be acquisitioned until an auto da fe could be celebrated. That opportunity came on September 24, 1559.

As in the case of Valladolid, so here the spectators gathered to witness the burnings at Seville. They rushed in from Andalusia three days in advance until the city could not hold them and they had to sleep in the fields. The procedure was the same as always. We might glance at the most interesting victim of this auto da fe just for a moment.¹⁶

15. Ibid., pp. 441-442.

16. Ibid., pp. 442-443.

This victim was Maria de Bohorques, 26 years old, and the daughter of one of the prominent citizens of Seville. In the knowledge of Scriptures she was very learned and was able to quote the scriptures verbatim. The night before the burnings the monks from the Dominicans, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Carmelites came to try to convince her of her heresy. They pronounced the sentence of death upon her and proceeded to argue with her. Let us note here that she answered all their demands with Bible verses meeting all their arguments. Incidentally, she was the only one who defended her position by the Bible. Even on the stage she was approached by Don Juan Ponce de Leon, the nobleman of whom we spoke above and who had been convinced to recant, but she silenced him by saying that this was a time to think of the Savior. She looked upon the brothers of the monasteries as meddlers, but finally recanting, she again later returned to her beliefs and was burnt. In this auto da fe there were eighteen Lutherans who met their death.¹⁷

In this and other autos da fe that were held in Seville we have the number rising to seventy-four. On December 22, 1560, another was held in which the Doctors Egidio and Constantino were burnt in offigy having died previous to the celebration. One man of special note is Julian Hernandez. He never did reveal his accomplices in spite of the tortures under which he suffered and constantly encouraged the other prisoners by his energy and love for the true religion. He persisted to the end and even at the burning he was freed from his gag which had kept him from talking by one monk who thought he might recant, but disgusted at the persistence of the victim, the monk cried, "Kill him! Kill him!" and the guards

17. Ibid., p. 444.

stabbed him sparing him the tortures meant for him.

This auto also furnished three foreigners among whom were one Frenchman and two Englishmen. These were merchants who had come to trade and were burnt by the Inquisition. This is noteworthy because it shows how the Inquisition in Spain discouraged the idea of foreign trade. Naturally, all the goods carried by the Englishman Burton were confiscated and the Inquisition gained very profitably by the act.

The next auto was held on April 26, 1562, and took care of forty-nine cases of Lutheranism. Among these were nine monks of San Isidro of which we spoke above. It would seem that Spain was almost free from the Lutheran heretics by the fact that in this auto twenty-one were foreigners, mostly Frenchmen.

In the same year an auto was held at which several important facts must be considered. This was held on October 26th in which there were thirty-nine cases of Lutheranism. Many of the victims were of the Church, the most notable of whom was Prior of San Isidro, Maestro Garci Arias Blanco. Twelve of the others were priests. Also noteworthy are the thirteen members of the crew of the ship Angel who were also taken. As Lea reports, trading with Spain was becoming more and more dangerous. From this time on, the number of native Spaniards decreased and the number of foreign heretics increased noticeably. In the autos of April 9, 1564 and May 13, 1565, there were only two Spaniards and ^{of 22} twenty-nine who were considered in the proceedings.¹⁸

The two most important results of the Valladolid and Seville incidents are two edicts by King Philip II. The first one was issued immediately upon

18. Ibid., pp. 445-448.

his return to Spain from Flanders. In this he ordered all Spanish youth studying in foreign countries to return immediately. Penalties connected with this were adapted to all classes, both secular and clerical. The only exceptions to this rule were those studying in Bologna, College of Albornoz, Rome and Naples, and that of Coimbra for the professors there. Naturally, this retarded the educational side of the Spanish kingdom and finally was one of the causes which brought about the downfall of the once powerful nation.

The other edict was issued on November 23, 1563 to the Spanish bishops. He stressed the importance of the Inquisition and the revealing of names who were suspected of heresy. The Catholic doctrines should be the only ones preached; no heresy alluded to or refuted. Next the schools engaging teachers should be examined thoroughly by both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. In other words all influences wrought by the Lutherans should be checked and kept from the young and old alike.¹⁹

With the close of the autos da fe of Seville and Valladolid, we virtually reach the end of the actions of the Inquisition against the Lutherans. Occasionally victims came into view during the seventeenth century, but were most times reconciled by spiritual penance and a fine. The missionary efforts by these Lutherans in the Netherlands were met by the Inquisition in fine style. All men, whether of the clergy or laity, were to keep a close watch on their neighbors and associates and report any suspicious act or remark. In this way Spain was kept free from the influx of Lutheranism. The number of Lutherans involved in the trials up to 1600 amounted to 1395. Of this number 1640 were foreigners and 355 of Spaniards.

19. Ibid., pp. 448-449.

We must remember though, that Doctor Schafer who gathered these facts only found reports on two-fifths of the autos da fe of the thirteen tribunals. We agree with Lea when he says that many of the cases were perhaps not Lutheran at all in the case of the victim, but only in the eyes of the inquisitors.²⁰

Because of the relentless efforts of the tribunals to weed out heresy in the Spanish kingdom, foreigners who came for commercial and industrial purposes rapidly diminished over the years in the sixteenth century. The French merchants and English seamen were often captured and placed under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. We can see the destructive results in regard to Spain as the merchants finally became reluctant to carry on trade with a nation at whose ports they might be captured and punished, or as it happened many times, be burned at the stake. The records show us the following results of the various tribunals dealing with foreigners. At Toledo from 1575 to 1610, there were forty-seven. From 1648 to 1794, there were only eleven. In Valladolid, from 1622 to 1662, there were eighteen cases. In the Madrid tribunal, from 1703 to 1751, there is but one case of a "Huguenot." In the sixty-four autos held by all the tribunals from 1721 to 1727, there are only three cases. In Valencia, from 1705 to 1726, there is a record of one Calvinist. These facts show us that after the turn of the sixteenth century, the number of foreigners either living or coming into Spain was rapidly decreasing and Spain was becoming an isolated country.²¹

20. Ibid., pp. 449-457.

21. Ibid., pp. 457-462.

XI. The Spanish Inquisition in Portugal

While the Spanish Inquisition was persecuting the Jews in Spain, many of the Jewish people fled to Portugal where peace was offered them. The year 1495 still marks the refugees as having a friend in King Manoel. However, in that same year, his marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain brought complications since they were persecuting the Jews and he was obliged to follow their example. He was forced to suppress and expel all refugees condemned by the Spanish Inquisition. He accepted all under the age of fourteen, but this brought about split families and often Jews murdered their children rather than leave them alone.

In 1497, he promised that no persecution should be carried on against them as a distinct race. The promise was to be valid for the next twenty years. The trials which would be conducted in some cases would be secular in procedure and confiscations, if there were any would go to the heirs of the accused. This edict gave the Jews rest until King Manoel's death in 1521.¹

Manoel's successor on the throne was Dom Joao III, a youth of twenty years. For awhile he proceeded in the steps of his predecessor. Through marriage he was influenced against the Jews and desired inquisitorial activity against them. The Conversos, as the converted Jews were called, under the able assistance of Duarte da Paz, succeeded in holding off the Inquisition perhaps because the Jews were holders of most of the property

1. Henry Charles Lea, op. cit., p. 237.

of Portugal.²

All during the administration of Clement VII, the Christians were protected from the rule of the Inquisition. When Clement died, Paul III carried on the work of prohibiting the use of the Inquisition. However, in 1538, an Inquisition on the Spanish model was set up with the proviso that for three years it was to be conducted on secular law and confiscations were to be handed to the heirs for ten years. Diogo da Silva was appointed Inquisitor-general. The first auto da fe was celebrated on September 20, 1540, with twenty-three penitents and no relaxations.³

The officers of the Inquisition tried to have at least one auto da fe during the year's time. The term is Portuguese which means, "The Judgment, or Decision of the Faith." These were public announcements by the Inquisition concerning the decisions or sentences which they had rendered. It is of interest that the auto da fe did not disappear until after the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴

Because of an argument between Joao and Paul III over the appointment of Miguel da Silva, one-time minister of Joao, to a governmental office, the Inquisition was again put in action with all fury with six tribunals. One of these was at Lisbon; others at Evora, Coimbra, Lamego, Porto, and Thomar under the direction of Henrique, successor of Diogo da Silva.⁵

During this time, Joao tried vainly until 1543 to establish the Inquisition. The Jewish Christians paying toward the cause sent an envoy to Rome with gifts to the Pope asking for leniency. The Pope sent a nun-

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-243.

4. Stanford N. Carpenter, The Reformation in Principle and Action, pp. 260-261.

5. Henry Charles Lea, op. cit., p. 245.

cio in reply to the request of the Christians with the instructions to investigate the Inquisition in Portugal and to abolish it or hand its jurisdiction over to the bishops. Then in 1543, Paul III proposed to Joao that the Inquisition could be reinstated if one half of the confiscations would be turned over to the Holy See. This Joao changed to one quarter and the proposition failed.⁶

The years from 1543-1547 saw the quarrel between Joao and the Pope becoming more and more intense. On the one hand the King argued for the Inquisition and the Pope being paid to give the Christians protection from the Inquisition, was caught between two fires. Paul tried during these years to make a settlement with the King whereby he could not be counted unjust to the Christians or rejecting his duties in respect to the King. He attempted reconciliation through a limited Inquisition, with very limited powers, but the matter always met with opposition from Joao.⁷

July 16, 1567, marks the date on which Paul III finally accepted the bid of Joao and gave him an Inquisition with full powers. Through a brief sent to the King on November 15th he sought to save his face in the eyes of the New Christians and urged the King to proceed with leniency, not with judicial severity, to look on the weak side of the heretics and to treat them with fairness. The rules laid down by the Pope were as Lea reports:

All prisoners were to be discharged; those who had to abjure should do so before a notary and not in an auto da fe; that for a year no one was to be relaxed, no arrests were to be made save for public and scandalous offences, and prosecutions were to be conducted as in other crimes, while, if the law prohibiting emigration could not be repealed, it should be kept quiet for a

6. Ibid., pp. 246-248.

7. Ibid., pp. 248-254.

year—thus hiding for a twelve month his betrayal of the friend-
loss.⁸

Joao then proceeded to carry out the regulations stipulated by the
bull. Furthermore, as Ioa says,

Those pardoned under the pardon brief, if they committed heresy during the year, could be arrested and prosecuted at once, but should not be sentenced or relaxed until after the expiration of the year. For a year the inquisitors should be directed to proceed mildly, but, as for treating heresy like other crimes, it would be unreasonable, because the Pope ordered otherwise in the bull itself.... The pardons should be published and the prisoners released; those who had to abjure should not do so on a staging but publicly at the church doors. Thus brutally was brushed aside the mask under which Paul had sought to disguise his abandonment of the New Christians.⁹

The final agreements were signed on March 24, 1548 and the Inquisition began. Joao didn't think much of the fact that he had to hand over to the Pope the revenues, but finally he submitted. The prisons were emptied on June 10, 1548. Thus through seventeen years the argument raged and at last the Inquisition was permitted to go on unrelented. There is no other motive, as we can see, than that the Holy See wanted to use human misery as a means for selling to the highest bidder the Office of the Keys.

However, the Christians retaliated by obtaining from the Pope the request that all names of the witnesses taking part in the trials be published except those who took part in the trial of powerful men lest the accused be avenged by their followers. This publication was signed on January 8, 1549. The document stood ground all through the days of Paul III but was finally revoked when Paul IV came to the papal throne.¹⁰

Suppression of the witnesses names was a practice used generally throughout the days of the Inquisition. These names were to be kept from the pub-

8. Ibid., p. 255.

9. Ibid., p. 256.

10. Ibid., pp. 257-258.

lic knowledge for reasons which are obvious. However, when there was no sign of danger to the witnesses, their names could be published as in other public trials. These rules of the suppression of the names of witnesses were published frequently from the year 1298 all the way down to 1657 when the Inquisition was proceeding against the witches.¹¹

The New Christians battled to keep the document from being revoked, but their efforts were in vain and the suppression of the names continued as a permanent practice in Portugal.

Up until the time when witnesses' names could be suppressed, the autos da fe were few and far between. Lisbon celebrated none until 1559, and Coimbra celebrated none until 1567. However, we must not lay too much stress on these figures since our knowledge concerning the times is quite limited. Evora records autos in 1551, 1552, 1555, and 1560 showing that there were some if not many celebrations.¹²

Ever since the time of Paul III, the question of confiscation was before the King. Lea states that it was probably in 1568 that the New Christians began to hesitate to pay the price which was put upon them by the sentence of the Inquisition. Be that as it may, it was through the maneuvering of Henrique that by October 6, 1579, and as Portugal in 1580 became the property of Philip II of Spain, that we hear no more of exceptions from confiscations, mainly because the right of appeal to the Pope was taken from the New Christians.¹³

This right of appeal, although it sounded good in name, was of no value especially to the poorer class of people. The appeal was to be made to

11. Francis Darwin, "The Holy Inquisition: Suppression of Witnesses' names," in *The Church Quarterly Review*, CXXV, 239-241.

12. Henry Charles Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

the Pope through the hands of the inquisitors. The road that the appeal had to travel was long and involved a great amount of expense. Moreover, an appeal had to be back from the Pope before the sentence. From these rules it will be evident that an appeal from the Pope was very difficult to obtain, especially if the Inquisition was very intent on passing sentence quickly on one or the other victim.¹⁴

It is remarkable that Joao never extended the reign of the Inquisition to the Portuguese colonies. The Christians took this opportunity given them and moved to the colonies. The land most inhabited by these emigrants was Goa and when St. Francis Xavier went to carry on his mission work there, he was astonished at the actions of the Christians. He urgently wrote to Joao for the Inquisition to come, but the King did not respond. However, when Joao died and his throne was taken over by Cardinal Henrique, Aloixo Diaz Falcao was sent in March 1560 to the Indies.

After exhausting the New Christians, the Inquisition under the Portuguese took upon themselves the unwise act of practicing the inquisitorial routines upon the heathen Indians. This virtually wiped out what could have been a prosperous colony of the Portuguese. Brazil likewise had no inquisition of its own, but there a commissioner had been placed who shipped the accused with accusations back to Portugal to be tried, and punished. In 1618 there was an inquisitor sent to Brazil but that drove many of the inhabitants to the Spanish colonies.¹⁵

Although the main motive of the Inquisition was to clear the land from Judaizers, yet we find that many times it overstepped its limits and

14. A. Hyatt Verrill, *The Inquisition*, pp. 217-218.

15. Henry Charles Lea, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262.

went on to squelch others who could have brought knowledge and material success to the country. One of these examples is that of George Buchanan, a professor in Greek who was called to help found the University of Coimbra. He was accused of being ill-effected to the Holy See and to have written a poem against the Franciscans among other things. He was imprisoned for eighteen months and then sentenced to reclusion in a monastery for instruction by the monks. When he was freed, although sought by Joao to retain him, he escaped to England at the first opportunity.¹⁶

Another more horrible example is that of Damiao de Goes, foremost scholar of Portugal in the sixteenth century. He developed a yearning for education and studied Latin, went to Padua and became known throughout Europe among the scholars of the time. Joao recalled him to Portugal in 1545 and rivalry arose between Goes and the Jesuit Provincial, Simon Rodrigues. Simon accused him of making heretical statements nine years previous when the two met at Padua. He could not remember what they exactly were, but they had a touch of Lutheranism in them. His accusations were ignored, but in 1550 they were repeated; actual trial was brought about in 1571 when many of the enemies of Goes' literary career joined in the accusation. Put on trial, he did admit that at one time he thought that the indulgences were of little value, but then learning Latin and acquiring more knowledge through reading, he left these errors and became orthodox once more. He even wrote a letter to Melancthon trying to win him back to the Church and had sent a letter of introduction to Luther to Frei Roque de Almeida, who wanted more information regarding the heresy that was cropping out. In spite of his testimony, Goes was sentenced as a Lutheran heretic, and

16. Ibid., p. 263.

because he was only twenty-one when he held such a position in the Church, he was mercifully condemned only to reconciliation, confiscation, and perpetual prison. This "perpetual prison" must have been only for a time, for Goes died in his own home whether by apoplexy or being killed by his servants is not known. Anyway, this example shows how the Portuguese dealt with "heretics" even though they were men of great learning.¹⁷

Between 1578 and 1580, the office of Inquisitor-general of the Inquisition changed hands from Cardinal Henrique to Manoel, Bishop of Coimbra and on December 27, 1579 to Jorje de Almeida. Henrique's death came in 1580 and it was the passing of a man who was detested and whose death was regretted only because it gave Philip II of Spain easy access to the Portuguese throne. Philip II wanted Pope Gregory XIII to join the Inquisition with that of Spain, but that was refused. All in all the activity of the Inquisition was renewed and increased from 1581 to 1600. There were fifty autos in all. Five of the records of these were lost, but of the other forty-five the results are as follows: 162 relaxations in person, fifty-nine in effigy, and 2979 penitents.¹⁸

This increased activity of the Inquisition in Portugal led to the wholesale immigration from Portugal to Spain. The conditions in which we find Portugal at this time are related by the Venetian envoy Francesco Vendramini. He tells us of Lisbon which at one time was a rich and populous city. It was now almost entirely cleared of residents and where it had before owned seven-hundred ships, five hundred had been captured by enemies and just two hundred were left. One of the reasons then, that

17. Ibid., p. 264.

18. Ibid., p. 265.

the Portuguese went over to Spain was because of the better prospects of commercial enterprise. And then again the immigrant may have thought that he would not be well known in Spain and could escape the tortures of the Inquisition. But as the immigration grew, the activity of the Inquisition followed suit. In 1593, Toledo had seven on trial for Judaism. The next year five in person and nine effigies were burned of others. In 1595, at Seville an auto punished eighty nine, burned four in effigy and soon afterwards in Guenca, the obstinate ones of the thirty discovered were burned and the rest reconciled.¹⁹

The pressure still increased continually and finally in 1602, the Portuguese New Christians opened negotiations with Philip III to procure a general pardon for past offences which included cases which were still on trial. For this they were to pay an enormous amount of money to the King and the Church. This brought about a question in the minds of the pious Spanish and they discussed the terms at length. Their need of money at the time caused them to accept and on August 23, 1604, the papal pardon was issued.²⁰

Because of this papal brief giving the New Christians a general pardon, 410 prisoners were released simultaneously on January 16, 1605 from the three tribunals in Portugal. This pardon was to last for the Portuguese in Europe one year and those outside of Europe two years. But although many prisoners were freed, the Inquisition still made accusations such as in the case of Antonio Fernandez Paredes. It was in 1605, at Toledo, when with three witnesses accusing him, he had to beg that he was

19. Ibid., pp. 266-267.

20. Ibid., pp. 267-268.

under pardon and that his wife had been released at Coimbra, therefore he also should be released. His case was pleaded before the Suprema and he was discharged. Other such cases numbered six during the same year in which the prisoners were sentenced. When the year of mercy was past, the Inquisition sent out reminders on April 15th and 20th, 1606, to the tribunals eager to continue their tortures. But even at this, there was a year of interruption in the persecution, however, not always complete.²¹

As persecution was most active in Spain and Portugal, many of the people under suspicion decided to emigrate to France and Holland. From 1567, the issue was before the Kings what to do about it, for the emigration meant less population to Spain making her weak while her enemies were gaining power in numbers. In 1601, Philip III gave permission for the people to go to the colonies of both Portugal and Spain, but on April 20, 1619, he ordered that all who could not show a license to leave were to be seized and their property confiscated.²²

This was the issue from 1620 to 1630. Although the inquisitors tried their best Judaism was steadily increasing. The Suprema Council both on January 17, 1619, and April 30, 1620, tried to persuade Philip II to enact stricter measures. However, their efforts were mostly in vain. Although the orders passed by Philip IV as Luys de Melo says, were not carried out, yet it had a great influence on the New Christians. They paid King Philip 80,000 ducats for permission to leave Spain and 5,000 families in addition migrated to Castile so that finally there was no place in Spain in which could be found no New Christians. At Castile, the Christians felt them-

21. Ibid., pp. 269-270.

22. Ibid., p. 271.

selves in perfect safety because the Castilian tribunals refused to try those who were from Portugal.²³

It is interesting to see just what effect the Inquisition had on the condition of Spain as a world power. We have noted before that many of the New Christians had migrated to Holland and the interest in the minds of the emigrants was to work for their own advancement and for the downfall of their oppressors. This took place during the ten years from 1630 to 1640. The author repeats the report of Lays de Melo:

There had passed to Holland more than two thousand families and, in those rebel states, they had purchased the right to establish synagogues. Those who publicly Judaized there were the same as those who, quitting Portugal published that their confession of Judaism was under coercion of the Inquisition. Many who had lived in misery in Portugal were rich in Holland; they paid contributions to those rebel states, and assisted to maintain their fleets and armies; they invested largely in the East India Company, and thus were absorbing a great part of Spanish commerce and, under feigned names and in vessels of the United provinces, they did a large trade in contraband goods. In short, their commercial aptitudes were impoverishing Spain and enriching her enemies. The writer unconsciously points out how large a part intolerance played in the decadence of the state.²⁴

23. Ibid., pp. 272-278.

24. Ibid., pp. 278-280.

XII. The Introduction of the Inquisition into Holland

Previous to the year 1521, there had been no papal inquisition established in Holland. Here we must add a few limitations, because there had been an inquisition called the episcopal inquisition. This was controlled by the bishop in his given diocese with two special inquisitors under him. But although it might be thought this was enough to stop the heresy entering Holland, we must state that more had to be done.¹

It was Charles V, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, that really introduced the papal inquisition into Holland. This took place by his application in the year 1522. Previously though, he had appointed Francis Van der Hulst to be the Inquisitor-general. "Rasmus termed this man a "wonderful enemy to learning" and of his partner, Nicholas of Egmond, he said, "a madman armed with a sword."

His powers included citing, arresting, imprisoning, and torturing heretics without even abiding by the law of the land or any chance of appeal. The only limitation that was placed on him was that he should seek the advice of Laurens, president of the grand council of Mechlin. Incidentally, Laurens was of such a character that he would sanction the severest penalty expressed by Francis Van der Hulst.

Hulst was an infamous character and a man who would never give the victim the benefit of the doubt in his accusation, but would draw from it the necessary deductions so that the victim might be condemned and

1. John Lothrop Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, pp. 278-279.

receive the due punishment of his crimes. He was however, degraded from his office by the Emperor for forging a document even before he had held his office two years.

In 1525, he was succeeded by Beudens, Houseau and Coppin under the appointment of Clement VII. In 1537, because Coppin had died, Paul III appointed Ruard Tapper and Michael Drutius as inquisitors in his place while Beudens and Houseau retained their positions.²

The power of the papal inquisition grew in these years and gained many a foothold held by the episcopal inquisition previously. So that, in 1545, the Inquisition was independent of the bishops and archbishops and even had jurisdiction over them. They had also received the power to appoint their own delegates or sub-inquisitors.

The inquisitors had the power to arrest and chastise all heretics that could be found. They were empowered to seek out and find any one who could tell of any one professing heresy and force the information to be revealed. Any of the King's subjects in the land were open to conviction. Any one who refused to incriminate his fellowman could be punished with death himself. The King gave strict orders to all his officers to give any information concerning heretics and if they refused, they would be accused as the advocates of heresy and punished with death themselves.³

The judges were to proceed against the heretics as the ambassadors of Christ, punishing all who they reckoned were guilty of heresy. The clergy were to be tried without any noise and were to be sentenced by a special man appointed by the Emperor. The lay people whether convicted

2. Ibid., p. 280.

3. Ibid., p. 281.

or suspected were to be punished. The Emperor stressed that they should remember that they were doing the work of Christ, not their own work. Motley points out in sarcasm that, "For no reasonable person could doubt that Christ, had he re-appeared in human form, would have been instantly crucified again or burned alive in any place within the dominions of Charles of Philip."⁴

4. Ibid., p. 282.

XIII. The Inquisition under Titelmann in Flanders

Among the most notable of the inquisitors was Peter Titelmann. He was a harsh man dealing with the people as one would not even deal with animals. He carried on his work throughout Flanders, Douay, and Tournay, the most prosperous sections of the Netherlands. He traveled through the country on horseback by day or night, alone, dragging them from their homes, from their beds, from their firesides into dungeons dark, and cold, torturing, strangling, and burning them without any pretense of warrant, information, or process.¹

To bring out the cruelty of this inquisitor, let us cite an example. A certain schoolmaster, Geleyn de Muler, of Audenarde, was reported to read the Bible. Immediately, Titelmann had him seized and proceeded to question him. The schoolmaster demanded to be brought before the judges of the town if he committed any crime. Refused by Titelmann, he was questioned further and found to be a heretic. Attempting to force him to recant, Titelmann threatened harm to the schoolmaster's wife and children. Failing in his purpose, Titelmann condemned the man to the stake and he was strangled and thrown into the flames.

Other examples are those of Thomas Galberg who copying some hymns from a book printed in Geneva, was burned alive. Another was hacked to death before his wife with seven blows from a rusty sword. Another was

1. Ibid., p. 283.

Walter Kapell who was beloved for his many gifts to charity. He was burned at the stake for heretical opinions. A poor idiot standing and watching his death cried out, "Ye are bloody murderers; that man has done no wrong; but has given me bread to eat." Then he cast himself into the flames wanting to die with Walter. He was rescued by the officers. After the execution had taken place, this same man took the body of Kapell and brought it to the officers and said, "There murderers! Ye have eaten his flesh, now eat his bones." We don't know whether this man was doomed to death or not because the pages of the records had no place for such an obscure person.²

This type of procedure didn't cause the people to love the Inquisition or the edicts connected with the Inquisition. However, as the religious oppression continued, the feeling of hatred grew and the people faced the inquisitors with as much courage in their hearts as the cruelty which the inquisitors held in their hands. One of the most outstanding examples of the convictions of the people was the one of Bertrand le Blas. At Tournay, the priest was celebrating mass. When he was holding the host above his head, Bertrand rushed in, grabbed it, crushed it, threw it on the ground, and trampled it with his feet. The excitement was so great that Bertrand could have easily escaped but he remained where he was. Later he was taken and asked to confess and recant his beliefs along with revealing his accomplices. Refusing to do so, he was put three times to torture, but revealed no one because there had been no accomplices nor would he take back what he believed. For all this wickedness, he was given a horrible sentence. With an iron gag in his mouth he was dragged on

2. Ibid., p. 284.

a hurdle to the market place. Here his right hand and foot were burned and twisted off between two hot irons. His tongue was torn out by the roots. Then he was again gagged and after his arms and legs were fastened behind his back, a chain was fastened around his body and he was swung back and forth over the fire and slowly roasted.³

Other examples of equal horror are cited, but this will suffice to point out the cruelty of the Inquisition. What the people gained as impressions can readily be seen from the resistance that was fomenting among the people and finally gained light in the revolution. Gazing at the experience from the outside we can gain an appreciation of the true consequences of the affair. But on the other hand, some of the entries recorded with the hardness of criminals shows the matter-of-fact approach of the inquisitors. The following are two examples from the expense books: "To Mr. Jacques Barra, executioner, for having tortured, twice, Joan de Lannoy, ten sous. To the same, for having executed, by fire, said Lannoy, sixty sous. For having thrown his cinders into the river, eight sous." To such treatment thousands and tens of thousands were subjected in the provinces of the Netherlands.⁴

No stress has been made as to the reasons for which these people were murdered. Motley sums it up as he relates:

Men, women, and children were burned, and their "cinders" thrown away, for idle words against Rome, spoken years before, for praying alone in their closets, for not kneeling to a wafer when they met it in the streets, for thoughts to which they had never given utterance, but which, on inquiry, they were too honest to deny.

The difference between the Inquisition of Spain and that of the Netherlands lay in the fact that in the methods of the Spanish Inquisition there

3. Ibid., p. 285.

4. Ibid., p. 288.

were ways by which the victims could be discovered although they had the character of denying their faith. It could hunt out those people who lived and worshipped in obscure places, and if discovered would renounce their faith but not change from their errors. This type of inquisition was not necessary in the Netherlands where we see the people openly professing their faith in public, gathering at one or the other home to worship in the way they considered God-pleasing. The words of Cardinal Granvelle are appropriate here as he once said, "It is quite a laughable matter, that the king should send us depositions made in Spain by which we are to hunt for heretics here, as if we did not know of thousands already. Would that I had as many doubloons of annual income, as there are public and professed heretics in the provinces." It is remarkable that the people should be so fearless and have such courage in the face of this cruel institution and of the dastardly men who had charge of it.⁵

5. Ibid., p. 289.

XIV. The Inquisition under Granvelle

It is interesting to note how the Inquisition was accepted in the Netherlands by the people. Naturally, the Christians who had gone aside from the Catholic religion hated the whole institution. That was only according to human feeling. But we must note here that the continuation of the Inquisition caused many a good Catholic to look upon it with horror. Even a great number of the leading grandees, all of whom were Catholics, were among the first to denounce this horrible practice.

Granvelle was almost the man that Titelmam had been in running the Inquisition. But the position in which he found himself was different than that of Titelmam. The people had been aroused by this time and their hatred had grown to the point of violence. This is borne out by the example of two ministers, Favreau and Mallart, in the Walloon province where heresy grew faster than the Inquisition could murder the offenders. The people were not, it seems, becoming accustomed to see blood spilt, but were becoming nauseated with the sight of the killings. The governor of the province, Marquis Berghen, finally was conspicuous by his absence from the executions.¹

It was the case of these two ministers that finally broke the ice of tension. Granvelle saw that it was necessary to put them out of the way if he were to stop the spread of heresy, for they preached and gained many souls. Their main offence consisted in reading the Bible to a few friends.

1. Ibid., pp. 291-292.

In the autumn of 1561, they were condemned and sentenced to be put to death. For six or seven long months the prisoners waited in prison because the magistrates were afraid to execute them. Day and night the people thronged around the prisons speaking to the ministers and encouraging them, promising to release them.

The day at last arrived and Granvelle issued an order to have them killed on April 27, 1562. They were led out to the market place and tied to the stake. At a pre-arranged signal, a woman tossed her shoe upon the funeral pile. The mob rushed forward tearing up everything they could lay their hands on. The executioners could not carry out the sentence but took the prisoners back to the prisons. The mob raged on and finally decided to rescue the men. They stormed the jail and successfully carried the ministers to safety. Faveau, however, continued in his preaching and was later taken again. Motley reports on the occasion, "He was then," says the chronicler, cheerfully, 'burned well and finally' in the same place whence he had formerly been rescued."²

The effect that this event had on the magistrates can well be seen by their next action. Because of such an insult to the Inquisition, many were rounded up and imprisoned until the day set for the execution. On May 16th the execution took place and as Motley says, "the number of victims was frightful." When the executioners rested from their long labors, it was thought that the incident was well avenged.³

At this time it is necessary to tell about the little, but very influential groups which helped to spread hatred and ill feeling toward the

2. Ibid., p. 293.

3. Ibid., p. 294.

Cardinal and the Inquisition. These were the groups known as the "Rhetoric Chambers." These were clubs who invented poems and acts of farce and satire on the existing conditions of the country. These were the agencies which took up the fight against abuses before the newspapers could bring their scathing attacks on abuses practiced in a country. Their main object was to show the prevalent abuses in the Church and to gain wide-spread hatred against them from the people. Many thousands of these players were killed because of their deeds. It would be well here to cite one of their farces which concerned the Cardinal Granvelle. Motley records it thus:

One day a petitioner placed a paper in his hand and vanished. It contained some scurrilous verses upon himself, together with a caricature of his person. In this he was represented as a hen seated upon a pile of eggs, out of which he was hatching a brood of bishops. Some of these were clipping the shell, some thrusting forth an arm, their heads, all bearing whimsical resemblance to various prelates who had been newly appointed. Above the Cardinal's head the Devil was represented hovering, with these words issuing from his mouth; "This is my beloved Son, listen to him, my people."⁴

During this whole time of persecution, the reports, the farces, the satires had gained their goal. The nobles were now becoming interested in the actions of the Inquisition and were beginning to hate the very thought of Cardinal Granvelle. There is no doubt that many threats were made against the person of the Cardinal, but without fear he still often traveled to and from his country home alone by day or night. He remarked that if he were killed, the nobles best friend would be dead. Even Margaret of Parma, the Regent of the Netherlands, felt the excitement of the nobles. She tried to sustain her prestige among the nobles

4. Ibid., p. 295.

and people, but still behind it all there was someone directing her as Motley slyly remarks, "It was not difficult to recognize the hand which wrote the letter signed by Margaret of Parma."⁵

Granvelle took this opposition in grand style. While the nobles were openly attacking the Cardinal and the Inquisition, Granvelle continued to write his dispatches to Philip of Spain, the King of the Netherlands. His manner was secret and subtle. In such a way did he write that it would seem to the King that the nobles wanted to be supreme in the Netherlands and that nothing could be done in that country without their permission and counsel. He further stated that the nobles did not want to carry out the sentences of the Inquisition because they wanted to curry favor with the people and draw them away from his majesty. Never did he mention that he held any grudge against the nobles because of their remarks against him, but only because of their actions against the King of Spain. He attributed all these misdemeanors of the nobles not to their own notions but to the perverse counsel of associates. Looking over the writings of Granvelle to the King, we cannot help but notice that he never omitted any rumor, or fact which might prejudice the King against this or that nobleman whom he time and time again asserted he wished not to injure.⁶

Granvelle was a man of diplomacy and subtlety as can be seen by his various insinuations to King Philip against the various nobles. William of Orange was the butt of his attacks because he was the most prominent of the nobles who was outspoken against the Inquisition. The main issue which Granvelle relayed to the King was the fact that there might be a

5. Ibid., pp. 299-304.

6. Ibid., pp. 309-311.

plot to dethrone him and elect a new governor of the provinces of the Netherlands. He had not gone into the plot fully but noticed that Count Egmont had been corresponding freely with the King of Bohemia, Maximilian, and supposed that he should be the new ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. He closed the letter by stating that all the news came to him from the house of Count Egmont while previously he stated that he wasn't sure where the plot was originating. In this way, Granvelle tried to influence the King against all the nobles who opposed him. However, he advised the King to overlook them because revenge belonged to God.⁷

Meanwhile, the nobles had decided to send an ambassador to King Philip relating the conditions of the Netherlands because of the introduction and activity of the Inquisition. Granvelle using his slyness to all advantages instructed the King as to how he should deal with him and pacify the nobles by promising their past salaries, urging them to uphold authority, and promising the Spanish Inquisition would not be introduced into the Netherlands.⁸

About the same time, Granvelle decided to try and bring about disension in the ranks of the nobles by paying some more than others. His attacks were directed mainly against William as can be seen by the fact that he paid a considerable amount to Egmont, while William received a trifling sum.⁹

In the autumn of 1562, the envoy of the nobles, Montigny, made his visit to Spain in the name of the Regent. Philip carried out the orders of the Cardinal to the letter and no satisfaction was gained on the part

7. Ibid., pp. 311-313.

8. Ibid., pp. 313-314.

9. Ibid., pp. 314-315.

of the envoy except that the Spanish Inquisition would not be introduced but that religious persecution was to continue. The envoy in turn opening his mind stated that the Cardinal and the Inquisition were the trouble behind the unrest of the people. He maintained that the three things behind all the trouble were the Cardinal, the Inquisition, and the cruelty and injustice which went with it.¹⁰ In other words, his message carried with it a taste of rebellion.

The envoy returned to the Netherlands in December, 1562, and related to the council the words of the King. They were immediately received with indignation on the part of the nobles. William was especially angry at the fact that the people of France had held him up as the leader and defender of the Huguenots. He was still a good Catholic, but detested the sight of the Inquisition in his country. It was now time for action. Either the Cardinal must fall or William would withdraw from public office and in that he was sustained by Egmont, Horn, Montigny, Berghen, and others who said they would do the same.¹¹

A letter was written by the nobles on March 11, 1563. In this letter addressed to the King they made their complaints to him of the ruling of Granvelle. They stressed the fact as truth that if Granvelle was allowed to remain in the Netherlands, it would mean the ultimate ruin of the country, not because they would begin anything, but that all the people knew who was ruling the country in the place of the King and that Granvelle's person was looked upon with hatred by all the subjects. They professed themselves as good Catholics but they insisted that they would no

10. Ibid., p. 315.

11. Ibid., p. 317.

longer act together with Granvelle in ruling the country, but would rather retire from office. This letter was signed by all the leading nobles and governors except the Duke of Aerschot, Count Arenberg, and Baron Berlaymont. The Duke and Count had refused to join the league of the nobles, but the Baron had decided to swim in two waters and found himself in a tough position. He catered to both sides and doing that he had discredited himself with both parties. It should be stated here that although Orange, Horn, and Egmont had written the famous letter, yet only Orange of the three signed it.

Granvelle, in the meantime, had found out about the letter and had sent his own personal letter to the King in which he admitted that he was not surprised to hear that almost everyone in the Netherlands hated him. It was now up to the King to decide whether he would depose him or retain him.

The King answered the letter of the nobles on June 6th in which he politely stated that he wished one of the nobles to confer with him at Madrid, since no satisfaction could be gained through correspondence. At the same time that he answered the nobles, he wrote a letter to Margaret saying that she should not mention the fact of the letter until the nobles came to her. In addition he stated that he really wanted Egmont to come to Spain to confer with him since he was the most easily handled of the three leading nobles. And he added that his object was to stall for time in which to divide the nobles.¹²

The effect of the answer of Philip to the nobles as could be expected. They realized that the answer Philip sent them was in reality no

12. Ibid., pp. 318-321.

answer at all. In fact, their rage and indignation was very much increased. They realized that the letter came not from Philip but from his real sovereign, the Cardinal Granvelle.¹³

Egmont had promised to go to Spain but first he had to consult with Orange and Horn. This promise was given to Margaret on that condition. Next she realized that an assembly was to be held of all the nobles and try as she might, she could not stop them from holding the meeting. She therefore, consented if the meeting would be in Brussels where she could find out what was going on and could report to the King. After the meeting, Egmont wrote to the King telling him that he would not come to Spain because of the Cardinal. He would come if it were for any other reason, and so said all the others. It was inconsistent with their reputation, said Orange, that the King would ask them to make this long and dangerous trip in order to accuse the Cardinal. He later added that now it was up to the King to do what he pleased.¹⁴

Four days after this notice to the Regent, Orange, Egmont, and Horn addressed a letter to the King speaking in the same voice in which they had addressed the Regent. They stressed the fact that they could not go to Spain just to accuse the Cardinal and that their honor should be enough to convince the King that they were speaking the truth and if examples and events were needed to prove their point they would gladly give them.

Another letter of August 4th written by Count Horn, stressed the fact upon the King that he should realize that Cardinal Granvelle could do no

13. Ibid., p. 324.

14. Ibid., p. 325.

good to a country in which he was hated by all the people. As far as the nobles themselves were concerned, Horn said that they would do their duty in upholding their ancient religion.¹⁵

The Regent now sent her secretary to the King in Spain to relay to him the events which were taking place in her country. There should be no mistake that by this time, even Margaret considered Cardinal Granvelle to be her enemy and she did nothing to hide her mistrust and hatred against him. Also it should be stated that the secretary sent to Spain was also an enemy of Granvelle so that it can be readily assumed that nothing would be said in defense of the Cardinal either in the way of the letter or in the words of the secretary. Margaret stated that although the Cardinal was experienced, zealous, devoted to his cause, yet she felt that if he were retained in the land, a revolt of the nobles could not be avoided.¹⁶

A few days after, the nobles sent a report to the Regent stating that in view of the conditions of the country something had to be done immediately. The fortifications at the frontier were falling, and that if the Dutch merchants went to other countries to trade they might be taken as prisoners and payment for the money owed by the King. And they stated that from this time they would not appear further at the state council, so that now Margaret was left with only the Cardinal whom she hated and his two associates, Viglius and Berlaymont.¹⁷

In the meantime, Margaret's secretary had arrived in Spain and had gained an immediate audience with the King. He announced all that Margaret had said about the perilous condition of the country and of her sus-

15. Ibid., pp. 325-326.

16. Ibid., p. 327.

17. Ibid., p. 328.

picious that the Cardinal was at the bottom of the unrest in her country. The secretary asked for an immediate answer, but, as always, Philip stalled for time.

While he waited, Philip called on another of one of the most diplomatic men to which he could turn in this crisis. He sent all the letters of the nobles, together with the report of Margaret to the Duke of Alva, and asked him for advice upon the subject. The Duke immediately answered in wrath that the Cardinal should not under any circumstances be recalled from Holland and if it could be done, all the heads of these nobles should be cut off. However, since he did not deem this move very advisable at the time, he commented that the King should play for more time by telling the nobles that their reasons for deposing the Cardinal were not satisfactory. And finally, he stated that the King should try to divide them by administering flattery to Egmont especially since he was the most tractable of all.¹⁸

Granvelle in the meantime still kept his line of correspondence going to the King. He always maintained an attitude of a forgiving Christian who had been hurt by the reception he was given by the nobles. He condemned them as trying to set up a republic in the place of the reign of the King and were stirring up the people to that effect. He painted as black a picture as he could of the nobles but then apologizing said that the King should not hesitate to sacrifice him if he felt it was best for the country.¹⁹

He stressed the fact that many of the nobles were not cooperating

18. Ibid., p. 329.

19. Ibid., p. 330.

with the Inquisition as Marquis Berghen in Valenciennes and Montigny in Tournay. He complains bitterly of the way things are going in the Netherlands while in Flanders, Titelmann seems to be meeting with wonderful success in quelling the onslaughts of heresy. Sometimes, he adds, heretics are put to death, but this only on the constant admonition of the Cardinal. He suggests that since all the nobles are in debt and are stirring up the people to avoid paying the debt, the King transfer them to other places and suggests that Orange be given the viceroyalty of Sicily. In general, may we say that his policy always remained the same, namely, to prejudice the King against the nobles and to divide and take their power from them.²⁰

Throughout all this time of the letters of Granvelle to the King relating to him the developments in the Netherlands, the rage of the people against the Cardinal was becoming more and more fierce. While his suggestions of a revolt by foreign hired troops was unfounded, the nobles also had been busy suggesting to the King that in order to avoid a revolt, he should come to the Netherlands to see for himself the state of affairs. It could be easily be seen that things were coming to a head and something had to be done or rioting would take its place. This was the growing tension of the year 1563.²¹

20. Ibid., p. 332.

21. Ibid., p. 359.

XV. The Expulsion of Granvelle

The gravity of the situation came to the highest point in December, 1563, when Caspar Schetz, Baron of Grobendonck, gave a dinner party for the nobles. The wine flowed freely and in this state of mind the nobles suggested that in order to show their contempt for all the glorious pomp and show of dress of the Cardinal, they should invent a cloak in open satire to be worn by them and their servants. To Egmont fell the duty of inventing one and he proceeded to carry out his obligation. The doublet and hose were of coarse gray, and long, hanging sleeves, without the customary gold and silver. Only one ornament decorated the garment. This was a fool's cap which resembled the monk's cowl and was embroidered on each sleeve. The garment became a fad and almost immediately everyone in the Netherlands had one made, while the hatred and rage against the Cardinal grew and grew.¹

In the meantime, the letter which some of the nobles had written to the King remained unanswered and they were getting restless. Philip had been conferring with Alva and the Cardinal as to what could be done. Alva was all for taking off a few heads to teach the others a lesson. Also he said the Cardinal should go to Burgundy without the permission of Margaret and Philip and refuse to return because his life was in danger. This would rid the Netherlands of the Cardinal but would still save his face.²

1. Ibid., pp. 339-340.

2. Ibid., p. 343.

However, the King himself had finally decided on a plan. He sent letters separately to the Regent, to the three nobles, to Egmont, and to the Cardinal. Each letter contained a certain part of his plan which was intended to deceive the receiver and they did. All the letters were ready at the same time, but Philip detained the letters to the nobles longer than those to Granvelle and the Regent.

The messenger was to convey to the Regent the message that the heretics were to be punished as before and that she should not call the states-general for a meeting under any circumstances and if she could not avoid it, she should appeal to the King. The Cardinal was informed that the King was still deliberating on the subject and that he would be informed through the Regent as to the King's next decision. In the meantime, he should urge the nobles to come back to the council. The private note to the Regent stated that the letters to the nobles had not yet arrived, but that she should give one or the other of two notes included in her letter to Egmont which suited best at the time. On the one the King accepted and the other declined the recent offer made by Egmont to visit Spain for consultation with the King.³

The messenger bearing these letters arrived in Brussels towards the end of February, 1564, while the letters to the nobles themselves came on March 1, 1564. In these letters to the nobles, the King urged them to return to the council and as far as Granvelle was concerned, he would have to think on the matter further. In the private letter to Granvelle the King politely told him the condition of the country demanded that he leave. This he explained to him in words that seemed to express concern for the

3. Ibid., p. 544.

Cardinal's life and that after a certain time he might be allowed to come back to carry on his work after the people had quieted. This was a soft way of telling the Cardinal that he had been deposed forever from his position. All this information was given to the Regent and she had orders to carry out instructions to the letter in that she should "allow" the Cardinal to go from the country.⁴

The Cardinal was still reluctant to leave the country, but when the Regent found herself alone at the council on March 3rd with only Granvelle, Viglius, and Berlaymont, she urged him to make his departure from the country as soon as possible. On March 13th, the Cardinal took his departure. Many of the nobles and people were deceived by the plot of Philip, but Orange and his followers suspected that the Cardinal had been recalled all the time, and that much against his will. In fact, one wrote to another that the rumor was that he would return in two months, but those two months would be very long ones. One put a placard on the door of the Cardinal's house reading, "For sale immediately."⁵

Granvelle left in all the pomp he could muster at the time. The Regent provided him with her own mules and with an escort lest there should be an attempt upon the life of the Cardinal. Two enemies of the Cardinal, Brederode and Count Hoogstraaten, feasted their eyes on the departure and after they were out of the city, they leaped upon their own horses and galloped after Granvelle's procession with the exultation of school boys.⁶

After his departure, Granvelle put into effect the plan of Philip to save his own face by writing to the Regent asking her to forgive him for

5. Ibid., p. 347.

6. Ibid., p. 348.

absenting himself from the Netherlands, but he had seen fit to leave. The reason he stated was to visit his mother whom he had not seen for nineteen years and also his brother. Motley remarks, "His brother would perhaps have omitted to visit their common parent for nineteen years longer had he not received the royal order to leave the Netherlands."⁷

To the Regent the King wrote that he was sorry to see the Cardinal leave but it was true that the Cardinal might want to see his relation after so long a time. This letter was then published so that all the people might be deceived as to the Cardinal's recall. Another letter he wrote to Granvelle stating how sorry he was that he left, but reluctantly gave his permission for him to leave. In this way, all were deceived including the Cardinal through Philip's scheming.⁸

The departed Cardinal made it known to his friends that he was living a life with every comfort imaginable. He wrote letters about his wonderful retreat in Burgundy speaking of the beautiful country, how peaceful and quiet, and that he had the best of wines. But as content as the Cardinal may have seemed in his new home, yet he always had the urge to get back into politics. His beard was let to grow, according to report, because he had vowed never to shave until he was recalled to the Netherlands. Some of the gentlemen of the provinces remarked that if the report was true, the beard would be likely to grow to his feet.⁹

While the Cardinal was enjoying his stay at Burgundy, the nobles at home never relaxed from their watch on him. Orange especially, warned that

7. Ibid., p. 349.

8. Ibid., p. 350.

9. Ibid., pp. 351-352.

he might return again. The Regent was happy and relieved that he was finally gone and began to be more friendly that she had been while the Cardinal was still guiding her. And naturally, it was impressed upon her how she had been fooled by the Cardinal in thinking that he was her friend. Later after the nobles led her to see the full corrupt administration of Granvelle, she wrote to the King telling him about all the fraud, simony, and embezzlement which had taken place during the Cardinal's stay in the Netherlands. In other words, she exposed him to the fullest extent of his crimes.¹⁰

As heartless as she was in revealing all his faults to her brother, she still portrayed extreme devotion to the Cardinal himself. She spoke very penitently to him for having adopted the policies of Orange and further stated that she loved him like a brother and would always make public that he was an upright man, a most zealous and faithful servant of the King.¹¹

To show the effect of the Cardinal's departure on the thinking of the people we might cite an event that happened just a few months after the Cardinal's departure. Count Mansfeld celebrated the baptism of his son by a splendid series of festivities. Among the tournaments and other activities, there was also a grand masquerade in which the Cardinal was represented as riding on a horse preceded by a lowly peasant devotedly reciting his rosary. Behind them was the devil riding on another horse whipping the Cardinal and his horse. Nothing was more pleasing to the spectators and they received it with exultation and laughter. This in-

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

cident was noised abroad over the country but the government did nothing about it nor did the followers of the Cardinal.¹²

The Cardinal took all of this in seclusion nor did he make any public announcements. He knew that the hate of the nobles had anything but decreased even after his departure. Finally, he made up his mind that he would never return to the Netherlands and towards the end of 1565, he left for Rome and aided in the election of Pope Pius V. Five years later he was employed to draw up a treaty between Spain, Rome, and Venice against the Turks. After being the viceroy of Naples for a time, he moved to Madrid in 1575 to help in the management of the public business. He died there on September 21, 1586 at the age of seventy.¹³

12. Ibid., p. 356.

13. Ibid., p. 357.

XVI. Turmoil and Inquisitorial Activity

After Granvelle left the Netherlands, the country was in disorder. At the first it seemed as though things would go well. Orange was getting along with Egmont and Horn and all had rejoined the council. It wasn't long that Orange was suspected of being ambitious of power. And together with that fact ran the intrigues of Egmont with the middle classes and the common people so that the friendship between Orange and Egmont was dwindling. Also the secretary of the King, Armenteros, seemed to be getting very friendly with the Regent, often spending hours with her in consultation about things of which he was to know nothing. Moreover, the actions of the two were not very becoming to those in authority for they sold offices to the highest bidder and when at the council often sat apart from the rest carrying on a conversation, pinching, giggling, and disputing while the affairs of state were being considered.

In regard to the friends of the Cardinal, Margaret treated Borlaymont and Viglius with the utmost scorn. Viglius was never allowed to speak and whatever he had written was dictated to him in the first place. He was weary of life after his master had been deposed and wanted to die lest he also should share in the disgrace of Granvelle. He was advised to give up some of his work but he declined because of the salary he was getting. In all he was accused of almost every crime by the Regent which caused him to be so sorry for life.¹

1. Ibid., pp. 372-375.

In October of the year 1564, there occurred an incident that had the populace again stirred for awhile. A Carmelite monk, Christopher Smith, called Fabricius, had left a monastery in Bruges, and adopted the religion of the Reformation. He had gone to England for awhile, but he returned to Antwerp to preach this religion to the people. He was betrayed by a bonnet dealer and immediately taken into custody. He was tortured but he wouldn't reveal the names of his congregation nor would he recant. He was sentenced to die by fire. When he was led out by the executioner, the emotions of the people were evident. When the executioner tied him to the stake and fastened a leather strap about his neck, stones were thrown by those standing near and the officers and soldiers fled after a slight resistance. Fabricius could not be rescued, however, because the executioner had smashed his head with a sledge hammer and had pierced him through before he left the scene. Upon hearing of the revolt, Philip was filled with rage and commanded the incident to be avenged. One of the revolters had been caught, but was hanged on the spot. The affair was left to drop because no others were seized.²

The scenes of such violence by the Inquisition were becoming a thing of horror as viewed by either Catholic or Protestant. In Flanders where the prisons were overflowing with victims, Titelmann still ruled with authority. There people were taken because of many reasons including reasons of revenge on his part on his enemies. The people were complaining bitterly that he did nothing in accordance with the laws of the land, but that he acted just as it suited him. The complaints reached Margaret who relayed them to King Philip. Nothing was done about the situation because all

2. Ibid., p. 380.

knew that Philip was in full agreement with the Inquisitor and Margaret and the council could do nothing about it.³

As early as August of this year, Philip had given strict orders that the decisions of the Council of Trent should be carried out to the letter, and any one who considered the Council not to be infallible should be punished with death. The decrees were very detailed but they amounted to the fact that no one could be considered born, alive, or would be considered buried unless they had the priest's certificate to avow the same.⁴

In respect to this edict by Philip, both Margaret and the council thought that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be alleviated to suit the people in the Netherlands. Also they decided that an envoy should be sent to Philip to discuss this new edict and try to have its scourging orders lightened. Viglius was chosen to draw up Egmont's instructions. After they had been read in the council, all voted upon it, but when it came to William of Orange he spoke as he never did before and rendered such a scathing attack upon it and upon all the followers of the Inquisition that the President of the council, Viglius, could not sleep that night trying to prepare a counter-attack on the words of Orange. In the morning he had an attack of apoplexy and was unable to appear at the council. Under the new President, Hopper, the instructions were changed and these hinted to Philip that some changes ought to be made and that he have mercy upon his people. May we state that the document did not meet the approval of Orange.⁵

3. Ibid., p. 381.

4. Ibid., p. 383.

5. Ibid., p. 384.

XVII. The Visit of Egmont to Spain and its Results

Egmont set out in his journey to Spain in January, 1565. All along the way he was given a series of great banquets. The most noted gentlemen which gave these banquets were Hoogstraeten, Brederode, the younger Mansfeld, Culemburg, and Noircarmes. These signed a document in their own blood which they gave to Margaret stating that if any harm came to Egmont in Spain, they would avenge it upon Granvelle and all his followers.

Wherever Brederode was, there also could be expected a wild uproar of some kind. In Cambray, a banquet was held by the nobles to which the Archbishop of Cambray was invited and present. In the happenings of the evening, various remarks were headed in his direction and jokes were said of which he was the object. The whole purpose of the nobles was to get the archbishop so drunk that they could put him under the table. All in all the revelling became so boistrous that finally Hoogstraeten hurled a basin of water at the archbishop. It did not hit him, but splashed considerable water on him. The height of the insults was reached when the young Mansfeld snapped his fingers in the archbishop's face. The meeting was finally closed and the next day, Egmont, dining with the archbishop alone, tried to effect a reconciliation with the archbishop. Egmont had been rather sane at the banquet. In the evening of the same day, Hoogstraeten, Culemburg, and Brederode consulted with the archbishop behind closed doors and they parted on nominal terms of friendship.¹

1. Ibid., pp. 388-391.

The archbishop was not one to forget and he then wrote to Granvelle that in order to stop such insubordination, the end of all the heretics was necessary even though it meant the ruin of the town. Shortly after, a citizen of Cambray called on the archbishop and asked him whether he could leave the country because he had turned Lutheran. He was told to come back a little later to receive the answer. He came back in the afternoon and was met not by the archbishop but by the executioner who promptly cut off his head.²

Egmont left for Spain on January 30, and was received in Madrid with all ceremony. Even the King seeing him, fell on his neck even before Egmont had a chance to kiss his hand and kneel. All throughout his stay in Spain Egmont received the very best from all and was subjected to the flattery of the King at every turn. The King erased two mortgages and gave Egmont an additional sum of money so that all the gifts amounted to around 100,000 crowns. When the subject of the journey was initiated, the King would speak to him in general language so that no decent answer was given.

When Egmont left Spain, the King gave him his instructions which he was to give to Margaret. In them the King stated that no change was to be made in respect to the orders previously given, and that he was grieved by the progress of the heretics. Furthermore, a council should be held in which new ways of persecution should be discussed and not ways of lightening their load. This meeting was to be called under the pretence of discussing the Council of Trent.

When Egmont returned to the Netherlands there wasn't much in his words

2. Ibid., p. 392.

that could inspire the trust of the nobles in the policy of the King. Egmont described the King as one of the most liberal monarchs he knew. Orange, however, was not at all satisfied with the report and suspected the King of further moves. His suspicions were right. For not long after the return of Egmont, letters came from the King to the Regent saying that the orders of the Council of Trent would not be relaxed, but she should see to it that they were carried out with all severity. Egmont was beside himself in rage because of the treachery of the King.³

The canons of the Council of Trent were published and nominally enforced at Cambray, but opposition arose from the clergy of Mechlin, Utrecht, and many other places. A council was called at the order of Philip to discuss carrying out the order. All the nobles and their followers were in favor of dropping the death penalty while the clergy formed the opposition to the nobles. The clergy drew up their sentiments in writing after the nobles had refused to discuss the matter. They proposed that heretics should be punished according to the order and that those who were not heretics but had become involved by curiosity should be whipped, fined, or banished. So now the clergy had advised the death of all heretics, and the Regent ordered it. Orange was still silent on the matter but kept his ears and eyes open to next developments.⁴

The populace naturally found out about the severe decrees of Trent and everywhere the ire of the people was rising against the powers. It wasn't long when talk began to break out and questions asked as, whether it wouldn't be better to die with a weapon in hand than unmercifully at

3. Ibid., p. 396.

4. Ibid., p. 399.

the hand of the Inquisition. Furthermore, the inquisitors complained to the King that the nobles did not assist in taking heretics and often locked the prisons, however, the Council of Trent was obeyed here and there. But a change was adopted in the policy of the executioners in that the heretics were killed in prison by binding their heads between their legs and slowly suffocating them in tubs of water rather than give them the honor and glory from the people when burned at the stake. The frenzy of the people was becoming greater. Especially Egmont expressed his anger at the difference of the language of the King by mouth or sent by letter.⁵

An affair that took place at Bayonne, France, did not help the situation. Catherine de Medici had desired to meet with her son-in-law, Philip, to discuss important matters. However, Philip excused himself from the meeting but sent Isabella together with the Duke of Alva. These two were instructed by Philip to agree with Catherine for the common extermination of the heretics in both countries. However, Catherine was not to be misled by these proposals and avoided the issue and instead proposed marriage of the sons and daughters of the two countries to join the two more closely against the Turks. She was content the way things were going at the present without introducing the Inquisition. The meeting closed without the result desired by Alva, but it went through the minds of the subjects that it had been called to further the persecution of heretics so that the rage of the people grew.⁶

Philip kept the regular flow of letters going to the Netherlands

5. Ibid., p. 401.

6. Ibid., p. 403.

both to Margaret and Egmont urging them to obey the orders and carry out the execution of the heretics. The Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmont were loud in their denunciations of the instructions. The excitement spread among the people and placards were placed upon the doors of the nobles every night urging them to keep up with the resistance. Finally, Orange expressed the opinion that since the King's demands were so precise, there could be no other way but to obey, but that he washed his hands of the evil which was bound to come. Egmont and Horn joined him in his opinion.⁷

Viglius upon hearing this from the nobles, suggested that some delay might be made in issuing the order of the King. He had learned that Orange was not as foolish in his predictions as one might have thought. His health had improved but he was shortly to be replaced in the Presidency by Charles de Tisnacq. Nobody, however, listened to his suggestions and the orders were prepared. The edicts should be placed in every town, village, and community immediately once in every six months forever after. When this was done, Orange whispered to one sitting near that he was about to witness the greatest tragedy that was ever enacted.⁸

The order went forth and the rage of the people was unbounded. Hot-loy describes the effect thus:

The cry of a people in its agony ascended to heaven. The decree was answered with a howl of execration. The flames of popular frenzy arose lurid and threatening above the house-tops of every town and village. The impending conflict could not longer be mistaken. The awful tragedy which the great watchman in the land had so long unceasingly predicted, was seen sweeping solemnly and steadily onward. The superstitious eyes of the age saw supernatural and ominous indications in the sky. Contending armies trampled the clouds; blood dropped from hea-

7. Ibid., p. 406.

8. Ibid., p. 407.

ven; the exterminating angel rode upon the wind.

There was almost a cessation of the ordinary business of mankind. Commerce was paralyzed. Antwerp shook as with an earthquake. A chasm seemed to open in which her prosperity and her very existence were to be forever engulfed. The foreign merchants, manufacturers, and artisans fled from her gates as if the plague were raging within them. Thriving cities were likely to be depopulated. The metropolitan heart of the whole country was almost motionless.⁹

Thus when Locke relates in Ten Epochs of History that:

The men conducting it were not monsters who loved to kill; they were ordinary Christians, with the same feelings of pity and tenderness that other men have;...but they were imbued with the firm conviction that heresy sent a soul to hell, and that it was infinitely more merciful to torture the body if by that means the soul could be saved from eternal torture,

we often stop and wonder if some people know whereof they speak.¹⁰

Even some of the higher nobles sympathized with the populace as Marquis Berghen, the younger Mansfeld, and the Baron Montigny. The four principal cities of Brabant were the first to come out with a document to the Regent. They expressed the opinion that this new order violated the provisions of the "Joyous Entry", that ancient manuscript that gave to the bishop alone the right over marriages, testaments, and mortmains. And because of this argument, nothing could be done but declare Brabant free of the rule of the Inquisition.

While this was taking place in Brabant, in other place handbills were snowed in the streets urging all to speak against the edicts. Especially the Puritans raised their voices saying, "We are willing to die for the Gospel, but we read therein 'Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's.' We thank God that our enemies themselves are compelled to bear witness to our piety and patience; so

9. Ibid., p. 408.

10. Clinton Locke, "The Age of the Great Western Schism" in Ten Epochs of Church History, VIII, p. 296.

that it is a common saying-'He swears not, he is a Protestant; he is neither a fornicator nor a drunkard; he is of the new sect'.¹¹

It was late in the year of 1565 that another incident occurred that helped the people hate the rulers of their country. Alexander, the Prince of Parma, had accompanied Egmont on his return to the Netherlands and it was planned that his marriage to Princess Donna Maria of Portugal should take place. She arrived at the Netherlands in the autumn and the marriage was celebrated on the 11th of November, 1565. The great festivities naturally did not meet the approval of most of the populace because of the gaiety, and unnecessary wasting of money while most of the people were resting uncomfortably in anxiety and fear. Thus ended the year 1565 in which the fires of civil war were being kindled "of which no living man were destined to witness the extinction."¹²

11. John Lothrop Motley, op. cit., p. 409.

12. Ibid., p. 412.

XVIII. The Opening of Hostilities

The most remarkable occurrence in the first few days of the year 1565 was the Compromise drawn up by the nobles. This was a document which would require the signers to oppose the Inquisition and to defend the other against the consequences of such opposition. The main signers were Sainte Aldegonde who is said to have written the paper, Louis of Nassau, Nicholas de Hammes, Count Louis, Brederode, Charles de Mansfeld, among other two thousand signers obtained in secrecy. This document was one drawn up by the nobles to resist the Inquisition, whether papal, episcopal or by edict.¹

Orange had not been consulted when the document was drawn up, but he later expressed his opinions concerning it. He still warned against the carrying out of the Council of Trent edicts and spoke in such a way that the hope of relaxing some of the severe penalties was the only thing which kept the people from leaving the Netherlands. He expressed his desire to carry out his commands received from the King and to live as a "Good Christian." These last two words are significant in that he was really in doubt as to his own religious convictions.²

This document of the nobles was then presented to the Regent who had already called a meeting of the nobles for March 28th. It was then that the request was presented. Berlaymont recommended that the petitioners should be massacred in the hall that very minute. The wiser men suggested

1. John Lothrop Motley, The Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol. II, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

otherwise and finally the nobles were promised that some leniency would be used until the Regent heard from the King. Later she begged the King to moderate the Inquisition or come to the Netherlands himself. He replied that she could moderate the Inquisition with discretion and that he would come later.

This had a great effect on the people and finally they were seen in public places holding church services. However, the services were always guarded by wary sentinels and by men who came armed for battle so that the soldiers could not attempt to break up such a service without great injury to themselves. At times the Protestants were so bold as to march through the larger towns singing psalms and other songs in their own tongue. The Regent appealed to Orange and he quitted the crowds on the grounds that a compromise would be made.³

The next move on the part of the nobles was that they sent twelve men to the Regent insisting that the Inquisition had not been lightened and if her promise was not carried out, they would ask the assistance of foreign nations to help them in their cause.

The King then promised on July 31, 1566, that the Inquisition was to be removed from the Netherlands. The people rejoiced and all but Orange were taken in by the deceit of the King. He suspected the King and he well had reason. For on August 9th, the King said that this statement had been won by force and that he had no intention to carry it out. On August 12th, he wrote to the Pope that his declaration to withdraw the Inquisition was a mere blind. Orange knew that the King was gathering troops and that he blamed the nobles for what was taking place in the

3. Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, Vol. II, p. 249.

Netherlands.⁴

It was at this time, that the iconoclastic attacks of the churches and cathedrals happened which gave the King the pretext he needed for his next actions and destroyed the progress of the Reformation in the Lowlands more than did the Inquisition. These people enraged even the liberal Catholics by their destruction so much that the split between Protestant North and Romanist South became more and more evident.⁵

William of Orange had figured the King's actions correctly. For the King had already sent the Duke of Alva with nine thousand Spanish veterans to settle things in the Netherlands. When he arrived in Brussels he presented credentials that proved that the Regent was ruler in name only and that all her former powers had been taken away from her by Alva.⁶

William had escaped to Germany previously, but Alva now took possession of the persons of Egmont and Horn with their secretaries. Alva's next move was to invent a court whereby he could dispose of these unwanted personages. This court of law was not to be subject to any other. It was called the Council of Tumults, but is better known by the Bloody Tribunal. This tribunal then passed a law forbidding any act of treason punishable by death. In explaining the word treason, we might state here for the sake of brevity that any act against the Council of Trent was considered treason so that within a short time commissioners were sent out to bring in all who were considered as traitors in any way which fit the description. The people thus gathered were condemned in batches of ninety-five, eighty-four, forty-six, and thirty-five at one time. Alva wrote to the

4. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

King that no less than fifteen hundred had been gathered on Ash-Wednesday morning and another time he announced eight hundred.⁷ In view of such records Brandt remarks:

The gallows, the wheel, stakes, trees along the highways, were laden with carcasses or limbs of those who had been hanged, beheaded, or roasted; so that the air which God made for the respiration of the living, was now become the common grave or habitation of the dead. Every day produced fresh objects of pity and of mourning, and the noise of the bloody passing-bell was continually heard, which by the martyrdom of this man's cousin and the other's brother or friend, rang dismal peals in the hearts of the survivors.⁸

Margaret seeing that she was just a figure-head in the sight of Alva and knowing she could do no more for her country, submitted her resignation to Philip on October 6, 1567. From then on Alva proceeded relentlessly.

The trial against Egmont, and Horn was now begun at which Orange was considered to be an outlaw unless he gave himself up to the authorities. Orange then replied in his famous Justification of the Prince of Orange against his Calumniators. In this article the government received a scathing rebuke by the Prince who said he, a citizen of Brabant, a Knight of the Golden Fleece, a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and one of the sovereign Princes of Europe could not be summoned before such an incompetent court as the Council of Turin. The first months of 1568 William spent in arranging for military support and in spring his army was ready. The time had come to defend his country against the tyranny of Alva.⁹

And it was tyranny. For it was this man, Alva, who proclaimed the most dastardly order in the history of the world. This Roman tyrant wished that he could kill all his enemies. He wished that all their necks

7. Ibid., pp. 254-256.

8. Ibid., p. 257, quoting from Brandt, History of the Reformation, pp. 261, 266.

9. Thomas H. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 258.

were one and that he with one blow could extinguish the whole nation of the Netherlands. Therefore, on the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the Inquisition condemned to death all the inhabitants of the Netherlands as heretics. Only a few persons were excepted. Ten days later the King confirmed this decree and ordered it to be carried into execution without regard to age, sex, or conditions.¹⁰

The first two campaigns of William ended in failure and the cause seemed hopeless. But after 1566, Alva found himself in difficulties because he didn't have enough money to carry on the campaign against the nobles. Moreover, he beheaded Egmont and Horn and this did not help to appease or frighten them into subjection, but stirred them up to an anger which was growing unbearable. Alva in haste called the states-general for a meeting and proposed and passed a law of taxation which would help him out of his predicament. This, too, failed because the people would not pay the taxes no matter what brutality was employed to force them. Alva was ruined in Holland. Within the next few years, Alva found that the soldiers were ready to mutiny for want of pay and he could not possibly complete the job he had set out to do. The war raged on but Alva demanded his recall from the Netherlands and it was granted on December 18th, 1573.¹¹

The new Regent was Don Louis Requesens-y-Zuniga. Although he revoked the policies of Alva to a great degree, yet the nobles led by Orange would not accept him as their ruler. Promises had always been made but never carried out was the answer of Orange and these promises of Requesens were no different. From this time on, the real reason for carrying on the war

10. "The History of the Netherlands", in The Historians' History of the World, Henry Smith Williams, ed., XIII, p. 421.

11. Thomas M. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 259-261.

was changed and it was no longer a religious war, but one on which the independence of Holland would be decided. The Inquisition was never revoked from Holland, but when the independence of Holland was sealed, the Inquisition faded from the scene.¹²

12. Ibid., p. 262.

XIX. The Inquisition in Italy

Before the thirteenth century, the bishops had charge of the Inquisition. In 1238, Gregory IX established the Inquisition which was governed by men specially appointed for the job. The number of autos da fe were not numerous in Rome itself, but the prisoners were disposed of by starvation in the dungeons or by severe tortures.¹

The Inquisition of the thirteenth century had long died out in Rome. However, when the fifteenth century brought new beliefs into the church, Pope Paul III one day asked Cardinal Caraffa, who was later to become Pope Paul IV, what could be done about stopping this heretical influx. The Cardinal replied that a thorough Inquisition was the only answer and in this opinion he was supported by John Alvarez de Toledo, the Cardinal of Burgos. These two Dominicans pressed the issue and a bull was published instituting the Inquisition once more on the twenty-first of July, 1542.

These two Cardinals were at the head of the institution in Rome and to help them six other inquisitors were elected. These men were also invested with the power to appoint other ecclesiastics to help them if they were needed. Everyone was to be investigated if there was a reason and no person was to be excepted for respect of person or dignity. The suspects were to be thrown into prison, and the guilty were to be punished with the loss of their life and property. The right of pardon was reserved for the Pope.²

Cardinal Caraffa didn't lose a moment before he started his work. He

1. Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles, p. 219.

2. Leopold von Ranke (translation by E. Fowler), History of the Popes, pp. 141-142.

rented a house on his own expense instead of waiting for the usual expense money from the papal treasury. He set up rooms for the officers and had other rooms fitted for prisons with bolts, chains, and other equipment to execute his office.³

Many of the heretics came and gave themselves up to the Inquisition and thereby gained their freedom. However, some of them abided in their faith and were disciplined by the Inquisition. Among the first of these was Bernardino Ochino. He was a preacher who had been followed by a great number of people. However, as time went on, the parishioners noted that he was deviating from the usual teachings of the Catholic Church, in regard to the doctrine of works and also of purgatory.

The nuncio of Venice had already heard of this heresy and had placed an interdict upon his preaching. This caused his invitation to Rome to appear before the Inquisition. However, upon hearing what the Inquisition had done and could do, he determined to escape the punishment. He immediately set out for Geneva where we read that even there he could not settle himself in his convictions and lapsed into more grievous errors.⁴ Others who escaped over the Alps into Germany and Switzerland are Peter Martyr Vermigli, Celio Secondo Curione, Filippo Valentini and Castelvetri.⁵

The result of the Inquisition were that the whole order of the Franciscans was compelled to recant. In Venice, many of the foreigners were excused because of their interest in trade and commerce, but the natives were scattered abroad by the threats of the Inquisition. They found their homes in Germany and Switzerland as many others who had fled for their lives.

3. Ibid., p. 143.

4. Ibid., p. 144.

5. Ibid., p. 145.

The usual way of putting a man out of the way in Venice was that two row-boats took the victims out into the bay. A plank was placed between the boats and the victim made to stand upon it. Then the two boats were rowed apart and the heretic sank to his watery grave.⁶

One of the cases of the Inquisition which stands out among the rest is that of Annio Palcario. He was the author of many anti-Romish treatises. Arrested in Tuscany by the order of Pius V, he was brought to Rome. He was tried on the case of having held some of the doctrines of Luther and condemned the Inquisition for discouraging discussion of religious questions. He was found guilty and hanged at Rome on the third of July, 1570, and his body was publicly burned.⁷

The case of Giordano Bruno is the one which is most notable. He was born about 1550 and entered the Dominican order, but later abandoned the order and journeyed through France, England, and Germany. In those countries he acquired a reputation as a lecturer and philosophical writer. He followed Spinoza in his ideas but never spoke against the Church. He returned to Italy and was seized by the Inquisition at Venice in 1598, sent to Rome, imprisoned for two years and executed in Rome on the seventeenth of February, 1600.

The case of "Banks and his horse" is one which shows how anxious the Inquisition was for victims. Banks and his horse were famous figures during the Shakespearean age in England. He was a wonderful horse trainer and traveled through Europe showing the people the tricks his horse could perform. Unluckily he traveled to Rome and being an Englishman, he was

6. Ibid., p. 147.

7. Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles, p. 220.

thought to be a heretic. He together with his horse (which was thought to be the devil in the form of an animal) were put on trial, found guilty and burned alive together on the charge of sorcery.

Because of the great number of priests and ecclesiastical officers in Rome and Italy, the heretics, if there were any beside those gathered in by the Inquisition, practiced in secrecy. He therefore, have not the number of heretics condemned as in other countries where the heretics were braver in their worship. Thus with the turn of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition vanished because of the lack of suspected heretics.⁸

8. Ibid., p. 221.

XX. Conclusion

When looking back over the events of the past centuries, we must as poor frail mortals just shake our heads and marvel how wise and omniscient our God really is. In His government of the world and the manner in which he deals with men in order that His will might be performed, God displays that He is governing the world only in the interest of His Church and its work.

Although the Reformation occurred when, humanly speaking, the time was right for a Reformation, yet we can see from history that there was more behind the movement than Luther's desire for reform. We noticed in this paper just how strong the Inquisition could be in its attempts to crush heresy. Yet, with God's guidance, the Reformation grew to such bounds that the Inquisition could not wreak its destruction upon the pure Word, mainly because of the strength of the opponents with which the Catholic Church came into contact.

Although in Spain the heretics were either forced to recant and join the Church or were exiled from the country, yet in the results we notice that the Catholic Church as such was the loser. Those converted "Christians" who forcibly joined the Church were no more help to the growth of the Church than if they hadn't joined at all. On the other hand, the Church ruined its chances of quenching the Reformation by the action they took. Never have people been gained for God through force.

Although the Inquisition should have learned its lesson from past experiences, yet in Holland and Flanders the results were the same. By

bringing the Inquisition into Holland and Flanders, Philip completely lost his power to rule and, which seemed more important, the Catholic Church was looked upon with disgust by all the peace-loving people.

In Italy alone, the people were "safeguarded" to the greatest degree from the teaching of heresy. Since Italy was the stronghold of Catholicism as it is today, heretical teaching and doctrines had a difficult time in finding any room, and when they would be found, they were speedily erased as was brought out in the paper.

In direct contrast to the situation in Italy, Germany was found without the activity of the Holy Office. The reason for this was that the German princes, many of them Lutheran, did not allow the Inquisition to be established and whenever it might have been, it wasn't long until it disappeared because of the influence of these princes.

Viewing the entire activity of the Inquisition in a nut shell, it must be noted that the Inquisition did not accomplish what its purpose was to have been. Many of the people, seeing the cruelty and horror which the Church could invoke, turned the other way and joined Churches that were founded and operated on love. Again we say, explaining the events in history by human wisdom and knowledge never can make plain or exhaust the wonderful wisdom of God in His direction of the world in the interest of the Church, the congregation of believers. But it does show us that no matter what may be the odds against His Word, this comfort we have, that with His guidance and leadership, the Church Militant shall always remain until it becomes the Church Triumphant, even though it meet with greater obstacles than the Inquisition.

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